

sincerely it may seek a *delente*, to divide the United States from Britain and Europe."

The *New Statesman and Nation* wrote on August 8: "If the Western Powers could fairly be charged with making difficulties in seeking to confine the conference to the almost insoluble problem of Germany, the Soviet Union gives the impression of making her tactical purposes an equally unhelpful *riposte*. With the agenda widened to include the whole world from the Sakhalin Islands to Casablanca, the sort of conference for which the Russians are now asking would give limitless scope for mutual recriminations and reciprocal barrages of propaganda."

The *Observer* writes that the "immediate task of diplomacy today" was restoration of confidence between the Soviet Union and the West. The difficulties of a European settlement, though real and manifold, were not unprecedented and insurmountable. Suggesting a way in which this task might be furthered the paper proposed a meeting of Foreign Ministers provided it preserved "a measure of informality and a still greater measure of privacy and seclusion." The paper lay great stress on the secrecy of the talks and writes that if the Foreign Ministers' Conference could not guarantee that secrecy, the Powers should resume diplomatic contacts and discussions through ambassadors which had the advantage of being less spectacular and arousing fewer public expectations.

Wastage in Industry

While delivering the Acharya P. C. Roy Memorial Lecture on "Development and Utilisation of Scientific Talent in India" held under the auspices of the Indian Chemical Society at Bombay, Dr. J. N. Mukherji said that the country was annually losing about Rs. 100 crores due to the faulty process of recovery of sugar from the cane in the manufacture of *gur* and *khandsari*, reports the *Bombay Chronicle* on August 10.

"Dr. Mukherji stressed the importance of a scientific policy for the State which alone could tackle the problems of poverty and under-development facing the country. Recalling the vital role played by unofficial scientific institutions in promoting science and making available the fruits of science to the industry and the people at large in the Western countries, the lecturer pleaded for greater help to and better recognition of such institutions in the country."

"While welcoming the policy of the Government to accelerate the progress of industrialisation of the country with the help of foreign experts, Dr. Mukherji warned the authorities that there were a number of lines of development where such co-operation might not be available in the absence of common fields of interests if the interests collided."

He said that this dependence of us hope for the was not directed of our resources on outside help was like feel deeply that industrial advancement lopsided and un on Far Eastern productive role." pleaded for building up the scientific, tech, the sponsors logical and engineering potential of the co, announc- expenditure would repay the outlay many - Menon's and quickly. at not to

The Press in Pakistan

Discussing the condition of the Press in place she Star's special correspondent writes that the Pakistan was very weak because the nu, ofoundly readers were restricted on account of high, and because of low incomes from advertis, tened which were only a few, owing to the lack of ind, main development. As a result the newspapers h, scored depend upon foreign firms for advertisements and, a fact, more than half of the entire advertise, revenue earned by newspapers in Pakistan came from establishments owned and run by foreign interests. "And advertisement money is not merely money! It is much more," writes the special correspondent. "Advertisers have been known to wield considerable influence stifling the truth. In our country if this baneful influence is a little more pronounced, it should not be surprising at all."

The other most disturbing element was the influence of politicians on newspapers or newspaper editors. "Most of the newspaper proprietors are running newspapers not as newspapers but as just another instrument to queer the pitch in their favour, be it in the field of politics or in some other field." Then there was too much interference by the proprietors. The journalists had no security of service. They had to say *ditto* to whatever the proprietor asked to write or to quit their services. Dismissals and resignations were frequent.

Such a situation could not fail to tell on the efficiency and ultimately on the financial position of the newspapers. "And from here there are only two ways open to the newspapers: to close down and bury the whole affair or to rake up money somehow to keep the disaster at bay."

"Money obtained 'somehow' is seldom productive of pleasant results. If not earlier, the newspaper finds itself in an alley when there is only one way out—blackmail, which we call irresponsible journalism."

The working journalist had no say in any matter. "The fact is that an average pressman seldom shares the vices of the press and equally seldom his virtues are afforded an opportunity to shine through the printed sheets you read as newspapers in Pakistan." 1

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THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

(Specially written for *The Modern Review*)

The 1st floor chamber in an opulent, adverse eff neighbourhood in Calcutta was lined with Chinks from floor almost to ceiling, save a good ydoors and windows. In the centre near rubber, c farthest from the front, way be'ow which livelihood traffic ceaselessly flowed, was set an out-in 51 peout chair. It was none too big for the Re'heavily moustached occupant. So filled he wilearning, Eastern and Western alike, was he, its Mosh Mookerjee, that his admirers—and plazir number was legion—spoke of him as the pletatara (incarnation) of Sarasvati (the goddess of Wisdom) in this *Kaliyuga* (the iron age).

From him my eyes wandered towards the figure that, following my entry, had noiselessly glided into the Presence and stood with bowed head, ears attuned to some message or mandate. In build and feature the two bore unmistakable similitude. In years they were a generation apart.

This was, I learnt, Syama, the second son of the celebrated jurist, lawyer, linguist, scientist and, above all, educationist—Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee. By virtue of native intelligence and by dint of hard, conscientious work, the moustached Sarasvati had earned the title to append almost half of the alphabet to his name.

Possibly because of his size, the son looked remarkably mature, though he had but entered his twenties. His attitude towards the author of his being impressed and pleased me. Adoration was writ large upon his face. Eyes, ears, hands and feet were all eagerly devoted to the service of that embodiment of erudition he evidently loved more than life.

This was in 1921-23. I was back in India after my second globe-girdling—a decade spent largely in Europe.

An encounter had taken place shortly before between Asutosh and the satrap set up by Dame Britannia to rule in her name over Bengal. Of that set-to, many tales were current. Lord Lytton, whom I had met in my early days of English journalism, and who shared my interest in penology, had inherited Bulwer's brain as well as the title. He had authority at his back, too. Yet he had not have the best of the bout with his Bengali Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who could brook no interference with his administration of the institution, veiled or open.

I had a job of work in hand that kept me in

Calcutta for weeks, so I had some opportunity of observing the second son of that formidable personage. What under-study was more advantageously placed, I asked myself, or albeit was more capable of benefiting from that opportunity?

Fifteen years had bubbled up from Eternity's cauldron and had been sucked back into it before my gypsy feet were once again treading the Calcutta side-walks. In the meantime Syama had graduated from the University, had gone to Britain (while I was living somewhere else), there had pursued his legal studies, eaten his dinners, been called to the Bar, attended some conferences as the representative of his *alma mater* and returned to his natal city. He had shown no great keenness to practise law but had taken with avidity to educational administration. At three and thirty he had been inducted into the office that had given his father the spring-board for exalting Bengal.

Several letters typed on the Vice-Chancellor's letter-paper with Syama's bold, clear, firm signature, had been winged my way. Familiar with my writings from his school days, when he had devoured them as they appeared in *The Modern Review* and other Indian magazines, the epistles had been couched in terms that warmed the cockles of my heart. They whetted my desire to renew acquaintance with him.

I would fain have gone to meet him in his office or in his home: but he insisted that on the first occasion he must call on me. I appreciated his sentiment and respected his wish.

The difficulty was that just at that moment I had no fixed abode. I was, in fact, occupying what my good lady, in her expressive Americanese, called our "palace on wheels." My railway friends, who in the kindness of their hearts, had placed it at my disposal so that we may travel in comfort, had ordered it to be parked at a platform in the Howrah station, next the street. So airily dismissing her qualms born of propriety, I made an appointment for Syama to call one afternoon.

When railway men happen to be in the right mood they, in the words of the jingle, are

"...very, very good,

And when they are bad they are horrid."

That "O.C." (in their cant "officer's carriage") was "some" carriage indeed. It was, if I remember aright, 69 feet long and ran, I believe, over twelve wheels. There was a huge compartment that served as drawing-cum-dining-room during

the day and bed-room at night, in addition to another large bedroom across the entrance-aisle. The bath, I seem to recall, was seven feet long and four feet wide. The train in motion at anything like top speed set up such a wave action that I, used to a much humbler mode of living, never dared to get into it unless the saloon was parked at a siding. There was, however, another tub elsewhere which was much more like the one that a frequenter of (English and other) landlady's lodging houses was accustomed to. In addition to the two large bedrooms there were rooms for the secretary and staff and next to the lesser bath room a "cabin" for the servants almost as large as a first-class compartment, as was also the luggage room. Beyond it was the kitchen—roomy, light and airy, fitted with a real cook stove. This was my delight, for the recipes that appear in my cookery articles are all evolved by me and tested before they go into print.

Just as the hour set for Syama's coming was striking the floor of the carriage rocked, not too gently. The tea-things clattered.

"Oh, dear!" exclaimed my wife with some petulance, "oh, dear! they are moving the saloon again."

"What difference does it make?" I, no less disturbed, said in a tone calculated to soothe her nerves much jangled by prolonged "rambuncting" (to use her own expressive Americaneese).

"You apparently have forgotten," she almost shrieked at me, "that an important caller is just about due. You told him that he would find this 'palace on wheels' parked alongside the No. 10 platform at the Howrah station. He, therefore, would have no difficulty in finding us."

This was only too true. The saloon was in motion while this colloquy proceeded. By the it was well into the yard. Except for a cabin from which men ever on the look-out manipulated levers that, according to the need of the split-second, shifted points, there was nothing in sight but rails, shining in the westering sun and carriages and waggons on some of them.

Alarmed—genuinely alarmed—Mrs. Singh gloomily predicted: "He will come and, finding no saloon at the spot you named, will go whence he came. Even if some one perchance tells him where this blessed carriage has been shifted to, he will never be able to locate it in this—wilderness—wilderness of rails. So that is that."

"A man who had the wits and the energy to climb into the seat of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University at an age when many of us have not finished cutting our wisdom teeth," I assured her, "would not be fazed by this little move for which there is doubtless good and ample cause. More than likely the Station Superintend-

ent's eye will pick Syama out of the multitude and he will personally conduct your august visitor to us. I promise you that you will presently see his smiling face beaming at you from that door through which he will be entering."

Sure enough. That was exactly what happened. Hardly were the words out of my mouth when there was a click and the door near which my good lady was sitting swung upon the carefully greased hinges and a man entered. From the size of the head I could recognize it as Syama's.

A bare head it was. Somewhat closely cropped.

A giant he looked as he, upon entering, straightened himself, advanced towards Mrs. Singh, bowed, shook hands and expressed his joy at seeing her. There was nothing of the lackadaisical Oriental in his step, speech or handshake.

As he next greeted me I saw how much he had matured since our last meeting. His manhood was, certainly, in flower.

"Our brother Asutosh has left us," I remarked, "since we were last in Calcutta."

"He died in 1924—on May 25th," he replied.

"The greatest tribute that ever was paid to him," I remarked, "emanated from Lord Lytton. Unconsciously, no doubt. When your father and he had scarcely ceased measuring swords, he, seated in the study in that grand mansion in Calcutta built in imitation of the Curzonian country seat, confided in me:

Lytton: "If the schemes that you have in mind go through, the number of persons who would have passed through the portals of the University would outrun the number of jobs. You would hardly credit the remark he made."

Asutosh: "I shall not mind."

Lytton: "Not mind unemployment among the educated?"

Asutosh: "Precisely."

Lytton: "Why?"

Asutosh: "Don't you say over there that discontent is divine?"

"You see," commented Lytton, "Asutosh Mookerjee wishes to shake the very foundations of *pax Britannica* in the East."

Syama, who had not heard of this passage at arms, was patently impressed with it.

"You must write Father's *Life*," he said, with that downrightness that I had already learnt to associate with him. He seemed to know his mind—to possess the faculty of making up his mind quickly—resolutely.

I thanked him politely.

"No, no," he said, "this is no new brain-wave on my part."

"Indeed, no," interposed Mrs. St. Nihal Singh, "I remember you mentioned it in a letter—or was it in more than one?"

Bubbling with joy at this, he began to outline the book, child of the slow-moving East though he was supposed to be.

"There were four sides to Father," he explained, "at least four, each more or less distinct from the others."

"Firstly, there was the scientist. He had the mathematician's brain. In his B.A. he had worked out a problem that astonished mathematicians abroad. With that foundation he could have become a great physicist had he so willed—or tried to be."

"Secondly, there was his linguistic, literary side. His mastery over English did not so occupy his mind that he did not become proficient in Sanskrit. This was evident from the ease with which he won two degrees in Sanskrit learning. He had taken pains to learn all these as well as Bengali. What I must not fail to add is that he could use to effect all these languages both by word of mouth and by pen. This was indeed remarkable."

"Thirdly, after gaining distinction in his chosen profession, he went from the Bar to the Bench. The questions he put, the points he elucidated, were admired by the most eminent counsel, both in India and in Britain. The judgments he handed down were noteworthy equally for their grasp of law, appreciation of the finest points of law and equity, brevity, lucidity and precision of language."

"Fourthly and perhaps greatest of all, he was an educationist. As syndic of the University during his early years he made a mark. His terms of Vice-Chancellorship enabled him practically to rebuild that institution by developing science and technology, philosophy, culture, art and literature. He gave a new direction to life in Bengal. His keenness for the adoption of the mother-tongue as the vehicle of education was already exercising a profound influence before he passed away."

"Not the least good that he did was to fish out young men of promise and give them the opportunity to develop their gifts. Father installed a young Andhra at the University as head of the philosophic side. By his intellectual gifts and work Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan acquired a worldwide reputation. C. V. Raman was persuaded to leave the Accounts Department, where he had brilliant prospects, and devote himself to science, though to begin with he would be financially worse off. Meghnad Saha, too, he encouraged. You will observe that he did not confine himself to Bengal, but sought his men wherever he could find them."

III

"How about your own work at the University?" I asked. "There you have come into a great inheritance."

Almost everything Syama had to say about the University was associated in one way or another with his illustrious sire. His only thought was to go on consolidating and extending the work Asutosh had inaugurated. Fortunately no one in the wide world knew so well as, through association with him, Syama did of the plans that administrator had in mind when he vacated the Vice-Chancellor's chair. It was all to the good that the son who now occupied the chair relinquished by his sire carried the blue-print in his head.

More than that, he had ideas of his own. Born in the initial year of this century, brought up in an atmosphere of acute unrest—confusion—boy-cott—swadeshi—swaraj—and kindred waves, he had "urges" (as the Americans say). There also was the steadily accelerating tempo of the age. It had begun to go up with the Russo-Japanese war. The jazzed nerves—not only the jazzed music—that subsequently came in the wake of World War I. All this expressed itself in the matter of the time-table to which it seemed to me he had geared himself.

In the programme of what he wished to do that he outlined to me as we sat talking in that railway saloon on a siding at the Howrah station I noted that he was eager to develop the post-graduate teaching side of the University. Much had been done by his father. Much, however, remained to be done to put Calcutta University in the forefront in that domain.

I admired particularly the stress he was placing upon culture and art. He told me of the tour he had been making in Orissa, of the valuable figures and figurines he had been able to acquire. These he had put or was going to put in the University Museum.

The emphasis he placed upon the medium of education pleased me most of all. With the steps he had taken all teaching would soon be done, even in the graduate classes, through the Bengali. He seemed to derive much satisfaction from this achievement.

Had he found his *metier*?

Was he content with educational administration? Or did his heart hanker for . . . ?

We discussed these matters after he had taken leave of us and gone from the saloon long ere then taken back to the No. 10 platform. In discussing the state of Mother India, he had used a phrase more than once. It was "civil liberties." His mind seemed to be dwelling upon it. Of this more in the next article.

(Article Two of this series will appear in the October, 1953 issue of *The Modern Review*.—EDITOR.)

HISTORY AND GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., (Geog.), M.Com.

II

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT DURING POST-WAR PERIOD

The abnormal conditions created by World War II led to some far-reaching developments in the co-operative movement. There has been an over-all improvement. Between 1938-39 and 1945-46, the increase in the number of societies, the number of members and the working capital have been respectively 41 per cent, 70 per cent and 51 per cent. Also the movement touched 6 per cent of the population in 1938-39 but 10 per cent in 1945-46. The war stimulated the growth of Consumers' Stores and Marketing Societies. Many new types of producers' societies like Weavers' Societies, Milk Supply Unions, Motor Transport Societies, Fruit Growers' and Cane Growers' Associations, etc., were formed during the war period. The credit societies extended their functions and the movement manifested its multi-purpose potentialities. Loan repayments were accelerated, turnover was brisk and working capital registered a substantial increase though not in proportion to the war-time inflation which means that a unique opportunity of augmenting working capital by increasing members' deposits was lost. Thus during the war, "with a large turnover, accelerated payments and shrinkage in the overdues the societies gained in strength and vigour." There was a temporary decline in the figures consequent on the partition, but the progress made subsequently has been so appreciable that the figures for 1949-50 have exceeded even the total for undivided India in 1945-46, the number, membership and working capital during 1949-50 having increased by 0.5 per cent, 37 per cent and 42 per cent respectively over 1945-46 figures.

The following table shows the development of the movement since 1909 up to date:

(See TABLE I on page 193)

Before we conclude this history of the co-operative movement in India we may point out its certain characteristic features:

Firstly, the co-operative movement in India has not sprung up from the people. It was initiated by the Government with a view to solve the problem of rural indebtedness; and even today it is based not on the voluntary efforts of the people determined to help themselves but on the Government support, which could not evoke the ready response and services of the young and the ardent, who looked with suspicion upon every movement so started. In the words of Mr. V. L. Mehta:

"Government are so out of touch with public feeling and sentiment that despite their control of the machinery of administration they fail in their efforts to seek an expansion of the movement."

In fact, it is not a spontaneous growth but a Government policy.¹¹ The distinction between co-

operation imposed by the Government and necessarily supervised, regulated, restricted and controlled on the one hand, and co-operation promoted by voluntary initiative and sustained by the co-operative spirit, which insures the loyalty of the members, on the other hand, cannot be over-emphasised.¹²

Secondly, started originally to provide the farmer with cheap credit, it has continued to this day a predominantly credit movement. So that the progress of non-credit co-operation has been slow and agricultural credit societies dominate the picture.

Thirdly, though there are inter-provincial differences, the structure of the co-operative organisation is uniform in almost all the provinces, e.g., in each province at the head of the movement there are three authorities, viz., the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies in charge of control and direction of the movement, Provincial or Apex Bank in charge of finance, and the Provincial Co-operative Institute or Union in charge of education and propaganda.

We close this note by quoting the remarks of the Reserve Bank of India in the following paragraphs:

"Apart from this general expansion, the working of the movement in recent years has been characterised by greater diversity of functions; co-operation has permeated several walks of life, some of which were perhaps no more than touched before. It has played an important part in the attempts to solve two big problems, viz., the rehabilitation of displaced persons and the augmentation of the food production. The rehabilitation of displaced persons through the formation of co-operatives received a great fillip, owing mainly to the aid extended by the Government, in the shape of loans, grants-in-aid, cheap land building materials and similar other concessions. Housing, industrial and forming societies were generally encouraged so that the displaced persons could be settled in colonies and provided with gainful occupations. In the field of food production co-operatives were entrusted with the distribution of manures, chemical fertilisers and agricultural implements. Credit facilities were liberalised for the members of co-operative credit societies by such measures as the relaxation of credit limits, financing at concessional rates, installations of pumping sets and oil engines. Thus by the introduction of modern methods there was sought to be brought about both more intensive and extensive cultivation of land.

"The full-scale development of the multipurpose idea in several States like Madras, Bombay, Mysore, U.P., is another notable trend in the primary credit structure. These societies were entrusted with the distribution of rationed and other essential commodities."

11. Horace Plunket Foundation: *Year Book of Agricultural Co-operation* (1930), p. 20.

12. *Ibid.*, (1931), p. 24.

HISTORY AND GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

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TABLE I

All-India Progress of the Co-operative Movement since 1906-7

Period covered	Number of societies of all types		Number of Primary Society members		Working capital	
	Central	Primary	Agricultural	Non-agricultural	Total (Rs. 1000)	Percentage of working capital owned
Average for 4 years from 1906-7 to 1909-10	17	1909	107643	54267	6812	21.8
Average for 5 years from 1910-11 to 1914-15	231	11555	459696	89157	54842	20.8
Average for 5 years from 1914-15 to 1919-20	942	27535	902930	266031	151847	21.7
Average for 5 years from 1920-21 to 1924-25	1808	55899	1661698	493509	363626	23.0
Average for 5 years from 1925-26 to 1929-30	1981	91955	2791562	897279	748913	22.8
Average for 5 years from 1930-31 to 1934-35	1612	104102	3032628	1258341	916106	27.2
Average for 5 years from 1935-36 to 1939-40	1129	115831	3137873	1638869	1016773	29.7
Average for 5 years from 1940-41 to 1944-45	1053	148835	4768173	2496632	1243474	29.9
1945-46	1034	171102	5642671	3520673	1610009	29.0
1946-47		139.14		91.01		
1947-48		149.77		101.07	1560001	
1948-49		163.88		127.07	1710006	
1949-50		173.09		125.61	23310000	

FUTURE TREND OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Reserve Bank of India has brought out a comprehensive review of the progress made by the Co-operative movement in India in the two years of 1948-50. The publication outlines the future trend of the movement into Multipurpose Co-operative Societies, which should embrace complete economic activity of the agricultural and labouring class within its fold. These, as given out in the said publication, are:

(1) The Organisation of Multipurpose Societies.

(2) Financial accommodation from the Reserve Bank to the Co-operative movement, and

(3) The training and education of staff working in the departments and the co-operative institutions.

THE MULTIPURPOSE IDEA

"Even as early as 1937, the Reserve Bank of India stressed the importance of organising multipurpose co-operative societies in our country where numerous single-purpose societies could not be easily worked on an effective and economic basis; the multipurpose society could embrace the whole life of the agriculturist. It was explained how the credit societies were catering only to one of the needs of the agriculturist, viz., credit, and even then they could meet only a part of the requirements. The agriculturist was, therefore, still largely dependent on the village sowcar for marketing his goods, for supplying him with his necessities of life, viz., consumer goods and numerous other services that he was in need of. The result has been that the idea of effecting an economic regeneration of the Indian peasantry through co-operation has remained

unfulfilled. Co-operators, official and non-official, have become increasingly aware of the limited utility of single-purpose societies and during the past few years, the credit society has been yielding place to the multipurpose society. Several States have drawn up schemes of organising such multipurpose societies afresh or at least have begun to enlarge the functions of the existing credit societies by entrusting them with the work of distribution of essential goods to start with. The multipurpose idea has thus obtained a firm footing.

"It has, however, to be observed, that there has not so far been a clear-cut scheme for defining the scope and activities of all the institutions in the multipurpose hierarchy. While all are agreed that at the bottom the primary society should be multipurpose, dispensing credit, distributing supplies, looking after better sanitation, better living and so on. It has to be examined as to which institutions these primary multipurpose societies should be federated into, at the taluk or district level, and what should be the function of these federal agencies. The trend appears to be in the direction of having a federal organisation at the taluk level. In this connection, it may be observed that there is a tendency to combine banking and trading. No doubt the village multipurpose societies can and must do banking because the volume of transactions under each activity will not be so large as to imperil the interests of any other section to any dangerous extent. Further, it has been found necessary to secure the undivided loyalty of the villager to the Co-operative movement and in the absence of facilities to be loyal to the society. On the other hand, the taluka multi-

purpose society should be a purely trading concern and it would be preferable to exclude banking from it completely for several reasons: Firstly, its business would be sizable and its profits in certain lines or losses in others might be considerable at times. And, the societies may not only trade as agents of the primary societies but on their own also in some types of goods and such business would naturally carry risks. If, therefore, the trading side suffers on account of some speculation or undue risks taken by a society, such a failure may have serious repercussions on its banking side. Secondly, trading calls for special business talents, different from those needed for carrying on banking. An enterprising businessman need not necessarily be an able banker, but on the other hand, might even bring the banking side into a dangerous position. Thirdly, the taluka multipurpose society might not be able to attract deposits of all kinds, and the hope that it would develop into a first class taluk bank might not materialise. So much so the banking section may not be a profitable section and apart from unnecessarily mixing up trading and banking, may not by itself cater for the credit needs of the affiliated societies satisfactorily. And from the Reserve Bank of India's point of view also, it would be doubtful, if the numerous taluka multipurpose societies can run separate credit sections on absolutely banking lines, to be considered fit enough for giving the second good signature under Section 17(2)(b) of the Reserve Bank of India Act.

"This would mean that the primary multipurpose societies would have to affiliate themselves to taluka multipurpose central financing agencies for their credit needs. And at the top, there would be the apex bank on the credit side and an apex society on the non-credit side. In short, the trading structure should be treated separately from the credit structure, and it is up to the Registrars of the States to clearly define the scope and functions of the various institutions, in the trading and credit hierarchy, in order to avoid mixing up of banking and trading."

RESERVE BANK AND THE MOVEMENT

"Another factor that has assumed increasing importance in recent years is the larger demand for funds made on the Reserve Bank of India by the Provincial Banks under Section 17(2)(b), (4)(a) and (4)(c) of the Reserve Bank of India Act. From Rs. 0.91 crores and Rs. 0.68 crores in 1947-48, the amount of loans applied and the amount sanctioned have increased to Rs. 4.82 crores and Rs. 2.14 crores in 1949-50 and still further to Rs. 10.46 crores and Rs. 7.62 crores respectively in 1950-51. The advances have been at concessional rates wherever they were utilised for financing seasonal agricultural operations and marketing of crops referred to in the Act. Recently, a few amendments have been made to the Reserve Bank of India Act with a view to liberalising the Bank's loan policy to the State Co-operative Banks. The amendments are:

(1) Section 17(2)(a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, which relates to the discounting of bills arising out of bonafide commercial or trade transactions and which was not applicable to provincial co-operative banks before, has now been extended to co-operative banks also.

(2) The period of accommodation from the Reserve Bank specified in Section 17(2)(b) has been extended from 9 months to 15 months. The condition placed by the Bank that all the loans should be repaid by a fixed date irrespective of the maturity of the bills has also been removed.

(3) Another far-reaching step is the extension of the provisions of the Reserve Bank of India Act to the former Indian States which have now been reorganised into more homogeneous States Unions and which have so far been denied the facilities for accommodation available under the Act. To bring about a uniform development of the movement in these new States Unions, the Reserve Bank advocated as a first step, the formation of apex co-operative banks in them and have also conducted preliminary discussions with the authorities in some unions for taking speedy action in that regard. The need for organisation of apex banks is most necessary to enable them to take advantage of the Reserve Bank's accommodation facilities since under the Act, financial accommodation from the Reserve Bank could be made available only through a State Co-operative Bank or in its absence, any central society declared to be a State Co-operative Bank by a State Government for this purpose.

"In this connection, an Informal Conference was convened in 1951 to discuss the role of the Reserve Bank of India in the sphere of Rural Finance. As a result of the deliberations of the conference, an expert Standing Advisory Committee has been formed comprising prominent co-operators and others, both official and non-official. The main function of the body is to advise the Bank on matters pertaining to its Agricultural Credit Department and allied subjects."

CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION AND TRAINING

"Lastly, the question of imparting training and education to the staff of the Co-operative Departments and the Co-operative Institutions is also of paramount importance. The responsibilities are becoming greater day by day, and it is very necessary that all the higher executives concerned with important co-operative societies should know their job thoroughly. At present, except in advanced States like Bombay and Madras, adequate arrangements do not exist either for imparting initial training or for refresher classes for departmental and non-departmental workers. In Bombay, the Poona Co-operative College is serving as a centre for training the higher staff. It is seen that some of the officers from other States are also being deputed to this college for training. Similarly, the staff of the co-operative institutions in Madras including depart-

mental staff, receive training in the Central Co-operative Training Institute in Madras City. Efforts should, therefore, be made to provide facilities for the satisfactory training of the personnel in the higher ranks like officers of the Co-operative Department, Managers and Secretaries of Banks and Societies in all the States. In the existing circumstances two kinds of training arrangements will have to be made, viz., long-term training in the theory as well as practice of co-operation. Banking inspection and audit and so on, for officers newly recruited and short-term intensive training for those who are already working in the Departments and Co-operative institutions and who must reinforce their knowledge by a refresher course.

"It, therefore, devolves on the departments to make suitable arrangements for such a thorough training. Perhaps they may consider utilising the existing higher training institutions, such as these in Bombay and Madras, to the fullest possible extent, until such time as the necessary steps are taken to set up similar institutions in the States themselves.

"In conclusion, it may be said that in spite of all the difficulties which it has had to face, the Co-operative movement had a fairly successful period of development during the two years under review. The potentialities are very great in view of the importance given to the movement in all nation-building activities in the various States. Guided properly by zealous co-operators and well-trained officials, the movement has every reason to look forward to an increasingly effective and useful role in shaping the future of the country."

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

A proper classification of the co-operative societies is essential for three reasons: Firstly, it facilitates the study of the principles that should govern the working of the different kinds of societies. Secondly, it enables an easy study of the progress made by the different types of co-operative societies in different regions through independent and comparative study. Thirdly, it can help the propagation of certain theories and notions.

In regard to the international statistics classification of co-operatives by Dr. C. R. Fay is as follows: (i) Co-operative Banks, (ii) Agricultural Societies, (iii) Workers' Co-operative Societies, (iv) Co-operative Stores.

Dr. Faquet suggests the following classification: (i) Consumers' Co-operative Societies, (ii) Housing Societies, (iii) Occupational Co-operative (excluding agricultural societies but including Urban credit societies), (iv) Agricultural Societies (including the credit societies), (v) Various others.

The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, has adopted the following classification: (i) Credit, (ii) Production, (iii) Production and Sale, (iv) Purchase, (v) Sale.

The fourth classification may be attempted as: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Consumers' Societies, (iii) Producers' Societies, (iv) Insurance Societies, (v) Housing Societies and (vi) Others.

The classification given by Dr. Fay does not include the housing societies and the insurance societies; but from the point of view of co-operative development in the world it is essential to study the progress of these societies separately.

In the second classification, greater emphasis is placed on consumers. It does not have a separate group for credit societies. In view of the special importance of finance, it seems incorrect to include the credit co-operatives and producers' societies in one.

The third classification has no place for housing. Also it considers insurance societies as something which can be taken as auxiliary to one of the five forms while purchase societies include both supply societies and consumer's stores, and class production may be merged in "production and sale." Sale group may be included therein; and three groups could be together named, "Producers' Societies." So the third system is also not suitable.

The fourth classification does not distinguish between the Urban and the Rural societies. But the rural societies do not have to follow principles very much different from those that guide the urban co-operatives. It also seems unjust to have one class for agricultural societies and four or five for the non-agricultural societies. If a distinction is made between the urban and rural problems, let there be as many classes for agricultural societies as for the urban societies. If this is not agreed to, it will suffice to have a sub-head for "Urban Credit Societies" under "Credit Societies"; and for "Agricultural Producers' Societies" under "Producers' Societies."

(A) In India, the Reserve Bank has made the following classification: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Purchase and Purchase and Sale Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Production and Sale Societies, (v) Others.

(B) Land Mortgage Banks.

(C) Non-Agricultural Societies: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Purchase and Purchase and Sale Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Production and Sale Societies, (v) Others.

(D) Insurance Societies: (i) Ordinary and (ii) Cattle.

This grouping may be modified in view of the growing importance of the housing, marketing and multipurpose societies. Hence, the given classes under (A) and (C) group may be remodelled as (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Consumers' Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Marketing Societies, (v) Housing Societies and (vi) Others.

Under each of these classes, the number of societies which are multi-purpose in nature may be indicated within brackets. This will not only focus our attention

on the necessary aspects of co-operation, but will facilitate compilation of internal statistics for a comparative study.

It is difficult to give an exact classification of the different kinds of co-operative societies but for convenience we can divide them into two main categories, viz., (a) Agricultural and (b) Non-agricultural.

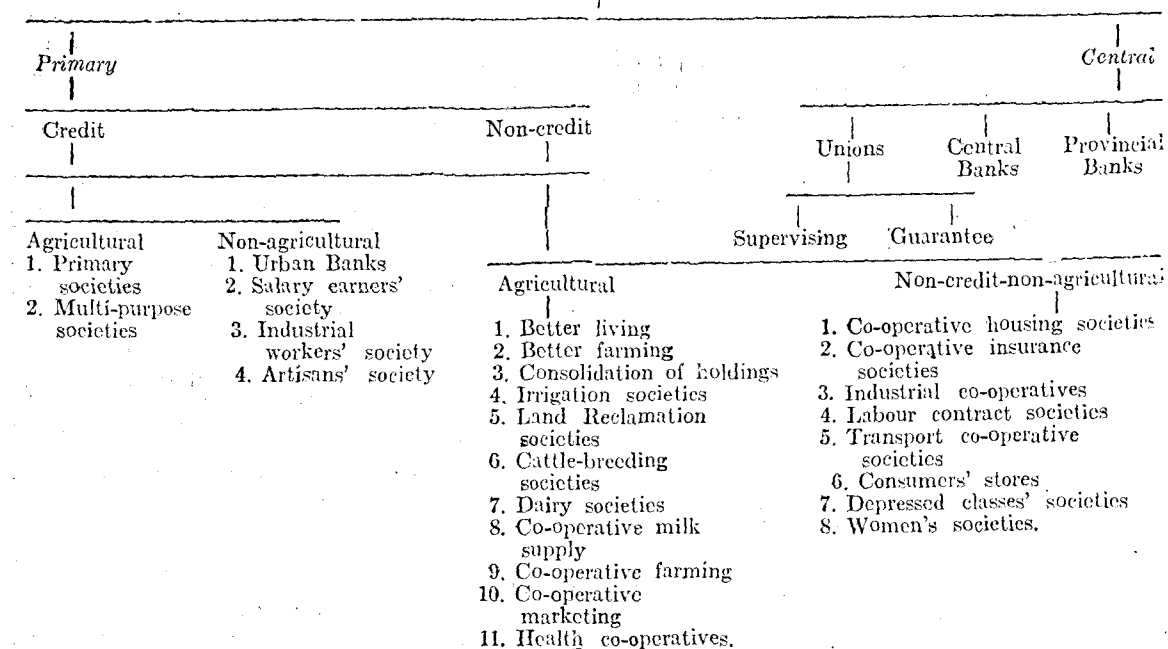
Agricultural societies are those societies in which the majority of the members are agriculturists, i.e., persons whose main occupation is cultivation of land or the rearing of livestock or of which the object is mainly agricultural. Whereas, non-agricultural societies are those which are not agricultural in character.

The diagram given below showing the classification of the co-operative societies will give a clear idea of the complex co-operative structure that has been built up in India:

Co-operative Credit Societies are linked with the Banking Union or the Central Bank and the Central Bank is linked with the Provincial or the Apex Bank.

The primary societies are confined to small villages, the Central Banks to Taluka or District towns, and the Provincial Banks are the headquarters of the Province. If a borrower in a village needs money, he applies to his society. If the society has no fund at its disposal, it applies to the Central Bank, and if the Central Bank is in need of the funds, it applies to the Provincial Bank. That is why it is said that the co-operative movement links the farmer in the remote village with the money markets of the country. The objects of primary agricultural credit societies include the borrowing of funds from members or others to be utilised for loans to members and also for the promo-

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES



(A) AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The Agricultural Societies may be again subdivided into credit and non-credit societies, and similarly non-agricultural societies may also be divided into credit and non-credit societies.

1. *Agricultural Credit Societies:* In the list of Agricultural Societies on credit side we have first the primary societies, the main purpose of which is to provide credit to their members and to encourage the habit of thrift. At the other end of the credit societies are the Provincial Banks which link the rural areas with the money markets of the country, and have their headquarters at the capital towns of the Province or States. Between these two extremes are the Banking Unions and Central Banks. Generally speaking, Primary

tion of thrift. They also act as agent for the joint sale of its members' produce and the joint purchase of their agri-domestic requirements, for the hiring of implements, machinery or animals to members, the dissemination of information about improved farming practices, the encouragement of subsidiary industries and the reform of social practices.

2. *Agricultural Non-Credit Societies:* On the non-credit side, the agricultural societies deal with sale and marketing of goods, consolidation of holdings, better living and better farming, insurance of cattle, supply of seed, cattle breeding, co-operative farming, irrigation, milk and dairy products, ghee, poultry and eggs societies, crop-protection societies, colonisation societies and crop insurance societies, labour contract societies.

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(B) NON-AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The non-agricultural societies may also be conveniently sub-divided into credit and non-credit societies.

The credit societies are generally called Urban Banks. They provide credit to workers and artisans. They have no separate Provincial or Apex Bank of their own, though they have their own Central or District Banks.

On the non-credit side, the important societies are Employees' Societies, Consumers' Stores, Thrift and Life Insurance, Housing Societies, Artisans' and Weavers' Societies, Milk Societies, Communal Societies, Societies for Factory Workers and Societies for Depressed Classes, Societies for Women, etc.

Of India's co-operative undertakings in this century, credit societies which were launched the earliest still dominate the picture. In all Provinces and States, agricultural societies exceed by far both in number and in membership, though not in working capital, all other types of co-operative organisations put together.

Out of 169.66 thousand primary societies in 1949-50 124.06 thousand were credit societies forming 73.1 per cent of the total agricultural credit societies, their membership and percentage to the total being 116.53 thousand and 68.7 respectively. The number of agricultural credit societies rose from 112,339 in 1948-49 to 116,534 in 1949-50 consisting of 28,126 limited liability societies, 75,953 unlimited liability type and 12,455 grain banks.

The largest number of agricultural credit societies is to be found in U.P., 24,057 in 1949-50 followed by Madras 15,348, Bombay 8,928, West Bengal 9,598 and

Hyderabad 15,899. Madras leads in the number of members of such societies 1,191,027, followed by U. P. 813,726, Hyderabad 771,829, Bombay 611,873 and West Bengal only 220,098 and the Punjab 278,863. Whereas there were only 7.53 thousand non-agricultural societies in 1949-50, there were 48,17,545 and 20,65,990 members of the agricultural and non-agricultural societies respectively, representing 68.7 and 31.3 per cent of the total number. The working capital of the former was 3521.75 lakhs and Rs. 5160.24 lakhs of the latter.

Madras had 1,191 non-agricultural societies in 1949-50 followed by Bombay and West Bengal with 1,496 and 385 and by U.P. 646, Punjab 453 and Mysore 562. The number of members of such societies in Madras was 483,215, Bombay with 721,954 was followed by Bengal with 281,132, U.P. with 79,282, Punjab 25,537 and Mysore 112,970.

The details given below show the numerical position of credit and non-credit societies:

	1948-49		1949-50	
	No.	Percentage to total	No.	Percentage to total
<i>Credit Societies:</i>				
Agricultural	112.34	68.95	116.53	68.68
Non-agricultural	7.03	4.32	7.53	4.44
Total	119.37	73.27	124.06	73.12
<i>Non-credit Societies:</i>				
Agricultural	22.76	13.97	25.86	15.25
Non-agricultural	20.79	12.76	19.74	11.63
Total	43.55	26.73	45.60	26.88
Grand total	162.92	100.00	169.66	100.00

(Concluded)

THE FIRST CENSUS OF FREE INDIA

By ASHISH BOSE, M.com.

THE Census of 1951 was the eighth regular census of India and first census of free India. In the history of census operations in India it stands out as a remarkable census. It secured public co-operation in much more abundant measure than on any previous occasion. And it was probably the least inaccurate and the most scientific census in India.

THE CENSUS OPERATION

The Census was taken in all Part A, B and C States and Part D territories of India with the exception of (1) Jammu and Kashmir and (2) the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam. Sikkim was always included in former censuses and the practice has been retained in this census also. The counting started on the 9th February and the enumeration was completed by the 3rd March, 1951. 5,92,937 enumerators visited six crores and forty-four lakhs of houses. The enumeration records were assembled and checked at 52 Tabulation Offices opened temporarily for this purpose at

various centres in the country. Provisional figures of the total population were published in April 1951 and the final population totals were published in May 1952. A sample verification of the actual count was done before the end of 1951 and the result published in March 1953.

NEW FEATURES OF THE CENSUS

The useless collection of statistics and discussion regarding castes and sub-castes, which was the practice in previous censuses has been abandoned and more attention paid to the economic characteristics of the population. Further, the ambiguous concept of "community" which was introduced in the Census of 1941 has been discarded and statistics of religion collected.

The occupational distribution of population which was abandoned in the Census of 1941 has been introduced again with a more simple and scientific classification. The entire population of the country has been divided into two broad livelihood categories:

(1) Agricultural and (2) Non-agricultural. Each category is divided into four classes. The detailed classification is given in a subsequent table.

The 9 Part A States, 9 Part B States and 10 Part C States in addition to a few Part D Territories have been grouped into six Population Zones. They are: North India, East India, South India, West India, Central India and North-West India.

Independently of the above grouping the country as a whole is divided into five Natural Regions on the basis of physical features. They are: The Himalayan Region, the Northern Plains Region, the Peninsular Hills and Plateau Region, the Western Ghats and Coastal Region and the Eastern Ghats and Coastal Region. These five Regions are in turn divided into 15 Sub-Regions and 52 Divisions (the Bay Islands form the 53rd Division). Thus the study of population changes in relation to geographical and economic factors is made possible.

Another feature of the Census of 1951 is that instead of calculating the percentage variation as was done in past censuses, "the mean decennial growth rate" has been calculated. The latter is based on the average of the population of 1941 and 1951 taken together and not solely on the population of 1941 which is the base in the calculation of the percentage variation.

SAMPLE VERIFICATION OF THE CENSUS COUNT

For the first time in the history of census operations in India, a sample verification of the Census Count was conducted on a random sample basis and a precise estimate of the extent of error in the Count made. The area brought under verification contained 81 per cent of the total population. This verification reveals that the 1951 Census Count contains a net under-enumeration error of 1.1 per cent. As the Census Paper No. 1 of 1953 puts it:

"For every thousand persons included in the Census Count 11 other persons were probably omitted. It is a reasonably safe conclusion that the number of persons omitted (per thousand counted) could not have exceeded 12 or fallen short of 10."

It is encouraging to note that even in U.S.A. a net under-enumeration error of very nearly the same order was revealed by a post-enumeration survey conducted soon after the Census of 1950.

TOTAL POPULATION

The total population of India including the estimated population of Jammu and Kashmir (4.41m) and the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam (0.66m.) on the 1st March, 1951 was 361.8 millions. The total land area was 1.27 million sq. miles. The following figures relate to the territories actually covered by the Census of 1951:

Total population in 1951: 356,829,485
Total population in 1941: 314,766,380
Net increase (1941-51): 42.06 millions
Mean decennial growth: 12.5 per cent

Percentage increase: 13.4 per cent.

On account of the merger of Chandernagore into India the population of India (in 1951) increased to 356,879,394.

THE BIGGEST STATES

The following table gives the population, density and the rate of growth of population in the ten biggest (on the basis of population) States in India:

	Population (in millions)	Density (persons per sq. mile)	Mean decen- nial growth rate (1941-51)
Uttar Pradesh	63.22	557	+11.2
Madras	57.02	446	+13.4
Bihar	40.23	572	+9.6
Bombay	35.96	323	+20.8
West Bengal	24.81	806	+12.7
Madhya Pradesh	21.25	163	+7.9
Hyderabad	18.66	227	+13.3
Rajasthan	15.29	117	+13.9
Orissa	14.65	244	+6.2
Punjab	12.64	338	-0.5

In India, Uttar Pradesh has the biggest population, Madhya Pradesh the largest land area (130,272 sq. miles) and Delhi State the highest density (3,017 persons per sq. mile). Travancore-Cochin has the second highest density (1015). The density is lowest in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (10), Kutch (34) and Manipur (67).

RATE OF GROWTH

Among the six Population Zones, West India (Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch) shows the highest rate of increase in population (20.1 per cent) and North-West India (Rajasthan, Panjab, Pepsu, etc.) the lowest (9.0 per cent). Likewise among the five Natural Regions, the Western Ghats and Coastal Region shows the highest rate of increase (20.5 per cent) and the Northern Plains Region the lowest (10.8 per cent). Among the individual States, the highest rate of growth is recorded in Delhi (62.1 per cent). Next come Coorg (30.5 per cent), Tripura (21.9 per cent), Mysore and Travancore-Cochin (21.2 per cent each) and Bombay (20.8 per cent). There is an actual decrease in population in Punjab (-0.5 per cent) and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (-8.6 per cent).

SEX-RATIO

Of the total population of 356.83 millions in 1951, 183.31 millions were males and 173.52 millions were females. Thus there were 947 females per 1000 males. There are more males than females in all States except Orissa, Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Manipur and Kutch where the reverse is the case. The sex-ratio is very unstable in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (625 females per 1000 males), Pepsu (844) and Punjab (863). It is worst in cities. In Calcutta, there are only 570 females per 1000 males, in Bombay 596 and in Kanpur 699.

RURAL-URBAN RATIO

The total rural population in 1951 was 295.0 millions or 82.7 per cent of the total population. There were 75 cities with a combined total population of

24.13 millions or 6.8 per cent of the total population. U.P. has the largest number of cities (16) while Bombay (State) has the biggest city population (5.1m.). The biggest cities in India are Bombay (2.8 m.), Calcutta (2.5 m.), Madras (1.4 m.), Hyderabad (1.1 m.) and Old Delhi (915,000). Greater Calcutta, however, has a population of 3.5 millions. Since 1941, 27 new cities have sprung up in the area that is India today. There are 55 cities in the Part A States, 16 in the Part B States, 4 in the Part C States and none in the Part D Territories.

LIVELIHOOD CLASSES

The following table gives the livelihood classes and the percentage of population dependent on each class to the total population:

I.	Class	Percentage of total population
1.	Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly owned and their dependents	46.9
2.	Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents	8.9
3.	Cultivating labourers and their dependents	12.5
4.	Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents	1.5
	Total agricultural population	69.8
II.	Persons including dependents who derive their principal means of livelihood from:	
5.	Production other than cultivation	10.6
6.	Commerce	6.0
7.	Transport	1.6
8.	Other services and miscellaneous sources	12.0
	Total non-agricultural population	30.2
	Total	100.0

Thus India still remains a predominantly agricultural country. In spite of 50 years of industrialisation and urbanisation 70 per cent of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood and 83 per cent of the people live in rural areas. But the population has kept on increasing. In 1901, the population of India (excluding the areas of Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir) was 235.5 millions. In 1951, it was 356.8 millions. Thus in 50 years the population increased by 121.3 millions or by 51 per cent.

RELIGION

In the Census of 1951 the concept of "community" was abandoned and religion was recorded as revealed by the person enumerated. The following table shows the religious composition of the population of India (excluding those living in Jammu and Kashmir and the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam):

	Population (in millions)	Percentage of total population
1. Hindu	303.2	84.99
2. Muslim	35.4	9.93
3. Christian	8.2	2.30
4. Sikh	6.2	1.74
5. Jain	1.6	0.45

6. Buddhist	0.2	0.06
7. Zoroastrian	0.1	0.03
8. Jews (26,781)	...	...
9. Other religions (Tribal)	1.7	0.47
10. Other religions (Non-tribal)	0.1	0.03
	356.7*	100.00

Hindus form an absolute majority in every State of India except in Pepsu (where they are 49 per cent) and in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (where they are 30 per cent). The Muslim population is 22.08 per cent in Assam, 19.85 per cent in West Bengal, 15.4 per cent in Bhopal, 12.48 per cent in U.P., 11.82 per cent in Hyderabad and 11.34 per cent in Bihar. The Christian population was 32 per cent in Travancore-Cochin, 6.47 per cent in Assam and 4.15 per cent in Madras. In the Census of 1951, the great majority of the tribal people returned themselves as following Hinduism. The followers of tribal religions are concentrated in Bihar (52 per cent of the total followers of these religions in India are found in Chota Nagpur Division), West Bengal and Assam. The Jews are concentrated in Bombay State (75 per cent of the Jews in India live in this State). The Parsees are also concentrated in Bombay State (87 per cent of the Parsees in India live in this State). The majority of Jains live in Bombay State. The Buddhists are mostly found in West Bengal. The Sikhs are concentrated in the Punjab, Pepsu, Delhi and U.P. Among the followers of other non-tribal religions the majority are found in Assam, Bombay and Madras.

THE SECOND BIGGEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

Next to China India is the biggest country in the world. So far as land area is concerned, she ranks seventh in the world (next to U.S.S.R., China, Canada, Brazil, U.S.A. and Australia). India occupies 2.2 per cent of the total land area of the world and supports 15 per cent of the population of the world. In Asia, next to Japan, Lebanon and Korea, she has the highest density of population. The population of India is more than the combined population of North America and South America, about twice the population of Africa and about 44 times the population of Australia. It is 1.8 times the population of the U.S.S.R., 2.4 times the population of the U.S.A. and 7 times the population of United Kingdom. During a single decade, 1941-51 the population of India has increased by over 42 millions which is the present population of France. Every year a population almost equivalent to that of Denmark is added to the population of India. This will give us an idea of the magnitude of the population problem.†

* This figure does not include the returns of 268,602 persons in the Punjab whose records were destroyed by fire.

† The article gives the gist of all the Census Papers published so far, viz., Paper Nos. 1 and 2 of 1952 and Paper Nos. 1 and 2 of 1953.

EGYPT (1875-1953)

By PROF. SUDHANSU. BIMAL MOOKHERJEE, M.A.

The world is sharply divided today between the two fundamentally opposite philosophies of life, namely, Communism and Capitalism. The world is not one in spite of Wilkie. It should be remembered at the same time that the down-trodden millions of Asia and Africa do not bother half as much about the rival 'isms' as about their own deliverance from the bondage of Western imperialism. Unless the capitalist imperialist nations face the facts, unless they respond to the challenge of the age and agree to liquidate their ill-gotten colonial empires, Communism will naturally appear to the exploited millions of colonies in the role of the liberator. They will do well to bear in mind the note of warning uttered years ago by Sumner Welles, a former Under-Secretary of the U.S.A. Government:

"As the result of this war (World War II) we must assume the sovereign equality of the peoples the world over. Our victory must bring in its train liberation for all peoples. The age of imperialism is ended. The right of people for freedom must be recognised."—A speech on May 30, 1942.

The Anglo-American Allies have won the war. Have they won the peace? No, we fear.

A great unhappiness "fills the feudal regions from Spain to Indo-China and, in addition, much of Africa and Latin America. Everywhere a thin wealthy upper caste shamelessly flaunts its luxury under the eyes of the hungry, diseased peasants and shepherds who are deprived of the education, organisation and political power to improve their lot. Techniques date back to Noah and the population increases faster than production. Industry is puny, the middle class weak, the working class small, and the farm population in feudal servitude. Army, bureaucracy, and police cruelly oppress and consciously delude the poor, and for these services to the rich they are allowed to consume the bulk of the national budget, politics by assassination flourishes and palace revolutions multiply. Leadership goes to the unenlightened nobility or plutocracy who pay or to the trigger-quick military and unscrupulous demagogues who inflame the patriotic passions or religious fanaticism of the mass. Masters come and go, foreigners are ousted, national independence is achieved, but bread, rice, milk, medicines, water, shoes, shelter, schools remain in short supply. Loans from abroad reach the pockets of the haves, the have-nots have only their envy and hate."—*The Life of Joseph Stalin* by Louis Fischer, pp. 287-88.

The description applies almost word for word to Egypt, which forms a part of the vast region indicated above and inhabited by more than a billion people. The happenings in that country during the last one year and more show that the national temper is rising. The Egyptians are in no mood to be tied to the apron strings of their masters—alien or otherwise. They want to be masters in their own house—masters in name as well as in fact.

Egypt came within the orbit of European politics

in the late 19th century. European statesmen and politicians were preoccupied with exclusively European affairs till 1878. It is only after 1878 that they began to take more and more active interest in extra-European affairs. For the generation of Europeans that lived after 1878 there was no European problem demanding immediate solution. Italian unity and nationality had been achieved. So also had the German, Prussia had successfully fought out her struggles with France and Austria. The Eastern Question was no longer explosive. There were besides, positive factors, which drew the attention of Europe to Asia and Africa. The growing population of Europe needed outlets. Her rapidly expanding industries needed fresh sources of raw materials and fresh markets.

Asia and Africa offered the best opening to an expanding Europe in the years after 1878 and international rivalries were transferred to these two continents. It was during this era that Egypt, a vassal State of the Ottoman Empire, came to be tied to the chariot wheel of Western imperialism. Turkish overlordship over Egypt, it should be remembered, had long ceased to be effective.

Khedive Ismail, who ascended the throne of Egypt in 1863, has been rightly described as a man "with an immense capacity for wasting money." Egypt's national debt rose from three million pounds to one hundred million during his reign. The burden of taxation literally broke the back of the people. The hapless Egyptian fellaheen groaned under it. The country suffered from three C's—COURBASH (a whip of hippopotamus skin with a tapering end used as a whip), CORVEE (forced labour) and CORRUPTION. Wholesale bribery and sale of concessions were openly practised and connived at. The Egyptian peasantry under Khedive Ismail was perhaps the most wretched people on earth. European intervention in the affairs of Egypt and the whole of her later history are in a very real sense the outcome of the "carnival of extravagance and oppression" of Khedive Ismail. Ismail sold his shares in the Suez Canal Company in 1875. Prime Minister Disraeli of England purchased them for four million pounds on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government. The transaction was the proverbial thin end of the wedge—the first step towards the establishment of England's stranglehold over Egypt. The Khedive repudiated the national debt of Egypt in 1876. English and French creditors of the Khedive were alarmed. Mr. Goshen and M. Joubart were sent out by them to Egypt to look after their interests and the immediate result was the establishment of the *Caisse de la Delta* (May 2, 1876). The Anglo-French Commission was originally empowered "to receive the revenue set apart for the service of the debt and to sanction or veto

fresh loans." These functions were enlarged before long to include the entire financial administration of the country. Ismail abdicated in 1879 and was followed by his son Tewfik on the throne of Egypt. The country was placed under an Anglo-French condominium in the same year. The financial supervision was vested in two controllers—one English and one French. The administrative control of the country soon passed into the hands of the Controllers. This dual control was not destined to last long, however.

The revolt of Arabi Bey in 1881 is a very significant episode in the history of modern Egypt. Nobody denies that it was in part military. But it was anti-foreign at the same time. It was directed against Turkish sovereignty on the one hand and against European intervention on the other. It was Arabi Pasha who raised the slogan "Egypt for Egyptians" (*Masli-Mastrijin*) for the first time. In a sense he may, therefore, be regarded as the father of modern Egyptian nationalism. Arabi secured the dismissal of some 1,200 foreign officials employed under the Anglo-French Condominium. He seized Alexandria in June, 1882, and set up his headquarters there. He had already forced the Khedive to promise that he (the Khedive) would dismiss two of the leading members of the Cabinet and accept a responsible ministry. He had further agreed to summon an Assembly of Notables before the end of 1881 and to limit the functions of the Condominium to the service of the debt.

The developments in Egypt frightened Europe. The Great powers met at Constantinople to formulate an agreed Egyptian policy. The conference decided nothing. Great Britain, particularly anxious for the Suez, her vital life-line, resolved to restore order by force. Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour bombarded Alexandria. Arabi withdrew after having burned the city. He was finally defeated at Tel-el-Kebir by Sir Garnet Wolsley, captured and deported to Ceylon. The Khedive's (!) power was restored and some British troops were left in the country, ostensibly to maintain peace and order. The Liberal British Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville solemnly assured the House of Lords: "We shall not keep our troops in Egypt any longer than is necessary." The promise has yet to be fulfilled as so many of Britain's promises to weaker peoples.

The failure of Arabi's rebellion was followed by the abolition of the Anglo-French Condominium (November, 1882) leaving the English sole masters of the Egyptian scene. Major Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) was appointed the British Consul General in Egypt. The Khedive and his Ministers were responsible for the Government and carried on the administration of the country. But the British army was the real security for peace and the British treasury the real security for financial stability of Egypt. Baring was the Khedive *de facto* till his retirement in 1907.

When Arabi Pasha struck in Egypt proper in 1881,

Sudan, a dependency of Egypt, too, rose in revolt against the authority of the Khedive. A Sudanese proclaimed himself to be Mahdi, the Messiah. The rebellion, which assumed formidable proportions, was finally put down in 1898 when British troops under Kitchener crushed the rebels in the battle of Omdurman. As during Arabi's revolt, so also during the Mahdi's, British bayonets came to the rescue of the Khedive. England, of course, had her pound of flesh and Sudan was placed under joint Anglo-Egyptian rule in 1899.

The opening years of the 20th century were marked by a steadily mounting anti-British sentiment in all strata of Egyptian society. Discontent grew. National temper rose. Clear signs of unrest were discernible. Then came the Great War (1914-18) and Egypt, still a vassal of Turkey, was declared a British protectorate in December, 1914. The pro-Turkish Khedive Abbas was deposed. When the war came to an end in 1918, Zaghlul Pasha (Saa'd Zaghlul), the leader of the extreme nationalist party, presented a demand for complete independence of Egypt. Zaghlul's proposal was turned down. Prime Minister Rushdi Pasha next sought permission to go to England to confer with the British Government. The permission being refused, Rushdi Pasha resigned (1919). His resignation was the signal for riots and strikes all over the country. Even Government employees stayed away from work. Riots and strikes brought about a complete deadlock. The British Government sent out the Milner Commission to study the Egyptian problem at first hand and to suggest how peace and order was to be restored in Egypt. The Nationalist Party boycotted the Commission. Zaghlul Pasha, however, offered his co-operation and the Milner-Zaghlul Agreement recommended a treaty of alliance recognising the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with responsible institutions. Egypt was to recognise Britain's right to safeguard her special interests in Egypt, not to enter into any relations with a foreign power prejudicial to the interest of England and to permit England to maintain troops in Egypt. The Agreement was followed by a recrudescence of widespread riots. Zaghlul Pasha was deported. Egypt seethed with discontent.

England recognised the independence of Egypt in 1922. Certain questions were reserved for settlement later on. Zaghlul Pasha was allowed to return to Egypt. Supported by the Wafd (Nationalist) Party, he became the Prime Minister. The English Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian forces was murdered in 1924. Anglo-Egyptian relations steadily deteriorated and Zaghlul Pasha was driven out of office.

The treaty of 1922 was revised in 1936. England agreed to remove her troops from Cairo and Alexandria, but not to evacuate Egypt. British troops were to remain in Egypt within prescribed limits.

Questions left for future consideration in 1922 were also settled. The expenses involved in the withdrawal of British troops from Cairo and Alexandria were borne by the Egyptian Government. Barracks and aerodromes for the British army were constructed in the Canal Zone at Egypt's cost. Britain was guaranteed the unfettered right of use of all Egyptian ports, railways and aerodromes. Needless to say, the terms did not satisfy the progressive section of the population.

World War II which has intensified the urge for independence everywhere in the world, may be rightly regarded as an important land-mark in the history of human emancipation. The repercussions of that War were felt in Egypt too. As a matter of fact, she had never reconciled herself to the idea of Britain's tutelage. The years 1945-52 were marked by persistent anti-British agitation and frequent conflicts all over Egypt. Britain's Labour Premier, Mr. Attlee, declared in 1946 that all British troops would be withdrawn from Egypt and that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 would be replaced by an Anglo-American treaty to safeguard the security and independence of Egypt. We are not sure if Mr. Attlee really meant what he said. Britain's record in Egypt—one strewn with fragments of broken pledges—makes us dubious. The 1946 declaration was however well-timed and served a very useful purpose. It went a long way to pacify the impatient Egyptian progressive.

British imperialism was passing an anxious time in 1946. Britain and the U.S.A. held sharply divergent views over the future of India, Burma, Palestine and Malaya. Iran too was giving a headache. It would be unwise to antagonise Egypt at such a time. By 1947, the crisis had been tided over however and the Attlee declaration of the previous year was shelved. Egypt was disappointed. The national temper reached the boiling point. Egypt was convinced, if she had not been convinced earlier, that Britain would not quit Egypt unless forced to do so at the point of the bayonet.

Disappointed and disillusioned Egyptian public opinion forced the Wafdist Government of Nahas Pasha to abrogate the Anglo-Egyptian treaty (1936) in October, 1951. The Government declared at the same time that Egypt does not recognise British control over Sudan under the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1899. Students, labourers, peasants and the middle classes next launched a nationwide campaign against the occupation of the Suez Zone by British troops. Egyptian labourers in the Canal Zone organised a strike. Resistance groups sprang into existence in Cairo, Alexandria, Ismailia and other towns. Women did not lag behind their menfolk. For the first time in the long centuries of Egypt's chequered history women took an active part in politics. An anti-imperialist women's organisation came into existence. A nursing corps for those

wounded in mass demonstration was organised for the first time. In not a few places Egyptian police and military refused to deal sternly with the demonstrators. 35,000 Egyptian labourers in the Canal Zone refused to work. The Egyptian crew of British vessels refused to work for the British army. The country throbbled with a new life.

Egypt was a boiling cauldron during the three months from October to December, 1951. The Cairo correspondent of the United States News and World Report wrote at the time that Egypt's poverty-stricken masses were awake and described the awakening as resentful. It was at this critical juncture—at the crossroads of history—that the accredited leaders of the people failed them. The Wafd, which had been the spearhead of all Egypt's anti-British, anti-imperialist movements for a long time, took fright. They would not or could not keep pace with the awakened demos. The Wafdist Cabinet of Nahas Pasha was between the devil and the deep sea. It lacked the courage to condemn the mass struggle outright. Nor could it displease Britain. It nevertheless took stern steps to restore law and order in Britain's interest. The double-faced policy brought about the downfall of the Wafd. It forfeited the respect and confidence of the people on the one hand. On the other, Britain held it responsible for the growing mass militancy and accused it of conniving at anti-British demonstrations. A policy of vacillation and hesitance, an outcome of muddled thinking, makes enemies of all and friends of none. The dismissal of the Nahas Government was demanded by Britain. King Farouk meekly said, 'yes.' The excuse was not long in coming. About the middle of January, 1952, British troops in the Tel-el-Kebir area had minor skirmishes with the local Egyptians. Evidence from all sources shows that these were provoked by the former. British troops cordoned the palace of the Egyptian Governor and the police headquarters at Ismailia on January 25, 1952. Next day on January 26, the British Commander sent an ultimatum demanding the surrender of arms by the Egyptian police. The Governor ignored the ultimatum. An all-out assault was thereupon launched on the small Egyptian police force at Ismailia by British tanks, artillery and air-force. Fifty Egyptian policemen lost their lives. Many more were wounded. There were riots and demonstrations all over the country in protest against the atrocities at Ismailia. This was exactly the opportunity Britain had been looking for—an opportunity of crushing the mass movement and of installing a government in Egypt that would faithfully carry out the dictates from the White Hall. She warned the Egyptian Government that unless it could bring the situation under control General Erskine, the Commander of British troops in Egypt, would place Cairo under military occupation. The American Ambassador at Cairo threw a hint to King Farouk on Janu-

ary 24 that the Nahas Cabinet must be dismissed. The Government acting on the advice of the King, proclaimed Martial Law in Cairo. More than 1,000 were arrested. Drastic as the measure was, it did not satisfy Great Britain. The Government was dismissed by the King immediately after the promulgation of the Martial Law. Aly Maher Pasha was asked to form a Cabinet. The Wafd, which had an absolute majority in the Parliament, once again betrayed the nation by meekly accepting the order of dismissal, by not raising its voice of protest against the unconstitutional act of the King. Reaction was triumphant.

There are very good reasons to believe that foreign powers had a hand in the fall of the Wafd. It came out in the press and over the radio of various European countries that King Farouk was forced to offer the Premiership to Aly Maher under pressure of foreign powers. General Robertson, Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in the Middle East, declared on December 31, 1951, that British troops would by no means be withdrawn from the Canal Zone and that other powers—the U.S.A., no doubt, among others—were behind this decision of Great Britain. Prime Minister Winston Churchill requested the Truman Government at the same time to send some American troops to Egypt. Some American papers gave out that a 6000 strong token army was actually being despatched to Egypt.

Ali Maher Pasha was soon dismissed. Hilaly Pasha succeeded him. Hilaly's first act was the suspension of the Parliament. A vigorous campaign of calumny against the Wafdist leaders sought to dis-

credit them in the eye of the people. In the meanwhile, the situation was steadily deteriorating, the martial law notwithstanding. Anti-foreign, progressive mass movement reached the climax.

The army had in the meanwhile lost its confidence in the monarchy. It had been thoroughly discredited and its leaders humiliated in the Palestine War. King Farouk and his relations and favourites had been responsible for the scandal in connection with the purchase of arms and ammunition for that war. Leaders of the army had begun to unite against the King and the political parties. At last on July 23, 1952, a successful *coup d'etat* made General Neguib the arbiter of the destinies of Egypt. King Farouk abdicated on July 26 and made an inglorious exit from the Egyptian scene "unwept, unhonoured and unsung." His infant son was declared King of Egypt as Fuad II. Monarchy has since been abolished (June 18, 1953) in Egypt, which is now a Republic with General Neguib as the provisional President and Prime Minister.

The fate of Egypt rests on the knees of the gods. In the meanwhile, the rise of Neguib has been interpreted by many as a victory of re-action over progress—a successful Anglo-American device to crush Egyptian nationalism. Others again there are who hail Neguib as Egypt's Man of Destiny, as the saviour of his country and of his people. The problems of Egypt are however no nearer solution today than they were at the time of Neguib's rise to power.

The time is not yet perhaps to pronounce a verdict. Let us wait and watch.

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MOISM AND AHIMSA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.

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FROM the 6th century (Confucius was born in 551 and died in 479 B.C.) to the time of Emperor Wu-ti of the Han Dynasty, who canonized the Classics of the Confucian School, it was about six hundred years. During this period, the Confucian School was only one of many schools of thought which ran parallel to one another. Besides the Confucian School there were the following schools: (1) Taoism, (2) Moism, (3) The Sophists, and (4) The Legalists.

Moism was founded by Motze who is one of most important figures in Chinese history, a man whose name was constantly linked with that of Confucius. Motze was born in 468 B.C. and died in 376 B.C. He seems to have been a great officer in the State of Sung.

He was skilful in maintaining military defence, and taught economy of use. Huai Nan Tze states:

"Confucius and Motze practised the arts of the ancient Sages and were learned in all the discourses on the Six Disciplines."

But there are many places in Motze's writings where he stands opposed to the Confucian School, the thought of which differed from his own. Confucius "tried to be correct in righteousness, without calculating profit; tried to be pure in principles, without considering whether this would bring material return." They were working tirelessly to rescue the world from its ills.

Anything must be of profit to the country and the people before it can possess value, and it is the wealth and

populousness of a country, Motze believed, which constitute its greatest profit. Although luxury and adornment are of no benefit to the country and the people, yet at the same time they are not its greatest harm. Harm lies rather in the incessant fighting of the people and states among themselves, caused, so Motze held, by the fact that men do not love one another. Motze, therefore, was preaching the doctrine of love. The practice of universal love not only benefits the one who is loved, but the one who loves, on the principle of reciprocity. Motze says :

"Heaven wishes people to love and benefit one another, and does not want people to hate and hurt one another. Why, Because He loves all and benefits all."

"How to follow the will and wish of Heaven? It is to love all people and Heaven."

Motze thought that the great benefits to the world come from men practising universal love, and its major calamities come from them fighting with one another. Thus he says :

"How were chaos and calamities caused? They were caused by people not loving each other. A thief loves his own house and does not love the other's house, he therefore steals from the other's house for the benefit of his own house. A murderer loves his own body and does not love the other's body, he therefore murders the other's body for the benefit of his own body.....Every officer loves his own family and does not love the other's family, he therefore exploits others' families for the benefit of his own family. A king loves his own country and does not love others' countries, he therefore attacks others' countries for the benefit of his country.....If a man looks upon another's house as his own house, who will steal? If a man looks upon another's body as his own body who will murder? If a man looks upon another's family as his own family who will exploit? If all look upon others' countries as their own country, who will attack? . . . Therefore, when all love one another, there will be peace; and when all hate one another there will be chaos and calamity."

Again :

"To kill one man is wrongful and must receive one death punishment. Accordingly, to kill ten men is ten times wrongful and must receive ten death punishments. And to kill hundred men is hundred times wrongful and must receive hundred death punishments . . . Now the greatest wrong is to attack a country but he who attacks receives no punishment....Is this right?"

Again :

"Which are the greater ones among the evils of the world? They are those actions of the big countries attacking the small countries, of the big families disturbing the small families; and those deeds of the strong robbing the weak, of the group of the many oppressing the group of the few, of the clever deceiving the dull, of the high class scorning the low. These are the greatest evils of the world."

Therefore, Motze thought that we should condemn warfare. He says :

"When the army sets out, the bamboos, arrows, plumed standards, house tents, armours, shields and sword-hilts will break and rot in innumerable quantities and never come back. . . . Innumerable horses and oxen will start out fat and come back lean, or will die and never come back at all...Why, then does the government deprive the people of their opportunities and benefits to such a great extent? It has been answered : I covet the fame of the victor and the possession obtainable through conquest, and therefore I do it. But when we consider the victory as such, there is nothing useful about it. When we consider the possession obtained through it, it does not even make up for what has been lost."

Philosopher Bentham held that the purpose of morality and law is to procure the greatest happiness for the greatest number, a doctrine shared by Motze.

Although Motze held that the doctrine of universal love is the only way to save the world, he did not believe that men through their original nature can love one another. Because man's nature is like pure silk, and its goodness or evil is dependent entirely upon what it is 'dyed' with. We must strive to 'dye' others with the doctrine of universal love. But since the mass of people is short-sighted, it is difficult to make them see the benefit of universal love. Therefore, Motze laid stress on religious sanctions. He held that there is a God who rewards people, who practise universal love and punishes the perverse. He says :

"The ancient Sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, were those who obeyed the Will of Heaven and obtained reward. And the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Chieh, Chou, Yu and Li, were those who opposed the Will of Heaven and incurred punishment."

Motze loved all people without discrimination. Mencius described him by saying :

"If by grinding his whole body from the crown to the heel could have benefited the world, Motze would have done it."

Motze's idea of universal love is very similar to that of Ahimsa. Ahimsa is a word negative in form with a positive sense. We Chinese people prefer to use the positive form rather than the negative used by Indians. The philosophy of love of Motze and the Ahimsa of Hindu philosophy are the same gospel expressed in a slightly different way.

I have no better words to express my feelings about Motze's philosophy than the words which the Mahabharata uses : "Ahimsa is the Supreme Religion." Swami Sivanandaji says in the *Voice of the Himalayas* :

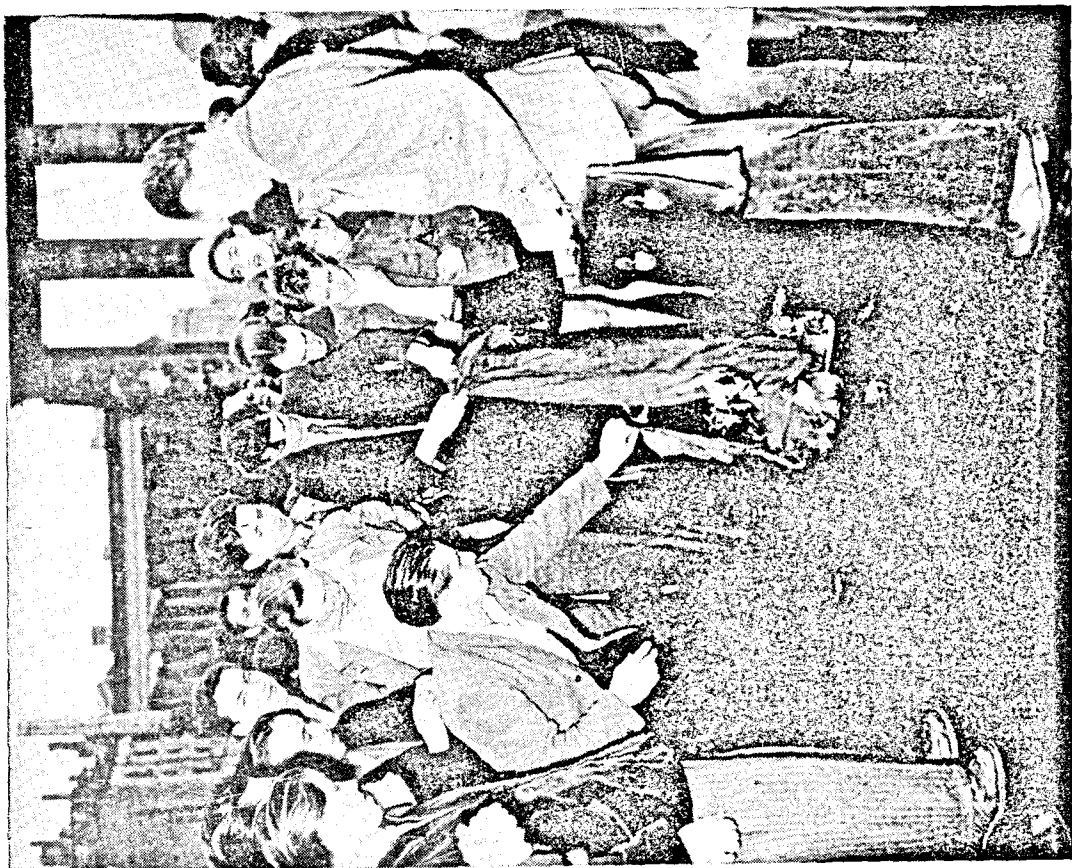
"There is only one religion : the religion of love."



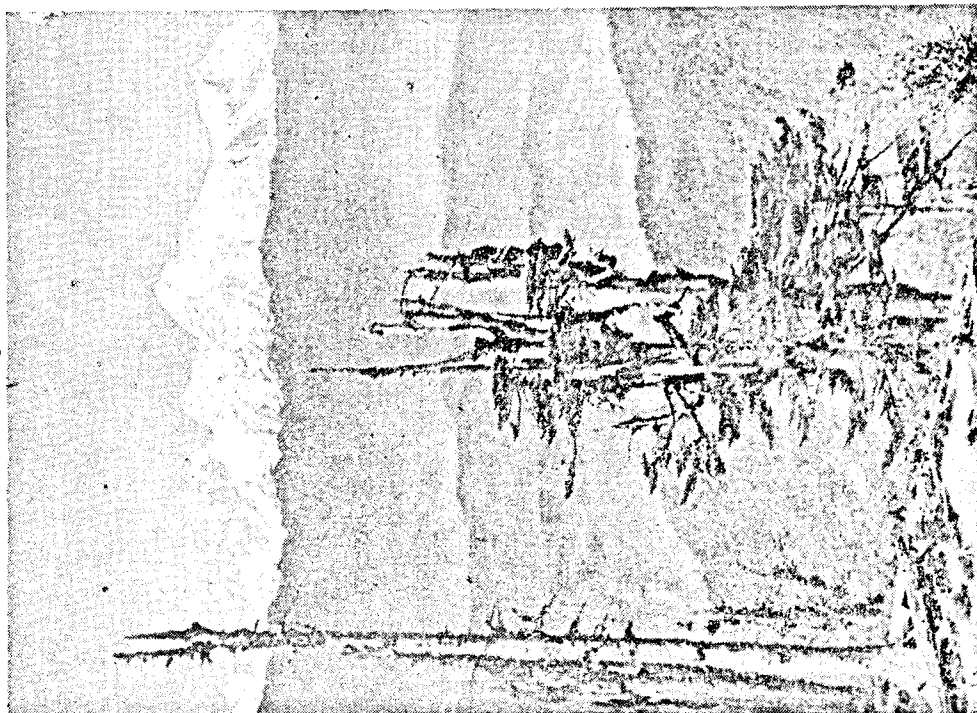
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by Sm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, arrived in Karachi on July 25. He was received at the Amuripur Airport by Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan.



Rajkumari Amrit Kaur gave a luncheon party in New Delhi on August 18, in honour of Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan and Begum Mohammed Ali. (Front row): Mr. Mohammed Ali, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Begum Mohammed Ali and Sir M. Zafrulla Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan. (Back row): Dr. M. S. Mehta, High Commissioner for India in Pakistan and Mr. Ghaznafar Ali Khan, High Commissioner for Pakistan in India.



During the height of the recent violent anti-Soviet outbreak in East Berlin, German civilians burn a Soviet flag flown on the Brandenburg Gate



A view of Mt. Everest from Phalut
Photo: Messrs. Das Studio, Darjeeling

THE OUTBREAK AT BENARES IN 1799

By DR. S. B. CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.,

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THE materials for the history of this episode have been taken from a nice little monograph, *Vizier Ali Khan or The Massacre at Benares: A Chapter in British Indian History*, written by Sir J. F. Davis, son of Mr. Samuel Davis, the brave Judge of Benares, who kept the insurgents at bay for a long time when they attacked his house. At the time of the incident, Davis, the son of the judge, was a child, but for this work he obtained, besides papers, the personal information and assistance of the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone who was appointed on his first arrival in India as assistant to Mr. Davis, the Judge and Magistrate of Benares in 1799. By publishing this little volume of one hundred pages, Sir J. F. Davis has not only "done honour to his father's memory," but has laid the students of British Indian history under a deep obligation. Few narratives, indeed, can have "higher claims to implicit credit."

When Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh died in 1775, he was succeeded by Asaf-ud-daula, who ceded to the Company the province of Benares, including "all the districts dependent on the Raja Chait Singh." The province was allowed to remain in charge of the Raja, subject to the control of a Resident at Benares. During the rule of Raja Mahip Narayan Singh, who was installed as successor to Chait Singh, an independent Magistrate was appointed for the city of Benares, the first to hold this post being Ali Ibrahim Khan. In 1794, Mahip Narayan was removed from the Government, as he was found incompetent to run it, and British officers were placed in charge of the administration. Benares remained quiet for a few years, but soon after the death of Asaf-ud-daula (1797) an insurrection broke out, the first of its kind during the British rule in India, which in many ways anticipated the political ideals of the Revolt of 1857.

The Company became the 'arbiters of the disposal of a kingdom,' as Lord Teignmouth wrote, 'by an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances.' The claim to succession lay between Vizier Ali, the son of the deceased Nawab and Saadat Ali Khan, the eldest surviving son of Shuja-ud-daula. Though the

former was installed by the British Resident at Lucknow, he was shortly afterwards deposed on account of his proved illegitimacy. By nature fearless and sanguinary, the young Nawab of seventeen, seems to have been conscious of his insecure position and even before his bonafides were doubted, the British Resident at Lucknow got the impression that Vizier Ali was entertaining hostile designs towards the English. The appearance of Lucknow is said to have been alarming on the day of Sir John Shore's intended visit to the city and Mr. Davis is of opinion that the assassination of the Governor-General was even planned by the Nawab's people.² But the Nawab was deserted by his friends including Almas Ali Khan, a powerful noble who denounced him before the Governor-General as spurious and profligate. The mother of the late sovereign, the Begam, also made similar complaints of the defective title of Vizier Ali, as a result of which he was deposed in favour of Saadat Ali Khan, and was removed to Benares where he was given as a residence the house known as Madho Das' garden with a pension of a lakh and a half annually. Saadat Ali was proclaimed Nawab-Vizier on 21st January, 1798.

The removal of Vizier Ali to Benares, on the frontier of his former domain, and the shadow of power sustained by the numerous retinue he was allowed to maintain, were by no means calculated to diminish the risks of future trouble and with a Mysore war in the offing and Tipu Sultan trafficking with the French, and Zaman Shah, the king of the Afghans, firmly entrenched at Lahore with a powerful army, the time indeed seemed ripe for a revolt of the Muslim princes of India.

The two chief civil authorities at Benares were: Mr. Samuel Davis, Judge and Magistrate of the district, and Mr. G. F. Cherry, the Resident at Benares, who, as Chief Judge of the Court of Appeal, was the channel of communication with the foreigners of rank at that city. By virtue of his position Mr. Cherry had some personal intercourse and interchange of visits with Vizier Ali, but he did not 'entertain any suspicions of sinister designs on the part of his charge' though Mr. Davis as well as the supreme government at Calcutta had repeatedly warned him to become 'cognizant of the suspicious conduct and disposition of Vizier Ali' and even suggested the removal of the

1. The book was published in 1811, but the impression having been exhausted, the second edition appeared in a limited number of copies meant chiefly for circulation among friends and relatives. The copy used by the writer of this article in the National Library at 'Belvedere,' bears an interesting notice—"purchased from the Hon'ble C. P. Ilbert, Date 26th October, 1886."

2. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

Muhammadans of influence from the district, as they might be induced 'to throw their weight into the scale of insurrection.'³

Vizier Ali at Benares lived in right royal style with all the external marks of high rank which helped him to cherish views of independence in himself and at the same time offered an inducement to other disaffected chiefs to strengthen his cause. Davis quotes Lord Valentia and other authorities to show that the massacre at Benares was not a mere 'ebullition of rage' in Vizier Ali when he was ordered to live in Calcutta, but that the plan of the insurrection was arranged long before the arrival of that order.⁴ In fact, Vizier Ali looked forward to an invasion of India by the Afghans under Zaman Shah to whom he had sent an envoy, and depended much on the expected operations of the Afghan invader for the ultimate execution of his plan. He had also engaged some of the principal people of Benares to join him in an insurrection through a chain of conspiracy carried out by two of his accomplices Izzat Ali and Waris Ali, and was also in correspondence with other disaffected Musalman princes of Bengal devoted to his interest.⁵ Lord Mornington, on

being acquainted with the situation issued instructions to Mr. Cherry to remove the dangerous dethroned man from Benares to Calcutta. To Vizier Ali, it was a death-blow to all chances of success of his plan to overthrow the British rule, and so he was 'hurried into the execution of a desperate plot,' though he seemingly acquiesced in and gave out that he should proceed to Calcutta on the 15th or 16th of January (1799).

Mr. Cherry was too little inclined to suspect treachery on the part of the ex-Nawab, but the native Superintendent of Police reported to Mr. Davis on the 13th of January that Vizier Ali was engaging a number of armed men in his service, and seemed to make no preparations for his departure to Calcutta. On the night of the 13th Vizier Ali sent an information to Mr. Cherry that he would visit him on the following morning. Accordingly, on the morning of the 14th January 1799, he paid a State visit to Mr. Cherry, arriving at his house with a retinue of some 200 men fully armed. Unsuspectingly Mr. Cherry welcomed the party, and took Vizier Ali, Izzat Ali, Waris Ali and another attendant into the breakfast room who were accompanied by four armed followers. When tea was served to Vizier Ali he did not touch it, and began to complain in a loud voice, of the treatment he had received from Sir John Shore who promised him six lakhs of rupees per annum, but reduced it to a much smaller amount.

"On his departure," continued Vizier Ali confronting Mr. Cherry face to face, "Sir John Shore told me that you would take care of my interests and attend to my representations; but this you have never done. On the contrary, at the suggestion of Siadat Ali Khan you now wish me to go to Calcutta. . . . Saadat Ali Khan wishes for my death and the English are in league with him. . . ."⁶

While he was thus speaking, Waris Ali drew himself near Mr. Cherry, and at a signal from Vizier Ali held him by the back, while Vizier Ali himself seized his victim by the collar and struck at him with his drawn sword. The Resident endeavoured to escape through the verandah but they followed him and cut him down to pieces. Mr. R. Evans, a young private secretary, and Captain Conway, who were living with Mr. Cherry, were also killed in the Residency. The assassins now swelling into a murderous gang then made for the house of Mr. Davis, the Judge of the district, and killed on the way Mr. Robert Graham, a young civilian, and Mr. Hill, a shopkeeper of Benares. Mr. Davis, just returning from his morning ride found the *catal* in his home who reported that he apprehended some mischief from Vizier Ali's visit to Mr. Cherry. Presently, they found the insurgents running up against the house. Without delay, Mr. Davis sent

Feringhee. Vizier Ali had intrigued with Zaman Shah, and would not only have welcomed, but have subsidised also an Afghan force in his own dominions (Kaye: *Sepoy War*, I, pp. 115-16).

6. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

his wife with her two children, of which the writer of the book *Vizier Ali* was one, to the flat roof of his house. He saved himself and his family only by his presence of mind and a narrow winding staircase which he defended with wonderful tact and pluck. With a spear and none to help him, he disabled his assailants singly every time they wanted to reach the roof. For the space of an hour and a half, he converted this narrow winding staircase into a sort of 'Domestic Thermopylae' as Lord Valentia described it,⁷ till troops came to his rescue. In the meantime Vizier Ali and his desperadoes went to plunder and murder other English houses in Sikraul, but when Major-General Erskine, encamped within a short march of the city of Benares, arrived at the scene with his troops, Vizier Ali retired to his house at Madhu Das' garden and prepared for defence.

The force under Erskine while marching through one of the suburbs of Benares suffered by the fire from the houses and the narrow lanes on each side, but on reaching Madhu Das' garden, the Nawab's palace, the gateway was broken in, and the stronghold was captured just as the sun set. It is believed that if the contest had lasted until dark, a frightful massacre would have been committed and the city of Benares pillaged by numerous bandits and adventurers who were thronging round.⁸

But though the garden house was assailed, Vizier Ali could not be captured as he had already fled by the way of Azamgarh towards Betail accompanied by most of his horsemen and a number of his armed foot followed during the night. The next day, the 15th of January 1799, the Raja of Benares, the Delhi princes from the Shivala, and many of the principal inhabitants of the city waited on Mr. Davis to prove their steadfast adherence to the British rule, which, of course, was not doubted, though it is certain as it turned out to be, that Jagat Singh of Saranath fame, a kinsman of the Raja, had been one of the emissaries in Vizier Ali's conspiracy.⁹ Early in his flight, Vizier halted to

7. *Ibid.*, p. 96. There is also a succinct statement in Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*.

8. Meanwhile, the European residents assembled at the house of Mr. Davis, and it was freely acknowledged that they would have been discovered and massacred if the attention of the insurgents had not been occupied by his defence (Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41). Lord Wellesley, who was absent for a time on a visit to Madras at the period of the Benares insurrection subsequently expressed his appreciation of the arduous trial of prudence, activity and resolution of Mr. Davis and sent to his wife this autograph inscription: 'To Mrs. Davis, as a testimony of sincere respect and regard, and also a memorial of attachment founded upon long intimacy, to the honourable and virtuous memory of her deceased husband, from her faithful friend and servant, Wellesley.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 75-76).

9. The principal testimony was given by a Brahmin who was an astrologer to Vizier Ali. The Brahmin was sent by him to Jagat Singh, four months previous to the insurrection, to ascertain if he was well-disposed and if he would be a privy to his design of making war against the English. Jagat Singh in reply stated that he was a slave to the Nawab and that he would extend his dominions

address a letter to the Raja of Benares urging him to rise against the English which was miscarried into the hands of Mr. Davis,¹⁰ who, of course, found no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Raja and wrote back to him to calm his apprehensions as follows:

"Do not you be alarmed on this account, for though the Nawab wrote a letter to you, it is clear that you had no communication or correspondence with him, and I am well assured that you are a friend to the Company."¹¹

By the 18th of January public tranquillity seemed re-established but in the course of the enquiries, instituted by Mr. Davis and other servants of the Company, it was very clearly proved that not only a good number of Muhammadan chiefs, but also a considerable number of 'Hindu Babus' or nobles had promised assistance to Vizier Ali. These Hindu Chiefs were obviously waiting the result of the massacre, but their non-participation was not a proof of their innocence as definite evidence was found, that the Zamindar, Bhavani Sankar, and his son Sheo Deo Singh went to the fort of Pindra about 14 miles from Benares, on the Jaunapur road with two hundred men armed with guns and swords on the evening of Sunday, the 13th January where at nightfall they were joined by Nawab Vizier Ali. In the consultation that followed it was agreed that the Hindu Chiefs should prevent any force coming while the Nawab was fighting the English and that they should engage the troops from Beetabur.¹² After the flight of Vizier Ali, next day, Bhavani Sankar disappeared with the intention, it was supposed, of joining his master and Sheo Deo took up his residence in a small house in the city where he remained entrenched

as far as Calcutta. He is also reported to have said, "Let me assemble troops and raise money from the bankers to defray the expense of massacring the English." Vizier Ali being delighted sent a 'Kehlau' to Jagat Singh who reciprocated by declaring that he had prepared a list of sixty of his friends, who would take an oath of fidelity to the cause. A secret interview took place one night between Jagat Singh and the ex-Nawab, when the latter seemed to have signed some promise or contract in the event of their plot, succeeding. But the Brahmin, later on, wanted to disclose the plot to Mr. Cherry and actually approached him for that reason, but the Resident declined to give him any audience. Jagat Singh, Davis says, had a great taste for Persian culture and refinement: his Persian Library and his compositions earned for him the title of the 'Nightingale of India' from a former Nawab. This might explain why he was so staunchly loyal to Muhammadan rule. (*Ibid.*, pp. 47-49).

10. The letter runs as follows: 'From Vizier Ali Khan to Rajah Udwunt Narain Singh.' "By the grace and bounty of God, the life of the worthless Cherry, who disturbed and oppressed you, the hereditary servant of my family, has been terminated by the warriors of the army of Islam. You, who are my hereditary servant and ancient well-wisher, whose ancestry were always ready with heart and soul for the service of my family, must consider these joyful tidings, as the cause of your prosperity. Be ready with your people for my service, and guard well the roads about the city of Benares. Enjoin your people to permit no individual of the British or other European nations to pass the boundaries of Benares. . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45).

11. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-99.

3. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 23.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
5. Among the letters of Vizier Ali seized after his flight, there is a letter from the brother of the Nawab of Dacca (perhaps a brother of Seyed Ali Khan Nasrit Jung, Nawab of Dacca) (*Hamilton Gazetteer*, I, p. 478) to Zaman Shah which gives us a glimpse of the working of the Muslim mind and the desperate nature of their attitude to British rule. After the customary eulogy, the letter proceeds: ". . . considering your majesty as the support and champion of the true faith, I am happy to offer my services in the most zealous manner and rank myself among the propagators of our holy religion. . . . However great were the obstacles to my submitting myself to your majesty's protection I have at length fortunately surmounted them, and, trusting to Providence have despatched this letter to your majesty's court by Sheik Att, or Amli, who will explain fully all circumstances relating to this country. I beg leave to observe that owing to the imbecility of the house of Timour, and the contempt into which it has fallen of late years, the powerful have been weakened and the weak become powerful. Worthless unbelievers and ambitious villains have started up at every corner, boldly conquered all these countries, and established themselves here. For these reasons, religion which should be so highly prized, is here lost, nothing of Islamism remains but that bare name. They have so stripped and reduced the principal Mussulmans that they have no resource, and are obliged implicitly to obey their orders. The Mussulmans have become vile and wretched, the honour of the great men is gone. Christians seize and keep by force, the daughters of Syeds and Mussulmans. Under these circumstances, when we can no longer act openly, it behoves us to exert ourselves secretly in the cause of religion. If your majesty's victorious standard shall be directed towards these parts for the establishment of religion and destruction of its enemies, by God's assistance your majesty will in a short time, and without any difficulty, conquer this country and annihilate your enemies." (Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98). These sentiments which Vizier Ali undoubtedly shared, made feasible the formation of a Mussulman league with Zaman Shah at its head to free India from the British. Kaye writes that Zaman Shah of Kabul had kept the British power in India in a chronic state of unrest. 'There was the fact,' he continues, 'of a minacious Muhammadan power beyond the frontier, not only meditating invasion, but stirring up the Muhammadan Princes of India to continue in a religious war against the usurping

surrounded by a body of guards known as 'Bankas'.¹³ "It is well known," wrote Mr. Davis to General Erskine, "that this city abounds with armed adventurers who are ever ready to enter into any service at a moment's notice. There are in the district persons of rank who live and maintain their own guards without any limitation from government."¹⁴ The danger resulting from the existence of these mercenary elements was apparent in the use made of them by Vizier Ali.

It was further ascertained that a nephew of Jagat Singh had come up from Saran to Benares and agreed to join him in the conspiracy engaging to raise 20,000 men in Chapra. It was also established that a chief named Culb Ali Beg, otherwise known as Mogul Beg, had attended Vizier Ali during the insurrection.¹⁵ The extent and organisation of the conspiracy is also indicated by the evidence of a European inhabitant, McLean by name who was going to be despoiled on the evening of that day far off from Benares. A number of papers discovered after the flight of Vizier Ali contained lists of forces he was able to pull—about four thousand eight hundred foot and a hundred horse who would join Vizier Ali at once, and some eighty thousand who would subsequently espouse his cause on the day of massacre. But it has been estimated that not more than two or three thousand actually composed Vizier Ali's forces on that day, but the huge levy would certainly have been brought into action on a favourable opportunity had he been allowed to stay in Benares and develop his plans.

So the plot failed, but Vizier Ali, however, was still at large and the implicated 'chieftains' were not yet apprehended. The supreme government of Calcutta had sent instructions to secure the persons of those nobles who were privy to the conspiracy but it was difficult to execute the order as these refractory chiefs lived in houses that were fortified like castles and in particular in the stronghold of Pindra. Further, Sandat Ali, whose help was needed in the pursuit of Vizier Ali and his partisans, implored to be excused upon the ground that he could not trust his own soldiers; and all that he did was to issue orders that Vizier Ali should be seized.

The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, then a very young man and assistant to the Judge and Magistrate of Benares, was deputed to capture Pindra. On the 18th of March he was furnished with four companies of infantry and twenty-four troopers. The

place was taken without resistance as the occupants had fled, but a seizure was made of fifty matchlocks, forty swords, and some powder and ball. On the same day Mr. Sealey and another officer of the civil service, surprised the residence of Jagat Singh and forced him to surrender. Sheo Deo, who occupied a strong house in the city of Benares, offered a gallant resistance to his friends who came to capture him. He held out a whole day and night without food and water and 'though every means was adopted to persuade him to surrender' and every assurance offered that no personal disgrace should be inflicted, he remained shut up in his impregnable position. At length he rushed out and furiously attacked the soldiers. In the desperate conflict that now ensued, Sheo Deo was slain, but not before he and his 'Bankas' had killed or wounded a number of the besieging party. The arrest of other leaders could not be made as many fled, only Bhavani Sankar and Jagat Singh were brought to trial and condemned to death. Of the two, Bhavani was executed, but the sentence of Jagat Singh was committed to transportation, but he committed suicide on his journey down the Ganges when he approached the sea, with a view to escaping the degradation of the loss of caste.

Subsequently, other measures were taken to break up this dangerous band of feudal retainers and to clear the country of the Bankas. In the meanwhile, Vizier Ali was ravaging Gorakhpur when he was joined by free-booters and adventurers of all kinds and with these lawless bands amounting to some thousands of men, he brought the eastern districts of Oude into a state of chaos and disorder, but chased by British force he moved from place to place and was eventually compelled to fly to Rajputana where he took refuge with the Raja of Jaipur. When pressure was brought to bear upon the Raja, he delivered him up to the English, but due to his 'scruples for the laws of hospitality' he stipulated for the life of Vizier Ali and also made it a condition that he should not be confined by fetters. Vizier Ali was taken to Benares, by a singular coincidence, on the anniversary of his rebellion and thence to Calcutta. Subsequently, after a long captivity in Fort William, he was transferred in the palace built for Tipu Sultan's family in the fort of Vellore, where the females of his family joined him.

Such was the outbreak at Benares in 1799. Considered from the aspect of affairs on the side of Mysore, brought about by the war with Tipu Sultan in February 1799, Vizier Ali's insurrection at Benares may not appear to be just a flutter on the political surface of India, and had it not been put down speedily, the spread of revolt at such a critical period might have taxed the resources of the government to the utmost. But the genesis of the insurrection calls for some remark. It was undoubtedly a political movement with definite political objectives, probably the earliest on record during British rule,—the Muslims and Hindu chiefs, joining in a conspiracy to overthrow the

government. The highhandedness of Warren Hastings, in the affairs of Chait Singh of Benares, left a back-wash of bitterness and resentment in the minds of the Hindus of Benares, who were unfortunately duped to join in a cause which was not worthy enough of their participation. The reckless ambition of a dastardly boy of nineteen of ignoble origin could not evoke much sympathy, and far less any widespread national sentiment, and the assassination of a half a dozen

Europeans, though an unprecedented event in the 90's of the eighteenth century, did not help the movement to gain any elevation. Even then, the insurrection served to generate a spirit of tension against British rule in India, and in spite of the pan-Islamic predilections of this young visionary to unfurl the green flag with the help of Zaman Shah, it furnished a precedent to the disaffected political elements to combine in a revolt to overthrow the rule of a foreign power.

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TOWARDS ECONOMIC FREEDOM

By S. N. AGARWAL

THE Agra Session of the All-India Congress Committee devoted its attention mainly to the serious economic issues facing the country. We attach the greatest significance to the two resolutions on Unemployment and the Social and Economic programme passed by the A.-I. C. C. after careful consideration of all aspects of the problem. It will be wrong to regard these resolutions as mere "pious hopes and platitudes"; they embody the will and determination of the Congress to bring about a social and economic revolution in the country after the achievement of political freedom. We have, indeed, been able to achieve substantial results in various spheres of national development during the last few years. Thanks to the able guidance and wisdom of our great leaders, it has been possible for us to consolidate and stabilise our newly-won political independence. Besides, the country has made impressive progress in different fields of economic activity. But we are ourselves not satisfied with the pace of progress in the social and economic domains. The resolution, therefore, rightly points out that "the pace of progress must be quickened more specially in regard to land reform and industrial growth." The A.-I. C. C. "attaches the greatest importance to the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in India" in order to make "the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land." The State Governments have been asked to "take immediate steps in regard to the collection of the requisite land data and the fixation of ceilings on land holdings" with a view to "redistribute the land, as far as possible, among the landless workers." Every effort is to be made "to add to the volume of investment for developmental purposes" through voluntary and, wherever possible, even compulsory savings. The machinery of administration and in particular the Services have also to be "reorganised with a view to deal effectively with the problems connected with the establishment of a Welfare State." The legal system which is "expensive and dilatory" should be revised

and made "simpler, less costly and more expeditious." The Planning Commission has been asked to "re-examine" the Five-Year Plan with a view to "its expansion in such directions as would lead to an increase in the volume of employment." The State has been enjoined to "assume a larger degree of responsibility in regard to cottage and small-scale industries" in order to provide fuller opportunities for the proper utilisation of country's man-power. The A.-I. C. C. has also stressed the need for the reorganisation of our educational system so that it may adapt itself better to the present requirements.

It is now necessary to follow up these important resolutions with definite lines of action, and we are confident that the Government of India as well as the State Governments will take early steps to secure for the country a true type of social and economic freedom for the common good of all citizens irrespective of any distinctions. It is essential to tackle our economic problems with a sense of urgency and in a crusading spirit. Time is of the essence in a fast-moving world of today; we cannot afford to follow a policy of over-caution and "gradualness." There is, of course, great risk in moving too fast; but the risk in not moving fast enough is no less. All of us have to realise that the quintessence of economic freedom is *economic equality* and reduction of glaring economic disparities in our present-day society. With a yawning gulf between the rich and the poor, all talk of economic freedom appears to be futile and meaningless. In order to establish real economic justice in society, it is necessary to fix ceilings on incomes either from land or from other kinds of property. The A.-I. C. C. has called upon the State Governments to take early steps to fix ceilings on land-holdings for redistributing land among the landless. We also welcome the Estate Duty Bill as a measure of achieving greater economic equality among the urban population. It will, however, be desirable to re-orient our taxation policy with a view to bridging

13. This set of braves called 'Bankas' were leagued together as a sect. They were men of all castes they affected a peculiar way of dressing, 'half bully and half dandy': strutted in the streets and were always ready to be hired for a crime. The term 'Banka' is derived from the peculiar movement of their swords which are proficiently exercised and so they were mostly maintained by the wealthy as their armed followers. (*Ibid.*, pp. 68-72).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

15. It is interesting to note that one Mustopha Beg gave the signal for revolt to the people at Vellore in 1806. (*Kaye: Sepoy War in India*, I, p. 227, f.n.).

the existing gulf between the haves and have-nots.

In regard to land reforms, we would draw the attention of all the enthusiasts for large-scale farming in this country to the fate of collectivization in Eastern European countries like Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary. In Tito's Yugoslavia, collective farms have not only "set peasant against peasant, but also peasant against the State." In Hungary, collectivization has recently been "slowed down," because it has "impoverished and antagonised the population and brought the country to the verge of economic collapse." (Vide *London Times*, July 6). In China, there is a movement for allowing more "liberty for the peasant" by making collectivization voluntary and doing nothing "to neglect or roughly hamper the peasant's activity as an individual economic unit." The history of collectivization in the U.S.S.R. also clearly indicates the need for great caution in trying similar experiments in India. As in Japan and several countries of Western Europe, small-scale farming with co-operative endeavour in different processes of agriculture is best suited to Indian conditions. Instead of trying to pool land on the basis of highly mechanized farming, we should try to persuade the individual small-scale peasants to pool their resources of production like cattle, irrigation, manuring, etc., as also processes of agriculture like sowing, weeding and harvesting on a co-operative or mutual-aid basis. That is why we have welcomed Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yagna as a novel way of redistributing land to the landless on the basis of small-scale and intensive farming.

The problem of unemployment is, indeed, a serious problem which requires to be tackled on many fronts. We have expressed our views on this question on previous occasions also and have regarded unemployment as Enemy Number One in India. In order to liquidate it effectively, it is essential to provide the fullest scope for the development of small-scale and cottage industries. Unless our pattern of production becomes labour-absorbing rather than labour-saving, it would not be possible to solve the problem of unemployment or partial-employment in this country. This is not sentiment or a Gandhian "fad"; it is pure and simple arithmetic. Of course, the technique of cottage production has to be made as efficient as possible with the help of technical or scientific knowledge. The public has also to pay its own part in patronising the goods of cottage and small-scale industries as compared with those articles produced by big mills and

factories. The Government of India must re-orient its import policy with a view to protecting the interests of small-scale and decentralised production in India. The import of consumer goods which can be easily and efficiently produced in our own country through cottage and village industries must be rigidly curtailed and even completely stopped. Our educational system requires radical changes in order to impart to our youngmen the capacity to work hard physically for earning their living. The present schools and colleges have become veritable factories for quickly turning out armies of the educated unemployed who are proving to be a source of potential danger to the stability of our democratic traditions.

We welcome the reference to the Reorganisation of Services in the resolution of the A.I.C.C. at Agra. We earnestly hope that the Government of India and the State Governments will now try to implement the recommendations of the Planning Commission in this regard with a strong will. Prof. Appleby's suggestions also deserve to be considered seriously for making our administrative machinery more flexible and less rigid. So far as the desirability of Legal Reforms is concerned, we suggest that the Government of India should soon appoint a High Powered Commission to go into this complicated question thoroughly and submit its definite recommendations within a year. Various schemes for tapping the idle capital resources, particularly in the rural areas, should be prepared by the Planning Commission in consultation with the Ministries of Finance and Communications. In such schemes, special facilities should be provided for earmarking funds for specific local projects in different areas.

It is also gratifying to know that the A.I.C.C. has accepted most of the amendments to the Congress Constitution as proposed by the Working Committee. These amendments are meant to revitalise the Congress organisation with a view to making it a sharper and more efficient instrument for effecting an economic revolution in India. We feel confident that with the reorganisation of the Congress, the land and the industrial systems, the administrative services, the educational system, the commercial policy and the legal procedure, we shall be able to achieve economic freedom for our great country within the next few years. Our first fight for political liberty began in 1857; we achieved independence in 1947; let our fight for economic freedom bear ample fruit before the beginning of 1957.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RAJASTHAN

By Prof. K. B. SAKSENA, M.COM.

It looks quite satirical on the very face of it that a big State of India, viz., Rajasthan, to which goes the credit of being the birth-place of the leading business magnates and industrialists, is itself to be categorized as a backward area both agriculturally and industrially. The State with a widespread area of about 1.28 lakh square miles is inhabited by approximately 1.53 crores of a sturdy class of males and females. Is it not a matter of deep thinking and concern that this region of the country with much less a density of population, as compared to other States in India—India as a whole and other developed parts of the world, is not in a position to provide a decent living standard to the existing population? To consider any scheme for the general economic development of the State would be unjust within the limited space. An attempt is therefore made here to study the industrial problems and prospects of an industrial development in the State.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before coming to any conclusion regarding the subject and suggesting proposals for the industrial development, it seems quite essential to look through the mirror the historical background for the present undeveloped condition of the State. Scanning the annals of the history of this State (though not in the form of present political configuration) we find that since the time we have got traces of its history, the land of Rajputs popularly known as Rajputana, had been a constant arena for political feuds among the various rulers of small States who were more anxious for establishing their political supremacy rather than aiming at a consolidated economic, political and social unity. This was one of the reasons for the fall of the brave people and the governments of this State before the Moghul and then the Britishers. The courage of the people can be well judged by the views of the learned authority Todd as expressed in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*:

"Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in history of mankind of people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict or human nature sustain and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure and making calamity a whetstone to courage."

Despite the absence of warfare in this region during the British regime, the laissez-faire policy of the government could not do much for the industrialization of the country as a whole, nothing to talk of Rajasthan. Of course, the limited stimulus that was given to handicrafts and fine arts in the various States was due to the fascination of the rulers for decorating their capitals. It could be hoped that the liberation of the country and the

unification of small and big units into a compact group under one government, would be much helpful for *inter alia* the development of industries in the State. The State and the country as a whole immediately after the independence have confronted a great many political and economic difficulties plus the rehabilitation problems created after the partition of the country. The diversion of activities has been responsible now for the lack of due consideration for the problem under review. However, I do not stand to depreciate the steps taken by the Rajasthan Government in this connection, but the proposals for industrial development are not however sufficient.

REASONS FOR LACK OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Political reasons only do not account for the chequered growth of industries in the State; but there are many other reasons that can be attributed to this slackness. The position of raw-material and the financial problems are also to be considered in this connection. There has always been lack of co-operation and initiative in the State and the industrialists of today. The industrialists who have their origin in the State were never very anxious to develop industries in their birth-place, rather they invested a major portion of their stupendous earnings outside the State. The system of customs duty and the lack of facilities for the import of raw material and movement of goods to and from the State along with the lack of facilities for the maintenance of industrial units, were obstacles in the way. Seth Ganshyamdas Birla once opined that the industrial development in the State could not be possible in the absence of facilities for transport and communication, industrial power and the taming of the water resources for industrial purposes. One of the most serious curses to this State is the incredibly low percentage of literacy which accounts for approximately 90 per cent of illiterates.

PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT

Whenever we consider any plan for the industrialisation, the first question that comes up is the form which should be given to it. Not only Rajasthan, but the country as a whole is standing at the threshold of industrialisation and we have got an option between the Gandhian system wherein there is limited scope for the big industrial units run by huge machines and there is a major consideration for the cottage industries which would give employment to the 80% of the rural population who is out of work for about eight months in the year and the method suggested on the American lines which leads to surrender of man-power to the supremacy of the machines. Up to this time the State has



not advanced much towards the American method and the Gandhian economy has not yet been applied on satisfactory lines. Here, however, we should not ignore the methods adopted in the communist countries, particularly in U.S.S.R. which is a symbol of planning not only industrial but agricultural, fiscal, commercial, educational, credit and monetary as well.

The industrial policy for the State should be so construed as to lead an all-round development of our life and to respond closely to the needs of the society in a manner so as not to centralize the benefits within a small group or a particular class of the people, but it should be on an equitable basis.

A CASE FOR COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Here it looks quite essential to look into the possibilities of developing cottage industries in Rajasthan. For such undeveloped areas it is always useful to stimulate cottage industries. These will provide work for the majority of persons at a lower cost and will prepare a background for industrial outlook. The success of cottage industries in Japan and Switzerland are amazing examples which are quite fascinating and alluring for the people of Rajasthan. A survey of the position of meagre cottage industries in the State has been made by the Rajasthan Government which does not reveal a desirable progress in this direction. The important cottage industries mainly consist of weaving and spinning, ivory goods, engraving, oil pressing, dyeing, Bidi-making and wood work.

Keeping in view the development of cottage industries it should not be missed that the development of such industries is to be stimulated which will provide the people with articles of domestic use and not with those which lead the cultivator to immoral habits, e.g., Bidis and local liquor which, though they may give employment to a number of persons, are like the noxious vermins which would infect society with evil germs. The Rajasthan Government has contemplated to spend an amount of Rs. 38.50 lakhs over a period of five years (1951-56 for the development of the cottage industries in the State of Rajasthan. This amount is not commensurate with the size of the population and the area of Rajasthan. As compared to other Part 'B' States of Mysore and Madhyabharat which provide for an expenditure of Rs. 135.38 lakhs and Rs. 50 lakhs respectively this amount seems to be too meagre. It is quite ridiculous that this meagre amount has been provided only for cottage industries when no amount has been provided for other major industries in the State. For the purpose of financing these cottage industries, the help of co-operative credit societies in the villages should

be obtained and every possible step should be taken to develop credit co-operation in the State.

MAJOR INDUSTRIES

The absence of any provision in the Five-Year plan for this State for the major industries should not be considered as to mean that there is no scope for the development of major industrial units. Rather this indifference of the State should be taken up by the private sector. Now in the democratic country, the big industrial units should flourish side by side with the cottage industries not with a view to competing with each other which will cause the ruin of cottage industries and massacre of the economic development of the State. It should, however, be aimed at that these two types of industries should work with fullest possible co-operation.

The working of the large industrial units creates problems regarding finance and labour. As far as the financial side is concerned, there are at present about four leading banks of Rajasthan origin and approximately an equal number of those who have been registered outside Rajasthan. These joint-stock banks can easily finance the requirements of the working capital. As far as the fixed capital is required for the establishment of new units or the expansion of the existing one, the facilities granted by the Industrial Finance Corporation can be availed of. The formation of a provincial corporation in Rajasthan does not look feasible or economically advantageous.

It should, however, not be lost sight of that the industrialists now should come forward with a generous motive for the welfare of the State and the people, and not with the only consideration of making profits. The problems of labour and capital relationship have become quite considerable these days and although the government is in constant effort to create amiable relations, individual effort from both the parties is quite indispensable. The capitalists should take lesson from the growing tendency towards socialisation and nationalisation of industrial units over vast regions of the world. The symbol of capitalism in U.S.A. and U.K. may not remain so forceful as it is today and even today the benefactors of capitalism and bureaucracy in the two countries are always on their guard to keep off socialism and communism at an arm's length. It is at this stage very essential for our capitalistic class to show goodwill towards the interests of the general masses and not to keep aloof for fear of nationalization of the industries in the future which is not in the offing as yet. Here they have got ample opportunity to save their skin from criticism by the public.

THE COLLEGE OF YOGA AT LONAVLA

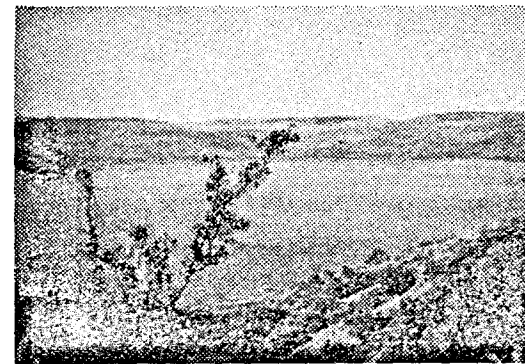
By Dr. S. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., T.D., Ph.D.

To wander for nearly twenty years in the mountains and jungles of the sacred land of Bharat from Kedarnath in the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Girnar in Saurashtra to Tarakeshwar in Bengal in search of Yogis to get an inkling into the mysteries of Yoga and ultimately to be blessed by the

to dispel darkness from the 'terra incognita' of Yoga and

"to propagate Yoga in all its aspects—physical, mental and spiritual—by co-ordinating it with modern sciences and orienting it in such a way as to make it useful in everyday life."

To give effect to his mission in life Swamiji made a small start in the year 1924 with an Ashram *The Kaivalyadhama* at Lonavla which is nearly 80 miles from Bombay, en route to Poona, and is on an elevation of 2,000 ft. approximately. Later on, the research side of the Kaivalyadhama was separated and organised as a well-constituted Samiti and was registered under the Societies Registration Act 21 of 1860 under the name of Swami Kuvalayananda's Guru, His Holiness Paramhansa Shree Madhavadasa Maharaj of Malsar (near Baroda). Kuvalayanandaji's selfless devotion to the cause of Yoga gave rise to two important off-shoots of the Kaivalyadhama of Lonavla—one at Bombay and the other at Rajkot in Saurashtra. The Bombay off-shoot is known as the Kaivalyadhama Ishwardas Chunitlal Yogic Health Centre where on an average about a thousand people



The view of the 'Valvan Lake' behind the 'College of Yoga'

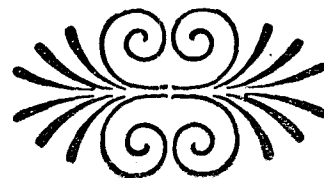
teachings of a Yogi in the very heart of a modern metropolis of no less importance than Bombay, is indeed one of the greatest wonders as well as an irony of fate in a man's life. Such was destined for the present writer who, in the year 1949, came into contact at Bombay with Swami Kuvalayanandaji, the founder-Yogi of the 'Kaivalyadhama' at Lonavla, Bombay, etc. The love and kindness with which Swamiji accepted the neophyte, in spite of certain handicaps, could only be explained by a reference to some relation existing between us in the previous births. It was the occasion when Kuvalayanandaji was selecting the first batch of thirteen students, who should satisfy certain conditions, for his College of Yoga that had its beginning in Bombay before being shifted to Lonavla, I was selected by Swamiji, not because I could satisfy the required conditions, but mainly on account of my genuine interest in the subject of Yoga. Yet, what a perverted idea one possesses about Yoga before one receives true light and what a heavy price one has to pay for his sad mistakes! To some it is a hoax, to others it is a cure-all.

The subject of Yoga has an attraction or repulsion (both on false grounds) to a modern mind either due to the fantastic claims attributed to it or on account of the absence of a code suitable for the modern scientific mind. The present writer was no less a victim to the fog and mist in the domain of Yoga until he came to be guided by Kuvalayanandaji who has been fighting alone for the last thirty years

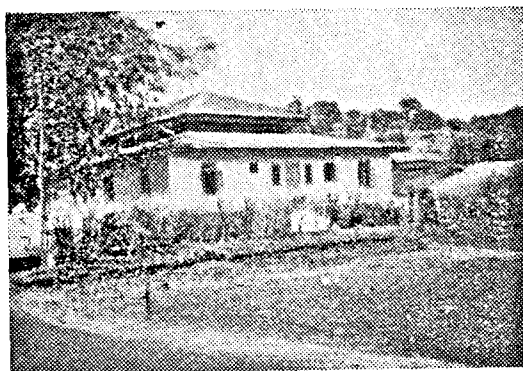


The 'College of Yoga'—Front view

(both men and women) undergo Yogic exercises every year. The Rajkot off-shoot maintains a hostel for college students and also carries on cultural work for the general public. The former institute gets an annual grant of Rs. 1200 from the Bombay Government and the latter Rs. 1,000 from the Saurashtra Government. The Kaivalyadhama has also deve-



veloped an exclusive spiritual centre at Kanakeshwar-Bhuvaneshwar in the Kolaba district (off the Bombay coast). This centre is the *tapovana* of the Kaivalyadhama. Here Swami Kuvalayanandaji's Guru performed *tapas* for twelve years more than seven decades ago.

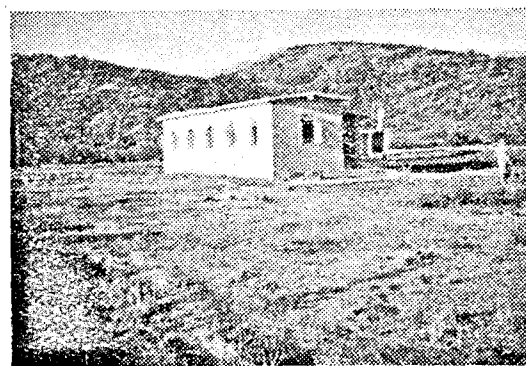


The first 'Ashrama of Kaivalyadhama' at Lonavla

But besides the afore-mentioned institutions Swamiji's mind all the time gazed at the temple which would be built up some day to enshrine the highest achievements of Yoga—both practical and theoretical. His dreams have, at last, been fulfilled by the starting of a full-fledged College of Yoga in 1950 at Lonavla ('The Gordhandas Seksaria College of Yoga and Cultural Synthesis') through the magnificent gift of Seth Makhanlal Seksaria of Bombay. Yet, how far it is from what it aspires to be and what immense potentialities are stored in it! The present assets of the College are only a few lakhs whereas it requires at least half a crore of rupees and there is no reason why it should not be possible for it to revive the ancient secrets of our hoary land reflecting through the prisms of modern science.

The College of Yoga at Lonavla being situated by the side of the first Ashrama of Kaivalyadhama over an extensive plot of land in the solitude of hills and lakes is a unique institute not only in our country but also in the whole world in the sense that the age-old Yogic lore of our motherland, is being investigated by the application of ultra-modern scientific instruments to the young men with bright university careers taken under training to serve as 'subjects'. In a short article as the present one it is not possible to give the details of the scientific experiments that are being carried on in the College of Yoga at Lonavla under the supervision of a Doctor of Science on the 'subjects' practising *pranayama*, *kapalabhati*, meditation, etc., to record and verify the truth of higher life experienced and described by our ancient sages. To use the words of Swami Kuvalayanandaji:

The aim of his College of Yoga is "to develop a philosophy and a culture based on the co-ordination of Yogic experiences and modern sciences that would lead to the establishment of human brotherhood. The principal science which will be used for this purpose is biology, although physics, chemistry, physiology, psychology, sociology, etc., will be fully taken advantage of . . . Life is trying to express itself in higher and still higher forms and endeavouring to obtain experiences of higher and still higher values. The science of biology which deals with life has stopped short with the study of the normal and abnormal man. That science will always remain truncated unless and until it extends its studies to the mystic. The effort of Dr. Julian Huxley and others to develop evolutionary ethics and scientific humanism will never have a sure foundation unless the mystic is scientifically taken into account. Cultures based upon an incomplete study of man will never eliminate conflict and war. If a man is to be happy, he must be studied in his entirety. . . . The experimental psychology that is developed in the West, however, has been concerning itself mainly with normal and abnormal or pathological psychology. The higher experiences of man have not yet been properly touched . . . Luckily for humanity the Indian Yoga taken in its most comprehensive sense, trains a man, stage by stage, from what may look to be merely physical exercises to the highest mystical experiences. Hence, the students trained in Yoga afford the best material for scientific investigation in Yoga."

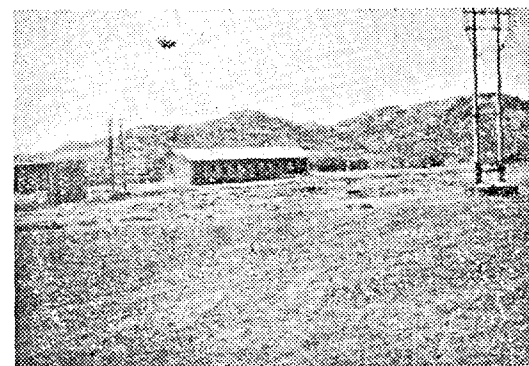


A hostel for the students of the 'College of Yoga'

In this connection one may think of the Duke University of the U.S.A. where Dr. Rhine is engaged in scientific experiments with the facts of extra-sensory perception—now better known as parapsychology. But even Dr. Rhine is handicapped to reveal the inner side of Yoga as he is not interested in or qualified for the facts and experiences narrated by Patanjali and other Sanskrit writers on Yoga. I, therefore, again assert that the position of the College of Yoga at Lonavla is unrivalled—specially as it is situated in the motherland of Yoga and is being directed by an adept in the subject.

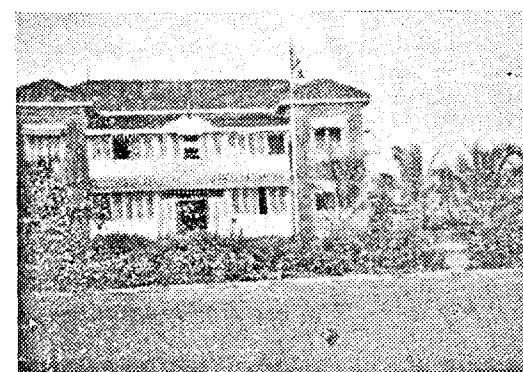
Nearly ten students are selected from all over India without any distinction of caste or creed every

year in June-July for the monthly scholarships of Rs. 60 offered by the College of Yoga at Lonavla which is a residential college and their courses of studies extend over two years. They are given lessons in practical



The view of another hostel

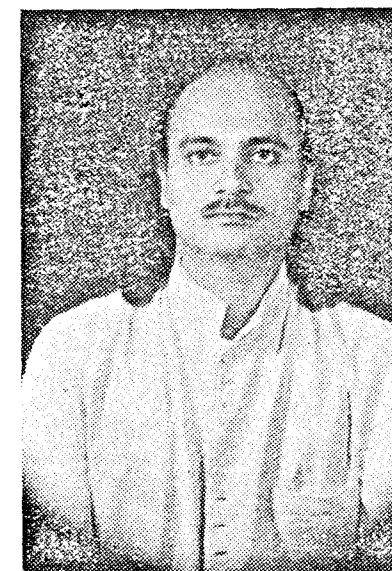
Yoga, Eastern and Western Philosophy, Indology, Comparative Religion, Anatomy and Physiology with reference to practical and scientific Yoga, experimental work on Yoga, etc. The professors consist of the Doctors of Indian as well as foreign Universities and well-versed Sanskrit scholars. Apart from the scientific study of Yoga, the College also encourages and gives facilities for research work in philosophy and literature. Several scholars of India and at least one from America (Mr. Behanan of the Yale University) have been awarded Doctorate Degrees by the different Universities for their research work done under the roof of the College of Yoga at Lonavla. The present writer is also one of them.



The 'Kaivalyadhama Yogic Health Centre' at Bombay

Excluding the two authentic books on *Asanas* and *Pranayama* by Swami Kuvalayananda, research work done by Om 'Kaivalyadhama' in the field of Yogic literature consists of the publication of a journal on Yoga called the *Yoga Mimamsa*, a critical edition of

the *Hathapradipika*, a critical edition of the *Brihad-Yogi-Yajnavalkya Smriti*, an *Index of Yogic Literature*, a *Concordance of the Yoga*, etc. In appreciation of the work put in by the College of Yoga at Lonavla the Central Government of the Indian Union and the Provincial Government of the Bombay State have allotted grants of Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 3,000 respectively to the institute so far. The College has also attracted no less world-famous visitors than Dr. J. B. S. Haldane and Prof. McBain from among the Western scientists, besides the Indian ones. The personality of Swami Kuvalayananda is a rare thing to come across even in the antiquated land of Yoga such as India. His vast erudition in the field of Yogic literature coupled with an equal amount of knowledge



The writer

of its practical side and a thorough grasp of the modern physiological investigations have made him well-known not only to the students of Yoga in India, but also in the Western countries which he has not yet visited. Though the main cause of his turning towards Yoga and the manner of his initiation at the hand of a greater Yogi, namely, the late Paramahansa Shree Madhavadasa Maharaj, will remain shrouded in mystery to us, yet we know this much that Swami Kuvalayananda was none but the principal Guru at Amalner more than a quarter of a century ago. His is a personality about whom the greatest living philosopher of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, has said:

"I am impressed by the work which you have been doing all these years . . . I know that the lessons of Yoga in its different aspects are needed today, not only in our country but in the world outside. And you have the capacity and the training for undertaking this noble task. . . ."

Mr. Roswell P. Angier, Chairman, Department of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven, U.S.A., writes:



Some students of Yoga in the lap of Nature

"I wish on behalf of the Department and of the Yale University to express our sincerest appreciation of the facilities that were given him (Mr. Behanan) in his study of Yogic practices. Mr. Behanan has a very deep affection for you and is full of gratitude for the untiring attention and help that you gave to him. This sense of gratitude is also felt by the Department of Psychology at Yale University."

To quote the words of my revered Guruji:

"Yoga has a complete message for humanity. It has a message for the human body, it has a message for the human mind, and it has also a message for the human spirit."

But the world, as it is constituted, requires material help even for spiritual progress. Let the benefactors of humanity and wealthy philanthropists in our country as well as abroad not forget this fact and allow the College of Yoga at Lonavla to close half-way for want of financial help that is urgently needed by it. The responsibility of our National Government is also by no means less towards the maintenance of this Institute, which has grown up independently to the credit of its founder-Yogi, for the revival of our cultural heritage.*

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RAJESWAR DAS GUPTA

The Pioneer Agriculturist of India

By INDU BHUSAN CHATTERJEE, MSc., LAc.,
Ex-Assistant Agricultural Commissioner with the Government of India

INDIA is an agricultural country and agriculture here is the most vital industry. In these days of widespread food shortage when huge quantities of foodstuff are being imported from abroad at enormous cost to the country, agriculture assumes even greater importance than ever. It has to be remembered, as once Sir Maurice Hallett remarked, that

"Whoever can make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, deserves better of mankind and does more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together."

In this connection the name of the late Rai Bahadur Rajeswar Das Gupta comes first to our mind. Realising the importance of agriculture he was one of the first to advocate research and improvement in our agricultural systems and their application to the field. Fittingly he has been called a pioneer in agricultural research in this province if not in India.

The late Rai Bahadur hailed from a distinguished Vaidya family of Vikrampur (Dacca). Undeterred by the loss of both the parents even at a very early age, he proceeded perseveringly with his studies and passed the F.A. Examination from the Dacca College. From

the very beginning he had a leaning for agricultural studies and this manifested itself in his taking admission in the Sibpur Engineering College with agriculture as a special subject. After passing the Final Examination he entered his service career. He was appointed Agricultural Inspector under the Government of Bengal in 1904. Later, after working for 2 years as the Superintendent of Agriculture, under the short-lived Eastern Bengal and Assam Government, he was promoted to the rank of Provincial Agricultural Superintendent. He conducted the cattle and jute census and prepared a *Year Book of Agriculture* which was of immense help to Indian Agriculturists. Mr. E. S. Miligan, the then Director of Agriculture, who was the first Agricultural expert to come out to India, was so much impressed by his work that he promoted him to the rank of Deputy Director of Agriculture.

Rajeswar Das Gupta officiated in the post of Deputy Director of Agriculture for two years and was then confirmed in the same post in the year 1919 and remained there till his death which, however, came too early in 1926 due to heavy extra departmental work which told on his health. He was made a Rai Bahadur in the year 1920. If he had lived a few years more, he was sure

to have been the first Indian Director of Agriculture in Bengal in those days of British bureaucracy. He lived only for 48 years, but in this short span of life his work is varied and voluminous. Regarding his success in service he was the first Indian I.A.S. in Bengal. He was not, however, merely a high Government official pinned



Rajeswar Das Gupta

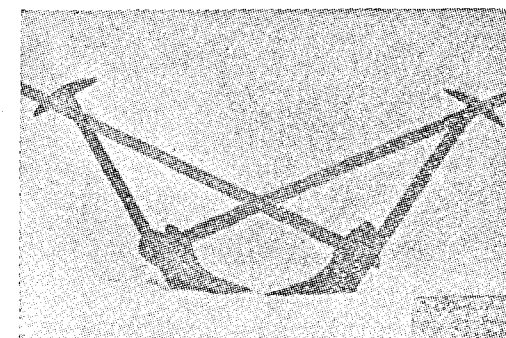
to his official files. He was a practical farmer and carried his message to the door of the farmers and agriculturists. In this country the most difficult task before an agricultural officer is to bridge the wide gap between the agricultural experiment station and the vast mass of peasants who really form the backbone of Indian Agriculture. In the words of Sir John Russell:

"It is not so much new science as fuller use of existing science that is needed."

Rajeswar realised this and spared no efforts for the application of laboratory results and improvements in the field. When the Royal Commission on Agriculture came to India in 1926 he acted as Liaison Officer on behalf of the Government of Bengal. He was the recipient of many medals and prizes in agricultural shows and exhibitions.

Amidst his many and varied activities Rajeswar could find time to write down his experiences in agricultural science in the form of manuscripts which he obviously desired to publish in book-form. His untimely death, however, prevented him from doing this and he left this responsible task to his eldest son the late Romes Chandra Das Gupta. But for the latter, these valuable works would have been lost to us. Romes Chandra spared no pains to get the manuscripts of his father arranged in the form of books and get them published. This over-strain told on his already failing

health and he died very prematurely at the age of 42. The Rai Bahadur's work are now being published by the Calcutta University in three volumes covering, in general, almost all the aspects of agriculture including livestock farming which in the main relates to cattle-breeding and dairy farming. The *Krishi-Bijnan* (Volume I) of which a second edition has come out deals with the fundamentals of agricultural science in lucid Bengali so that it can be read and the contents utilised by all those interested in agriculture in the two Bengals. It is not merely a theoretical book compiled from different journals and text-books. It is a practical guide to the cultivators. It traces the development of agriculture in India from time immemorial, deals with the nature of soil, its origin and broad classification particularly in this country, then goes on to describe the mechanism of



Rajeswar plough

plant life. The author devotes a chapter on plant mechanism of plant life, a chapter on plant nutrients, soil micro-organisms, manures and fertilisers, etc., What the author intends is to bridge the gap between the student of Agricultural College or School and the cultivator. The school purpose and the farm purpose, though inter-allied, should be considered as separate and the author's aim is to serve both. It is only natural to expect that with the progress of civilisation and in years to come a more organised system of education will be introduced and the treatment of land will be more and more "thoughtful" to provide a decent living to those engaged. In the cultivation of the soil lies the wealth of the country. This can be achieved only by applying scientific knowledge, sound practice and reliable theory. As a text-book for examination it is more suggestive than exhaustive and it is sure to open the mind of the student to the many problems involved in practice.

Rajeswar Das Gupta was very thorough in his methods and in his *Krishi-Bijnan* he introduced for the first time very appropriate Bengali equivalents of Botanical terms which shows his profound knowledge of Sanskrit. He believed that cattle improvement in Bengal would only be possible if an indigenous Bengal Breed could be stabilised with fixed characters and he really started selection work on these lines at the Rangpur Cattle Farm. But unfortunately, his policy was not continued.

Great credit is due to Rai Bahadur Rajeswar Das Gupta for the design and execution of a new type of plough which has been named "Rajeswar Plough" after him. It is an improvement on the plough used in Bengal which is antiquated and out of date. The adoption of the new plough would not only save time and labour but also increase production. The book should find a place in the curriculum of the Agricultural teachings and syllabus of our University as well as the State Government. The Directorate of Agriculture, West Bengal, should also encourage wider circulation of this

book written by one of the ablest officers of the Department. He was admired by one and all for his unflinching devotion to work, and his generous heart.

Rajeswar Das Gupta is no more with us. The best way to commemorate his work and memory is to push ahead with our plans for an all-round improvement in our agricultural system and carry the message of laboratory research and experiments to the very door of the farmer and help him to apply more systematic and scientific methods for crop production. Then and then only we shall breathe "the air promise-crammed."

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TAMING THE TURBULENT TAPI

A new era of prosperity will dawn for the Surat farmer tomorrow when Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power, Government of India, will formally open the Kakrapar Weir and Canal Project on the Tapi River, and release the first irrigation waters into the Chalthan Branch of the Left Bank Main Canal system. No longer will the farmer have to gaze towards the sky for merciful showers at the end of the monsoon season to save his crops. On several occasions failure of rains at the most crucial period has been a frequent phenomenon in this region. Henceforth water from the project which, incidentally, is the first in the Five-Year Plan to be constructed and put into operation by the Central Water and Power Commission, will be available in plenty when needed most.

Kakrapar, a tiny village 50 miles from Surat on the lower reaches of the Tapi river, has given its name to the project. It was once famous for *kankar* used for making roads, and because investigations on the Tapi first started here, this village became associated with the project.

Rising in the dense forests of Madhya Pradesh, the Tapi courses through Betul, Amraoti and Nimar districts for about 260 miles and enters the Bombay State a little beyond Burhanpur. Collecting the waters of numerous tributaries, it meanders another 250 miles through the Khandesh and Surat districts of Bombay State before emptying itself into the Gulf of Cambay. In the region of Kakrapar, the Tapi has dug for itself a deep channel with high banks. On both sides stretch miles of cotton and *jowar* fields and banana orchards.

RICH SOIL

As one travels from Surat to Kakrapar over a country track encountering jerks and jolts, and clouds of dust, one is sustained by the thought that the new road now under construction nearby will soon be ready. The black soil on either side of the road is rich and good for cotton, but its fertility cannot be fully exploited due to unreliable monsoons. The waters from the weir will now help overcome Nature's whims.

The Tapi's catchment area is 26,000 sq. miles with an average rainfall of 29 inches, nearly all of which

occurs during the monsoon, yielding a mean annual run off of 16 million acre feet. A small part of this water is today being utilised for irrigation.

Similarly, the basin's abundant timber wealth which can be converted into paper, rayon and plywood, besides being used in construction, is lying unexploited for want of power. Navigation too has suffered from neglect, being possible only up to Surat, a distance of 12 miles from the sea.

C.W. & P.C. INVESTIGATIONS

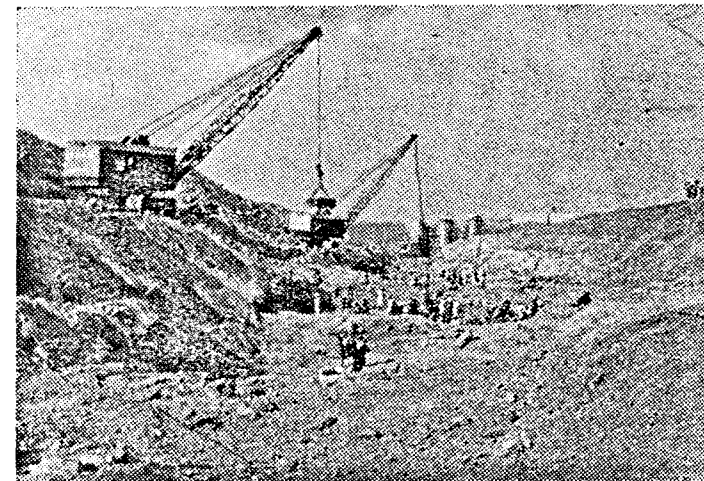
The Central Water and Power Commission took up the investigation into the scientific and planned utilisation of the waters of the Tapi in 1946. It was found that the basin could be conveniently divided into three parts, each of which could be developed independently without prejudicing an integrated scheme for the entire valley.

The lower portion of the basin possessed attractive possibilities and its development was given priority. The work has been divided into three stages. The first stage is further sub-divided into two parts. The first part provides for a Weir at Kakrapar and canal systems on both sides; the second which is under investigation by experts, includes the building of a storage dam to a partial height and canals to irrigate an additional area of 4,79,000 acres. Its completion will permit considerable perennial irrigation. The second stage involves the raising of the storage dam to its full height, and installation of hydro-electric power and transmission lines. The third stage envisages the construction of a 16-mile long power canal from the Kakrapar Weir to the river edge opposite Piparia village to take advantage of a 107-foot drop for generating more electricity.

THE PROJECT

On a massive rocky outcrop stretching across the river from bank to bank, the Kakrapar Weir is 2,038 feet long and the height above the deepest point in the river bed is 45 feet. The Left and Right Bank Main Canal regulators tower over the weir to a height of 53 feet. The length of the weir originally was 2,500, but it was reduced to enable a better off-take of the Right Bank Canal which is an important component of the project,

The noise and din of machinery mingled with the voices of some 2,000 workers echoed and re-echoed in the valley for wellnigh over a year in order to complete the Kakrapur Weir within the time set. It was a race against the clock and everyone—workmen, officers, staff and contractors—worked with martial regularity and unison.



Draglines at work on the Left Bank Main Canal. Machines are here seen excavating the bed and shovelling the earth for bank formation

The weir will command a gross area of 8,00,000 acres, of which 6,51,000 acres will be irrigated annually. The scheme is an economical one as the cost of development per acre is about Rs. 100/-. The increase in the yield of foodgrains will be about 1.6 lakh tons and of cotton 16,000 tons per year.

CANAL SYSTEM

The irrigation system fans out from two main canals taking off from the regulators on both ends of the weir.

Of the total length of 850 miles of canals, branches, distributaries and minors, 600 miles have been dug and the entire system is expected to be completed by June 1955.

The progress of the Left Bank Main Canal has been behind schedule because a layer of hard morrum and rock underground was encountered. It was drilled with holes and dynamited. In other parts of the canal system bull-dozers, draglines and tractors are busy in the work of excavation. Afflux bunds have been constructed on either side to form a reservoir.

The waters of the Left Bank Main Canal will be let

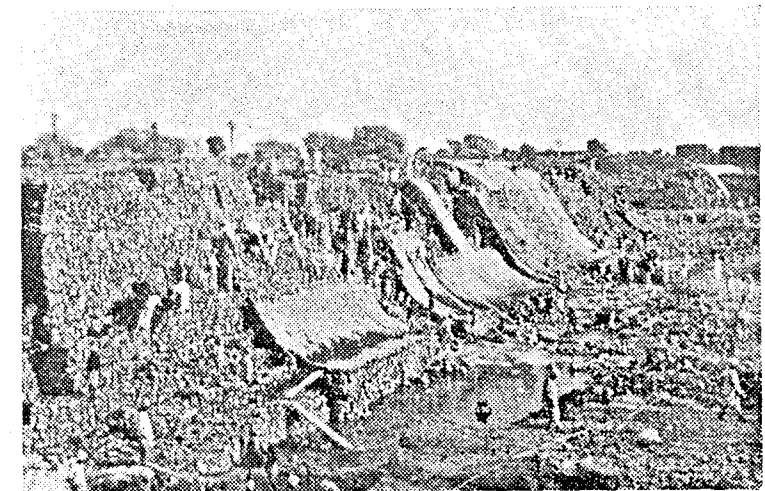
into the Moticher Khari which will serve as a canal for some distance. About half a mile above the Khari's confluence with the Tapi river, the Moticher Weir, a masonry structure across the Khari, has been built. This weir is 260 feet long and 48 feet high tapering from a base width of 299 feet to 24 feet at the top.

The country to be served by the canal system is traversed by several large rivers, necessitating construction of a number of huge and expensive aqueducts. Two major structures already constructed in the uppermost reach of Left Bank Main Canal are the Moticher Weir with spillway and an earthen dam at Ratania Khari. The number of masonry works on the canal system will exceed a thousand.

15,000 WORKERS EMPLOYED

Most of the work on the project was done by manual labour, but where the load, lift and operation by manpower was uneconomical, machinery consisting of dragline excavators, shovels, scrapers, etc., was used for economy and speed.

During 1951-52 the number of workers employed on canal digging reached a peak of 15,000. This helped considerably in giving employ-



Kakrapar Weir under construction

ment to a large number of persons from areas affected by scarcity and famine.

A large part of the equipment and stores was acquired from Disposals. All expensive and perishable stores were kept in godowns, while heavy material, like girders, plates and fencing, was stocked in an open yard.

Most of these will now be available for use on other projects.

Before work on the project started, a comprehensive soil survey of the commanded area was undertaken to determine the suitability of the soils for irrigation. This was done in the Project Laboratory at Kakrapar, which also tested concrete, mortar and engineering properties of soils.

The completion of the Weir at Kakrapar and the

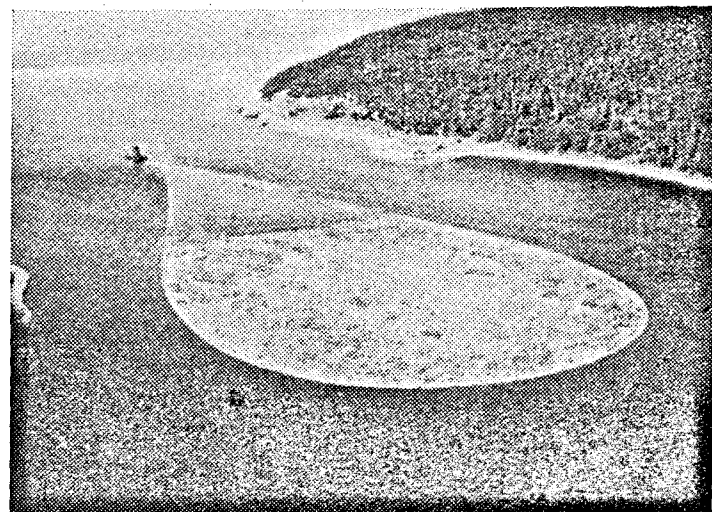
supply of irrigation water to the areas on the Chalthan Branch marks the commencement of the systematic development of this part of the valley. By the middle of next year another large tract between the Mindhola and the Purna rivers will be provided with irrigation facilities and by June 1955 channels will be ready to serve the rest of the areas on this project. So the first step in taming the wild and turbulent Tapi in the service of man has been successfully taken.—*PIB*

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PAPER : FOOD FOR THOUGHT

By A. G. MEZERIK

THE universal hunger for knowledge today has created a new need, a need for greater supplies of the raw materials for paper-making, since the printed word still is man's best means of communication.



In Sweden logs are towed to pulp mills in great rafts enclosed by a boom, as shown here

The oldest known bit of writing in the world, the Presse Papyrus, is in the municipal museum at Istanbul. It dates from about 6,000 years ago and the first sentence reads: "Alas, times are not what they used to be. Everyone wants to write a book and children are no longer obedient to their parents."

A long time has passed since then but the situation seems to be just the same—excepting that more people want to write books. There is another exception too. Papyrus leaves are no longer the basic ingredient for the manufacture of writing materials. Along with papyrus leaves the world has used—at one time or another—bones, stones and wood, slabs of clay and metal, fabrics, palm leaves, and finally sheepskin.

Now the world has turned to wood pulp, and

green forests are as essential to the printer as is movable type. And not only to the printer, for whether for ideas or confetti, for a poem or wrapping paper, or for postage stamps or wallpaper—paper winds itself about our lives from birth certificates through death certificates. The need for more paper—and more sources for paper—grows almost by the hour.

Governments and international organizations are committed to fighting literacy. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other United Nations organizations are introducing new forms of education. Governments are exchanging knowledge and information. Every such action calls for books, newspapers and periodicals. Radio and television are newer forms of communication. They well may be in the long run most important, but now it remains true that more men, women and children in the world depend upon words and images printed on paper for their information and know-

ledge than on any other means of mass communication.

As education removes the cobwebs of ignorance, a new kind of hunger is spreading across the globe. That hunger is for newsprint—for paper. The new famine is robbing millions of people of their mental nourishment. World organizations are mobilizing to relieve this famine. A newsprint shortage has been obvious for some time but the general boom in raw materials which took place in 1951, accentuated by stock-piling demands, created an acute crisis. It was then Unesco became alarmed. Inadequate supplies of printing paper available prejudiced the success of its basic educational program. Unesco approached the Food and Agricultural Organization and initiated a campaign to meet the emergency.

The FAO assumed the major responsibility for high quality were made in Java wholly from rice straw. On the basis of the technical improvement in the straw-pulping process, rice straw could be used to a much greater extent as a raw material in those tropical countries where there is an insufficient supply of pulpwood. But the fly in the ointment is that rice-growing areas rapidly are mechanizing their farming operations. Harvesting by machines such as combines will cause the farmer to switch to short straw varieties of rice which will reduce the supplies of rice straw before the pulping business gets started.



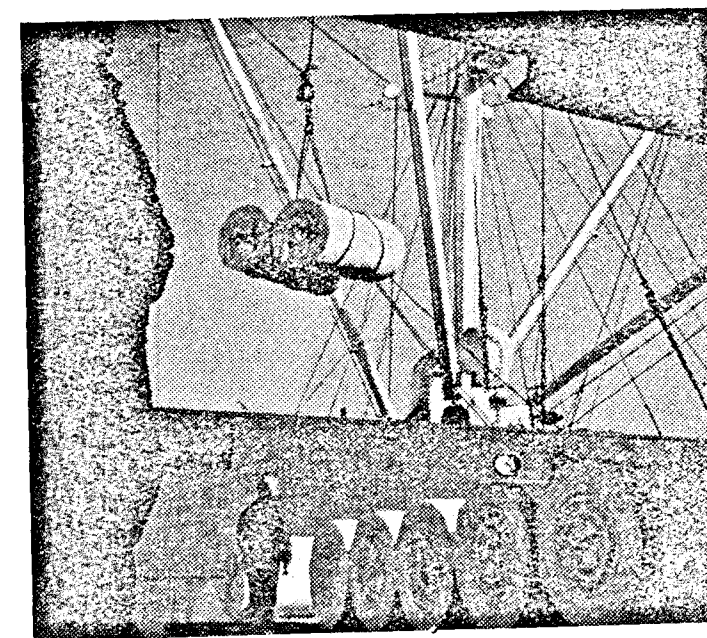
This team of man and elephant is taking one of the first steps in moving the raw material for paper-making from the forest to the pulping mill

for printing. The quest has reached back into time—once again touching the very papyrus from which we started. Egypt, as the year 1952 ended, announced it would again try to produce paper from the plant from which paper got its name—the papyrus, on which the Pharaonic Egyptians wrote. The search covers the land. It ranges all through agriculture, although to be sure, it does not now encompass the prospect of reintroducing sheepskin. The record of 300 sheepskins required by Gutenberg to print his Bible on parchment is in no danger of being challenged.

Other ancient agricultural sources for paper-making are not so immune. Wheat straw was employed in making pulp before wood began to be used. Methods were primitive and the product reflected it—being cardboards, corrugating papers and low-grade wrapping papers. However, the art of making pulp from wheat straw has lasted through the centuries with many small straw pulp factories still in operation. Rice straw is also a source for the making of paper—and of much better than is possible from wheat straw.

Before World War II white papers of a very

Bagasse, the residue of sugarcane, today is receiving the most widespread and intensive consideration as a source of pulp. The world's potential supply of bagasse—more than 33,000,000 tons—could do much to alleviate the newsprint shortage. Bagasse makes a good pulp, suitable for various kinds of paper, including newsprint, provided it is produced by modern methods and mixed with groundwood. However, it too



From Canada, newsprint is shipped to many other countries. This picture shows great rolls being loaded for export

has drawbacks. Supplies will be limited as long as most of the world's bagasse is used as fuel to fire sugar processing and refining. Bagasse also has a relatively high pith content which must be removed before

actual processing.

It already is clear that, in spite of these and other difficulties, bagasse is going to be a useful supplement to wood pulp in those parts of the world which are in or near sugar-processing areas. Supplement is the word, however, because compared to the total pulp demand, its possibilities are limited to a ceiling estimated by experts to be about 10 per cent of the world's present pulp output. Today's production of bagasse pulp amounts to less than one per cent.

The same areas which produce bagasse grow bamboo, which already is the chief raw material for making pulp and paper in India. Of India's total pulp production of 128,000 tons, 60 per cent was made from bamboo in 1951. Bamboo has good fibre dimensions; it grows rapidly, and it produces a good quality of paper. In Burma, Pakistan, Indo-China and the Philippines, commercial plantations growing bamboo bring high financial returns.

Bamboo is a grass, as is esparto, which grows abundantly in northern Africa and in Spain. Esparto is shipped mostly to England and France for processing. Sabai is another grass. With two crops per year and a yield of about 3200 pounds per acre, sabai today contributes about 22 per cent of the raw material for pulp production in India. Esparto and sabai are important locally—but that is about all. Along with the grasses, straw, bagasse and bamboo all can make a contribution. None can meet the ever-growing need for paper.

The world demand for pulp will continue to rise in the coming years at a rate of about five per cent a year. By 1960, the demand will reach—and it may exceed—54,000,000 tons, an increase of 20,000,000 tons over 1950. To satisfy this need it will take trees and forests. FAO has been looking at all kinds of trees in all kinds of places, seeking new forest sources for pulp.

One of the most promising future sources of pulp-wood from tropical regions is from pine plantations. Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans have demonstrated the practicability of obtaining very rapid growth and high volume yields from planted exotic pines. The world's largest man-made forest—Kaingaroa, in New Zealand—will shortly supply newsprint under a \$30,000,000 project.

In the green region of selva sweeping back from the eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains, Peru sees a solution for its chronic shortage of newsprint in the wood of the cecico, a native tree which grows in weed-like profusion along the banks of the Amazon, the Marañon and the Ucayali Rivers. In his *Woods of Northern Peru*, Llewellyn Williams says that the cecico (genus *cecropia*), although designated a hardwood, is really soft and not very heavy. It is one of the fastest growing pulp trees, growing more than 30 feet in three years. The trunk is 10 to 12 inches in diameter.

Palms, of which there are hundreds of species, also are being explored. Palm woods vary from soft and spongy to extremely hard and heavy, sometimes with a density greater than that of water. It is possible that certain species of palms can be grown for their wood just as others are grown for oil, dates and coconuts.

Hardwoods are not being ignored. Australia's pulp production of 136,000 tons is based almost 80 per cent on hardwoods, while in the world as a whole only 8 per cent of wood pulp is made from hardwoods. Certainly there are possibilities. Eighty years ago, a raw material shortage forced the paper industry to discover and develop new resources, to use softwoods instead of rags as the chief source of pulp for paper. Today the search goes on to meet the ever-increasing pressure of world demand on the raw materials currently being used to produce pulp for paper. Plants, cotton linters, roots, reeds, grasses and many other agricultural products are being tested.

In the United States, at Savannah, Georgia, and at Lufkin, Texas, are factories which work for American, African, Indian, Finnish, Mexican and New Zealand manufacturers. They are searching for raw material sources—and included in their studies are palmetto, sugarcane, fibre, straw, bamboo, African bango and cotton stalks.

Around the world the search goes on—prodded always by the insistent need. When FAO, not long ago, offered to survey cellulose resources and help establish factories for pulping, 25 countries in the Far East and Mediterranean Europe replied, asking for missions to survey their potential capacities for producing paper and newsprint. FAO, as its work develops, gets to know more about the possibilities. They are not pessimistic. The world's forests, they say, are capable of supplying sufficient raw materials. It should be technically possible to achieve the necessary increase in production to meet prospective pulp and paper needs.

The traditional raw material for pulping is, of course, spruce wood which is concentrated in North America and Europe. These two main producing regions had an output of 8,000,000 tons in 1913; by 1950 their joint output had risen to just under 31,000,000 tons.

A long time has passed since the French scientist Rene Antoine Ferchault de Reaumur observed that wasps made their nests from wood filaments which resembled paper. His associates were skeptical when he suggested that man, too, could make paper from wood. When Friedrich Gottlob Keller, a weaver from Saxony, discovered wood pulp in 1844, he proved Reaumur right. By 1854, collars, cuffs and shirt fronts made of paper were on sale in New York City. Ten years later, aprons, hats, carpets, casks and floorings were being made of it. It was used to make

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coffins (but the Persians had thought of that idea long ago), houses, and at least two churches, one in Oslo, the other in London.

Now there are 14,000 uses and with every child who learns to read, a new consumer for paper enters the market. It will indeed take every kind of conservation, ingenuity and inventive resource to keep abreast of this demand. R. F. Taylor, a forester in charge of the Alaska Forestry Research Center, suggested recently that Iceland's forests, practically non-existent after thousands of years of grazing and erosion, might be regrown with conifer seeds collected in Alaska. Alaska thinks that could be done and Iceland wants it done. Who knows; one day a child in Basutoland in Africa may use a book, the seed of which was truly borne near Juneau, though the author lived in Paris.—From *American Forests*.

(Photographs by courtesy of American Forests)

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MILE-STONES TO OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE Patriotic Movements and Associations of the Early Nineteenth Century

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

INTRODUCTION: RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

In the history of India's freedom struggle, the patriotic movements and associations of the early nineteenth century should form a distinct and important chapter. It is a fact that the English established factories in Western and Southern India earlier than in Bengal. But from the cultural point of view, the people in Bengal came into close contact with the English earlier than others. Western thought, culture and education laid a strong impress on the minds of the Bengalis so much so that they began to think and act for our national progress on the pattern of the West. The signs of such development were palpable even before the systematic inculcation of English education to the generality of the people. Raja Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Radhakanta Deb, to name only a few, imbibed Western mode of thought and culture in the first decade of the century.

Rammohun Roy headed the progressive school of thought. His religious and social activities through the meetings of the "Atmiya Sabha," publication of religious books, issuing of pamphlets on social subjects, such as *Suttee*, and writings in the Press, had already made an impress on the minds of his co-religionists and the foreigners, mostly Christians. He assimilated the Western way of approach and reasoning so closely that at times he was hailed as a valuable addition to Christianity. But the Christians had to be disillusioned soon. Though he was a relentless critic of the religious and social habits of his countrymen, still at heart he was a staunch nationalist and ardent lover of his country and countrymen. Standing on this plane he came into conflict with the missionaries and challenged them to meet his arguments against the nefarious activities of the latter. Spread of Christianity amongst a dependent people by vilification of their social and religious customs could not be deemed as an act of chivalry. Rammohun asked them why they would not prove themselves zealous in propagating Christianity in independent countries like Turkey, Persia, etc., and follow the example of the founders of Christianity.¹ He

envisaged the gravity of the problem even in the twenties of the nineteenth century. Since then more than a century had passed, the country had also attained independence, but the missionary activities have



Raja Rammohun Roy

still remained a problem in the land. It may be safely said that our national movements and associations started, and very often received momentum, with our attempt to counteract this missionary menace.

1. *English Works of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, Panini Edition, p. 145.

Rammohun was a pioneer in other directions also. The Hindu College had only been started in 1817. Systematic English education necessarily could not make much headway. In his political work he depended more or less on his colleagues who were mostly privately educated and acquainted themselves with the Western thought beforehand. Rammohun utilised the Press, then in the nascent stage, to propagate his progressive views on subjects which required to be tackled for the rapid improvement of his countrymen. He found in James Silk Buckingham, editor of *The Calcutta Journal*, a true well-wisher of India. Rammohun's Bengali and Persian writings in the two respective papers, *Sambad*



James Buckingham

Comrade and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, were Englished for the journal and published in it almost regularly. The governmental activities in the early twenties were severely criticised in Buckingham's *Journal* as well as in the Indian papers. Minutes on the English and the Vernacular Press—one on English by J. Adam and the other on Vernacular by W. W. Bayley—reveal broadly the critical attitude of the Press, especially of *The Calcutta Journal* and the vernacular papers towards the various ugly measures and actions of the Government. Instead of mending their ways in the light of these criticisms the Government of the day thought it prudent to pass the Press Regulation of 1823, which sought to prevent the free expression of opinion by the Press.

The Damocles' sword had already fallen on James Silk Buckingham. His licence was cancelled; he was banished from the country by April 1823. Rammohun also did not sit idle. Along with his associates, such as Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and others, he sent a petition

to the Supreme Court against this measure. This proving ineffective, he sent an address to the King in Council in England, in which he dwelt on the virtues of a free Press. This address was likened to the *Arcopagetica* of Milton for its lucidity of style, force of argument and for the defence of the freedom of the Press. Rammohun took a step forward. As a protest against the Regulation, he stopped publication of his Persian paper *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, after bringing out its last issue on 4th April, 1823. In giving reasons for the stoppage, he quoted two Persian couplets, the purport of one of which is:

"The respect which is purchased with a hundred drops of blood
Do not thou, in the hope of a favor,
commit to mercy of a porter."²

A great votary of the Bengali language, Rammohun desired its rapid improvement. He thought that the universal use of Bengali was urgently needed for political reasons also. In a paper, "On the possibility, practicability, and expediency of substituting the Bengali language for the English," Rammohun pleaded, for 'the reading of the vernacular languages of India by the English,' for, that 'would give us a better chance of obtaining justice than we have ever had yet.' Some cogent reasons were advanced in support of his proposition. He wrote in conclusion:

"... Surely it is much easier for two or three thousand of them (Englishmen) to adopt our language and character, than to expect sixty millions of Natives ... to give up that which have been used for centuries, and accept a new one."³

In a dependent country, to hold and propagate such a radical view bespeaks of the vigour and foresight of the man that Rammohun was.

GAURIYA SOMAJ

Though most of his countrymen could not subscribe to his radical views regarding religious and social matters as also could not appreciate the far-sightedness of his political views, they, however, formed themselves into an association early in 1823 to devise ways and means for the rapid development of the Bengali language and literature and for the neutralisation of the missionary activities. Both the followers of Rammohun and those belonging to the orthodox section of the Hindu community joined the association in large number. The former included Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Tarachand Chakravarty and the latter the renowned Sanskrit scholars, such as, Ramjay Tarkalankar, Kashinath Tarkapanchanan and Raghuram Siromani, as well as such other litterateurs and prominent Bengalis as Bhawani Charan Banerjee, Radhakanta Deb, Ram Comul Sen, Ramdulal De (Sarkar), Rasamay Datta and Kashinath Mallik.

2. "Rammohun Roy as a Journalist"—Brajendra Nath Banerjee, *The Modern Review* for August, 1931, p. 138.

3. *The Modern Review* for December, 1928, p. 636.

The Gauriya Somaj, rightly described at the time as "The Native Literary Society," issued a prospectus⁴ in Bengali in which its objects were explained in detail. The principal object of the society was the encouragement and diffusion of knowledge amongst our countrymen in their mother tongue. With this view the Society resolved that 'translations of works from other languages into Bengali shall be prepared and published at the Society's expense.' The prospectus proposes the following practical means for the fulfilment of this object in the following lines:

"We therefore beg to suggest, that the wise and well-informed men of this country should combine, and, as far as their respective abilities admit, or by the employment of pundits, and translators, the

twenty years, the English missionaries have treated the natives of Bengal.' The prospectus continues:

"What man of any observation is there who does not perceive its injurious operation on our existing laws, and who is uninformed of the lamentable condition of those who, deserting their own faith, have become native Christians? The missionary teachers, imperfectly informed of the principle of our Shastras, our *devtas*, and our institutes, have translated, as descriptive of them, detached passages; they have printed pamphlets against us, replete with most intemperate and abusing terms, and distributed these to the world ..."

The attitude of the English officials towards the Hindus and their religion was also deplorable. 'Influenced by their disposition to consider us as followers



Dwarkanath Tagore

of a false religion, they withhold all countenance from our pursuits, and feel little or no interest in our welfare.' The Hindus therefore could not look for any considerable encouragement and aid from this quarter. They must rely on their own strength to counteract the menace. They proposed in the prospectus:

"It thus appears that the Hindu, who has always been submissive, humble and inoffensive, is now exposed to unprovoked attacks, and is injured in his reputation, and consequently even in the means of subsistence, by persons who profess to seek his good. As yet this cruelty and calumny have been little heeded, and scarcely an effort to repel them been attempted; had such conduct been offered to the Mussalmans, they would instantly have combined to resent it; and in like manner it is now incumbent on the opulent and respectable Hindus, who delight not in the abuse of their Shastras and practices, and who wish to cherish and preserve them, to consider well these circum-

4. Published in English translation in *The Asiatic Journal*, December, 1823.



Ram Comul Sen

stances, and upon full deliberation, to unite to publish replies to the charge made against us, or to represent our grievances to the government, by whose wisdom no doubt a remedy will be devised."

The Somaj was inaugurated on 16th February 1823, in the Hindu College Hall, with Ram Comul Sen in the chair. The prospectus was read and discussed. Ram-comul Sen and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were appointed secretaries. In the second meeting of the Somaj, a committee of management was formed with Ladly Mohun Tagore, Radhamadhub Banerjee, Kasikanta Ghosal, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Pandit Ramjay Tarkadankar, Radhakanta Deb, Tarini Charan Mitra and Kasinath Mallik. From the contemporary newspapers we get the record of only four



Prasanna Kumar Tagore

meetings of this Somaj, which were held in a rotating manner. The Somaj succeeded in focussing the attention of many influential and opulent persons, and it was hoped that the objects of the institution would be more than fulfilled. Though nothing of the Society was heard beyond the middle of June, 1821, still the impetus that it gave to the propagation of knowledge through the publication of Bengali translations or compilations from foreign authors as well as of the Hindu Sastras, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas; English and Bengali newspapers, periodicals, books on polite literature and poetry, grammars, dictionaries and even maps. The members of the Gauriya Somaj are found to engage in this work of

public good in their individual capacity. The Somaj could not continue for obvious reasons. But the objects for which it was founded, remained uppermost in the minds of our leading and enlightened countrymen who were its members. Very many associations were started later for literary or cultural pursuits. But the Gauriya Somaj may be rightly called the precursor of them all. Late in the twenties, associations of a newer and more radical nature grew up, due to the spread of the new education. Henceforward the people were more and more conscious of the evil consequences of the mischievous missionary propaganda in the country.

THE NEW EDUCATION: THE ACADEMIC ASSOCIATION AND OTHER COGNATE BODIES

During the first decade (1817-27) the Hindu College mostly imparted only rudimentary instruction in English. The appointment of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the young Eurasian poet, as teacher of History and English Literature in the Hindu College in 1826, signalled a new era in the teaching of these subjects. His instruction made it possible for the Indian youths to be acquainted with the currents of modern European thought and culture. The students no longer took things as they were. They applied reason to consider *pros and cons* of every subject and tried to arrive at an independent conclusion. They became habituated to stand for reason as against prejudice. The spirit of enquiry was abroad. To Derozio's pupils were gradually unravelled the secrets of European superiority over the rest of the world in every sphere of life. They began to preach and practise things which were disliked by their elders. They started debating societies at which they freely discussed social, moral, religious and political subjects. This transformation in the outlook of the Bengali youth was brought about within four or five years of Derozio's joining the Hindu College. Peary Chand Mitra, a student-disciple of Derozio, gave the credit for this historic transformation to the inspiring instruction of Derozio in and outside the Hindu College. He writes:

"Of all the teachers, Mr. H. L. V. Derozio gave the greatest impetus to free discussion on all subjects, social, moral and religious. He was himself a free-thinker, and possessed affable manners. He encouraged students to come and open their minds to him. The advanced students of the Hindu College frequently sought for his company during tiffin time, after school hours and at his house. He encouraged everyone to speak out. This led to free exchange of thought and reading of books which otherwise would not have been read." "The impetus to enquiry and promotion of thought given by Derozio manifested itself in debating clubs, which were encouraged by Hare."

The first and foremost of these debating clubs was the Academic Association started by the advanced students of the Hindu College in 1828, and over which

5. *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*: By Peary Chand Mitra, p. 15.

6. *Ibid*, p. 16.

Derozio presided. This Association met once a fortnight for literary discussion in the garden-house of Sreekrishna Singh at Maniktala, where later on the Wards' Institution was situated. The subjects discussed at the meetings included free will, fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, the narrowness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attribute of god, the hollowness of idolatry and the shams of priesthood. In these discussions Krishna Mohun Banerjee, Rasik Krishna Mallik, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, Ramgopal Ghose, Ramtanoo Lahiri, Radhanath Sikdar, Gobinda Chandra Bysak, Peary Chand Mitra as well as many others took an active part. David Hare, the main projector of the Hindu College and a true friend and advocate of Indian advancement, was a regular visitor to the meetings of the Association and encouraged the deliberations of the young men on the above subjects. Sir Edward Rayan, Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and Colonel Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, used to visit the meetings occasionally. The example set by the students of the Hindu College was followed by those of the other seminaries also. We learn from a contemporary account⁷ that

"Seven associations of this kind are now in existence, the proceedings of which are conducted exclusively in the English language. Most of them meet once a week, and some at longer intervals, for discussing questions in literature and science; and sometimes in politics; the number of members belonging to each varies from 17 to 50. At some of the societies written essays are produced, which become the subjects of discussion; at one of them lectures on intellectual philosophy are delivered in rotation by members, and at another by the president, an East Indian gentleman of great talents. . . ."

The last one evidently refers to the Academic Association, and its President Derozio. According to this account, Derozio was connected with most of the others as a member. It further says:

"In short, he lends a very able and active hand in raising the intellectual character of the native youth; and many of the young men who have enjoyed the advantage of his instructions have distinguished themselves by their proficiency."

We learn also that

"The example thus set in English has been imitated in Bengalee literature, and two or three Associations have been formed principally of persons not connected with the schools above-mentioned, for writing upon and verbally discussing various subjects exclusively in the Bengalee language."

Students headed by Debendra Nath Tagore (later, Maharshi) and Ramaprasad Roy actually started an association in December, 1832, for the cultivation of the Bengali language.

7. "An Indian Correspondent on the Native Improvement" in *John Bull*, December 11, 1830.

This free discussion by the advanced students and young men soon led to activities that gave rise to a commotion in the Hindu society. Eating forbidden food, decriing idolatry, denouncing the social customs—constituted some of their chief planks of action to which the elders took serious exception. The latter made Derozio responsible for all this, and succeeded in inducing the Hindu College authorities to dispense with his services. The young men were subjected to various kinds of torture and humiliation by their guardians. But they were undaunted. They remained votaries of their cherished opinions all their life. They fought against social evils and religious bigotry with youthful exuberance. Eager to diffuse the new educa-



David Hare

tion amongst their countrymen, these youths started free schools in and around Calcutta. Some of them took to journalism, literature, teaching or trade as their profession while others accepted posts in various departments of the Government. Whenever they went, they instilled the spirit of honesty and truth into the body politic. This paved the way for the removal of long-drawn abuses prevalent in the public offices and in private life. These young men, better known as "Young Bengal", later on, became the leaders of the community in politics and social activities. The lessons of association or combination, imbibed in their youthful days, stood them in good stead in after life. Guided by the noble motives of patriotism, they established religious, social, cultural and political associations for the all-round improvement of their countrymen.

The educated Bengali youths soon spread into the mofussil districts of Bengal, and gradually all over

Northern and Central India as well as Assam as the emissaries of new light, education and culture. They also took lead in the progressive movements of these regions.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ELDERS

Since the establishment of the Gauriya Somaj, the elders of the community took upon themselves the task of safeguarding our national interests in politics. They soon had an occasion to protest against the



Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

governmental action. The jury system was first introduced in our law courts in 1826. Here was made an invidious distinction by the powers-that-be between the Christians and the non-Christians. It was stipulated in the law that 'the Grand Jury in all cases, and all jurors for the trial of persons professing the Christian Religion, shall consist wholly of persons professing the Christian Religion.'⁸ Rammohun Roy, the most progressive leader of the period, protested strongly against this measure. While in England, he even brought the matter pertinently to the notice of the Parliamentary Joint Committee set up for the consideration of the Indian affairs in 1832. Here the public mind was so

much agitated over this unjust measure that both the Hindus and Mussalmans joined hands with one another for the first time for seeking redress of this political grievance and sent a petition to the Government here as well as in England either for rectification or for withdrawal of this ignoble measure. One Mr. John Crawford acted as agent of the Indians in England and presented a petition on the matter before the Parliament on their behalf. It was due to the continued agitation in India and abroad that the Jury Act was so amended as to remove the invidious distinction from the Statute Book in July, 1832.

Next in importance was the colonisation question mooted in late twenties by the non-official Europeans. The Europeans had to live in this country on sufferance, licences being issued to them for residence here. They were liable to be banished from the land even on suspicion by the Government. They, therefore, could not be permanent residents and have any stake in the land. For the removal of these disabilities, the colonisation movement was started. In the public meeting held for this purpose in the Calcutta Town Hall on 15th December, 1829, Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore lent their cordial support to the cause. Dwarkanath even moved a resolution for abolishing the restrictions on the residence of Europeans in India. Rammohun supported this resolution. In their speeches they both emphasised the necessity of the Europeans living permanently in this country, as partners of the Indians in weal and woe. From personal experience, Rammohun said on the importance of European colonisation as follows:

"I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs; a fact which can be easily proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage with that of those who unfortunately have not had that opportunity; and a fact which I could, to the best of my belief, declare on solemn oath before any assembly."

Rammohun believed in his heart of hearts that European capital and enterprise, not to speak of Western education and culture only, would be fruitfully employed for the development of the country's resources, whereby the Indians would be largely benefited. But the Charter Act of 1833 and the invention of the steam engine conjured up together to belie these expectations of Rammohun and his friends. There was a party of elders, headed by Radhakanta Deb, who denounced the colonisation question; and the unforeseen circumstances that followed, proved their contention to be right.

Some sort of political consciousness was already in evidence in the newly educated in Bengal. Both the elders and the young men felt that their dependence on

others must end before they could rise to their full stature. And the process had already set in. In his "An Address to My Countrymen,"¹⁰ in 1831, Prasanna Kumar Tagore declared that

"The influence of liberty and truth was spread and is spreading far and wide, and nothing can check its course. There was a time when the natives of this country were looked upon as a race of unprincipled and ignorant people. . . . But look at the contrast now. Is it possible that at the present day an impeachment of such a dark character will be allowed to bear the slightest colour of truth?"

On the social plane the conservative Hindus came into serious conflict with the progressive school of reformers headed by Rammohun. The *Suttee* question was solved once for all by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General by the passage of the Anti-Suttee Act on 4th December 1829. The progressive leaders welcomed this measure and gave him an address of felicitation in the following January. The orthodox section also approached the Governor-General with a prayer to get the Act repealed, but failed to elicit a favourable reply. They, however, founded *Dharma Sabha* on 17th January, 1830, to conduct an agitation in India and England against the Anti-Suttee Act. They even appealed to the Privy Council for redress. But here also they could not succeed. At times the conflict between the Brahmo-Sabha, the religio-social body of Rammohun, and the *Dharma Sabha* of the orthodox Hindus grew serious. But the political grievances which both had to suffer equally, bridged the gulf of differences and they were united in no time to fight for the common cause.

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1833 AND AFTER

The 'reformist' and progressive activities of the Indians here and especially of Raja Rammohun Roy in England had their repercussions on the discussion over the renewal of Charter in the Select Parliamentary Committee there. The Charter Act was passed by the Parliament in 1833, and came into force early next year. By this Act the East India Company lost all its trading rights except those on salt, and the Indian Civil Service, a close preserve for the relations of the directors and influential share-holder of the Company, was opened theoretically to all, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. But, practically speaking, only the Britons could take advantage of this innovation for a long time. The most important change introduced by the Act, was, however, the centralisation of legislative power for all India in the Council of the

Governor-General, who now came to be designated as the Governor-General of India instead of the 'Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal.' This important change neutralised the fissiparous tendencies of the Governments of Madras and Bombay, who had hitherto acted practically independently of the Central Government at Calcutta. The spirit of governmental independence percolated to the rank and file of the newly educated there. Decades had to pass before this separatist tendency could be removed from their minds and a national outlook evolved. Being centralised, the Government became 'national' before our new nationalism could take a concrete shape. A fourth member was added to the Governor-General's Council as 'Legal Member.'

The colonisation movement succeeded so far as the removal of the licence-system was concerned. After the passage of the Charter Act, the Europeans were eligible to be an Indian citizen *par excellence*. They could settle here permanently, acquire property rights, engage in agriculture and carry on trade in the country. But the greatest anomaly remained, and they could move here like "free" Britons, by which they boasted to call themselves. Their privilege of being tried by the Supreme Court of Calcutta both in civil and criminal cases, was kept intact. This led to serious racial antagonism between the Indians and the Europeans afterwards. Even when in 1836, Macaulay, the first Legal Member, sought to remove this legal anomaly and racial discrimination partially by extending the jurisdiction of the Company's civil courts in the mofussil to try cases in which the Indians and Europeans were involved, the non-official Europeans in Calcutta held public meetings to denounce the measure and even then they nicknamed it as the 'Black Law.' This name persisted each time any attempt for the removal of this legal discrimination was made.

But the leaders of both the communities still acted together for the preservation of their common interests. The beneficent rule of Lord William Bentinck and his temporary successor Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe induced the Indians to unite and work for the good of their common Motherland. They did not hesitate to unite and protest against the administrative measures. The Press was set free in September, 1835. This gave no less impetus to free discussion of the State-measures.

Political associations soon cropped up to give vent to public feelings. Newspapers devoted themselves more and more to political discussion. Criticism of the public acts and measures as well as suggestions for the country's improvement became the order of the day.

10. *The Asiatic Journal*, August, 1931: *Asiatic Intelligence*, pp. 200-1. :b4

8. Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements, p. 351.

9. *The Asiatic Journal*, June, 1830: *Asiatic Intelligence*, p. 67.

HOW AMERICANS MISREPRESENT INDIA

Some Samples

By PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL

"AMERICAN editors like to publish articles, etc., about India by their own editors, writers, journalists and observers, etc., who are visiting India off and on rather than by Indians," said an important man of the U.S. Embassy in India. I agreed because it is perfectly natural to rely more on their own countrymen and their writings will have a greater appeal to American readers. They also write in a suitable style giving those very facts most needed by them and in a manner which attracts their imagination at once.

But it is risky too, particularly in these days when earnest efforts are being made by U.S. at tremendous cost to win Indian friendship and goodwill. Misrepresentations, wrong facts, or exaggerations in their writings tend to create ill-will among Indians, and the critical section in India, not favouring increasing Indo-American friendship, make a capital out of even small things innocently written. They are likely to confirm all kinds of suspicions of Indians about American intentions. Naturally therefore, it is essential for American editors to be extra-careful in not publishing wrong things about Indian affairs injuring their sentiments, thus cutting the root of growing friendship between the people of the two great democracies of the world.

An impartial analysis of these references to Indian affairs is very revealing and sometimes it appears as if a deliberate attempt is made to misrepresent India even by most eminent and responsible men. Sometimes such instances are more harmful and we have to guard against them.

In this article I propose to give some concrete instances to give you an idea how and what misrepresentations are being made.

Even so responsible a man like the former U. S. Ambassador in India who was always believed to be correct and who was expected to be more familiar with facts being on the spot often made grievously wrong statements.

In his article appearing in the *New York Times*, dated March 23, 1952, under "Asia Challenges U. S. through India," the former democrat U.S. Ambassador in India Mr. Chester Bowles wrote:

"Following the general pattern set in the point four pilot study at Etawah each project will lay heavy stress on increasing agricultural production."

Participating in a Columbia Broadcasting system programme "Capitol Clockroom" broadcast on January 18, 1952, Mr. Bowles again said:

"The U. S. is trying to help them help themselves. Horace Holmes (point four expert) went out there to help them . . ."

The pilot project work, Etawah, of which I am a resident, is not a point four work. Point four aid

implies financial as well as technical help but here there was more. In fact, on June 5, 1950, the President of the U.S.A. approved the act of international co-operation, authorising the point four programme. On September 6, 1950, the first annual appropriation of \$34,500,000 for the fiscal year 1951 became available on September 8, 1950. The point four programme became the responsibility of the Department of State by executive order.

Etawah pilot project work had been started in September, 1948.

It will thus be abundantly clear that point four came into existence after two years of Etawah work had started and nothing has yet been done by point four in any shape or form to take the credit.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who visited India early in 1952 as a guest of India Government, paid a visit to Etawah and wrote about its work in her world-wide syndicated column "My Day" appearing under Allahabad (India), March 19, 1952 date-line in this way:

"When our point four people first arrived the farmers thought only of digging a big canal for irrigation purposes, which would have been an expensive project, but it was quite evident that no money was forthcoming for this, so Mr. Holmes started by inducing them to try better seeds in small sections of their fields. Then gradually tube-wells were put down and more irrigation was possible . . ."

In the same column in the concluding paragraph she wrote:

"Altogether I was so interested by Etawah that I wanted to tell the whole world about what Mr. Holmes of the U.S.A. working for the point four programme has started."

It implied that when work was started here there was no proper scheme of work, people entertained wild ideas or hopes, enough money was not arranged for and it was Mr. Holmes who gave the lead in driving away the confusion and that he was point four man.

All of these are however wrong. Before the work started experts had a definite well-thought-out scheme and ample funds at their disposal for executing it. People never thought of digging a canal and wanted to know what they would do as a big canal with so many tributaries already existed there, tube-wells were put down to supply more water and at will. There was no room for confusion of any kind and experts started the work according to pre-arranged plan. The biggest mistake, bordering on mischief, is the suggestion that it was started by or under point four. As explained above point four had nothing to do with it and Mr. Holmes who is now working in India with point four was then an employee of U.P. State and was imported into

India to work here as an assistant and later joined point four.

The last paragraph where she says it was started by him is again wrong. Mr. Albert Mayer, an American town planner, who conceived it, planned it and put it into work and who still continues to work for it, started it.

When I brought to the notice of Mrs. Roosevelt all these facts she corrected her previous writings by writing the following under "Hyde Park," July 10, 1952 headline:

"I have a letter from a gentleman in India who points out that I was incorrect, rather left an incorrect impression when I wrote a column on Etawah, India. I am sorry to have been inadequate and I hereby correct it immediately, but I also wish to say that in short column it is very difficult many times to tell the whole story about anything."

"The project of Etawah was started by the Indian Government. Albert Mayer, an American architect, who is building the new capital of upper Punjab, was responsible for the early recommendations on which was to be done and has continued to watch over it with interest. The Government had engaged Horace Holmes, an American extension agent, and he worked in India for two years before our point four programme came into the picture at all. Later Mr. Holmes was kept on under the point four arrangement."

"This information was kindly sent me by Prem Narain Agrawal, M.A., who is an author and journalist of Ajitmal, Etawah, India. I am very grateful to him that he corrected the impression that I had created. I have mentioned Mr. Mayer on several occasions. He has been interested in and guided much on the building in this area and in other Indian areas."

Such mis-statements and half-hearted corrections by such eminent persons like Mrs. Roosevelt create a lot of misunderstanding and confirm various suspicions already existing in India. She corrected her previous writing but not all the facts and that too not in clear language.

When she visited Etawah she was in the company of the U. P. Governor and this fact she mentions in the same column from whom she could have easily ascertained these facts. But she relied on her own countrymen which put her in such an awkward position and did a lot of harm not only to her prestige in India but to Indo-American friendship and good relations. In her Allahabad, March 18, 1952 date-line column she gave the source of her information which she later had to correct in this way:

"The evening before on the train Mr. Holmes, who is the point four man, who started this work and whose training was given at Cornell University, came in to talk with me about what they were doing, so I had a little background to help me observe."

Evidently she was misled deliberately by Holmes with some intentions.

Her previous column appeared in Indian papers

but not her corrections. She did not appear to have made any effort so far to enlighten the Indian people about her corrections, leaving them free to form any opinion about her intentions, those of the Americans whom she represented. But Mr. Chester Bowles, the former U.S. Ambassador in India, did not deem it fit to correct his statements referred to above, despite my rather lengthy correspondence with him, and the verbal admission of the mistakes by his assistant, probably because of the official position he held at the time.

Though unusual for Ambassadors he wrote several articles about India and might have committed equally serious and damaging statements. In another article captioned "New India" appearing in the *American Quarterly Review Foreign Affairs* in October 1952, which came to my notice recently, he wrote:

"In addition there were 584 princely States. Of those only Kashmir, Hyderabad and Mysore were of significant size, while 202 had areas of less than ten square miles."

While the number of States is not exactly the same his statement that Kashmir, Hyderabad and Mysore only were of significant size, is misleading. There were several other States of significant size like Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, etc.

At another place in the same article he writes:

"The answer lies largely in making more consumers goods available in the village bazaars at reasonable prices. There are tens of millions of Indians who have never owned a pair of shoes or a change of clothing. The market for new cooking equipment and simple comfort is almost unlimited."

It gives an incorrect picture. There is plenty of consumers goods now in the market, barring a few things, but Indians have no money to buy them. Indians could not own a pair of shoes not because there was a dearth of shoes but they never had money to spare for them. Now with slump coming in there is a general complaint everywhere in India that consumers goods are lying in shops and stores, and there are no buyers. It is true that the market for cooking equipment and simple comfort is almost unlimited but they have no money to buy it.

It may be argued that neither Mrs. Roosevelt nor Mr. Bowles are professional writers and such mistakes are possible. But the truth is that their views and observations carry far greater weight than that of an ordinary writer, hence, they should have been more careful in their writings.

But professional and experienced editors have done no better.

Another very important man of the same embassy very proudly gave me a copy of Mr. Ralph McGill's report on India containing all the columns written by him during his stay in the interior of India, which had also appeared in the American daily *The Atlanta Constitution*, of which he was the editor, challenging me to point out wrong facts and wrong impressions as

he was sure it cannot contain such things. He gave it to me when I was discussing wrong facts, misrepresentations, exaggerations, etc., in American and Indian press about Etawah project in which the U.S. embassy had an hand.

Since he was in Etawah district for the most part of his stay and wrote about it, myself being in between Ayana and Mahewa, the two areas where he stayed and wrote about, I can give the correct factual picture.

Writing of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, under New York City date-line appearing in *The Atlanta Constitution*, dated November 21, 1951, he says, "He sold his beautiful, spacious house and gardens." Evidently he refers to Pandit Nehru's famous Anand Bhawan afterwards called Swaraj Bhawan, which was the headquarters of the All-India Congress Committee for a number of years. It was not sold but given free of all costs to the Congress to house its head office. There is plenty of difference in selling and giving free.

Writing of Mahatma Gandhi under Karachi date-line appearing in his paper on December 1, 1951, he says, "He (Gandhi) was shot on Sunday, January 25, 1948."

Gandhiji was shot on January 30, 1948 and it was Friday and not on the date and day he mentions.

Under Ayana, district Etawah, U.P., headline appearing in *The Atlanta Constitution* on December 10, 1951, he writes thus:

"So great is the shortage of fuel that cowdung is made into cakes and dried so that it resembles and burns like the peat of Ireland."

Cowdung cake is not used because of fuel shortage but because of the quality of fire it produces. Its fire is more suitable for good cooking. It is so cheap and convenient to make and use during monsoon when woods get moist, giving more smoke.

Writing about Etawah pilot project work, which he came to see in particular to shout about, under New York City date-line appearing in his paper, dated November 21, 1951, he writes, "There our agricultural aid has brought many changes."

Again he makes reference to this work under Ayana head-line appearing on December 10, 1951, in the following words:

"... Who is in charge of the farm project being conducted here by the Indian Government. With point four assistance ..."

He emphasises American aid in this area again under Ayana date-line appearing on December 11, 1951, in this way:

"Here thanks to ... and his associates, Indian and American. The administration of American aid has been sound and productive."

But the fact is that there was no American aid either technical or financial in the Etawah pilot project area. Etawah work had been started in Sept. 1, 1948, two years before point four was formed in the U.S.A. and much before it came to India. Some Americans who

worked in this area were employed and paid fully by the U. P. State.

Under Etawah headline appearing on December 12, 1951, he says, "Etawah which is the smallest of 48 districts in the State called the United Province," and goes on describing the annual livestock fair of the Etawah district as "the largest fair in all India." He called it the United Province though its name was changed to Uttar Pradesh in 1949 under the new Constitution.

Etawah is not the smallest district of this State nor the annual cattle fair 'the largest fair in all India.' It is not the largest fair even in our State of U.P.

Appearing on December 13, 1951, under Ayana headline he mentions, "There are in India 48 such other States." He would have been correct if he had said there are 48 such districts in U.P. There are only in all, big or small, 28 States, like Uttar Pradesh in the whole of India.

At places we also find confusion of thought. Under Ayana headline appearing on December 13, 1951, he writes:

"There is an area which is semi-desert. Irrigation necessary. There are two canals flowing more than 300 miles through the areas, deriving from Ganga (Ganges) the river."

Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 17, 1951, writing about another village Andawa a few miles from Ayana, he says:

"The land in this area, which is the vast Ganges river valley, is very fertile, but arid. Aside from the monsoon which brings rain in the late June and into late August, there is almost literally no rain at all."

In the first paragraph if he describes Ayana area it is wrong since there is only one canal and the land is not at all semi-desert. If he means the whole of Etawah district, which has two canals, the land again is not semi-desert.

The second paragraph makes the confusion and description more evident. The whole of Etawah district, not village Andawa alone, including Ayana village, lies in the vast Ganges river valley and the land is very fertile. I should rather say the land lying between the two famous rivers Ganges and Jamuna, called *doab* land is the most fertile land in the whole of India and Etawah is situated in this area. It looks ridiculously inspired to describe it as 'semi-desert.' Rainfall continues from late June to late August and also in September. In December and January, again there are showers of rain and often more than necessary for canal-irrigated land.

Under Ayana headline appearing on December 18, 1951, he writes:

"There were letters to mail and so we drove along bullock cart ruts to the canal bank, which flows from the Ganges 300 miles through this parched land and along it to the Post Office at Auraiya 11 miles away."

"It has a bank, with a policeman on guard in a uniform like a soldier's and armed with a rifle."

The first paragraph is a sad and incorrect reflection on the postal system of India. It implies he had to go to Auraiya 11 miles away just to post his letters as if there was no Post Office capable of carrying his mail nearby. There is a Post Office in the village of Ayana itself and another five miles away, as quick in carrying mails as Auraiya Post Office. It is wholly incorrect to say he had to go there for the sake of posting his mails. It would have been reasonable to say that he went to see what it was like.

It is equally wrong to say that Auraiya had one bank only as described above with a policeman. Auraiya has more than one bank and the man whom he described as policeman was not a policeman but a *sentry* of the bank, employed to guard it. He seems to invent and develop a funny idea to boast American aid to impress his American readers. Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 20, 1951, he writes:

"The Indian masses were never given schools. ... Now they are being given schools and assistance in learning. The U.S.A. is playing a part in it, though always with and under the Indian Government as is proper."

There were schools not only in this region but all over India even during the British days and in some villages compulsory primary education existed. Their number was constantly increasing and reaching larger number of villages even in the remotest corners.

I do not know what part he thinks U.S.A. is playing in it. I have already stated in the Etawah project the U.S.A. has not contributed a single pice. There is no justification to say so when there was no such aid in any form.

While writing about the Prime Minister, with whom he lunched he shows the same ignorance. Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 22, 1951, he writes, "Even Nehru's daughters attained, etc."

Pandit Nehru has only one daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. He should have written sisters, to be correct who are two.

Describing his lunch with Pandit Nehru under New Delhi headline appearing on January 6, 1952, he says:

"So we talked, and his gracious sister, Madame Pandit Nehru, and his charming and attractive daughter chatted briefly."

He did not even know that his gracious sister, who has been Indian Ambassador in his country, should have been mentioned as Madame Pandit only.

While writing on general conditions of India, under Mahewa headline appearing on December 29, 1951, he writes:

"A good half of the population does not drink milk, because it comes from an animal."

It is true that a large number of our people do not drink milk; they do not drink, not because it comes from animal but because they cannot afford to do it or

they do not get it. It is funny to think in this way, because the cow is called mother from time immemorial for the simple reason that it gives sweet healthy milk. It has become a sacred animal to Hindus mainly for this reason and they have been drinking her milk for centuries.

Even a casual glance on the railway ticket from Etawah to Delhi, would have caught his eye that the distance between these two places is only 185 miles, not 296 miles as he mentions in his column appearing on January 1, 1952, under New Delhi headline.

These are some of the major and most glaring lapses which I have discussed here from the writings of a very keen and sincere observer editor of U.S.A., about whose facts the U.S. Embassy man in India was so sure. Others may be committing larger and more serious mistakes, depending on their preconceived notions, objectives and places of visit. Fed on such stuff by their own countrymen, neglecting the other side by the Indian writers, what the American public will think of the Indian can be very well imagined. When such material is distributed widely in India and the U.S.A. by responsible official American sources, it only indicates their complicity with anti-Indian propaganda, uprooting the feelings of Indo-American friendship and goodwill.

The effect of such irresponsible writings is that the general press in America begin to believe in so many things which are not correct, forming an altogether wrong idea of what India is today. This is the time when we need better information about each other so that we may understand them with greater sympathies and be more friendly. But such an impression among them, while it misleads the American citizens, creates ill-will amongst Indians when they know of such erroneous views of those, whom they try to befriend. It can be easily explained by Communists or others as anti-Indian propaganda to lower their prestige in the U.S.A.

The impressions the Americans are forming as a result of such writings can be best illustrated reading the following paragraphs from *New Orleans*, an U.S.A. paper, printed on December 30, 1951, under the headline "Point Four in Miniature—A Country Agent at Work in India":

"And by adopting modern agricultural equipment and knowledge to local conditions and religious laws, he turned the barren valley of Etawah into a bountiful garden."

Another paragraph runs as follows:

"It will kill the plants before they have matured and that would be taking life which we are forbidden to do"—they explained—"when Holmes wanted to introduce use of the soil-enriching legumes."

As explained elsewhere in this article Etawah is not a barren valley, it is the most fertile and best irrigated land in the whole of India nor the American experts have succeeded in turning it into a 'bountiful

garden.' In fact, these experts have caused more harm to Indian farmers than good owing to their unfamiliarity with Indian soil and conditions of agriculture.

It is equally wrong to suggest that Indians never knew of green soil-enriching crops or religion stood in their way. They have been using Sanai, Indigo, etc., as such for decades and no religious ideas came in their way.

In fact, in everything I read about India by American writers or journalists, I find some such information which may very well be described as 'intentionally or deliberately done' and the reasons for it may be differently interpreted by different parties. Even their own correspondents in India have been reporting incorrect and damaging facts.

In an article entitled "Point Four Props Farmers in India" in the *Christian Science Monitor* by its special correspondent, Mr. Gordon Graham, appearing on 20.8.51, it appears:

"For example, sometime ago it was suggested to the Etawah farmers that they should try green manuring with Sanai (sunherp). But the farmers would not plough the green crop in, as this would

require, because, as Hindus, they considered it sinful to destroy anything living before maturity."

So many are the misrepresentations in the writings of these few persons, and numerous persons and papers in the U.S.A. have written about Etawah! We can well imagine the number and extent of such samples. And all this is about Etawah. There may be many more places like Etawah and the cumulative result is just shocking to our imagination.

Hereculean efforts on the one hand by the American government and such misrepresentations based on completely wrong facts, inventions and distortions on the other hand, are going together and I wonder if the result would be satisfactory to the liking either of the American people or their government or the Indian people, who now deserve better consideration, particularly after a lot of such misrepresentations indulged in by the then British rulers to prove India's incapacity for Swaraj before the Americans for decades. Instead of counteracting this, such things continue only to undermine the future pleasant relations of the peoples of the two great democracies of the world. There is still time to think and be careful.

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THE CONCEPT OF JUSTICE IN OUR CONSTITUTION

By KUMARI SUSHILA RUDRA, M.A.

In our country for centuries, has the common man hankered and hungered for Justice. The one virtue which he admires most is "Insaf." The poets and bards of our ancient land have sung its praises, while legends tell us that the kings who have been revered and respected most were those who were imbued with a sense of justice. And now we find, according to the Preamble of the Constitution, that this much-sought-after virtue is almost within our grasp. For the Preamble of the Constitution states boldly:

"... to secure to all its citizens
Justice—Social, Economic and Political ..."

Social justice is secured in our Constitution according to Article 17. "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'Untouchability' shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law." Thus we see one of the greatest ideals of the Father of the Nation is realised by this Article. By the removal of this social injustice nearly 50 million people are assured of their dignity as individuals.

Social justice is also attained by Article 23 as traffic in human beings and *begar* and other forms of forced labour are prohibited and punishable by law. Justice—social—is specially taken into account for the weaker people, in particular the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. According to Article 46, the State shall promote with special care their educational and economic interests and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Economic justice has not been fully realised. For economic justice is not to be found in Part III of our Constitution, namely, the Fundamental Rights, which are enforceable in a court of law if violated in any way. Justice—economic—is embodied in Part IV of the Constitution in the chapter dealing with the Directive Principles of State Policy. The articles therein are mere directives and principles which are to be followed and to be put into practice by each State. But no law-suits can be filed against the Union or State Governments if they are entirely indifferent or negligent regarding these Directives.

According to Article 38, the State is to secure a social order for the promotion and welfare of the people. The Directive Principles lay down certain specific measures which are to be carried out in order to promote economic justice. There we find especially in Article 39 of the Constitution as follows: "The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing—

- (a) That the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;
- (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

(e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength."

The Constitution also secures economic justice in the case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement (Article 41). For women too special consideration is given and humane conditions of work secured and maternity relief. Economic justice is secured for children as well according to Article 24, and Article 39 (f) states that "childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."

Article 43 seems to be almost a Utopia in itself. It sets out to achieve through suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way "to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas."

Political justice is secured for the individual in the form of one of the most important Rights, Article 14: "The State shall not deny to any person equality before law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India." Thus every individual is justly treated as equal.

As regards employment in the State too, we find that justice is meted. Article 16 states according to Clause 1: "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State." This is indeed a great step forward since employment in government is no longer on a narrow communal basis as it was before independence, but is dependent on ability to be judged by a system of examination to be held by the Public Service Commission. Thus ability is the criterion for employment in the secular State.

According to the Directive Principle of State Policy, Article 44, "The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India." But true political justice can only be achieved

in our country when Article 50 of the Constitution is put into practice: "The State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State." For a certain amount of separation of powers is very essential for the success of a newly formed Democratic State like ours.

Social justice has been guaranteed by the State fully. But here we find the State striding and marching ahead, and a somewhat baffled and ignorant people slowly waking up to find, that overnight their traditions and customs and entire set of values have been changed by the State. But justice—social—must be preserved for the good of the nation. Thus it is for the individual to undergo a process of mental revolution and adjustment, while it is for the State to give every aid through a right system of education, to be able to make him realize the full implication and significance of the tremendous social change.

Economic justice is something which the individual cannot achieve by himself. The Directive Principles are like shining stars studded in the Constitution which the common man dare not even dream to touch. The gulf between the ideal and the reality is pathetic. It leaves the individual helpless and frustrated. It is here that the State must needs don the "Seven-League Boots" in order to meet the daily common needs of the individuals. It is in the matter of economic justice that the State should stride even farther ahead of the people than it has done in regard to social justice. For though social justice was the cry of the great reformers in our land in the nineteenth and till the first half of the twentieth century, yet within these few years since Independence they are looked upon as mere superficial reforms. Thus the cry of the hour in our country as in all other parts of the world is that of economic justice, and the State must realise this justice. But we must recall to mind the old dictum which tells us that State and Society are made up of individuals. Thus it should be indeed a matter of great enthusiasm and adventure for the State and Individual to tackle together this almost insurmountable Everest in Article 43.

Justice—political—has been guaranteed and a great deal has been achieved, but not enough, while there is a grave danger that these articles might tend to become mere dead letters, if selfish interest of individuals or party power-politics is allowed to get the upper hand.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM "Quit English?"

I have read with great interest the article under the above title by Prof. Kamal Krishna Ghosh appearing in the June, 1952 issue of *The Modern Review*. I quite agree with him that even in free India, the former position of English should be retained and it should be begun soon, after a child begins his vernacular. He has sounded a note of warning against growing deterioration among our

students particularly with regard to English. My experience from a long career as a teacher in Bihar is that though after Independence, the pass mark in English was reduced to 30 p.c. from 37½ p.c., the percentage of failure in English has shot up and the greater number of failure in the Matriculation Examination of the last few years was entirely due to English. If this is the fate

of the boys who had been studying English in school for eight years, what will happen to those going up for the Secondary School Examination (formerly, Matriculation) in 1954, who will have read it only for four years?

With whatever end in view, we had been so long learning and teaching English—being our rulers' language or for Government jobs—we did not fail to perceive that it had been and would remain of great benefit for us, because :

(1) English is one of the richest literary languages of the modern age.

(2) It is an international language, understood almost everywhere in the world—in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres as well as in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, and hence is most useful in world trade and world politics.

(3) It gives a wider outlook than Classics or Vernacular, and in it have been translated the best books of the world.

(4) In order to keep in touch with modern currents of thoughts, students all over the world, should in addition to their vernacular, study the language of one modern progressive European nation. French or German can serve this purpose, but Indians have the best advantage to study English.

To-day independent countries are also doing this. Japan has made great progress through English education, Turkey has replaced Arabic by French. In Thailand (Siam), students have to learn both English and French, because it had been surrounded by British and French Indo-China. Multilingualism is a necessity for the day. But the common Indian student need not go beyond English for they have also to learn the Vernacular, the State Language and the Classical Language. As we cannot forget that we are Indians and hence must study the language or languages forming our cultural background, so we cannot afford to forget that we belong to the modern age and must not lag behind the modern progressive nations.

Now if our matriculates read English only for four years, from 11 to 15 years, what will they do with this meagre knowledge? They will not be able to read and understand a most simple book or a newspaper in English nor able to taste a bit of its literature nor talk with a foreigner. This would be a sheer waste of energy.

Let me say one word on the medium of instruction—a question Prof. Ghosh has evaded in his article. There will be no two opinions on the fact that in the school stage the vernacular should always be the medium. Many reformers are in favour of retaining the vernacular in the colleges too. But we already agreed to learn English as an international language. Why do we labour for it unless to get access to its rich storehouse?

Translation of any and every English book should not be allowed even if it is possible with the vast number of terms, for that is a discouragement to study the original works. It would not be proper to translate Darwin's *Origin of Species* into Hindi for our students' obtaining diploma in Biology. In the Osmania University where Urdu was the only medium, students could not follow the lectures of foreign visiting professors. Many of our students will seek higher education in foreign universities, hence education should not be too much vernacularised. Even English proves insufficient for some higher courses of the universities of England in which original French or German books have to be studied. Western thought loses much of its charm if translated into Indian languages and *vice versa*. For the same reason Sankhya, Jyotish, Ayurveda, etc., should be studied in original Sanskrit in the higher courses.

My views on the subject are quite singular. I say that neither Vernacular nor Classics nor English nor any language in particular should be the medium in the university stage. Whatever books serve best to teach the particular subject should be used, whether written in English, Vernacular or Sanskrit since the student is supposed to know all these languages. For them no particular "text-books" should be written nor any translated. The subject-matter is to be taught and not the language and the students should gather their knowledge from their professors' lecture-notes and books in any language approved by them. The individual professor's advantage to use a particular language out of the above three approved ones, is also to be looked into. If in any subject most of the books available be in English, the candidates may find it convenient to answer in English too. But it does not mean that they cannot answer in vernacular if they so like. In all non-language subjects, the candidate should previously fill in the form stating in what language he wants to answer the paper.

If we are to follow the ideal of Mahatma Gandhi, we cannot base our State on hatred, not even for the English people, far less for their language or literature. The Government of Bharat have not yet abolished English measures in space (yards, feet, inches) and weight (tons, pounds, ounces), nor have employed any clock-maker to construct clocks showing *danda*, *pala* and *vipala*, although they are not less scientific than the English system. We are still following the Christian Calendar, though Christians are a very small minority here. Perhaps every one wants to retain them for ever, for all-India matters. What harm is there in the English language, in the international numerals and the Roman Script which are at least easier to write than Devanagari?

SUDHIR CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

ERRATA

The Modern Review for July, 1953 : P. 17, Col. 2. Line 45 : Read Sri U. M. Trivedi for Sri U. N. Trivedi.
" " " : P. 18, Col. 1 Line 11 : Read 18th for 16th.



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

SHRI K. M. MUNSHI DIAMOND JUBILEE VOLUME—Part I, *Bharatiya Vidya*, Volume IX, 1948: Published by *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay*, 1949. Pp. 377. Price Rs. 15.

In this first part (all received by us up to now) of the Festschrift presented to the well-known President of the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* by his friends and admirers on the happy occasion of his completing his sixtieth year, the editors have selected, for publication in the alphabetical orders of the authors' names, thirty papers bearing on different branches of Indian history and culture. The papers are of unequal merit. We propose to take up first the best papers which may be arranged under the head 'Indian Literature.' In the branch of Vedic exegesis Dr. V. M. Apte offers a new explanation of the symbolism of the goddess Diti, while Dr. H. R. Karnik gives similarly a learned interpretation of the Brahmana legend of the Aptya-devatas. Mention may also be made of the paper of Dr. Enrico Gerardo Carpani listing with his running comments twenty-one texts from the *Chandogya* and *Brihadaranyaka* Upanishads which illustrate the psychology of dream-phenomena in Vedic philosophy. In the field of classical Sanskrit literature, Dr. S. K. De (*The Curtain in Ancient Indian Theatre*) makes the ingenious suggestion that the variant *yamanika* signifying 'a covering' or 'a curtain' was the original form which was afterwards lost and replaced by the two familiar forms *yavanika* and *javanika*, of which the former has often been wrongly taken to be a proof of Greek influence on the Sanskrit drama. In another paper Dr. R. G. Harshe presents the text of two interesting, but fragmentary manuscripts on dreams together with a list of their book-illustrations numbering 113 in all. The former is a Jaina work not later than the fourteenth or fifteenth century, while the latter belongs to the seventeenth century. In another interesting paper, Shri S. V. Iyer introduces us to a Sanskrit play of the rare *vithi* type written by a Kerala poet shortly before 1750 A.D. More controversial is the paper of Shri S. L. Katre in which the author rejecting the sixth or seventh century date given for Harisvamin (the renowned commentator of the *Satapatha Brahmana*) by previous scholars, assigns his work to c. 54 B.C. in the time of Vikramaditya, the so-called founder of the Vikrama Era. This interpretation, the author claims, gives another support to the historicity of Vikramaditya of the first century B.C., while it fits into "the grand Age of Vedic culture" under Pushyamiitra Sunga. In the branch of medieval literature Prof. H. C. Bhayani introduces us to a striking *apabhramsa* work of the class of *Samdesakavyas* belonging to the twelfth or the thirteenth century. This

is the *Samdesarasaka* of Abdala Rahamana of Multan (?), which, according to the author, is the first known Muslim contribution to the Indian literature and influenced the well-known work of Malik Muhammad Jayasi called *Padumavati*. Of more general interest is the paper of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, in which the late lamented scholar gives a short list of parallel texts from Eastern and Western literatures under different heads. In these passages "identical doctrines have been enunciated as nearly as possible in the same terms and often indeed in the same idioms," thus suggesting their cognate origin. As regards other branches of Indian culture, social history is represented by a paper of Dr. B. C. Law on *Slavery as known to early Buddhists*, while science is represented by a contribution of Mm. P. V. Kane (*The Problem of the Introduction of Rasis in Indian Astronomy and Astrology*) and one of Dr. G. P. Majumdar (*The Genesis of the Science of Medicine in Ancient India*).

In contrast with the above the papers bearing on political history are devoid of any interest. Reference may also be made to a long and insipid paper on *Jainism in Gujarat* which is nothing but an undigested compilation of anecdotes, tales and authentic history with a distinctly chauvinistic bias and is unworthy of inclusion in the present volume.

U. N. GHOSHAL

IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA: By Luang Boribol Buriband. Translated by P. S. Sastri and A. B. Griswold. Published by the Chatra Press, 77 Rama V. Road, Bangkok, 1952. Twenty-five illustrations. Pp. 21. Price not stated.

This is an excellent little hand-book illustrated with 25 specimens of images, dealing very ably with the vexed question of the origin of the image of the Buddha. The author starts with the *chronicle* of the sandalwood image, attributed to Prasenajit, and very reasonably doubts if the tradition could have been current during the time of Asoka, though *prima facie* it is a legend coming into existence during the life-time of the Buddha. The author very frankly accepts the position that archaeologists agree that the first Buddha images were made shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, either in Gandhara or at Mathura and that the images of Mathura and of Gandhara began to influence each other, and "there is a merging of Greek plasticity with Indian ideals." Later schools adopt the same formula and gradually standardize them. With these preliminary discussions the author proceeds to examine the evolution of the various types of the Siamese schools: the Dvaravati style, the Srivijaya style, the Lopburi style, Early and Late Chiengsaen style, Sukhothaya style, the U-thong style and the Ayudhya style, demonstrated with appropriate illustrations. Altogether,

this little booklet comprises within a short compass a brilliant exposition of the evolution of the Buddha image which will be useful to scholars and students alike.

O. C. G.

RENNELL'S MAPS: 1. Bahar—(Behar) North, 2. Bahar—South, 3. Conquered Provinces South of Bahar—containing Ramgur, Palamow and Chuta-Nagpur, 4. Bengal and Bahar—in Warren Hastings' time, 5. Bengal with the Bhootan, Morung and Assam Frontiers in 1779, 6. Delta of the Ganges with adjacent countries on the East: *Printed between June and December, 1779. Photogravure reprints in Six Folio Sheets by The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta 12. Price: the set Rs. 12-8.*

The Book Company has done well to reproduce in Folio-sheets by photo-litho process the original Maps by Rennell which have become very rare. The Maps are not only invaluable to research-workers and students of history but also as records for the delineation of boundaries.

K. N. C.

LECTURES ON THE RAMAYANA: By the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Published on behalf of the Madras Sanskrit Academy by S. Viswanathan. Price Rs. 10 (\$4, sh. 16).

Srinivasa Sastri was well-known as an astute politician and a great statesman. But that he was a Sanskritist and an enthusiastic admirer of Indian culture and especially of the Ramayana is not known as much and as widely. The volume under review—unfortunately a posthumous one—is a testimony to this latter aspect of the character of Sastri. The volume consists of thirty lectures delivered under the auspices of the Madras Sanskrit Academy. We have here critical and analytic studies of the different characters found in the Ramayana. Though full of reverence for Rama, the learned lecturer looked on the hero as an ideal human being occasionally manifesting the frailties that are inherent in a man. He does not, like the old commentators, seek to explain away these frailties with far-fetched interpretations and he has clearly stated the reasons of his disagreement with the commentators. The lectures which are of absorbing interest contain copious quotations from the text of the Ramayana and numerous references to the commentaries with discussions thereon. It appears that the lectures were delivered extempore and the Madras Sanskrit Academy did a very good thing in making special arrangements for taking shorthand reports of the lectures, publishing them in book-form and thereby making them accessible to the reading public who will be highly benefited to go through them. One who reads the book will come to like the Ramayana and appreciate its value and importance. Books of this type and not merely dry scholarly studies are necessary for attracting the sympathetic attention of the people to Sanskrit literature as well as to the greatness of Indian culture.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BUBBLES: By Satis Chandra Sinha. With two articles of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. S. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 1-C, College Square, Calcutta 12. Price Rs. 5.

The book contains forty short articles or essays. The subjects dealt with in these essays range between social, legal, political and cultural. The author's views on these matters have been couched in easy and forceful but at times in a very caustic style. These essays have been written between June 30, 1948 and August

15, 1952 and necessarily cover the various problems that had raised their head during this period. India has attained independence. But the country has been divided. This has given rise to many unforeseen problems. Mass-scale transfer of population has been a problem very difficult to tackle. Other problems have also cropped up. One, most vital and important from our national standpoint, was the fixing of Hindi as *rashtra bhasha* or State language, which would take effect in the early sixties. Problems confronting the Hindu social frame also demand solution. Women's position in modern Hindu society is yet to be determined. Such varied subjects as 'private endowments,' 'Debottar property' and 'censorship' also deserve to be thrashed out. The author has written on these as well as on many other topics. Some of them may seem trivial to the man in the street, but each one of them has some particular importance in our body politic. It appears from the book that the author is especially interested in matters cultural and those concerning the social position of women in the Hindu society. He has given the story of the Imperial Library, now called National Library, in a nutshell. His views on the Hindu code and other Bills and Acts affecting Hindu women, should be carefully considered by our reformers. The article on "Swayambar" is full of humour, and serves as a pointer to the problem of the marriage of modern educated Hindu girls. The two very thoughtful articles on "Compulsory Hindi" by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, given in the Appendix, weigh the gain and loss that we have got to incur in our onward march to progress. It is regrettable that the balance is heavily on the side of loss. Our leaders should ponder hundred times before the use of Hindi is made compulsory in the affairs of the State, and it is made the medium in the higher studies in our Universities. The book deserves repeated perusal.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH STALIN: By Louis Fischer. Published by the Associated Advertisers and Printers, Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 2-4.

The volume under review is an apt commentary on the universally held belief that truth is the first casualty of war—cold and otherwise. In a biography of Joseph Stalin running to more than 300 pages the author has not a single good word about the hero of his work. He has painted Stalin in the darkest hue. Yet it is a fact that the transformation of Czarist Russia from medieval backwardness to her present position during the comparatively brief span of a little over 25 years is due in the main to Joseph Vissarionovitch Stalin. The man who began with many odds against him, not the least damaging being Lenin's verdict that the former "is too rude" and his (Lenin's) proposal that he (Stalin) be removed from the General Secretaryship of the Communist Party, succeeded in capturing power after Lenin's death in 1924 and in retaining it for more than a quarter of a century, proves conclusively that he was quite a few cuts above the ordinary. Mr. Fischer would, however, have his readers believe that the success was due to intrigues, unscrupulousness, ruthlessness, treachery and the like. "Stalin's four simple rules of success," says the biographer, were—"any method is justified if it helps achieve the desired end; men must be discarded when no longer useful; alliances are made to be broken; ideas have no existence unless chained to the chariot of power" (p. 18). Few, if any, impartial observers, will agree with him.

Mr. Fischer has, however, done a very great service to the intellectual not tied to any 'ism' by revealing many facts about Soviet Russia which are blocked out or glossed over by the champions and spokesmen of the Soviet system. His analysis of Soviet foreign policy in the thirties (Ch. XIX) is interesting, pleasant and substantially correct.

Mr. Fischer points out and rightly at that, "From the Iberian peninsula, around the Mediterranean littoral, through the entire Moslem world except Turkey . . . and Israel, on to Southeast Asia, the defenses against Communism and other forms of totalitarianism are weak. It is in this mammoth region, inhabited by more than a billion persons living in the 19th, 18th, 17th and 16th centuries, that the rivalry between Russia and the West will rage with special fury for years" (p. 287). He proceeds, "Unhappiness fills the feudal regions from Spain to Indo-China and, in addition, much of Africa and Latin America. Everywhere a thin wealthy upper caste shamelessly flaunts its luxury under the eyes of the hungry, diseased peasants and shepherds who are deprived of the education, organisation, and political power to improve their lot. . . . Masters come and go, foreigners are ousted, national independence is achieved, but bread, rice, milk, medicines, water, shoes, shelter, schools remain in short supply. Loans from abroad reach the pockets of the haves; the have-nots have only their envy and hate" (pp. 287-88). Mr. Fischer points out that the only way to save this vast area for democracy is revolutionisation from below and guiding it into the 20th century. "Stalin's fate," he concludes, "is in the hands of the non-Stalinists. They can write history's verdict on him. They will determine whether his life was a success or failure" (p. 307). We agree and know what that verdict will be.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

SHOULD FATHERHOOD BEGIN AT FORTY?: By E. Orson Brower. Published by the author, 1952. U. S. A.

It should not begin earlier that seems to be the opinion of the author. Citing the cases of many famous men the author has shown that their parents were all above forty when they were born. He subscribes to the view of M. L. Steckel that "the younger the parents the less favourable is the prognosis for the intelligence of the offspring" (p. 6). In the techniques of the measurement of intelligence he has suggested a new factor 't' by which he means "ability to find the important meanings in the commonplace" (p. 23). He also attempts to find biological justification in support of his theory that the later the parenthood begins the better it is in all respects for the offspring.

The book is written in a highly emotional tone and controversial spirit throughout. It seems as if the author is standing with a club in his hand ready to smash down anyone who dares differ from him. In spite of his many quotations and references to authorities the reviewer is of opinion that he has not been able to establish his thesis and the question that he has posed (the title of the book) still remains an open one. Though the facts presented in the book are of considerable interest to all, the style adopted by the author is neither pleasant nor commendable. The book, however, is a thought-provoking one and would have aroused greater interest amongst professional psychologists and biologists had the author chosen to present his views in a more sober and dispassionate way.

S. C. MITRA

BENGALI

MANO-BALJANIK: By Satyen Sinha. Published by Das Gupta and Co. Ltd., 54/3 College Street, Calcutta 12. Price Re. 1-8.

A modern drama deftly depicting certain psychological complexities. The author has been able to arouse and sustain the curiosity of the reader from the start to the finish. For a new writer—this is his first published work—it is no mean achievement.

RAUDRA-JYOTSNA: By Sushil Kumar Gupta. Published by Writers' Corner, 104/14 Gopal Lal Thakur Road, Calcutta 36. Price Re. 1.

A collection of thirty-two poems, most of which were published in periodicals. The poet is neither an escapist nor a propagandist. Conscious of the incongruities of the existing social order, he dreams of a brighter day and resolves to march ahead towards it with faith and conviction. His emotion is genuine and hence comes this directness of expression. Nowhere does he struggle to pose his 'modernism' with a queer jumble of words and halting rhythm.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

MARUKUNJA: By Mathurdas Tricumji. Published by Navajivana Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 154. Price Re. 1-4.

The author suffered for a long time from the fell disease of tuberculosis. He has, therefore, turned wisely his experience and knowledge, gained additionally from books as well on the subject, into a practical handbook on how to prevent the incidence of the said wasting ailment, and if one has succumbed unfortunately to it, then how to co-operate with Nature and the doctor, together with those best of doctors, Doctor Diet and Doctor Quiet, in overcoming it.

G. M.

MARATHI

KAMALAN: By Arvind Gokhale. Published by Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 3.

Shri Arvind Gokhale has made his mark in Marathi fiction and this book maintains his high reputation. Here the reader will find a well-got-up collection of twelve short stories, most of which have already appeared in popular magazines. Against the background of the social life of Maharashtra middle class, the writer depicts uncommon moods of common persons. It is through revealing the hidden links of emotional urges, rather than weaving novelty of situation that he succeeds in holding the interest of his readers. Unlike some, who overdo this psychological technique, he maintains a sound balance between plot and motive. This as well as keen observation, rich imagination and warm sympathies appear to be the secret of his craftsmanship. The book is sure to be hailed as a rich addition to Marathi short stories.

P. J. JAGJEDAR

GUJARATI

RASHTRA BHASHANO SAWAL: By Jawaharlal Nehru. Translated into Gujarati by Nagindas Parekh and published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 43. Price seven annas.

Panditji's views on our having a National Language are well-known. He has viewed the question fairly and impartially as well as practically and comprehensively. His thoughts are reproduced here faithfully.

K. M. J.

JIVATA TEHEVARO: By Dattatreya Balakrishna Kalelkar. Printed by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 30. Price Rs. 2.

This delightful and instructive book has undergone a fourth edition. "Living Holidays" were noticed in its earlier editions. Kaka Kalelkar has added fresh material to this—the latest edition—and added new Holidays like Rashtriya Saptah and Azadi Din. Jayantis of several saints are also set out, along with their significance and the precepts they have left behind them.

(1) **AMINA** (4th Edition), (2) **ZANDEVAN-DAN:** By "Shayda" (Harji Louji Damni). Printed at the R. H. Printing Press, Bombay-8, and Be Ghadi Printing Press, Bombay-1. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. 455: 412. Price Rs. 6 and Rs. 5 respectively.

Mr. Shayda has a long-established reputation for writing popular stories on various subjects. Amina, which has passed through four editions between 1923 and 1950, is a story of social life amongst Muslims which approximates, if not fully resembles, Hindu social life, paints the picture of a new bride going to her husband's house, sandwiched in between her sister-in-law and mother-in-law and acquitting herself creditably in winning them over and in doing so complying with her mother's parting advice—not to spoil her good name—advice which she had made to sink in her, while suckling her at her breast. There are various incidents such as of singers and others portrayed also. The second book, *Salutation to the Flag*, is written as an appeal to the Indian Nation, not to open only their temples, built of brick and mortar, to the Harijans but to open the temples of their Heart, and give them free access and equality in all pursuits of life. It emphasises the creed of Mahatma Gandhi in no uncertain terms. It is found to prove as popular as his other stories.

(1) **RAJAJI**, (2) **RAJENDRAPRASAD:** By Ambelal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Published by the Brihad Gujarat Prakashan Mandir, Bombay-7. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket with blocks. Pp. 239, 274. Price Rs. 4-8 each.

Shriji Ambelal Joshi is an enthusiastic student and writer in addition to being an Advocate. He has planned a Greater Gujarat series of Books—Granthavali—in which he desires to publish the Biographies of all eminent men and women of India. Pioneer work he has already done, and the two volumes under notice testify to the fact that he has successfully passed that pioneer stage and entered on that of a practised writer. Rajaji and Dr. Rajendraprasad needed original biographies in Gujarati and Mr. Joshi has supplied that need. Almost all incidents in their lives have been set out here, with a sense of proportion and a terseness which are exemplary. He has not omitted to give due prominence to Rajen Babu's pleading for Hindi and has devoted a whole Appendix to it. We welcome his work and are looking forward to other works on similar lines.

MAHAN BANO: By Chandra Shankar Pranshankar Shukla. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay-2. 1948. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 2.

The title of the book means "Be Great," and in support of that advice Mr. Shukla has given, in simple Gujarati, outlines of the lives of twenty-five men and women, European and American, basing

them on D. Carnegie's three volumes on the subject. The object is to put before a rising generation a picture of those who have acquired a name for themselves so that it may furnish guidance and inspiration to all who care to profit by it.

GURJAR MAHILAO, Parts I and II: By A. R. Bhimani. Printed at the Unity Printing Press, Bombay 1. 1949, 1950. Illustrated jacket. Cloth-bound. Pp. 200 each. Price Rs. 20 each.

Women of Gujarat, (45+48=93 in all) young and old, of the old and the new generation figure in this work, with their photographs, an attractive feature of it. The good that they have been able to do, in their own families and in public, Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, is deservedly set-out in the sketches of their lives below their photographs. The number 93 is too small and Shri Bhimani is planning further parts of the compilation. We wish success to him and his enterprise.

1. **MAHABHARAT:** By K. K. Shastri.
2. **NAMAVALI OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FORBES GUJARATI SABHA, BOMBAY:** By Janab Mohammed Umar Kokil.

Both published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay 4. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 86, 90. Prices Re. 1-8, Rs. 2.

The Mahabharat has been rendered into Gujarati verse by more than one poet of old Gujarat. In the first of the books under notice, the verses of poets Nakar and Vishnudas, comprising four *parvas*, Shalya, Gada, Sauptik, and Stri are edited by Mr. Shastri, a noted student of old Gujarati. The Sabha possesses a valuable collection of old Persian MSS. Mr. Kokil, a trusted and experienced hand at this sort of work, has catalogued them with short, informative notes. It is sure to prove of great use to research students.

GANDHI DARSHAN: By Bhanubhai Pandya. Published by Fulwadi Prakashan, Khambhaba. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 7. Price four annas.

A Gandhi drama in verse played by the school children of St. Xavier's High School, Bombay. It contains prophetic verses put into the mouth of Gandhiji, when they were written (26-27 January), viz., "Take me as sacrifice" and within three days Mahatmaji was murdered. The *Darshan* offered is real and picturesque.

K. M. J.

A Monumental Work INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

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By Percy Brown (former Principal, Government School of Arts, Calcutta). Both volumes profusely illustrated. Vol. I, Rs. 22: Vol. II, Rs. 19-12.

This masterly review extends to every development of architecture in India from the earliest times and the sources from which they were derived. The volumes are beautifully illustrated by numerous photographs and specially prepared drawings and diagrams of the most important examples of Indian Architecture.

TARAPOREVALA'S

"Treasure House of Books,"

210, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY-1.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Trading Links of Old World Empires

Long before our days of swift transit and telecommunication the caravans were threading their slow and sometimes dangerous way across the deserts; and the mariners of different regions were braving the terrors of the seas. Edmund Roberts writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The history of civilization might be written around the story of trade routes between Europe and the East. During the course of centuries they have seen the camel and the packhorse followed by the age of sails; itself only to be superseded by the era of the steamship, and today the aeroplane has shortened the time of conveyance to days, as compared with the months during which goods were in transit in mediaeval days. Giant planes now cross in a few hours the very desert painfully trodden by the camel for centuries, such crossings in former days often lengthening into months.

The importance of these ancient trade routes in the story of human endeavour cannot be exaggerated, and historians and archaeologists are paying increasing attention to them.

Shortly before the last war, British archaeologists working in Lower Burma were concentrating on a study of one of the oldest of such routes, that between India and the Far East.

The route crossed peninsular Siam at the only latitude which provided sheltered anchorages on both coasts, which were at the same time connected by what were formerly deep rivers running from the narrow watershed, affording a nearly unbroken waterway across the peninsula. The ancient route begins at Takoapa (or Taikala), believed to be the site of the old mart of Takola, mentioned in the second century by Claudius Ptolemy, the famous Alexandrian geographer. The supposed site of the ancient port is an open sandy space, locally known as the "Plain of Monuments," on an island near the mouth of the Takoapa River. Several mounds were excavated, and the foundations of an extensive early Indian temple have been brought to light. Pottery and beads have also been found, proofs of habitation at some period or other.

After completing excavations in the neighbourhood of Takoapa, the expedition crossed to the east coast, following the old trade route leading to the Bay of Bandon. When this route was in use the crossing was comparatively easy, but the 20th century explorers found the task slow and difficult because of the low state of the rivers, which have silted up in the course of centuries. There were many rapids and shallows, all of which had to be negotiated with heavily laden boats. The villages along the route were reported still deeply impressed with Indian folklore and the tradition of an ancient Indian migration eastward.

South of the Bay of Bandon lies a remote city called Vieng Sva. It is enveloped by a dense thorn jungle and the archaeologists had to hack their way through this before they could reach a moated enclosure with a ruined

central shrine. There a beautiful statue of Buddha was brought to light, and it seems that in the remote past Vieng Sva was populated from India. The next city en route was Chaiya, which thrived about a thousand years ago and where thousands of bowls, made of porcelain, have been unearthed.

Two other trade routes of lesser importance, subsidiary to this great highway from the Far East to India, have also been investigated.

Near the western terminus of one of these, ancient stone baths carved out of the living rock, and still overflowing with hot salt water from underlying springs, were found deep in the jungle. The existence of this thermal establishment would appear to indicate the former existence of a highly developed civilization in the neighbourhood.

The few facts mentioned above show what riches remain to be revealed to us of the history and development of the ancient trade routes of the world. Up to the present, only the surface of the ground has been scratched, so to speak. There is certainly no more fascinating study than that of the growth of these ancient trade routes, along which flowed riches of gold, silver, precious stones, linen, silks, incense and spices. Trade was one of the earliest growths of civilization, and the lines of intercommunication in Europe between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, which were in existence as long ago as the Stone Age, are clearly visible.

The trade routes of the ancient world frequently afforded to explorers the only practicable routes along which to travel. This was so in the case of Marco Polo, who traversed those of Asia. During recent years explorers have been paying considerable attention to these old highways, and among those who have traced certain of them are Dr. Sven Hedin, the eminent Swedish explorer; Sir Aurel Stein; and M. Haardt.

Actually how far back in the mists of antiquity these trade routes began cannot be definitely discovered. Sir Halford Mackinder, who made a study of their evolution, suggested that some of them began as "raid routes," and in several cases the evidence seems to bear out this theory. The Norse pirates of Northern Europe, for example, sailed out every spring in search of spoil, and came back in the autumn laden with the fruits of their forays. In Africa, again, the routes followed by early European explorers were those originally marked out by the Arab slave traders on their nefarious business. Testimony given by such men as Livingstone relates to the terrible evidences of this trade that were found strewn the routes.

Long before the Christian era primitive commercial highways were in existence.

The Stone Age routes of Europe were touched upon in a previous paragraph. They came into being because the amber of the Baltic was in great demand. This led to the establishment of two well-trodden routes from that sea to the Mediterranean. Sir Flinders Petrie has proved that, further south, Gaza in Southern Palestine, mentioned in many places in the Bible, was a great mart

in ancient times, trading routes leading to it from the north and the south.

Early trade of this type was not confined to a small area, and it is astonishing to learn how widely scattered the products of the Old World countries became, undoubtedly by means of repeated exchanges. As a proof of this, what is believed to have been Irish gold has been found on the site of Troy, which was flourishing a thousand years B.C. In those days Ireland was one of the most important sources of gold in the world.

The two most powerful of the Old World empires to establish trading routes early in the history of civilization were Egypt and Babylonia.

In their cases it is possible that raids and forays marked the commencement of the interchange of goods. The fact that each had merchandise of value to the other may have been an accidental discovery resulting from the spoils of war but as time went on, it seems, the people discovered that peaceful trading was more profitable than constant fighting. Palestine lay between the two, and a great amount of merchandise passed through it, and whoever controlled that country had command of the routes leading to the east and the north, and then west to Europe. Thus for centuries there was extreme rivalry over the possession of it, which explains why the Israelites were always struggling for their freedom.

The earliest trade routes, therefore, were established, as it were, as a result of accidental discovery of the value of goods. Gradually, with the passage of time, these routes were extended further east, north and west, until both Europe and the Far East were contributing their quotas of wealth. Men became more venturesome, and the Phoenicians established the first great sea routes in the history of the world, sailing, we believe, as far west

as Britain. Overland another route traversed Asia Minor, East was brought to India, partly by the ancient route and linked up Europe. Pointing towards the East yet another route led to Persia, and the wealth of the Far East was brought to India, partly by the ancient route the British archaeologists have been exploring and then up the Persian Gulf and overland westwards.

The rise of the Greek Empire, which subdued Persia, led to changes and further developments in the routes, although their main directions were unaltered.

It was along the ancient trade routes between East and West that the riches of the world continued to flow in increasing volume. One of the routes led up the Red Sea, which was dotted with important commercial stations, and overland to Alexandria; and an alternative route from the Indian ports led to the head of the Persian Gulf, as mentioned above, from whence the goods were taken overland by desert caravan. It is believed that nearly 2,000 years ago the Greeks were aware of the sea route to China via India, for their venturesome pilots thought nothing of the crossing from the Red Sea to India, accomplishing it regularly.

These two main sea routes were supplemented by the great overland route through Asia and China, which it is believed established contact with Western civilization early in the Christian era. In times of peace this route was far more convenient and quicker for the goods of Northern India and China than the ocean routes. The cost of travelling by land was greater, but the expense was more than counterbalanced by the high value of the goods carried, which were generally light and of small bulk.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

OR AWAKENED INDIA

(Started by SWAMI VIVEKANANDA in 1896)

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Three notable routes stretched westwards from China overland, and they converged on the important markets of Samarkand and Bokhara.

These towns were great junctions, for there the caravans from China, traversing the silk route, met those coming from India; and there, too, the termini of the routes from the West were met. These ancient trade routes linking East and West maintained their supreme importance until the 15th century, when the discovery of the New World and the Cape route to India and the East completely altered the course of world trade and for a period the sea became predominant.

The Cape Route to the East played an increasingly important part in the commerce of Europe, and for practically three centuries it was unassailed. Not until the cutting of the Suez Canal was transport once more diverted through the Mediterranean. With the discovery and settlement of the New World came the establishment of what was destined to become the busiest world sea route, that to North America, and a little later that to South America was established. Then, towards the end of the 18th century came the settlement of Australia; and this was followed in the last century by the Australasian route. Today, strangely enough, along the routes linking East and West, traffic is being diverted back once more overland, via the air, and at the present time aeroplanes are regularly travelling over the track of the ancient trade route between Egypt and Babylonia, one of the very earliest to be established.

A First Glimpse of South Africa

Henry P. Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, New York, writes in *The National Christian Council Review*:

On this rapid round-the-world flight, I did not intend to visit South Africa. Indeed, if the whole truth be told, I did not very much want to visit South Africa. And for at least two reasons. On the one hand, while recognizing that it is never possible really to understand a situation or people without personal contact, I felt that, through *Cry, The Beloved Country* and countless first-hand accounts, one had a reasonably clear and reliable picture of South Africa which observation could only confirm. On the other hand, what could a visit to South Africa possibly lead to? What can any of us do about it?

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NATIVE AFRICANS

I have spent many hours visiting residence-areas of every type inhabited by 'non-Europeans'—the mining company compounds into which native labourers recruited from up-country virtually on an indenture basis are herded for nine-month terms and then shipped back home; the unnumbered communities of one-family homes, many of them quite new, some sponsored by government, others privately owned and operated, which seem to ring Johannesburg; some of the worst of the 'shanty towns' pictured in Alan Paton's book and film; the independent towns owned and operated wholly by Africans outside the municipal limits.

In any ideal community, the 'company compounds' and the system of labour-employment which creates them should not exist. Their worst feature is not the living conditions provided but the uprooting of young men from their communal existence in the rural 'reserves' and their transplantation into the demoralizations and dissipations of a great metropolis. Even this is not without its parallels in the life of migrant labour in the United States. The most hopeful feature of this thoroughly bad system is not the provisions for health, recreation and education by some of the more enlightened mining companies, but the fact that here, as elsewhere throughout Africa, increasing family migration is replacing individual indenture and that the increasing provision of family dwellings is making this possible. In Northern Rhodesia, I was told that close to fifty per cent of the migration from native communities to industrial centres is now by families.

Some of the communities of one-family homes for native Africans are among the most attractive 'garden villages' which I have seen anywhere in the world—well-built two or three-room dwellings with plenty of open space between and acres of open ground about, many of them with well-cultivated flower and truck gardens, adequately supplied with school and recreation facilities. By comparison, the sweltering tenements of our large cities are festering incubators of physical and moral disease. Even the 'shanty towns' struck me as far less unhealthy and undesirable living places than the tumble-down Negro shacks on the outskirts of almost any city in our own deep South.

By all odds, the most disturbing type of residence situation is the independent communities outside the metropolitan boundaries which are entirely owned, operated, governed and policed by the Africans themselves. Not primarily because of crowded and unsanitary living conditions, but because of the absence of minimal structures of law and order. These must be the principal breeding grounds of lawlessness and immorality.



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Scattered through the native residence areas are schools, playgrounds, and community centres, very largely church-sponsored, which, while far less plentiful and well-equipped than the ideal are less inadequate than corresponding facilities in many American cities. Even this present government with its futile cry of *apartheid* and vicious doctrine of race superiority is doing vastly more for its native population by way of health, educational and recreational facilities than I would have supposed; vastly more, be it confessed, than all too many American communities with congested Negro districts.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

In the States, we hear almost altogether of Dr. Malan and his Nationalist advocates of *apartheid*. Their grip upon South Africa today is far less secure than often supposed; their dominance over South Africa tomorrow is almost certainly doomed.

No one will venture a confident prediction of the outcome of the forthcoming general election, scheduled for April. Many believe the Nationalists will be crowded out by the Union Party (moderates) by a small margin. One of the leaders of the latter was quoted to me as saying he hoped his party would *not* come to power; their margin of control might be too slim to permit effective reversal of present policies.

The severest and most unqualified indictments of the Nationalists and *apartheid* are not being framed in Europe or America but in South Africa. Johannesburg is a centre of British rather than Afrikaaners influence. I have been reading every word of its two excellent daily papers. Their condemnation of Malan and all his works make Pittsburg's hatred of Truman and the New-Fair Deal seem, by comparison, mild approbation.

In any event, two facts about the future appear beyond challenge. First, the extremists *within* the Nationalist Party are gaining control of it. Whether they win or lose the next election, Malan will shortly retire and be replaced by a far more violent and irrational leader. Therefore, a Nationalist victory portends worse days for South Africa and the world in the immediate future. But, second, in the long run and probably not too long, the Nationalist extremism is doomed. Not only is the determined opposition of more moderate counsels and policies strong and steadily gaining strength. Extreme Nationalism is pitting itself against inexorable forces which in the very nature of the situation can be temporarily retarded but which cannot ultimately be halted. These forces are economic as well as political and humanitarian. Economic power lies largely with the non-Afrikaan elements of the population, indissolubly linked by tradition and by self-interest with foreign capital and overseas trade. Through these channels, the judgment and conscience of the world may make its influence most effectively felt within South Africa. The extremists, in the familiar Dutch figure, are desperate men, sticking their fingers into the ever more numerous and ever enlarging holes in the dyke. Many believe that, at least subconsciously, they sense this inevitability of history. The 'wave of the future' bears the cause not of Nationalism but of moderation.

Indeed, in the longer view, the most ominous current development on the African continent may be, not the temporary triumph of reaction in South Africa, but the pending Federation in Central Africa, which may impose on Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika the scheme of white supremacy dominant in Southern Rhodesia, which is itself a projection of South African attitudes and policies northward.

Even the Afrikaaners' leadership is by no means without its elements of light and vision. Certainly the most exciting and possibly the most promising conference I have had was with the Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas within the Union of South Africa. The Commission was appointed by the present Government. Its nine members are all, or almost all, Afrikaaners. But they are scholars of competence and wide knowledge, several of whom have studied at first hand the race problem in the United States and elsewhere. They are engaged in a three-year inquiry, and expect to present their findings and recommendations by the end of 1953. Their assignment is to develop a comprehensive, long-range, and inclusive policy for the 'reserved areas,' the vast and potentially rich tracts of land mostly along the east coast which are reserved exclusively for native residence and use where five-eighths of the native Africans still live.

I have seldom met a more competent or enlightened group of highly trained and informed social scientists. They have taken as the base-line, determinative of all their recommendations, 'the human factor,' that is, the welfare of the peoples concerned. And their guiding principle is that all proposals must hold in view and be devised to further the total advance of the population, not merely economic progress but economic, educational, social, cultural and spiritual factors in their organic unity (perhaps an echo of General Smuts' 'Holism'?). The fact that the focus of their attention is upon the 'native areas' and presupposes the continuing residence of a majority of the Africans within these 'reserved' territories opens their proposals to the suspicion of being 'enlightened apartheidism.' This they fully recognize and emphatically disavow. Their workrooms are crowded with maps, charts and data on every aspect of the African people, their potentialities and their problems. For example, they have detailed evidence of the well-nigh limitless economic potential of the 'reserved areas.' And recommendations they will sponsor supply great and soundly conceived plans for the progressive transformation of these areas. We know only too well the long step between formulation by experts and implementation by politicians. Nevertheless, this Commission is a heartening evidence that some Afrikaaners are seeking to conceive a worthy future for the Africans, and it may hold promise that, once the curse of white superiority dogma is surrendered, the best elements of Dutch and British ancestry might join hands in constructive measures. In any event, the forthcoming report of the Commission is worth watching for.



The Test of Democracy

Asian Opinion writes editorially :

The test of democracy lies in the quality of the citizens it produces. There can never be a strong government over a weak people. Therefore, the Parliament and the subsidiary legislative bodies will have to take into account the day-to-day difficulties of the people which create greater friction than decisions which concern only a section of some class. Thus the supply of good quality of wheat and rice is more important than the establishment of a car-manufacturing industry. The courtesy of a constable is more important than the well ordered and methodic speech of a minister. The words of an inspector from the enforcement branch mean more to the people than a debate in Parliament. For one law that the Parliament passes for the people, there should be ten laws to guide the officers who are to enforce it. This can be the only way to preserve the freedom of the people. Once it is said an old woman came to Delhi and complained that her property had been looted by some officers of the State in an outlying province of the empire. The emperor replied that that was a far-off place and he could not manage the affairs so well as he could in Delhi. "Then my lord" the woman replied, "you should relinquish your hold on that province and permit it to be transferred to some other state." The emperor thought over her remarks and sent a large body of troops to restore order in that province.

The conditions as they are today show that minor irritations are taking the form of *dark and arid mountains*. Nothing can grow on them and the soil is fast ceasing to be fertile for further progress. The ministers are also responsible for the prevalence of these conditions. They have been mentally receding from the society as it exists in the villages and cities and are living in the air-castles of their own. Casual visits and inspections mean nothing to the people. They should walk through the streets like ordinary citizens making their own sundry purchases, mixing with the people, exchanging views with them. It is these small gestures that work for greater popularity. They should personally purchase their requirements from Chandni Chowk, Kalva Debi and Harrison Road. Grandiose schemes mean little to the people till they feel their effects after a generation or so.

Mahatma Ji delivering a speech in Mayavaram in 1915 said :

"I am in a position to say that I am to be at war with my leaders. Whatever they do or whatever they say does not somehow or other appeal to me. The major part of whatever they say does not seem to be appealing to me."

In another speech he said :

"I do not want to be dragged in the carriage. There is a meaning in that. Let us not spoil our public men by dragging them. A charge is brought against us that we as a nation are too demonstrative and lack business-

like methods. We plead guilty to the charge. I give you a message: Establish Ram Rajya in Mysore and have your minister a Vashishta who will command obedience."

And then Mahatma Ji said in Bangalore, May 1951: "God is with those whose garments are dusty and tattered. The dream of every Indian who loves his country should be not to glorify in language but to spiritualize the political life of the country and the political institutions of the country. I think the *political life must be an echo of the private life* and there cannot be any divorce between the two."

These are some of the important words of our Master. The laws must not divide the members of the Parliament and the people. Mahatma Ji and now Vinoba Ji have shown that greater changes can be wrought by mass contact than through laws. There is no compulsion and friction in direct contact. *There is the essence of democracy in the direct ministerial approach to the people, common citizens who love those who remain by their side.* The impression of Parliament that laws will bring about the necessary changes must go root and branch the sooner the better. The maxim of Mahatma Ji that the best government is that which governs least is all important and must be adhered to.

Atharva Veda (7.12) ushers the following prayer, "May the Samiti and the Sabha, the two daughters of Prajapati, concurrently aid me. May he whom I meet co-operate with me, May I O Ye Fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled." The Vadas described Samiti and Sabha as the two daughters of Prajapati, eternal councils, and gave them the name of Narishta 'mirth' or "most favourable to men." They gave the name Gramani to the leareds who attended and called them "Sayata Manva" those who wandered about, suggesting that the duty of Gramani was to wander from place to place to study the conditions of the people. Thus the members of our Parliament should learn a lesson from this. They should be wanderers like Vinoba Ji rather than the guardians of the people. They hold India in trust.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Chaim Weizmann

The passing of Chaim Weizmann, first President of Israel, removed from our midst a phenomenal personality unequalled in our generation. He was not a theoretician of the Zionist movement. He was too educated, too wise, and perhaps also too skeptical to believe that it was possible to compress a national movement that was rooted in many centuries of suffering, struggle and hope into the constricting framework of a theory or an ideology. But all those who came in contact with him sensed that he was the bearer of historical forces, the repository of memories of a great past, sensitive to the sorrows of the present and conscious of the glory of the future. Having spent most of his life in western Europe, Weizmann never lost intimate contact with the milieu of east European Jewry from which he sprang and with which he maintained a tender and profound communion.

There already exists an extensive literature on Chaim Weizmann. Now, while all Jews, and important parts of the non-Jewish world mourn his passing, is not the time to evaluate his achievements and the debt which Jewry and the Zionist movement owe him. There had been times when parts of the Zionist movement disagreed with his political orientation. There were times when Weizmann disagreed with his own orientation. He was never a dogmatist in politics. He believed in adapting political policies to existing conditions. He was not a maximalist, in the sense of believing that the major part of the ideal must become reality in his own lifetime. Indeed he was aware of the threat to existing social values in the maximalist movements of our epoch—Bolshevism, extreme nationalism, fascism. It was in this sense that he often declared during the last years of his life that "I am not of the twentieth century. I am more nearly a man of the nineteenth century. I am perhaps one of the last of the liberals still wandering about in the world." It is possible that moods like these sometimes made him misunderstand certain activities and plans of the labor leadership in Eretz Israel, though, as a general rule, he gladly co-operated with the labor movement in the country in economic matters, in the preservation of the popular character of Zionism and in the defense of democratic principles.

Weizmann's non-maximalism in political matters should not be misunderstood. He was not a compromiser. His non-maximalism implied a preference for gradualism when he believed that more radical attempts to attain the goal might endanger the *Yishuv* in Eretz Israel or Jews elsewhere. He may have erred in his estimate of specific political situations, but in that case his error was motivated by a profound humanism and a deep concern for the welfare, the future and the good conscience of his people.

It was the above qualities that gave Weizmann his stature and that accounted for the fact that when the State of Israel came into being he was the sole undisputed candidate for the office of first president of Israel.

For many generations to come Weizmann's memory will live in Israel and in the Jewish people. It will be

a living inspiration and a goad to higher achievements. —*Jewish Frontier*, December, 1952.

The Values of Mankind

Excerpts from the address of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the first President of Israel, at the opening of first *Knesset Israel* are reproduced from the *Jewish Frontier*, December, 1952 :

It is with a feeling of deep reverence and consecration that I rise to open the Constituent Assembly of the State of Israel, the first *Knesset Israel* of our time, in this Eternal City of Jerusalem.

Today we stand on the threshold of a new era. We leave the dawn-light of provisional authority and enter the full sunshine of orderly democratic rule. This Assembly was elected by the whole body of citizens of Israel. In this election the will of the entire people was fully and freely expressed. Thus at the outset we are building on fair and solid foundations, foundations of freedom and equality, collective responsibility and national self-discipline. It was no longer an isolated band of pioneers, subject to foreign rule, who elected this Assembly, but an independent nation dwelling in its own free country.

This nation is to be conceived as the ingathering of the exiles, for there is not a Jewish community in the world whose members have not their portion in the State of Israel. In these very days, to our heart's joy, thousands and tens of thousands of our brethren from countries near and far are entering the gates of our country that stand wide open to receive them. It is our hope and prayer that this gathering in of the exiles will go on increasing and will embrace ever larger multitudes of our people, who will strike roots here and will work side by side with us all in building up our state and making our desolate places fruitful again. We shall make this our goal before all else and devote to it our best powers of thought and action.

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Heavy indeed is the responsibility laid on us here in this Assembly. What we began this same day nine months ago we are bringing to completion this evening: the restoration of the realm of Israel. If we are using state forms that have been moulded by the experience of the enlightened nations of the modern world, we know truly that these forms contain a treasured essence of the heritage of Israel.

In the ancient world this tiny country of ours raised the standard of spiritual revolt against the reign of tyranny and brute force. The Law of Israel and the vision of her prophets founded a new ethic of the relations of man to man and led to a new ordering of human society. The authority of the King in Israel was limited by the law and by tradition. The prophets of Israel did not fear to utter rebuke and reproof to kings and princes, and with their inspired word for weapon they defended the poor and the oppressed, the stranger and the slave, the orphan and the widow.

The very principle of the institution of kingship was hateful to the spiritual leaders of the people. "I shall not rule over you, nor shall my son rule over you. the Lord shall rule over you," declares the Judge to the assembled people. The warnings of the prophet against the dangers of tyranny thunder from on high in the ears of the people to the last generation. In Israel, this rising up against the authority of one man derived from the noble conception that the people, naturally free and freely accepting the rule of law and just judgement needs no compulsion from above to live as an ordered society. The root principle of the constitution of that novel State was the limit set to the authority of the King, and it is in this sense that the ancient Hebrew policy was the mother of constitutional government in the modern age.

And now it has fallen to our generation to weld anew the links of that life of freedom that were snapped by a tyrant's force nearly nineteen hundred years ago. I know not why it is precisely our generation that has been privileged to bring about what all the generations before us longed for and cleaved to in the darkness of Exile, unless it be that we have earned it by all the hardship and weariness, the sorrow and tribulation that have been our portion for the last seventy years—years when our body was stricken limb by limb until finally one-third of the entire nation was annihilated. We have suffered torture and affliction such as befell no other nation in the world until at long last the prophecy has been fulfilled. "The remnant shall return." But because we are the remnant, no more than a remnant, a double and treble responsibility is laid upon us to fill the terrible void in our national life that has been created by slaughter of the best sons of our people, the guardians of her spirit and the bearers of her culture.

It is our people that once gave the whole world a spiritual message fundamental to civilization. The world is watching us now to see what we shall choose for ourselves in ordering our lives, in what shape we shall fashion our State. The world is listening to hear whether a new message will go forth from Zion and what that message will be.

A new message is not born without some travail of the creative spirit. It does not see the light without much toil and weariness, difficulty and pain.

Having taken part in the great battles of the human spirit, having shed our blood and given our lives for the liberation of many peoples, we have at length won the right to toil and labor in order to give expression to our distinct national identity and make our contribution as a free people among other free peoples to the spiritual treasure of the world.

First of all let us strive to strengthen our constructive resources by enhancing the position of science and research in the life of Israel. Science and research are the basis of human achievement. All the scientific capacity that we have displayed in every country in the world must now be mobilized to help build up our motherland. Yet, for all the decisive importance of science, not by science alone shall we win through. We have to build a new bridge between science and the spirit of man. "Where there is no vision, the people perish," and we see what scientific progress leads to when it is not inspired by moral vision—to the atomic bomb that threatens to destroy the entire planet.

All my life I have labored to make science and research the basis of our national endeavour. But I have always known full well that there are values higher than science, the only values that offer healing for the ills of humanity, the supreme values of justice and righteousness, peace and love.

This day is a great day in our lives. Let us not be thought too arrogant if we say that it is a great day in the history of the world. At this hour a message of hope and good cheer goes forth from this place, from this sacred city to all those throughout the world who are persecuted and oppressed and who are struggling for freedom and equality. A just struggle is indeed of avail. If we, the people of sorrows and affliction have been vouchsafed this event of today, then truly there is hope at the end for all who long for justice.

From this place we send our fraternal blessing to all our people dispersed in exile in the four corners of the earth. We stretch out the hand of peace to neighboring countries, the hand of friendship to all the peace-loving peoples of the world. Our greetings go to all the States, great and small, that have recognized Israel, and a cordial welcome to the representatives of foreign States and to the religious dignitaries who have honoured this event by their presence.

Members of this Assembly! May your first gathering be blessed. Be mindful that the eyes of the entire Jewish people are lifted up toward you, and that the longings and prayers of past generations attend your steps. May it be given to all of us to be equal to our heavy charge.

The Growth of Labor Unions in the U.S.A.

Organized labor unions in the United States claimed a membership of between 14 and 16 million workers in 1952. Although it is difficult to obtain exact membership figures, probably about one out of every three employees in non-agricultural establishments today is a trade union

আয়ুর্বেদ-বৃহস্পতি রাজবৈদ্য কবিরাজ প্রাণাচার্য
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ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা

এতদিন পর্যন্ত ভারতীয় কোনো ভাবার ক্যানসার রোগের ঔষধাধিক চিকিৎসাপদ্ধতি লিখিত ছিল না। ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা সম্পর্কে ভারতবর্ষে ইহাই সর্বপ্রথম নিবান ও চিকিৎসা সম্বলিত পুঁথি চিকিৎসা গ্রন্থ। মূল্য ৫/- টাকা। ডাকমাণ্ডল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান :—রাজবৈদ্য আয়ুর্বেদ ভবন।

১৭২নং বহুবাজার ষ্ট্রিট, কলিকাতা—১২

member. In 1913, by contrast, there were nearly 2 3/4 million union members, which meant 1 out of every 15 such workers was a union member.

One hundred years ago there were few unions and they were small. The first national union was formed by the cord-wainers in 1836. Within the next few years other national unions were formed by the printers, the comb-makers, the carpenters, and the hand-loom weavers. The only one that still exists as a national union was founded by the printers in 1852.

Several times the various unions tried to get together in an over-all national association, but with no more than temporary success, until the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was formed in 1881. At that time there were only 138,000 union members. By the end of the century there were more than half a million. But the importance of labor in World War I raised membership to about 5 million by 1920, of whom 4 out of 5 were in AFL unions and the rest in independent unions.

The growth of unions resulted in clashes between organized labor seeking to help the worker through united action, and some of the employers in big industries. Nevertheless, by 1920 the unions had succeeded in raising wages and limiting the hours of work.

For example, in 1909 average hourly earnings of workers in manufacturing were 19 cents, but in 1923, after the recovery from the depression of 1920-21, they were 52 cents. Allowing for price increases, the rise was still very significant. In 1909 the work-week was more than 51 hours, but in 1923, it was 46 hours.

In spite of these gains, the 'twenties were worrisome years for organized labor, and the depression of the 'thirties increased their difficulties. Some employers set up their own company unions. The membership of trade unions dropped to less than 3 million in 1933.

The government that came in at about that time passed laws guaranteeing workers the right to organize. The unions organized workers in some big industries where there had been little or no organization before. By 1935 some of the older unions had increased to as much as four times their 1930 memberships, and new organizations were formed.

During the years 1935 and 1936 certain unions broke away from the AFL and joined with some of the independents to form a separate national body now known as the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO). The unions in this organization put their effort into signing up members by industry instead of occupation, while the old-line unions emphasized membership according to trade.

As a matter of fact the AFL and the CIO worked on both industrial and craft bases, but the one put more effort into craft unionism and the other put more into industrial unionism, at least at the start. Today this distinction is not so clear.

At first some thought that having two national federations in competition would destroy them both. Instead there was a great increase in the membership of both. Just before the United States entered World War II, in December 1941, total union membership had risen to over 10 million, more than double what it had been in 1936.

This vigorous growth of unions led to a great increase in strikes. Many of these were for the purpose of obtaining recognition of the union or strengthening its position, rather than for the union's customary objectives of higher wages, fewer hours of work and better working conditions.

Under war conditions labor agreed to limit wage demands and to refrain from striking. Most unions followed their leaders and there were few strikes.

Competition between the CIO and the AFL died down. Organized labor took an active part, together with employers and the government, in strengthening the war effort. Labor officials took important government posts for that purpose. Labor-management committees worked together at all levels, including the top defense agencies of government.

And with employment increasing in defense industries, union membership also increased. In some industries, such as shipbuilding and aircraft manufacture, membership doubled or tripled.

Going back from wartime to peacetime living did not generally result in the loss of union members, as had happened after World War I. Business remained good, trying to catch up with peacetime demands. But the number of strikes increased.

The objective of these strikes was to get higher wages, partly to make up for the loss of overtime pay, of which there had been a great deal during the war period.

After the early postwar disputes in 1945-46, both management and labor were looking for ways in which they could agree. In some industries they agreed that wages would go up or down with the cost of living as measured frequently and regularly by the United States Department of Labor. Many union agreements also provided for special old age pensions and other methods of protecting the health and welfare of the workers.

Today organized labor in the United States is stronger than it has ever been, even though many workers are still not organized.

WHAT LABOR UNIONS DO FOR THEIR MEMBERS

When a labor union is young it can do little more than fight for higher wages and shorter hours of work for its members, and spends much of its time and effort in increasing its membership. When it has more experience it is able to extend its activities. Most labor unions today are able to give their members much more in the way of service than they were able to give them ten, twenty, forty years ago.

Many labor unions publish their own newspapers and magazines to keep their members up to date on what is going on in the world both inside and outside the labor movement. Part of the newspaper or magazine is given to items of interest to the worker's family, such as marketing, cooking and fashions, and comics for the children. They report new developments in their own field of work and in their industry in general.

In many cases the labor newspaper tells its readers about what is going on in politics and labor, and explains what the developments mean to the worker. They discuss what is happening in the cities and States where the workers live so that they will be well informed.

The publications of the **SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE**, Amritsar in Punjabi, Hindi and English are sold almost at their cost prices. The first editions of the Holy Guru Granth Sahib in Punjabi and Hindi are out and Bheta fixed is Rs. 40, and Rs. 16, respectively. Printing of Gurbani in Punjabi is done through Photo Blocks. "Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in 1947" 20" x 26/8" size, antique paper with pages 453 is sold for Rs. 8 only.

For further information and free copy of the catalogue, please write to the Secretary.

They discuss the problems of workers in other countries and the joint efforts of the international workingmen's federations in the free world. They thus arouse their readers' interest in the community and the Nation and urge them to register and vote.

The union holds meetings at which problems are discussed. At those meetings it might be decided to make a special membership drive in a certain plant, or to help support workers who are on strike in some other place so they can exist until the strike is settled. Relations with other unions or union locals are discussed, and officials of State and Federal labour departments are asked to visit and explain what the government is doing to help solve the workers' problems. Experienced union members make studies of living and working conditions in various parts of the city, or of how workers should be trained in new kinds of jobs. In this connection the major unions of the country have done an outstanding job of co-operation in the retraining and rehabilitation of union members returning as veterans from World War II.

Trade union leaders together with representatives of industry and the public have worked on price and rationing committees. As individuals many of them have served on committees for the selection of men and women for the armed services, and on committees for getting money for the war effort. Many labor union members today take a direct part in State and city governments.

Unions also have life insurance, health, and pensions programs. Many union-sponsored health insurance plans provide maternity benefits for women employees and for the wives of men employees. Some unions maintain homes for their retired members. Many own their co-operative stores. They finance improved housing projects for workers. They arrange radio programs and recreational activities for their members. They run summer camps for members and their families. They also conduct charitable drives, to provide expensive hospital equipment or facilities for the treatment of major diseases.

In fact the modern labour union goes into nearly every field of living in which its members are interested, and frequently into related fields which help people who are not members of the union.

UNION TIES WITH WORKERS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The interests of American labor unions go beyond the limits of the United States. They co-operate with workers in other countries, helping them to gain strength and develop into organized groups.

Shortly after World War II trade unions in many countries set up an organization known as the World Federation of Trade Unions. After a few years, however, it became clear that the Iron Curtain countries had taken over control of the organization and were using it to further Russian political objectives.

Thereupon in 1949 the free trade unions of the world which had been members quit the WFTU and set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), to support "the rights of all peoples to full national freedom and self-government" and to combat totalitarianism. This Confederation now embraces more than 50 million workers in about 70 different countries. It includes the largest labor union groups in the United States—the AFL, the CIO, and the UMW—whose leaders have been active in the organization since its inception. Members of the Confederation advise each other how to keep their unions free, and give aid, including goods and money, to help those who are not free to overcome their oppressors. They advise their governments on how to deal with other governments in labor

matters, and often take active part in advising their governments in international affairs. And they send their own representatives to foreign countries to help fight oppression.

Altogether in the past forty years organized labor in the United States has grown from childhood into manhood. It is now a powerful influence, not only in the affairs of the Nation but of the whole world.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES ABOUT LABOR UNIONS

One of the most important developments during the past forty years has been the way in which people have changed in the way they feel about organized labor. Throughout American history until about the time of the depression in the 'thirties the general feeling, as shown in both the law-making and the law-interpreting branches of government, was that labor unions interfered with the freedom and rights of employers. But these feelings slowly changed as people came to see that workers need unions, and that it is possible for labor and management to agree on their mutual problems.

Looking into the mirror

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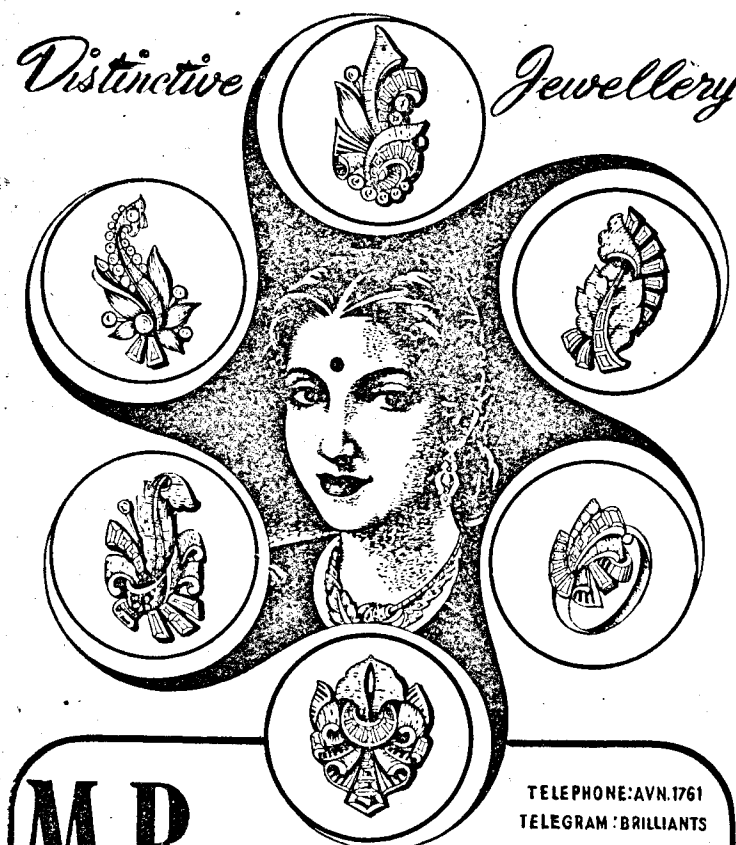
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During the past twenty years or so Congress has passed laws setting forth certain limits to what employers and their workers may or may not do in their dealings with each other. It has tried to write into law what might be considered fair or unfair labor practices, and how management and labor should go about arriving at agreement about them.

These laws have had results. They are showing the way in which organized labor and employers have responsibilities to each other and the public, and how they may in time work peaceably together for the good of everybody.

Some of the present laws will probably have to be changed to meet changing conditions, but there is no question that during the past twenty years or so they have served a useful purpose. The relations between employers and employees have greatly improved, and organized labor unions today are one of the most important forces in American industry. They are a part of our national life.—*The American Labor Review*.



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"Progressive" Taxes Based on Ability to Pay

When an American made a million dollars in 1900 he had just that much money to spend. Today he may earn a million dollars but he can keep only 16 per cent or about \$160,000 for himself. It is still a lot of money but no longer can he "live like a king" as his millionaire predecessors did.

Where does the remaining money go? It goes back to the Government in the form of taxes. The shift in the position of the rich in the U.S. has been striking, and the income tax is in great measure responsible for this levelling up of real purchasing power of people with varied incomes. The shift downward of the rich is socially significant. It indicates a consistent trend toward the middle, with lower income groups rising, top brackets coming down, and both groups shifting gradually into an expanding middle class. Economists the world over claim that the middle class is the mainstay of any country's economy.

The income tax—first introduced in the U.S. in 1913—at first assessed only one per cent of net incomes up to \$20,000, with a modest surtax for larger incomes. It was initially designed solely to raise revenue for the Government. Little did the Government then realize the steam-rolling potentialities of the income tax as a leveller of inequalities in the distribution of incomes. It was this realization, coupled with the idea that an individual should "pay" according to his "ability," which gave birth to the "progression" in the present American income tax system.

ABILITY TO PAY

The average citizen's "ability to pay" takes into account the number of dependants upon him, his public contributions, and expenses he incurs in procuring his income. The system is based on a sliding scale and puts the heaviest tax on those with the highest income. This is in essence the progression in the income tax structure.

To maintain a basic standard of living which is considered an absolute minimum for economic efficiency, a certain portion of the income is exempt from taxation. This exemption limit has been put at \$600 per person. For incomes above this level, a single individual has to pay taxes.

This ensure that the poorest, who is least able to pay, pays nothing. If his income is \$800, he pays only about \$40. If, his net income is \$280. The tax payment increases progressively as the income keeps mounting. Thus, a man with a net income of \$10,000 pays \$2,347; if his income is \$25,000, he pays \$9,362; with income of \$100,000, he pays \$63,541; and so on. A 1953 millionaire will pay about \$840,147 tax on an income of \$1 million.

One important feature of the American income tax law is that it takes cognizance of expenses which a family head to meet in supporting family.

DEDUCTIONS ALLOWED

This is reflected in the deductions that are allowed to such a person in the compilation of his tax return.

A family head may deduct \$600 from his income report for every dependent member. For instance, a married man with a wife but no children does not pay any income tax if his income is below \$1,200. On an income of \$2,000 he pays only about \$160.

The deductions are even higher if the married couple has any children or other dependants. For instance, a married couple with two children and with an income of less than \$2,675 does not pay any income tax. Such a family on an income of \$3,000 pays only \$133. As they go up in the income scale their tax payments increase at a progressive rate but the rate is still considerably lower than those for single individuals in the same income group. For example, a married couple with two dependants and with an income \$25,000 pays only \$7,004, compared with \$9,362 which is paid by a single person. Or a four-member family with an income of \$100,000 pays \$56,032, compared with \$63,541 which is paid by a single person having the same income.

These deductions are based on the principle of ability to pay. It is obvious that married people, and those having dependants, have lesser payment ability than those who have no encumbrances.

The U.S. Government relies on each person to keep his own income records and to see that the full accounting is received by the tax department. Every year more than about 50 million Americans must figure out how much tax on their incomes they must give to the Government, and they must mail their returns by the midnight of March 15.

The actual payment of taxes is less painful to the individual American, since for the last ten years the Government has been using a "pay as you go" scheme similar to that applied by the Indian Government. Under this scheme a fixed portion of the tax is deducted from each employee's weekly wage by his employer, who turns it over to the Government. Those who are self-employed or are in business must pay their tax dues in quarterly instalments.

CORPORATION TAX

Just as the individuals pay income taxes, so do companies and corporations. If the net income of a business exceeds \$50,000, the corporation must pay a flat tax of 52 percent of its net profit. Lower tax rates apply to smaller companies. This has the effect of encouraging the growth of small, privately owned businesses in America, which, in turn, leads to the creation of more jobs, more employment, and, therefore, a greater share of the national income in the form of wages.

In the years since the first income tax was introduced in the U.S. more and more Americans have been made subject to the tax. Only one person in about 275 was required to pay under the first income tax law. Today, more than one person in three pays a share, large or small.

At the same time, the proportion of government revenue derived from the income tax has increased and the portion derived from indirect taxes, which usually ignore a person's ability to pay, has decreased. For instance, in the fiscal year 1953 (July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953) personal and corporation income taxes yielded about 69 percent of all U.S. Federal revenues.

America's tax structure as a whole still needs simplification, equalization, and revision, but it has come a long way toward mitigating the inequitable distribution of national income, and toward a more equitable distribution of the cost of a free democratic government.—*American Reporter*.

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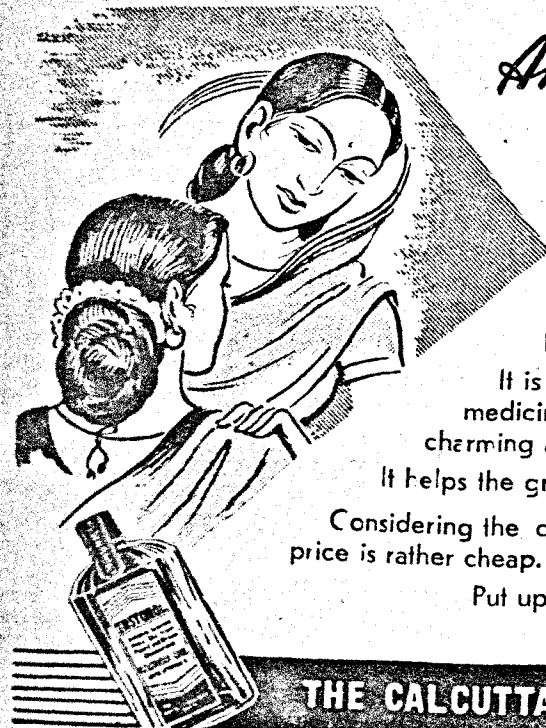
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New Horizons in Antibiotics

New York (MPIB)—Better understanding of the antibiotic drugs, and clues toward developing even more effective antibiotics, are expected to emerge from new knowledge of their highly complex make-up, outlined at a recent conference of experts here. At a meeting of the New York Academy of Sciences, three scientists, Drs. P. P. Regna, W. W. Umbreit and D. W. Wooley, described the chemical structure of terramycin, streptomycin, and chloromycetin, and analyzed the ways in which they act against disease.

The structure of terramycin, an earth-mold drug effective against more than 80 diseases, was worked out after two years of study by a team of eight scientists. These were Dr. K. J. Brunings and associates of Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., U. S. firm which discovered the antibiotic, and Dr. R. B. Woodward of Harvard University who pioneered in the synthesis of quinine and cortisone.

In "blueprinting" the structure of the terramycin molecule, the scientists found it to be unique among the antibiotics, and one of the most complex found in nature. Because of its complexity, terramycin cannot be synthesized commercially and will probably always be produced by fermentation, according to the team of chemists.

Determination of the structure of terramycin will help chemists to make minor changes in the molecule, some of which were described by Dr. Regna at the New York meeting, in the hope of producing new drugs with new medicinal possibilities. It also helps to show why

it is that terramycin goes to work in the body so rapidly and safely.

Pfizer scientists also are attempting to find out how so simple an organism as a mold can build so complex a substance as terramycin, and what raw materials it uses as building-blocks. If some of these raw materials can be supplied to the mold in already "prefabricated" form, terramycin production efficiency might be increased.

—Medical and Pharmaceutical Information Bureau, New York.

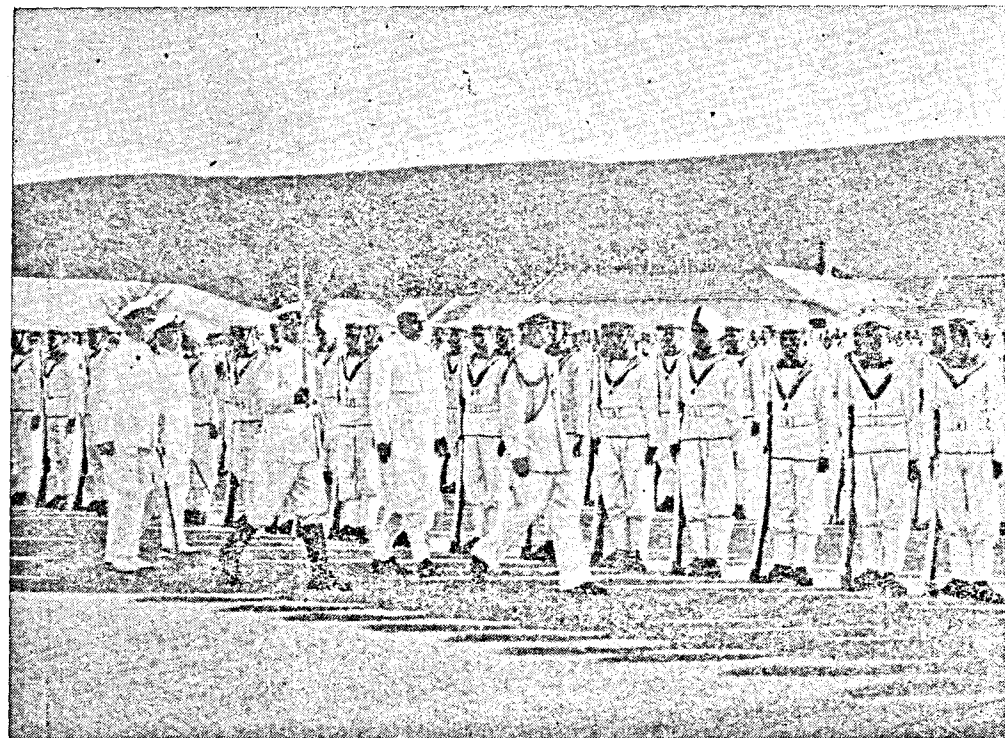
Ernest Hemingway Wins Pulitzer Prize

Ernest Hemingway won the Pulitzer Prize for his book *The Old Man and The Sea* in the 36th annual Pulitzer awards, announced on 6th May by Columbia University.

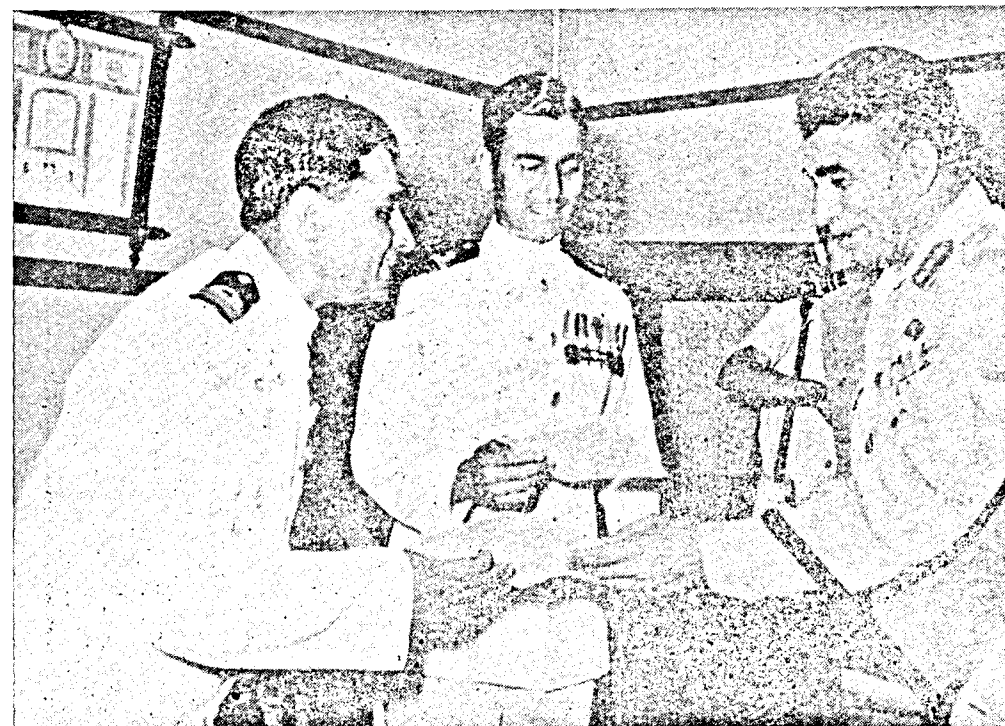
The prizes were established by the late publisher Joseph Pulitzer in a bequest to Columbia University for merit in the field of journalism and letters.

Hemingway's Pulitzer Prize was his first, although his reputation as one of America's greatest writers extends more than 25 years through recent history.

The Old Man and The Sea, in length no more than a good-sized short story, was an immediate best seller. It dealt with an aged fisherman whose efforts to land the prize catch paralleled the fight of man himself against the imponderable.



President Rajendra Prasad inspecting a guard of honour, provided by the passing out trainees at the I.N.S. Circars during his recent visit to the naval base, Visakhapatnam



General Mohamed Naguib with Lt. Commander Inder Singh and Commander Kohli. During their Goodwill visits three ships of the Indian Navy, (I. N. S.) *Ganga*, *Godavari* and *Gomati*, visited Alexandria recently, where President Naguib was among those who visited I.N.S. *Godavari*

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WHOLE No. 562

NOTES

Unemployment

The Government of India has at last awakened to the fact that one of the major causes of the unrest and discontentment in the country is unemployment on a titanic scale. After the realisation, which has caused quite a stir, attempts are being made to ascertain its magnitude and to devise remedies for the malady. We have no doubt that figures would be forthcoming, of very doubtful accuracy as usual, and that various schemes and plans would be set on foot to waste vast sums in order to obtain minor reliefs. If the ailing party, that is the general public, takes an interest in the matter and attempts to face the problem, then that would be another matter altogether. For in the assessment of both the quantum and the causative factors, public help is essential. And without that assessment, no real remedy can be prescribed. That over-rated panacea, the Five-Year Plan, would be a mere quack nostrum. Therefore, the first step would be to arouse public opinion, overcoming its lassitude.

In most States, a sense of frustration is general, which in its turn is generating resentment against and lack of faith in the Congress Government. This sense of frustration is real, and is the reaction to nepotism, favouritism and corruption that is rampant in the administration, both at the Centre and in the States. Party and parochial considerations and personal influence, to say nothing of graft, has become the main factor in almost all appointments and contracts, without exception. A man may possess the highest qualifications or be highly efficient in business, but he stands no chance against the inferior person who has the capacity or opportunity to pull strings behind the scenes. This is the root cause of all frustration.

As a result of this frustration and resentment very large numbers of the unemployed are becoming unemployable. What is more, this is affecting the Employed person as well, lowering his efficiency by warping his sense of duty and integrity. The

Employees' efficiency being lowered the business, industry or institution is affected adversely and that in its turn effectively stops expansion. Indeed in most cases the drop in efficiency is so great that the concern or institution is obliged to retrench, instead of expanding and thereby providing further employment.

There are other factors too, some of them vital, affecting smaller concerns and institutions which are by far the largest sources of employment in the country. These have to be looked into with a real interest by a better type of official than the common stiff, wooden bureaucrat who owes his office to his—or his father's—oily tongue. Today the big fish are swallowing the little fish, centralizing the concerns and institutions into restricted areas, with considerable reduction in staff and personnel. Wide areas are thus being laid bare of the sources of employment and large-scale unemployment is the inevitable result.

Then again there is the question of the *unemployable*. Prolonged idleness and loafing converts the most efficient person into a lack-a-daisical lout. And if there be no sense of discipline and a total lack of a sense of duty to start with, then such a person becomes a menace to any concern or institution in which he might be employed. Unfortunately our schools and colleges are turning out today masses of such young men. Mere provision of jobs or doles would be worse than no remedy in such cases, unless there is a rectification of their sense of propriety and responsibility.

In some States, particularly in West Bengal, there are vast numbers of uprooted humanity, with almost all moral values destroyed, leaving only resentment and greed. This human flotsam is being utilized for the basest of motives by treacherous politicians and vile human sharks for the furthering of their own designs. Thus the entire mass of refugees in West Bengal are fast becoming unemployables. Even amongst those who have been given jobs, a large majority are



SAKUNTALA WATERING THE MADHABI PLANT

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Satindranath Baha

becoming more and more inefficient and unfit for employment, due to their warped ideas on duty and integrity, and are corrupting the efficiency of such of their colleagues who are still useful. Here again stern remedial measures are called for, to prevent total corruption of a very large section of the population.

A school or a college, or any public utility concern or institution, can only produce more unemployables if the staff possesses no sense of responsibility or if there be some members of the staff who are either active disruptionists or have a degraded sense of moral values. In giving jobs to the unemployed, special care should be taken in the appointment of teachers, supervisors, superintendents and others who are likely to come into contact with or to control large numbers of people with immature or undeveloped minds. Else in giving a job to one unemployed the Government will be sowing the seeds for a tenfold production of unemployables. Now let us turn to the official reactions. First of all there is the A.I.C.C. directive as given in the news below:

New Delhi, Sept. 21.—Following the adoption of the resolution on unemployment at the Agra session, the AICC has sought the help of State Congress Committees and individual Congressmen in collecting accurate data on the subject.

The data will supplement the sample surveys which the Planning Commission has decided to carry out in certain parts of India.

Congressmen have been asked to take a personal interest in the problem and collect reliable data regarding the extent of unemployment or under-employment in their constituencies or areas.

The AICC has advised them to pay special attention in the course of their inquiry to the working of village and cottage industries which are faced with a slump and to recommend new industries which might be started in their areas to provide fuller employment.

The information collected from State Congress Committees will form the basis of schemes which the AICC hopes to prepare to solve the unemployment problem.

Needless to say the directive will be futile, the Congress being what it is today. The few, very few, Congressmen who can still rise above selfish and party interests will cry in the wilderness, unless they can rouse public interest.

Then let us see what plans the Government envisages to combat unemployment. On the same day as the above news, there appeared in the daily press the following report:

The Government requires 10 years to solve the unemployment problem in India.

Mr. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister, gave this reply in the Council of States to a question from Mr. Sundarayya, leader of the Communist Party, during a debate on unemployment which covered much the

same ground as a similar debate in the House of the People some days ago.

In Mr. Deshmukh's long written reply to the debate, notable for its academic analysis of the economic trends of the last few years, only two specific remedies to the acute problem found brief, passing mention.

One related to minor irrigation schemes upon which much emphasis has already been laid in the Plan. Their scope will now be further enlarged. The second was educating the rural masses by employing a large number of educated persons.

Mr. Deshmukh was not puzzled by the phenomenon of rising unemployment when the Plan was being executed. He explained it by the fact that, during the first two years, expenditure had been 30 per cent of the total against the 40 per cent envisaged in the Plan.

He relied on the hope that the full impact of the Plan would be felt soon. During the current year, for instance, expenditure was stepped up by 8 per cent as compared with last year. It will amount to Rs. 400 crores. During next year, it will probably be about Rs. 500 crores, even if the proposed modifications were not taken into consideration.

The Finance Minister was satisfied that, having overcome inflationary trends, Indian economy was now better equipped for intensive overall development. Conditions were favourable for increasing investment to a greater scale than contemplated in the Plan.

Earlier, members asked for a courageous approach of the unemployment problem which, according to Mr. Reddy, was approaching staggering proportions.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Sundarayya said that the Finance Minister had categorically refused the demand for relief to the unemployed. "It is not for me but for the hundreds of millions of the unemployed of this country to get angry with this Government and storm the bastion of reaction."

The way the Ministers had spoken on the problem, he added, proved the Government's complacency. How many decades did the Government want to solve the problem?

When Mr. Deshmukh replied: "Ten years."

It is useless to remind Mr. Deshmukh about the old saw regarding "Hope deferred." If things do not improve much sooner than the date put by Mr. Deshmukh for the millenium, then Mr. Deshmukh and all others of that ilk, excepting a few agile turncoats, will have to fly the country or else face liquidation. The main bulwark between Order and Chaos in the country, the educated middle-class man is facing an imminent collapse.

Urban Middle-classes and Moneylenders

The *Clarion* draws attention to the sad plight of the urban middle-class. No statistics of urban indebted-

ness had even been attempted but it would not be surprising at all if over 75% of India's middle-classes were found to be in debt, the paper writes.

Rising cost of living and unemployment drove people to borrowing. And the "ignorance of the law, the sense of shame and the urgency of the situation makes many a borrower an easy prey to exploitation by unscrupulous moneylenders. The debtors often sign a bond for very much more than is borrowed." The paper then refers to a case where a man signed a bond for Rs. 1700 for a loan of Rs. 100 only. Illegally, high rates of interest—sometimes to the extent of 25% per month—were charged. And the moneylender with his knowledge of the law knew how to evade it. He generally did not give receipts for the interest he claimed. The paper writes that cases were common where capital had been more than doubled or trebled by interest payments within a year.

As a way-out the paper suggests the Government "to assist with loans, something on the principle of taccavi loans made to agriculturists. The security offered by the debtors would be their jobs, as arrangements for direct payments could easily, we think, be made by Government. Chances of non-payment would be reduced. In this way Government would be assisting the hard-hit middle-classes, adding perhaps a little to its revenue, and ensuring that debtors pay an interest which is reasonable and fair."

We are not in love with loans, having had long experience of Refugee and Rehabilitation schemes. Loans mean bribes and degradation. It would be better to devise a modified New Deal type scheme, to expand scope for work and profit. Co-operatives might be tried on a large scale.

The Five-Year Plan

Now let us turn to the universal panacea, the Five-Year Plan. Some time back there appeared in the *Asian Review* of London in its July issue, an interesting analysis of the Plan by Sir George Schuster. Sir George's long experience of India and his very deep knowledge of Indian economies makes the short analysis highly interesting. We give the following extracts:

"The main features as I see them are :

(a) India is an essentially agricultural country—(about three-quarters of its people dependent on agriculture)—and yet at present it is not producing enough food to feed its own people even at their present very low standards.

(b) The population is increasing at the rate of four and a quarter millions every year.

(c) On a long view there is no room to absorb great numbers of additional workers in agricultural production. Indeed if Indian agricultural industry is to make its best contribution to the Indian economy a reduction in the numbers on the land would be desirable.

(d) Therefore the great bulk of the working part of the 4½ millions added every year to the

population must be placed in industry or tertiary employment.

(e) Accordingly India needs a vast expansion of manufacturing industry if only as a means for providing bread-winning employment for her increasing population. (That is not the only reason for such an expansion. A greater proportion of industrial employment is necessary if there is to be any improvement in the general standard of living).

(f) But such an industrial expansion can have no sure foundation unless there can be first achieved a vast increase in agricultural production. This is necessary for a double reason. Unless more food can be produced it will be impossible to feed the increasing numbers employed in industry. Unless the purchasing power of the agricultural producer is greatly improved Indian industry will not be able to find markets for its products. (This is not to deny the possibility that Indian industry will be able to find export markets for some of its products. But this can only be a very small proportion of the total production if there is to be an expansion of industry on the scale which the national needs demand).

It is therefore necessary to concentrate first on the development of agricultural production.

It is because such a concentration is the main characteristic of the Five-Year Plan that I regard its broad lines as right. But the first five years must be regarded as no more than the first chapter of a much longer story of development—the first act of a much longer drama.

The essential purpose of this "first act" must accordingly be seen as two-fold: 1st: to achieve the maximum possible immediate increase in agricultural production. 2nd: to be a period of preparation for a great industrial expansion. Therefore, the practical questions to be asked are:

(i) What steps can be taken to aid the most rapid and effective development of agricultural production?

(ii) What can be done to "set the stage" for the great industrial expansion which should follow in the later acts of the Indian drama?

In the case of *agricultural development*, the Plan falls broadly under two heads, first, schemes for capital expenditure on works for irrigation and communications, and secondly, schemes for achieving a general uplift of production and life in the rural areas through measures such as the Community Development Projects."

Regarding the role of private enterprise in the field of economics, Sir George says:

"Private enterprise cannot hope to survive in modern conditions and in an educated democracy unless it can convince public opinion that it is serving the public interest in the sense that it is carrying out the necessary function of production more efficiently than any possible alternative system. I speak as one who believes that it can fulfil this condition, but only if it handles all its operations with this need constantly in mind. I must express the further belief that the Government of India is right in deciding to leave a great part of the task to private enterprise. There are powerful critics in India who

argue that the Plan falls neatly between two stools and that planned economic development can only succeed if the Government has complete control of all the resources for investment, and they point to the examples of Russia and China. But India is a country in which the ruthless methods of Russia could never be accepted or work successfully. Nevertheless, the fact that such opinions are held and that the Congress Party is essentially a left-wing party makes it all the more necessary that leaders of private enterprise should accept a high conception of their role and recognize that if they adopt practices which lay them open to legitimate public criticism they may create intolerable difficulties for Ministers of the present Government who are trying to pursue policies of moderation and leave scope for free enterprise.

There is no simple answer to my question, "What can private enterprise do to earn the confidence of the Government and public opinion?" But a combination of a number of steps might gradually have considerable effect. They include a high standard of managerial efficiency in all grades; educative publicity about financial results and a fair basis of distribution; action by big industry in the public interest in such matters as encouraging the development of small industries; a proper interpretation of the functions of industrial associations; and finally encouragement for the building up of responsible Trade Unions.

It is a commonplace to say that there can be no satisfactory industrial development unless human relations in industry are satisfactory, unless there is a general will to work and a readiness on the part of employers to recognize their obligation to pay adequate wages and, on the part of the workers, to realize that the level of wages must be related to the work effort and to the productivity of labour. One of the greatest needs in India to-day is the growth of a responsible Trade Union movement. There is a long way to go before this is achieved; but, on the other hand, I saw signs which justify me in expressing the view that a hopeful start has been made. Here is a field in which there is room for much helpful collaboration between this country and India. The value of this is recognized by the Trade Union movement in both countries and I can only express the hope that the British T.U.C. will do its utmost to develop effective collaboration."

Village Industries and Indian Government

In reply to a question in Parliament on August 6, the Minister for Commerce and Industries, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari had said that the Government was considering the recommendation of the Planning Commission for the adoption of a policy of developing the production of edible oils through the village industry and the production of non-edible oils through the oil mills. In this connection another recommendation of the Planning Commission for the imposition of a small cess on mill oil for the benefit of the village

oil industry was also under the consideration of the Government, the Minister had said.

In reply to another question on the same day Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, had said that it had been decided that hand-made paper should be purchased for all demi-official correspondence of the Government of India. Of a total value of Rs. 4½ crores of paper purchased by the Government of India in 1951-52, hand-made paper had accounted for Rs. 90,000. No hand-made paper had been purchased in 1952-53 as Government had sufficient stock from the previous year's closing balance. The total value of paper purchased in that year was Rs. 5 crores approximately.

In an article in the *Harijan* on September 12, Sri Maganbhai P. Desai writes that these questions and their answers "tell eloquently well how lightly the Central Ministry take their responsibility to encourage and promote village industries. Apart from the patent indifference that is apparent from the answers, the more serious matter is where Sri T. T. Krishnamachari says that the recommendations of the Planning Commission are still not considered by the Government. . . . The indifference and delay revealed by the answers explain to an extent why unemployment is there in spite of the Plan." Pointing to the fact that the Five Year Plan had been put forward by the Government as their chief plank for the recovery of the national economy he urges upon the Government to hasten the implementation of their accepted policies laid down in the Plan.

We refrain from further comment. New brooms are indicated everywhere.

Community Project in West Bengal

Sometime back we had occasion to ask a high—and highly paid—official of the Project as to how the plans were developing. He said that he himself did not have anything much in the way of expectations where the Community Project was concerned, and so he would say that the results were not very disappointing so far. Needless to say we put no more questions. We append *infra* an extract from a recent issue of the *Vigil* more about the project. Unless a recasting of the plans and procedure is done while there is time, this experiment is going to be a howling failure in most States.

Sri B. K. Guha, Ex-Project Executive Officer, subjects the Community Projects administration in West Bengal to a close examination and his examination reveals some very instructive facts.

The writer notes that the early popular hopes and enthusiasm about the Community Projects had died down. The people had nearly lost all faith in the administration of the Community Development Projects.

Referring to the administration of the Projects of which he had personal experience, Sri Guha writes that

the duties of a Project Officer included everything except executing things. He was to work as a liaison between the Project and the normal state departments to which all allocations of money went. "The Project Officer," he writes, "is there to see that these monies are spent according to priorities determined by various departments in consultation with the Project Officer." The Project Officer had no control over those departments, which "do their utmost to have things in their own traditional way." Though responsible for everything relating to the Projects the Project Officer "can be frowned upon by any District Officer or Sub-divisional Officer." All his complaints were never seriously taken.

Another "important function" of the Project Officer was to act as a tourist's guide to visitors, mostly American "experts," who were "at best nothing more than salesmen of American machinery."

Sri Guha writes: "The various departments by their callous indifference do their best to ignore the very existence of the Project Administration." The District Magistrate was the District Development Officer, but "if he has got not the time or shows no inclinations to co-ordinate the different departments he cannot be blamed. Meanwhile the Project Officer becomes a spectator of departmental inefficiency, lethargy and heartlessness. . . . As long as the reports are sent in time with expert window-dressing nobody bothers about anything."

He cites various instances of departmental inefficiency and official bungling. An artificial insemination centre had been started with four bulls which had proved to be immature and meanwhile ten bulls giving natural servicing had been withdrawn. Illustrating the way the Departments moved Sri Guha writes: "When the Project officer asked the opinion of the Livestock officer about the bulls, the latter was clearly instructed by the Animal Husbandry Department not to give any reply. The Superintendent of Agriculture took a month and a half just to reply that he had nothing to do with the bulls."

The Agricultural Department did nothing more than pushing up "sales of manures on behalf of certain agencies and distributing seeds which very often do not go to the fields. Agricultural loans are given when the season is nearly over and that also to a fortunate few. Small irrigation schemes are undertaken under conditions that the beneficiaries would contribute one-third, now raised to half of the total cost. Contracts are deliberately made at an inflated rate and actual work is done at a much lower rate, the balance being shown as a book-entry for local contributions."

In another case a mobile medical unit had been started with the money of the Community Development Project. Doctors and assistants had been posted in a village without any medicine being provided. On enquiry it had been revealed that the Health Directorate "had not even drawn up any plans for work. So for full one month there was the doctor minus his medicine and the people getting bitter to the core." What was more

revealing was the fact that "when the doctor does get his stock of medicine and popularises himself to the village people he is transferred on some silly pretext."

Two primary schools have been completed but they could not be given recognition "because the district quota was already filled up." Nobody knew when the next quota was to come.

In view of all these Sri Guha says that the Government might as well abolish the establishment of the Project Executive officer. It would save a recurring expenditure of nearly Rs. 3000 per month.

Estate Duty Bill

The Estate Duty bill has now taken final shape. We were the first to point out the defects in the bill as originally framed, particularly with regard to the unjust burden on estates ruled by Dayabhaga laws. Those defects have been mostly removed.

New Delhi, Sept. 22.—The Council of States today passed the Estate Duty Bill as passed by the House of the People and adjourned till tomorrow.

The Finance Minister indicated yesterday that he would have to take the earliest opportunity to amend the provisions relating to exemptions in order to prevent evasion.

Under the clause as it stands, exemptions from Estate Duty is allowable in respect of an insurance policy on the life of the deceased for a sum not exceeding Rs. 50,000 for the purpose of paying Estate Duty. Another sub-clause provides that exemption will be granted in respect of amounts, not exceeding Rs. 50,000, deposited with the Government for purposes of meeting the duty on the estate of the deceased.

The second sub-clause had been introduced to meet the cases of persons who could not insure themselves due to over-age or other factors but would like to make a provision for payment of Estate Duty during their life time.

Mr. Deshmukh said there seemed to be a possibility of these two provisions being utilized cumulatively by an individual to escape Estate Duty up to the value of Rs. 1,00,000.

"I will have to take the earliest opportunity of bringing an amendment to this measure," he told the Council, though he would not say if he would bring forward an amending Bill in the next session.

Travancore-Cochin Assembly

The Travancore Cochin Ministry failed to obtain a majority in the confidence vote, in the State Assembly, on the 23rd of September as given in the news below:

Mr. A. J. John, Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, today failed to win a confidence vote in the State Assembly.

The Rajpramukh later issued a notification dissolving the Travancore-Cochin Assembly with effect from tomorrow.

The news of the fall of the John Cabinet came as no surprise in New Delhi. According to informed quarters, Mr. John is expected to advise the Rajpramukh to order fresh general elections.

Pending this, the Ministry is expected to continue in office though it will not initiate any new policies. It will be in the nature of a caretaker Ministry till fresh elections are held.

The 47 Congress members and four Independents today backed the confidence motion. The 32 members of the United Front of Leftists, the nine TTNC members, the 10 Socialists and five Independents voted against it. One Independent abstained.

Mr. John's Ministry assumed office on March 12, 1952, though the general election did not give the Congress a majority in the 109-member Assembly.

The Congress, however, emerged from the elections as the largest single party in the Assembly with 46 members. They managed to get last year's budget passed with the support of Independents.

Now, after the fall, Congress has to try for a working majority at the elections, which have to be completed by March, 1954.

Law and Order in Calcutta

Following the deliberate defiance of law and order on the political front, serious outbreaks of lawlessness have happened in certain parts of the city, in which the ringleaders are professional criminals. Kidnapping, extortion of money by threats of violence, sometimes at the point of daggers or pistols, rape and theft have become more frequent than usual. In one case, the criminals raped the kidnapped eight-year old girl before abandoning her in a severely collapsed condition.

In a very suspicious case, a prominent upcountry businessman was found dead in a "Massage Clinic" of doubtful status. The newspaper reports said that the deceased went there in an inebriated condition and collapsed and died before medical aid could reach him. The relatives and friends were astounded at the news of the death and the circumstances under which the demise was alleged to have taken place. They, therefore, demanded that a *post-mortem* examination be made, as the deceased was not only a man of repute, but was known to his friends to be of steady and refined habits. It is said that on the examination no traces of alcohol or any other intoxicant could be found.

It has been stated in a public meeting of prominent businessmen that the deceased had expressed some apprehensions about imminent and serious troubles to his friends a few days before his untimely death. He did not state what he was afraid of nor did they attach any importance to his fears at the time.

The place of his death is said to be an ill-reputed house, and it is firmly stated by his friends that they cannot imagine his going there of his own volition. They say that the mysterious circumstances under which the death took place clearly point to a conspiracy and violence and ask for a thorough enquiry by the police in the matter.

"Coat, Necktie and Collar"

Pandit Nehru has at last removed his rose-tinted glasses and begun to see things in their proper light as the following news-item indicates:

New Delhi, Sept. 24.—Mr. Nehru today warned Ministers and officials against approaching the problems of the common worker and peasant with a "coat, necktie and collar mind."

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a conference of State Ministers of Agriculture and Co-operation in Parliament Hall, said that mere conferences would not help if the workers and peasants remained untouched by such activity.

"I am sometimes amazed about the way official work is done," he added. "There are several institutes of agricultural and forest research doing good work. But whatever work is done there is confined to the officers concerned and the four walls of the institute. It does not reach the common peasant."

He had come to attend the conference out of just formality and to wish it success, he said. The Ministers of Agriculture and others participating knew more about the problems of agriculture than he did. It was unnecessary for him to say that the question of agriculture was a basic and necessary one for the country. It was, however, clear that the country could not develop, however advanced agriculturally it might be, unless it was industrially advanced also.

Posing the question how progress in India should be measured, Mr. Nehru said: "In our Statistics Department people make charts and blueprints. They should do more of this kind of work. It gives us some picture of our country. But, ultimately, the only yardstick of measuring the country's progress is by examining the general appearance of the Indian peasant, the clothes he wears, the food he eats and the house he lives in. We have also to see how the children of the Indian peasant are brought up, what arrangements exist for giving them education and safeguarding their health. The country's progress can never be measured by policy statements of Ministers or officials."

In the not so very distant past, the I.C.S. man touring in State through the countryside, used to receive petitions and dictate terms and directives. He used to consider himself omniscient and omnipotent—unless a superior was in the offing. He set the example for all his underlings, and hence came the tradition of the "coat, collar and necktie." This system, which was one of the root causes of the ruin of the common man, in the streets and in the fields, has persisted though the British Raj has departed. The Ivory-Tower tradition dies hard, be it garbed in Coat and Necktie or Gandhi cap and Khaddar.

Sugar Policy Muddle

Vivek writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* that the extent of the "folly and rashness" of the sugar policy of the Government of India would be made clear even

to the uninitiated when one considered the Government's latest declaration of policy.

The Government had presented a supplementary demand for 7.25 crores of rupees for importing a lakh of tons of sugar which was necessary to hold sugar prices and maintain continuity of supplies. In this regard the Government had also announced the reduction of the import duty on sugar to a little less than half.

At the same time Government had urged the Parliament to agree to Rs. 2.06 crores for compensation to factory owners because the Government had undertaken that the sugar factories would get the previous seasons' price for the quantities they held, though a reduction of price was called for on the basis of the stock position.

Still another demand was for Rs. 3½ lakhs for payment as compensation to private exporters because 6300 tons of sugar had been exported at a loss in 1952-53.

Vivek writes: "... a government which went out of its way to spend two hundred and six lakhs to prevent prices from falling because of a large carry-over, finds itself within a few months allocating large sums of foreign exchange in order to reduce prices slightly and to hold them at the lower level! Truly a remarkable debacle, that does little credit either to Government's prescience or its ability to manage."

The policy of the Government helped the speculators. Sugar prices were not likely to remain stable by Government releases and direct sales. The import of a lakh of tons was not likely to lead to comparatively low prices and would, in any case, affect only sales in a few ports.

"In the next season, moreover," Vivek continues, "the production of sugar will probably not be high, for the cultivator is not likely to be encouraged when the price for the cane he sells is settled, while he sees the price of the article manufactured from it free, and the factory owner and the trader making even handsome profits than before."

Here, in West Bengal there is an attempt made by the Government to bring down the retail price of sugar all over the State. It is as yet too early to gauge the results of the plan, which is to persuade the normal trade-channels to accept the measure. Private feuds, cupidity of some traders, and the obvious lethargy of the consumer, are hurdles on the path. But prices are coming down.

British Goat Farm

A 180-acre goat farm in Britain which produces 10,000 gallons of milk each year from a herd of 100 goats is attracting the attention of doctors and agriculturists from all over the world, including the Far East.

Milk from the farm—situated at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, near Rugby—is sent all over England. The

farm also sends regular supplies of yoghurt bacteria base by air for manufacture in British Guiana.

Medical men visit the farm to study the potentialities of goat's milk for the treatment of tuberculosis and eczema and agriculturists are particularly interested in the way Mr. Gilbert Harris, owner of the farm, has used derelict land for milk production, which he hopes to treble in the next few years.

The idea for starting the farm came to Mr. Harris, a former R.A.F. signals officer, when he was stationed in Southern Arabia during the war. He suffered from malnutrition and was cured by goat's milk. After demobilisation he began keeping only a few goats, but following a local doctor's appeal for goat's milk for a sick child he turned over exclusively to goat milk production in 1950.

There are many tracts in India where a similar experiment might be successful.

South Africa Through American Eyes

Emmett Murphy, a young professor of anthropology who took the place of the well-known Professor Z. K. Matthews while the latter was teaching in the United States, had a year in South Africa at the University College of Fort Hare. Because he insisted upon treating white and Africans as equals, he and his wife were ordered to leave the country 44 days before their permit to stay expired.

In reviewing his experience, Emmett Murphy has given a balanced appraisal of the difficulties in South Africa, and the racial situation there. Pointing out that even in the College there was tension between black students and white faculty members, and recounting his friendship with the students, Professor Murphy declares: "There is no area now left in the U.S. where Negroes receive treatment as stern and unfair as in South Africa."

"As the Nationalist Party and most whites in South Africa grow more extreme and harsh in their attempts to keep the blacks down," says Professor Murphy, "so the various African political organizations and most blacks get more extreme in their ambitions to remove the chains which have bound them and to assume control of their own destinies and their land. White liberals are being progressively squeezed out of power by the extremists on both sides, as are African and Indian moderates. Unless a new element enters the picture, we feel, a violent clash between the two forces is inevitable. The only thing that will be effective will be a quick granting of fundamental rights to non-Europeans and embarkation upon a huge program of social and economic progress for all the people. It is our opinion that at least 75 per cent of the Europeans are unswervingly opposed to this much."

U. S. and World-Policy

After the Korean armistice there has been a great deal of wrangling about the policy of the U.S. The following extract gives a good summary:

"Europeans are not always right, but are they wrong in believing the U.S. is too unbending? Largely for this reason, American stock is low, even among the most ardent anti-Communists. Europeans feel that Americans are unrealistic in their insistence on arming Europe, willy-nilly, before attempting to settle the cold war, or before being sure that a decent peace cannot now be pried out of the Russians. Secretary Dulles made one statement in a recent radio speech that particularly bothered Europe. He declared that even if the Russians ceased being aggressive, the European Defense Community would be just as necessary as ever. They would agree that unity ought to be pushed, but they see no reason for permanent costly armament if the Soviet Union could be brought to terms.

In Asia, the political conference to follow the truce will try to halt Communist aggression in the narrowest sense; or will undertake to find a basis for enduring peace through a solution of various questions. If Mr. Dulles means what he has been saying, the U.S. will attempt to limit the conference to issues Washington wants to settle precisely in its own way. This isn't likely to work, however, for some of the best friends of the United States will be just as eager to broaden the discussions as are the Communists. Japan is eager to renew its trade with Red China in order to bolster its shaky economy, and nations fearing Japanese imports will help it. There will be pressure to admit China to the United Nations at the expense of Formosa, not because other countries are pro-Communist, but because they believe peace will be more secure with the Chinese inside than outside. Few countries think that recognition of Red China means approval, any more than Washington thinks so in the case of Latin American dictatorships. Fourteen lands now recognize Red China: Afghanistan, Britain, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Finland, India, Indonesia, Israel, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. If the U.S. wins by economic threats, it will suffer.

Many countries are determined not to follow what they feel is U.S. rigidity. They reason somewhat along these lines. Suppose Red China can be persuaded to withdraw troops from Korea on the assurance that South Korea will not renew the war; that a narrow buffer zone be created at the Yalu; and that a United Korea be demilitarized, under international guarantees. Suppose then that China comes into the U.N. after a cooling-off period of six months or a year, and is thus responsible, on the inside, for the maintenance of peace. This could, by taking the heat off Indo-China, give the French the opportunity they increasingly desire, of ending the war there. Japan, safe from invasion through Korea, could avoid the rearmament its people do not want, while the fear of Japan would no longer worry Asian peoples.

You may not agree with any of this, but such ideas are seething in many minds, and if Washington has something better, that policy must be polished up

and brought out soon. The U.N. Assembly is going to get into the act, and through its sessions, along with those of the post-armistice conference, American spokesmen are likely to find that mere inflexibility will not suffice. U.S. prestige has already suffered badly through its abandonment of the International Children's Emergency Fund, and its threatened scuttling of the U.N. technical assistance program."—*Workover Press*

Concessions to Oil Refineries

Mr. K. C. Reddy, Minister for Production, placed before the Parliament on August 23, the terms of the agreements entered into by the Government of India with the three foreign oil Companies, two American and one British, for the establishment of three oil refineries in India. The terms of agreement in the three cases were more or less similar.

The concessions granted included "a no-nationalisation guarantee for 25 years from the commencement of operation of the refineries, import concessions, foreign exchanges facilities and an additional duty protection to the products of the companies," reports the UPI. A guarantee exempting the refineries from the purview of the Indian Industries (Development and Regulation) Act for 25 years had also been given, if the Indian companies applied for such exemption.

The refineries would be owned and operated by what would be known as "Indian Company" sponsored by the foreign firms. Though the Indian investors would be given an opportunity to subscribe to the share capital of the Indian Company, the foreign firms would have the controlling voice.

Under the terms of the agreement the foreign companies had been assumed of fair and reasonable compensation should the Government decide to acquire the refineries after the expiry of the specified period of 25 years.

Assurance had also been given to exempt transfers of petroleum products from the "Indian Companies" to their foreign principals from sales tax, turnover tax or other tax of similar nature.

There will be no tax discrimination between these Companies and other Indian firms for ten years from the commencement of operations of the refineries or until December 31, 1965, whichever was earlier. For the same period an additional duty protection would be accorded to the products of the refineries by maintaining an import duty on motor gasoline at least annas two per imperial gallon higher than the excise on locally manufactured motor gasoline. No import duty would be imposed on crude oil and import duty imposed on any materials required for the refineries would not exceed 5½ per cent *ad valorem*. The refineries would be free to fix the prices of the products at any level higher than the landed cost and that tankers, regardless of flag, importing crude oil or products for the refineries or for marketing operations in India would be permitted to

lift products from the refinery for delivery to other ports in India.

The main object of establishing these refineries is stated to be the conservation of foreign exchange, and we have no doubt that a considerable saving will be effected thereby. But the price of petrol (gasoline) and allied petroleum products is climbing up to a prohibitive degree. We should like to be assured that a price reduction may be expected, so that the ultimate consumer, the general public, may become a beneficiary. Foreign exchange saved thus, would be spent otherwise, we have no doubt, by the spendthrifts in the Central Government.

State Managed Co-operative in Assam

The *Chronicle*, September 4, reports that textile goods worth Rs. 22687 had been stolen over a number of years from the Silchar Central Trading Co-operative Ltd., with the connivance of higher authorities. The report adds: "The Society came into being in 1948 with D. C. [Deputy Commissioner] Cachar as its Chairman. In 1949 goods stolen to the extent of Rs. 2761 was detected. In early 1950 same thing to the extent of another amount of Rs. 7300-10-2 was again detected. Finally, in the latter part of 1950 the total amount, i.e., value of the stolen, controlled textile goods was detected to be at Rs. 22687-14-1. Audit, enquiry and inspection, etc., have duly been held and persons responsible have also been found out. But strangely enough no action for recovery of the money or punishing the responsible persons has yet been taken."

Assam Approves Financial Corporation

The *Chronicle*, September 11, reports that the Assam Assembly had approved the constitution of a Financial Corporation for Assam with an authorised capital of two crores of rupees. The Corporation would have a paid-up capital of one crore of rupees to be raised in the following manner: Assam Government—25 lakhs; Reserve Bank—20 lakhs; Scheduled Banks, Insurance Companies, Investment Trusts, Co-operative Banks or other financial institutions—30 lakhs; and other parties—25 lakhs.

The Finance Minister, Sri Motiram Bora, explained that the Corporation would afford facilities for financing medium and small-sized industrial undertakings of Assam with potentialities of further development.

Linguistic Provinces

A further step forward has been recorded at the All-India Linguistic States Conference, as is indicated in the news below. We are glad that at last Bengal's case has been given some recognition.

Vallabha Vidyarnagar, Sept. 27. The All India Linguistic States Conference unanimously demanded here this evening that the Government of India should proceed to redistribute the country on the linguistic basis after six months from the date of appointment of the Boundary Commission.

The two-day Conference concluded to-day. Dr. Lanka Sundaram presided. The Conference said by a resolution that there was "no question" of appointing a high-power Commission to decide about the feasibility of the linguistic States.

"The principle of the formation of linguistic States for the country as a whole is now finally settled and is no longer open to any further examination or discussions. The only question which now remains is its implementation without any further delay," the resolution said.

REPORT WITHIN 6 MONTHS

The resolution called upon the Government to appoint the Boundary Commission "forthwith" and said that the report of the Boundary Commission should be made available within six months from the date of its appointment and that the Government should immediately proceed to the redistribution of the country on a linguistic basis having regard to such factors as common economic life and geographical contiguity.

Temple Entry at Deoghar

After the assault on Acharya Vinoba Bhave's party at the gates of the Baidyanath Temple, by some fanatic *pandas*, the question of the basic right of temple-entry by the Harijans came very much to the fore. We are glad that here some firmness was displayed by the Bihar Government in the solution of the problem as the following news indicates:

Deoghar, Sept. 27.—Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, formally threw open the gates of the Baidyanath Temple for the Harijans today at 11-30 a.m.

Dressed in milk-white khadi with flowers and chandan (sandal paste) in hand, Dr. Sinha accompanied by Sri Mahesh Prasad Sinha, Information Minister, Pandit Binodananda Jha, former Minister of Local Self-Government and Sri Gourishankar Dalmia M.L.C. (Congress) and about 800 Harijans, including some members of the State legislature, entered the temple from the main northern gate.

A number of high State officials, including Sri K. Raman, Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division, Sri Mithileshwar Prasad Sinha, Inspector-General of Police, Sri Sarda Prasad Verma D.I.G., C.I.D., Sri U. K. Ghose, Deputy Commissioner, Santhal Parganas accompanied Dr. Sinha to the temple. Several thousand citizens turned out at the temple gates despite inclement weather and drizzling rain to witness the solemn ceremony when Dr. Sinha entered the inner precincts of the temple with Harijans and offered puja to the deity. The whole ceremony was conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. Elaborate police arrangements had however been made as a precautionary measure.

The issue of temple entry came to the forefront with the assault on Acharya Vinoba Bhave on September 19 when he went with a large number of Harijans to the Baidyanath Temple which had for long been the citadel of Hindu orthodoxy.

Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha took it as a challenge not only to humanity but also to the Indian Constitution and announced his decision to enter the temple with Harijans.

Since early morning batches of Harijans paraded the streets of Deogarh today shouting the slogans "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai," "Sant Vinoba-ki-jai" and "Behar Kesari (Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha) -ki-jai."

Pak Cinemas Close Down

PTI reports from Karachi on September 19 that all Karachi cinema houses screening Urdu films would be closed indefinitely from September 21 on account of shortage of Indian films, according to an announcement by the Karachi Cine Exhibitors' Association.

Pakistan producers were not in a position to produce enough pictures to feed the Pakistani Cinemas. West Pakistan had 250 cinema houses which needed at least 100 films every year. But Pakistan could hardly produce 10 pictures a year. Therefore, she needed to import about 90 films from India but the Government of Pakistan did not allow the import of Indian films since over a year now. Hence this crisis.

U.S.-South Korea Treaty

On August 8, U.S. Secretary of State, Dulles, and the South Korean Prime Minister had signed a Mutual Security Treaty between their two countries. *Reuter* reports: "The treaty which must be ratified by the Senate in Washington and the South Korean Parliament, declared that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the signatories would be regarded as dangerous to the peace and safety of the other and both 'would act to meet the common danger.'" The U.S.A. would have the right to station troops in South Korea.

The South Korean Foreign Minister had predicted on August 7 that the U.S. Senate which was the only legislative voice on such treaties would pass the pact "without difficulty."

In a Press Conference held after the signing of the Treaty, Mr. Dulles said that no agreed plan for the reunification of Korea had been decided upon but he had his own private views on the matter. He was reported to have told that if the Communists had sought to turn the 90-day limit to the conference into "fruitless propaganda," the U.S.A. and South Korea might withdraw before the 90 days were up.

Commenting on the treaty Y. Pavlov writes: "Under this agreement, the U.S.A. is to continue the occupation of South Korea with its land, air and naval forces. And the agreement says plainly that the U.S.A. assumes (1) the right to maintain its armed forces in or in proximity to South Korea. The agreement does not concretize the meaning of 'in proximity.'"

"This tendency of U.S. ruling circles to maintain military bases not only in Korea's territories but also 'in proximity' to Korea is symptomatic. It lays added

emphasis on the fact that the American military circles harbour far-reaching plans for conquests in the Pacific."

Speaking at Seoul on August 14, Dr. Syng Man Rhee said that it was South Korea's "wish and determination to march north at the earliest possible time."

In a declaration published on August 7 in New York the 16 nations with troops in Korea (the U.S.A., Britain, France, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Thailand, Turkey, Greece, Ethiopia, Belgium, The Netherlands, Colombia, The Philippines and Luxembourg) had warned the Communists that they would resist any new attack on South Korea and said that in that event, they probably could not "confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea." PTI reports that though no names were mentioned the declaration "was regarded an obvious threat of action against the Chinese mainland."

Britain, however, made it clear that her signature to the declaration did not commit her automatically to war against China if the Communists broke the armistice.

In order to meet the criticism against Britain's association with the declaration, a statement was issued from No. 10, Downing Street on August 14 which stated that the terms of the declaration had been agreed upon in 1951 at the instance of the U.S.A. The declaration was concerned solely with what might be termed an 'unprovoked' breach of the armistice by the Communists. "If there were any breach of faith by anyone on our side, the Government would be entitled to reopen the whole question," it added.

Goondalism in French Indian Settlements

The *Bombay Chronicle* of September 8, reports: "Mr. Ramkrishnan, brother of Mr. R. Rama Srinivasan, President of the Karikal Youth Congress, which stands for the merger of the French India settlements with the Indian Union was bodily carried away into the French limits of Karikal on the evening of September 2 by a group of adherents of the Socialist Party, which is in power in French India."

The report adds that the family of Mr. Rama Srinivasan had migrated to India having been unable to bear the persecution by the pro-French elements. Mr. Ramakrishnan who had somehow succeeded in escaping told Pressmen that French goondas had been commissioned to carry the whole family into Karikal. He had lodged a complaint with the District Magistrate of Tanjore about the trespass of the goondas into the Indian Union.

This is by no means an isolated incident. We are beginning to wonder why this sort of thing is allowed to continue.

Anglo-Egyptian Talks

The latest news throws a more hopeful light on the Anglo-Egyptian tangle, as the following news

indicates. We hope the British authorities would show an understanding of the Egyptian Government's problem which is more a question of psychology than real-politics.

Cairo, Sept. 28.—An authoritative Egyptian source said today that Egypt had accepted all British proposals for a settlement of the Suez Canal base problem except that British technicians remaining behind should wear uniform.

The source added that Egypt had agreed on the evacuation of combatant troops in a period of 18 months, that 4,000 British technicians should help maintain the base for a period of three years and on allied re-entry to the base in the event of aggression against a member of the Arab League.

"But we cannot accept Britain's proposal that the technicians who stay should wear uniform," the source added.

"The talks which have so far been most successful may founder on this point, for we shall never be able to convince the Egyptian people that the withdrawal of British troops from the Canal Zone is complete."

The Politics of Suez Canal

Of all the great roadways of the world, the sea-road to India through the Isthmus of Suez is perhaps the most important, for it joins East and West, Asia and Europe, the two most thickly populated continents. Since its opening in 1869, its importance in enlarging the intercontinental route has been great. It facilitates access to raw materials from the uttermost parts of the earth and the opening of new markets for manufactured goods. If the Canal is blocked or efficiency impaired the whole western world is affected. Renan perhaps voiced the truth when he said in his welcoming speech to Ferdinand de Lesseps upon the latter's admission to the French Academy:

"The great sentence, 'I came not to bring peace, but a sword,' must have come often into your mind. Once the Isthmus was cut, it inevitably became a passageway, that is, a field of battle. So far, one Bosphorus had made for quite enough trouble in the world, but you have created a second which overshadows it in importance, for it connects not merely two landlocked seas but all the great oceans. In the event of a naval war, this is the point which the contending powers would struggle most urgently to occupy. You have set your seal on one of the great battlegrounds of the future."

In ancient Roman eyes, Asia was a fabulous source of riches and luxury. Trade on a truly international scale developed between the three important centres of civilization: the Mediterranean, the Hellenistic Middle East and the Far East proper (India and China). Rome imported from India perfumes, cloth, precious stones, spices and circus animals, but had little to offer in exchange. She paid in gold for an unfavourable trade balance, and eventually all the gold of the West found its way to Byzantium and India. In the Middle Ages,

the trade balance remained approximately the same. Egypt was the great meeting place where merchants from Genoa, Venice, and Catalonia met their Arab counterparts from all parts of Africa and Asia. The Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453 cut off the ancient routes to Asia, until 1498 when Vasco da Gama opened a new sea route, around the Cape of Good Hope, to India. As a result, the Mediterranean was changed for three centuries from a passageway to a blind alley and the world centre of gravity gravitated towards the shores of the Atlantic and the Great Powers which bordered upon it.

The relationship between Europe and Asia underwent a radical change when the industrial revolution came into full force and steam navigation swept the sailing ship from the seas. Industrialised 19th century Europe was no longer content with Eastern spices and other luxury goods. It required raw materials for its factories, and foodstuffs in wholesale quantities for an expanding population which it could no longer support. Its exports were transformed to mass production goods, tools and machinery which had a great appeal to an East roused by its new contact with the western economy.

The East now appeared in quite a different light—not as the legendary and marvellous region of the past but as a no less precious reservoir of cheap raw materials, and at the same time a market for the West's growing industrial production. A new system of exchanges developed: Europe imported goods in the raw and sent them back manufactured.

The passage from England to India by the middle of the nineteenth century required, via the Cape of Good Hope, 140 days by sail and 90 days by steam, and the necessity of a direct route was increasingly being felt. The problem of the Suez Canal as Lesseps saw it in 1854, when he obtained permission to construct it from Mohammed Said, Viceroy of Egypt, was not so complicated. This was the age of liberalism with free trade and enterprise, lower tariffs and with unlimited possibilities of capital, credit and competition. Lesseps was able to count on financing his project through a private company to which savings from all over the world would contribute. In those days of peace and limited wars he felt that in case hostilities broke out the underlying economic agreements would be maintained. He thought that the Canal should not be looked upon as the property of any single Power, but as an undertaking shared by all mankind. Although Mohammed Said, and Ismail after him, preferred the Canal to belong to Egypt rather than Egypt to the Canal, they however maintained a strictly neutral attitude toward the Company charged with constructing it. They offered to nationalistic arguments to interfere with the work of the engineers and administrators. Lesseps never dreamed of asking for the establishment of a "Canal Zone," or a special body of police under his control. He had no fear

that the Egyptian authorities would violate his contract with them. And indeed his only administrative vexation which arose over the issue of employing *fellah* labour, came not from the Egyptians, but from a jealous Britain. It is only in the present century that violently anti-western Egyptian nationalism appears. Before 1869 the Isthmus was a stretch of desert, detached from the main body of Egyptian territory, even though Egypt's political frontier was 150 miles to the east.

Under the circumstances, Lesseps and Mohammed Said had little difficulty in reaching agreement upon the fundamental idea of the enterprise. Its main features are (just as they exist today) written into the original concession, signed on November 30, 1854. The concession was a personal arrangement with "our friend, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps," to whom was given full power to set up and direct a "universal" company for the piercing of the Isthmus and the exploitation of a canal between the two seas. The epithet "universal" indicates that the Company was free from any national bias. Rates were to be the same for all countries, with no chance for any one of them to obtain a special favour. The concession was made for a period of 99 years from the opening of the Canal, that is, it will terminate in 1963 when the Egyptian Government is to replace the Company, paying a sum, to be fixed by arbitration, for the installations and equipments.

Lesseps' real difficulties were neither technical nor financial—but political. Notwithstanding the solemn declaration of the founders that the undertaking was international in character, Britain was profoundly mistrustful and was afraid that under the cover of the slogan of international neutrality, France was trying to obtain a monopoly of communications between Europe and Asia. Lesseps sought to raise his capital of 200,000,000 francs by public subscription. English hostility, instigated by Lord Palmerston, continued to the very end. The principles of availability to all and complete neutrality were not enough to satisfy the British Prime Minister, and Lesseps' attempt to obtain an international guarantee of neutrality was unsuccessful. Evidently, Britain wanted a privileged position, asserted by reason of the fact that English traffic would be the Canal's mainstay.

One year after the opening of the Canal, when Lesseps received a great reception in London, *The Times* wrote: "M. de Lesseps has come to a country which did nothing for the Suez Canal, but which, since the opening, has sent more traffic through it than all the other nations of the globe combined. This country supplies most of the money which will be paid in dividends to the shareholders. May this be a compensation for whatever errors we may have made at the start."

During the years 1870-80, 76 per cent of the total tonnage that passed through the Canal was under the British flag, and France which came next, had only 8.3 per cent, while the USA was insignificantly represented.

Having been outstripped by France in the creation of the Canal, England proceeded to make up for the lost time, first, by buying out the 177,000 shares held by the Khedive Ismail, and thus entering the Company's administration. Secondly, by effecting a military occupation of Egypt in 1882, Britain secured an effective rule over the country including the Isthmus.

The purchase of Ismail's shares however did not give Britain control of the Company, which had 400,000 shares outstanding. But with Lesseps' consent Britain achieved minority representation on the Board of Directors on a basis of friendly and loyal co-operation. The British occupation of Egypt seriously modified the Company's position, because the Khedive no longer held the reins. Although temporarily at least Britain accepted a status of neutrality, she intended at the same time to take advantage of the privileges gained by military occupation. Under these conditions, France all the more strongly desired an international covenant of some kind, and one was eventually adopted under the name of the 1888 or "Constantinople" Convention.

The principles of the Convention were largely based on the presupposition of neutrality or "free use." The Canal was to be kept open, in war as in peace, to warships and traders alike; no fortifications were to be built and no blockade allowed. The Khedive's Government, with the support of the Ottoman Government, to which it owed allegiance, was to insure the observance of these rulings. The validity of the Convention was not limited to the duration of the concession, but was indefinite. But by virtue of the military occupation Britain became obviously the actual guarantor.

Until 1920 this system functioned and it was Britain's chief interest to keep the waterway to India open. During the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the freedom of the Canal was respected even by the belligerents, and also during the Italo-Turkish war of 1911. Although the Canal at that time was an Ottoman territory, Turkey did not oppose the passage of 12,400 Italian soldiers and three warships.

In recent years the political complexion of the Suez has undergone change. Since the second world war, the political map of Asia has greatly altered. An independent India has emerged, while Communist China has abandoned the West entirely. In the days of British domination, India's tariff policy was determined in London and that of China through the International Customs Union, headed by the Englishman, Sir Robert Hart. More than 50 crores of people are thus removed from the economic domain of the West. Middle-Eastern oil is a new and important factor in trade along the Suez. The character of north-to-south traffic has not altered for it is still composed of manufactured or semi-manufactured goods, mostly machines, railway equipment and tools, all directed to countries in the process of industrialisation. Although traffic from north to south has considerably increased in volume, it still consists mainly of raw materials. In 1913, raw materials came to 45 per

cent and foodstuffs to 31 per cent, with 5 per cent of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and 19 per cent miscellaneous. In 1952, manufactured goods represented 7 per cent, foodstuffs fell to 5 per cent and raw materials came to 86 per cent; but oil made up 83 per cent of the raw materials and 74 per cent of the total. The large decline in volume and degree of foodstuffs are due to the population crisis of an Asia which cannot feed itself, and the increase in oil is of course, a result of the sensational development of the Middle-Eastern Oil fields. Oil is now the main commodity of trade along the Canal and the construction of pipelines leading directly to the Mediterranean may partially improve the position. Oil is the main commodity in south-to-north trade. In view of the decisive role played by oil products in both peace and war today, the freedom and security of communications through the Canal is becoming more and more important for Europe and for the USA.

The largest part of the tonnage is under the British flag—33.3 per cent of the total in 1952. Even so this represents a great decline from the figures of 51.4 per cent in 1939 and 76.1 per cent between 1870-80. Britain still uses the Canal a great deal more than any other nation, and is therefore the Power most directly interested, from both a political and a commercial point of view, in its efficient functioning. Until 1939, hardly any traffic went under the American flag—only 0.15 per cent of the total. The second world war brought a considerable increase, however, and in 1952, 7.3 per cent of the tonnage travelled under the American flag. American imports through the Canal were 6,156,000 tons in 1952 largely oil and manganese; exports amounting to 4,079,000 tons were mostly grain on the way to the famine-stricken India. The USA is present now in the Near East with an accumulation of economic and political interests. The Suez Canal therefore cannot now be solved without the co-operation of the USA.

There are two sides to the military problem of the Suez Canal—the question of the defence of the Canal, and of the maintenance of free passage through the other seas and straits along the route. At present the Mediterranean background is not what it was at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Although Britain still has nominal control of the Isthmus and the road to India, her position is precarious and the whole system calls for revision.

Although the principles of the Constantinople Convention still hold good, it has undergone important modifications. According to the text of 1888, the Ottoman Government, which then held sovereignty over Egypt, was supposed to enforce the Convention. But Britain, by virtue of military occupation, was in actual control and has been ever since, under a different title. Article 152 of the Versailles Treaty transferred to Britain the powers given to the Sultan by the Convention. And it is on the basis of an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 that Britain occupies the Isthmus. After passing in 1914 from the status of a vassal to that of a British protectorate, Egypt

in 1922 acquired self-government and has been intolerant of foreign military occupation ever since. In October 1951, Egypt abrogated the 1936 Treaty, but Britain still occupies the Isthmus and will not consent to withdraw until the present makeshift arrangement is replaced by a permanent one guaranteeing the safety of a route which is indispensable to her status as World Power. For the Canal is still a vital link in Britain's system of communications.

The two world wars have taught England that the hostility or the hostile neutrality of a single one of the Mediterranean Powers can endanger the safety of the Canal. Any enemy that has a foothold on this narrow, winding body of water, so admirably suited for ambush and intrigue, can close it. For this purpose, control of the military installations is not necessary. Twice in the course of the last war, England revived Vasco da Gama's abandoned route around the Cape of Good Hope. It is longer and more expensive, but safer, at least comparatively, from attack by airplanes and submarines. Some Britons say that Palmerston was right in opposing the construction of the Suez Canal. In 1926 Sir John Marriott said in the House of Commons: "Looking back after a considerable lapse of time, I am not sure that the British statesmen who opposed the Suez Canal from the point of view of both diplomacy and power were not right. . . . If the Canal had never been pierced we might find ourselves in a stronger position today. And if this is true, how necessary it is for us to keep the route around the Cape and to see that the African coast, to both East and West, is free of foreign domination."

Up to the second world war, the completely free movement of traffic through the Canal was never questioned. The first Article of the Convention of 1888 established "free use of the Canal in time of war as in time of peace," and the Company assured it. But during the recent war in Palestine, the Egyptian Government has claimed a right to stop tankers on their way to Israel. This is a violation both of the original 1854 concession and the Convention of Constantinople, which is still valid. Egypt justifies her action by Article 10 of the 1888 Convention, which states that other provisions of the Treaty "shall in no case occasion any obstacle to the measures which the Imperial Ottoman (read Egyptian) Government may think it necessary to take in order to insure by its own forces the defence of its other possessions situated on the eastern coast of the Red Sea." It was under pretext of self-defence and the preservation of law and order that the Egyptian declarations of May 15 and 18, 1948, introduced the inspection of ships in Egyptian ports and the confiscation of goods destined to an enemy. The Egyptian plea is that she respects the idea "free use" and that she objects, not to the passage of ships, but to cargoes containing contraband goods sent to a hostile Power. But the free passage of a ship has no meaning unless it includes the passage of its cargo as well. Neither the Turkish Government, in the course of the Italo-Turkish war, nor the Allies in 1914

and 1940, raised any such arguments in order to twist to their advantage the text of an agreement truly international in spirit.

The problem of the Canal is thus a complex one, and the military occupation of the Isthmus is no solution. Although the Canal passes through Egyptian territory it has an essentially international character and cannot be run in any other way than an international spirit. In any future arrangement regarding the Canal, India should have a voice as she is now vitally interested in view of her increasing tonnage along the Canal.

World Bank Completes Six Years

It is only six years now since the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development started its operations. The Bank has achieved a fair measure of success in discharging its functions laid down by its founders, and has proved itself as an effective institution of international co-operation. The functions of the Bank are the mobilisation of world savings for making capital available at reasonable rates of interest over long periods for projects calculated to raise the productivity of the borrowing country; expansion of investment to provide capital for both reconstruction and development of the war-devastated countries, and also to organise mobilisation of economic resources in underdeveloped countries for raising the standard of living of the masses.

The Bank's Annual Report for the year ended 30th June states that with the admission of Germany, Japan and Jordan during the year, the membership of the Bank rose to 54, and along with it, the total subscribed capital to \$9,036 million. The table below indicates the trend of lending by the Bank during each of the last three years:

	1952-53	1951-52	1950-51
No. of loans	10	19	21
No. of countries	9	16	11
(In million dollars)			
Loans sanctioned during the year	178.6	298.6	297.1
Progressive total of loan sanctioned	1,591.0	1,412	1,114
Disbursement during the year	226.8	184.8	77.6
Total disbursements to date	1,103	876.5	691.7

During the year under review, the World Bank made only 10 loans to 9 countries, whereas, in the previous year, 19 loans were granted to 16 countries. Similarly, in line with the number of loans, the value of the loans also shows a decrease, from \$298.6 million to \$178.6 million. This brings the total of the Bank's loans to \$1,591 million shared by 29 countries, in the preceding year. Two of the ten loans issued during the year under review were made in support of a broad range of economic projects. Agriculture, basic industries and transport benefited from a loan to Australia. In Yugoslavia, the Bank supported a group of projects calculated to improve the country's balance of payments.

The Bank gave loans to specific key industries, such as iron and steel in India, wood products industries in Finland and for a fertiliser plant in Iceland.

The share of Asia and the Middle East is only \$187 million, representing only 17.5 per cent of the total of \$1,063 million granted to all the five regions, namely, (a) Asia and Middle East, (b) Africa, (c) Australia, (d) Europe and Western Hemisphere. A year ago, the share of this region was even less at 14.6 per cent of the total. Nevertheless, the assistance given by the Bank to this still constitutes only a fraction of its needs.

During 1952-53, the total disbursements amounted to a sum equivalent of \$226.8 million. This sum, which covers new and existing loans, was the highest reached since the Bank commenced its lending operations for development. Total disbursements to-date amounts to \$1,103 million, of which \$1,014.5 million is repayable in US dollars. Due to an improvement in the supply position of goods outside the U.S., particularly in Europe, the Bank is now encouraging the purchase of materials and equipment from whatever source available at the terms most favourable to the borrower. The geographical distribution of loan expenditure on cumulative total basis reveals that to-date the USA has got the 69.8 per cent of the total expenditure made by borrower countries, Canada 6.5 per cent, Europe 17.5 per cent, Latin America 5.5 per cent, Africa 0.4 per cent, Near East 0.2 per cent and Far East 0.1 per cent.

The Bank sold new bond issues worth \$71.6 million. In October 1952, the Bank issued 19 year 3½ per cent bonds worth \$60 million at 98. Nearly \$20 million of this was subscribed by investors outside the U.S. In November 1952, the Bank floated in Switzerland 3½ per cent ten year Bank Bonds at 98½. The bonds amounted to 50 million Swiss francs or approximately \$11.6 million. The Bank further increased its resources by selling \$13.6 million of securities from its portfolio. The Bank's resources of non-dollar funds were increased by further releases of the capital subscriptions paid in by members in their own currencies, and equivalent amount of releases is \$26.6 million.

India has now become one of the chief beneficiaries of the World Bank. It has so far received loans aggregating \$109.8 million. The Bank gave three loans to India in 1949-50, amounting to in all \$62.5 million which was finally reduced to \$58.8 million at India's own request. In 1952-53, India received two more loans—one for a sum of \$31.5 million granted to the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Calcutta, and the other of \$19.5 million for further developments of the Damodar River Valley.

F. A. O. Report

In a review of the latest report of the Food and Agricultural Organization, the *Times* writes that the report showed that, taken as a whole world food supplies had caught up with the growing populations. World food supplies and world population were both 17

per cent higher in 1952-53 than in 1939. But "this can be a misleading generalization," the paper says, "Production had expanded rapidly in the most advanced countries—most remarkably in North America—but in the less developed regions progress was slow.

The more developed regions had more to export and had accumulated stocks while the less developed regions—notably the Far East—had in many instances lower consumption than before the war. In North-west Europe, agricultural production had gone up by 16 per cent compared to pre-war and in North America by 45 per cent. Inevitably, North America now provided a much larger proportion of the world's food exports.

In the U. K., production of grains and potatoes had increased more than in other countries of Northern or Western Europe in general, but, her meat and egg production was less. The increase in her milk output also was larger but in certain countries, the average yield of milk from each cow had risen faster since before the war and that yield was higher in Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The *Yorkshire Post* writes that the report had emphasized that the undeveloped countries themselves must try to improve their position. A large part of available public funds in the Asian countries was already devoted to agriculture. But domestic capital was quite inadequate for the purpose and private and public capital from abroad must come to their help. The paper notes that such help had not been sufficient and probably less than 40 per cent of the necessary extra capital was being provided.

The paper writes: "Somehow the difference has to be made up, possibly by a special U.N. fund for economic development. If the new report does nothing else, at least it draws attention to the size of the problem and the need for swift action."

Politics in France

France has been in the throes of unstable party politics ever since the return of peace. The Communist Party in France has been trying to bring chaos by all means in its power. The latest have been country-wide strikes, that paralysed the nation's work and transport. The strikes failed without attaining the objective. Thus writes the *Newsweek* of New York on September 7:

"France came up for air last week. The strikes that had all but smothered the country in stalled trains, stranded vacationers, undelivered mail, and uncollected garbage, collapsed as even members of Communist unions defied their leaders and followed non-Communists back to work. The Moroccan crisis that had threatened to bring civil war to the strategic French protectorate in North Africa blew itself out. The United States promised to support France in voting against bringing the issue before the United Nations, and

Foreign Minister Georges Bidault presented the Cabinet with a long-delayed program of political reforms for Morocco.

"Who won the strikes? Premier Joseph Laniel failed in his effort to impose some needed economies, and, in fact, half promised some additional inflationary wage increases. The strikers failed in their effort to overthrow the government. They got only 207 of the 209 petitions from members that would have forced the recall of the National Assembly from summer recess. The French people lost a bit more of their faith in everything. One Parisian, returning by airplane from a trip abroad, summed up the situation cynically: France had suffered, he said, 'just a little catastrophe.'"

War in Indo-China

Arnaud de Borchgrave, *Newsweek* correspondent who had toured Indo-China early this year, describes the situation in Indo-China thus: "Actually, the delta, with its 10,000 villages and 6,000,000 inhabitants (with 1,500 people crowded into each square mile), is a condominium. The French rule by day and the Reds by night.

"Almost all roads into the delta are sown every night with mines, which currently cause 60 per cent of the casualties in the north. A notable exception: the main road from Hanoi to Haiphong, over which 1800 civilian trucks ply daily—many of them with Communist shopping baskets. Gaps between the scores of concrete pill boxes along the delta's outer defense perimeter are so many holes in a sieve at night. A year ago, the Reds had about 15,000 men in the delta. Today they have more than 40,000." (*Newsweek*, April 20, 1953).

"When the French approach, the Vietminh vanish below ground only to pop up again half an hour after the French have pulled out. A French intelligence report on the village Le-Loi showed that the Reds have 400 feet of tunnels and 109 individual secret hideouts. All of these are 200 yards of the village, and mostly run under the flooded paddy fields. To find them is like looking for a needle in a stack of rice straw . . .

"The war, with 490,000 French Union and Viet-Namense troops pitted against 400,000 Vietminh, has already cost plenty in men and money. France has the equivalent of twelve divisions tied down to Indo-China. It has lost 36,000 killed, including 1,500 officers, and more than 100,000 wounded, missing and prisoners. Tied up in Indo-China are 30 per cent of the French Army's officer corps and 43 per cent of its noncoms.

"In proportion to its strength, France's effort in Indo-China is far greater than that of the United States in Korea. So far, the war has cost about \$6,000,000,000—twice as much as the total aid received by France under the Marshal Plan. The drain is continuing at the rate of \$1,250,000,000 yearly for France. It amounts to 43 per cent of France's defense

budget. The United States pitches in to the tune of \$525,000,000.

"The Vietminh strategy is to bleed the French white, to avoid an all-out test of strength, and to run whenever outnumbered, or outgunned. Time and again, the French army chiefs believe a decisive battle is in the offing but it never materializes."

Mr. de Borchgrave writes that since 1949 the official French policy had been to create a strong nationalist government, friendly to France. "But small time functionaries have done their best to sabotage progress. In Saigon, our representatives have fallen into the all too tempting game of power and intrigue," said a recent top-secret report to the government, drafted by four French parliamentarians after a trip to Indo-China." (*Newsweek*, July 27).

Lack of leaders was a reason. Nobody had the dynamic political prestige of Dr. Ho Che Minh. Bao Dai's prestige "ranges from bad to indifferent." And to make it worse Bao Dai was always at loggerheads with his Prime Minister, Nguyen Van Tam.

Speaking at a round table discussion at the annual conference of State Governors at Seattle on August 5, President Eisenhower "mentioned particularly Indonesia and India as areas which would be endangered if the Communists were able to complete the conquest of the Indo-Chinese States." (*Reuter*)

The Congress had voted 400 million dollars towards fight against Communism in Indo-China.

In an editorial on Eisenhower's statement, the *Leader* comments: "We are unable to understand how the perpetuation of French colonialism will conduce to India's security."

In an article headed "Why there is no Cease-fire in Indo-China," A. Kurov writes: "Edgar Faure, Minister of Finance and Economy, declared publicly in April of this year that 'France is not fighting for her own interests in Indo-China,' that on the contrary, France is 'greatly interested in having the war ended.'"

"The Indo-China war—and the French Ministers no longer attempt to hide the fact—is ruining France and making her increasingly dependent on the United States. Washington is taking advantage of this dependence, especially on supplies of American arms, to exert pressure on the French Government. It is not only insisting that France continue the war against the people of Indo-China, but is demanding supreme direction of the operations."

According to the writer, the American Government had also used the recent Washington talks of the three Western Foreign Ministers to obtain further French concessions on the Indo-China question. He writes: "*Le Monde* stated on July 21 that Bidault had consented to the so-called 'internationalization' of the Indo-China conflict, that is, to direct U. S. interference in the war. By this arrangement,

Le Monde pointed out, 'America is to assume the chief responsibility in the war and we will have to agree to her negotiating directly with Bao Dai.'"

It was on the insistence of the U. S. Secretary of State, Dulles, that the Navarre plan of operations in Indo-China was adopted. Mr. Kurov quotes *Paris Combat* which wrote: "The danger is so evident that one asks how a Government and an Assembly which had been alerted by alarmed public opinion can resign themselves to persisting in a venture of which we are no longer the masters. This absurd war is more and more coming to resemble a fool's venture."

The three-day conference of the Bureau of Asian Socialists during the second week of August demanded in a resolution, "cessation of fighting in Indo China and the holding of free elections under international supervision for a constituent assembly to determine with outside interference the constitution of a free and independent Indo-China and the form of its future relationship with France and other countries." (*Hindu*, August 15, 1953).

Deposition of the Sultan of Morocco

The French Government deposed the Sultan of Morocco, Mohammed V, on August 20, for his nationalist stand and refusal to toe the French line and banished him to Corsica with his two sons. On August 15, he was deprived of his title of "Protector of the Faith" by the pro-French Pasha of Manakesh and tribal chiefs. The Sultan was accused by the French of leaning heavily on the side of the extreme nationalist movement, Istiqlal and secretly angling for American support against France. Talks of deposing the Sultan, first arose about a year ago when Marshal Juin had been the Resident.

Reuter reports that when the banishment order had been served on the Sultan, French tanks and armoured cars took up positions around the high-walled palace, blocking all roads leading to the area.

"Mass arrests were reported on the night of August 20, in various parts of Morocco including the detention of the Pasha of Meknes, a supporter of Istiqlal movement and Ben Jelloum, Secretary-General of the Democratic Independence Party, affiliated to Istiqlal.

"Some 300 people were reported arrested in Oujda scene of bloody rioting over the weekend after the proclamation of a new 'Commander of the Faithful' by 350 anti-Sultan chieftains."

The Sultan's cousin, Sidi Mohammed Ben Arafa, was proclaimed spiritual and temporal ruler of Morocco. How far he is a mere stooge of the French will be evident from *Reuter's* report from Rabat quoting French comments on the new situation in Morocco. The report, dated August 23, said that "relations between the Sultanate were said to be closer than at any time in recent years. Gen.

Guillaume, the French Resident General mentioned at yesterday's Palace reception, the word 'protectorate' which had for some time disappeared from Imperial pronouncements in Morocco."

Sixteen Arab-Asian nations had approached the Security Council for a discussion on the recent coup in Morocco but on the persistent opposition of the colonial power, U. K. and France and the U.S.A., the matter failed to be included in the agenda.

The Trieste Question

Lately the Trieste question has been very much in the news. After the conclusion of the Second World War, Trieste had been divided into two zones. Zone A, including the city itself, had been placed under Anglo-U.S. military occupation and Zone B under the Yugoslavs. It was a temporary arrangement and the whole question was to have been settled by the U.N., but so far no agreement has been possible.

The recent happenings there have not been quite clear. Fearing Yugoslav announcement of the annexation of Zone B with Yugoslavia, Italian armoured troops had moved up to the frontier at Gorizia and Italian naval movements had also been reported.

On September 6, President Tito had called on Italy to cease military operations along the border and indicated his willingness to discuss the question at a round table conference. He had declared that Trieste should be internationalized and all its surroundings given to Yugoslavia. Rejecting the Italian accusation that Yugoslavia had intended to annex Zone B he had declared that that was "unnecessary as Yugoslavia was already in Zone B." He had clearly warned the Italians that Yugoslavia would not allow Italian troops to occupy Zone A.

Commenting on President Tito's speech, the *Times* writes that the Italian Government was not likely to look upon the solution put forward by him with any favour. However, speech had dispelled fears about Yugoslavia "plotting any forcible change there." The paper says that when hard words were left on one side the substance of what Marshal Tito had said "was calculated to be reassuring." The President had proposed a conference to discuss the issue though, true enough, the terms offered made it difficult for the Italian Government to attend such a conference.

The *Times* continues: "If there is to be a permanent international regime at Trieste, as the peace treaty envisaged, it will need to control a workable territorial unit and not merely the part that Marshal Tito's troops failed to seize in 1945 (that is, Zone A—Ed., *M.R.*). If the Yugoslavs refuse to give up an inch of ground then they are, in effect, insisting upon territorial division and it will follow that the Italians in the end will get the city and the port. But though Marshal Tito put his price high yesterday, he might bring it down in negotiation. His proposal of a conference needs to be taken seriously.

British Press on W. German Elections

The *Times*, in an editorial on Dr. Adenauer's victory writes that the result of the elections indicated that the Federal Republic was a success. The newspaper considered that the result pointed to the failure of Nazi influence and suggested that the general trend was not a drift to the Right but a shift to the middle. The results provided the "assurance of a stable and moderate government in West Germany."

The *Manchester Guardian*, while welcoming the results, cautiously remarks that "the victory has perhaps, been too much personal. Its individuality may raise an echo of that old cry 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuhrer'." Though the newspaper was sure that Dr. Adenauer had no wish to follow in the footsteps of Hitler, the same could not be said of the millions who voted for Dr. Adenauer. They did so because he was a strong man, a leader, and the one most likely to thrust Germany back to resounding greatness in the world. The victory might sound ominous to the French, the paper writes, but the French might "find consolation in Dr. Adenauer's persistent efforts to keep on good terms with them."

The growing economic prosperity and the prospect of a secure and efficient government would induce the United States to look on Western Germany as good investment.

The *Daily Telegraph* writes that the election added "one more element to the strength which the West can now bring to any negotiations with the Soviet Union; and on the other side, Russian attitude may be a stiffened realisation that the Federal Republic is firmly committed to the West."

The *Financial Times* calls the result "a tremendous personal victory for Dr. Adenauer" but adds that it was also a victory for the doctrine of free enterprise. In that regard the paper gives much credit to Dr. Erhard, Minister for Economic Affairs of Western Germany. The paper writes: "The Christian Democrat's gains have indeed been largely at the expense of the extreme Right, which in Germany has not been notably associated in the past with the support of genuinely free enterprise. It is, therefore, not fanciful to see the German election results as not only a vote of confidence in the government but also to some extent as the triumph of a doctrine."

Chou En-Lai on U.N. Resolution

In reply to the communication sent by Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld transmitting the resolutions of the United Nations on the Korean Political Conference, Mr. Chou En-Lai, the Chinese Foreign Minister, said that in the view of the Chinese Government, the question of composition of the Political Conference had an important bearing on the consummation or failure of the task of the Political Conference, and it

should not be decided by one side unilaterally, but could only be settled through joint negotiations by the United Nations and the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Political Conference, Mr. Chou En-lai said, would be concerned with a much wider task than the armistice negotiations. The Political Conference would "negotiate the withdrawal of foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question." Its outcome would be significant not only for Korea but in promoting peace in the Far East and throughout the world. Therefore, the conference should not be restricted to the belligerent nations but should include neutrals. The U.N. resolution on the composition of the conference had "made an injurious distortion to Paragraph 60 of the Korean Armistice Agreement." The General Assembly in adopting that resolution had "allowed itself to be dominated by the United States," and had deprived three-fourths of the members of U.N. an opportunity to play their part in the peaceful solution of the problem.

Mr. Chou En-lai particularly regretted the exclusion of India from the conference, because India would "definitely play a positive part in the achievement of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question."

In view of all these considerations the Chinese Government was "not in a position to give full agreement to the resolutions on the composition of the Political Conference" and instead proposed that

"(a) Participating members of the Political Conference should be all nations on the two belligerent sides in Korea, including Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea, and the following invited neutral nations concerned: The Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma.

"(b) The Political Conference should take the form of a round table conference. However, any decisions of the Political Conference must obtain the unanimous agreement of both belligerent sides in Korea.

"(c) The representatives of the Governments of China and North Korea be invited to be present at the General Assembly of the U.N. to conduct joint negotiations.

"(d) After the composition of the conference had been agreed upon, the two belligerent sides in Korea should hold consultation and make arrangements concerning the place and time of the conference."

The *Hindu* in an editorial comment on the U.N. Assembly resolution writes that "the present composition of the Assembly is such that no resolution unacceptable to the United States has much chance of success. If the Communists want the conference at all, they will have to accept the nominees of the United States."

Resurgence of Islamic Fanaticism

Mr. Avroo Manhattan writes in the *Free Economic Review* that while following the collapse of the Ottoman empire in the First World War, "Islam was made to tumble like an exhausted colossus," the second World War "provoked its sudden revival."

Following the first World War, Turkey the seat of the Caliphate, had initiated summary reforms banning almost all ancient Islamic traditions. These had been followed by many of the other Islamic countries. "The Mullahs were stripped of their influence to such an extent that Islamic clericalism, it was optimistically predicted, would disappear within the foreseeable future."

But that optimism had been belied. The conclusion of the second World War beheld the reappearance of the power of the Mullahs in an astonishingly brief period. The power of the Mullahs was no longer confined to the religious sphere. They were also now dominating the political field—a fact that portended an ominous future.

This power of the Mullahs was, in many instances, exercised for reactionary ends. To quote Mr. Manhattan, "In the domestic field, for instance, they can obstruct and often undo the work of progressive forces by cunning use of half-authoritative injunctions, e.g., by semi-officially condemning women's emancipation. This was done by a *fatwa* of the committee of the Al Azhar University, Cairo, which in June 1952, pronounced against women's right to vote."

Religious fanaticism was used by the Mullahs to enforce a veritable reign of legal and illegal terrorism. Often Mullahs having influence in the government of a country was able to mollify the opposition by the use of his religious influence, apparelled in political garb, as demonstrated by Syed Kashani in Persia at whose instance thirty-five Persian Senators had been refused admission to Parliament in November, 1952.

"Often the Mullahs resort to open terrorism. Movements controlled by them black-list people, condemn them to death, and often execute them. Thus in Turkey Muslim religious fanatics have death-lists of editors whom they condemned for 'organizing beauty queen contests' which are contrary to Islamic law. Turkish editors were actually shot. In Persia, the fanatical Fadayal Islam (crusaders of Islam) published in the Press list of public figures scheduled for assassination." Officials, Prime Ministers had been assassinated at clerical instigation. Khali Tahmassebi who had killed Premier Ali Razmara of Iran in 1950, was released by Syed Kashani, who embraced him with the greeting, "You are a brave son of Islam."

In Hyderabad, the President and eight other leading figures of the fanatical Muslim organization, Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen had been officially charged with 1,200 murders, 4,000 dacoities and 3,600 acts of arson,

in a conspiracy to establish an autonomous Muslim entity in Hyderabad.

Significance of the Developments in Iran

The American journal *Newsweek* wrote after the failure of the first royalist coup in Iran on August 16: "Someone, somewhere, somehow had bungled. A revolt that might have placed Iran securely in the Western camp, misfired or was anticipated and short circuited by its intended victim, Premier Mohammed Mossadeq."

The paper wrote, "Behind the coup lay a tangle of intrigue with Mossadeq and the Shah at the Centre. The basic facts were simple. The West saw Mossadeq, although personally anti-Communist, driven by economic pressure and domestic opposition into an uneasy and dangerous alliance with the Tudeh Party." The paper refers to certain incidents preceding the happenings as significant. In early July President Eisenhower had told Dr. Mossadeq that no more American aid would be given Iran unless she had settled the oil dispute with Britain. On July 25 Princess Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister, who had been exiled from Iran, had arrived in Teheran incognito. Though she had again been ordered out of the country she had succeeded in contacting her many friends in the court and in the army. On August 1, Brig.-Gen. H. Norman Schwartzkof, former American military adviser to the Iranian Government, arrived in Teheran to meet the Shah. (The Communists had charged him with complicity in the revolt of August 16). And on August 4, President Eisenhower had referred ominously to the danger of Iran going Communist.

On the other hand, Malenkov had referred to Iran, in very kind terms, in his speech on August 8 before the Supreme Soviet. Moscow was willing to realise 11 tons of Iranian gold and 8 million dollars held since the war.

The immediate background of the revolt on August 16 was the refusal of the Shah to sign a decree dissolving the Parliament. On the contrary, he had secretly signed three decrees dismissing Dr. Mossadeq, appointing Gen. Fazolollah Zahedi in his place and naming Gen. Nader Batmanghelitch, Chief of staff, in place of Gen. Taghi Riahi, and had gone to Caspian coast with his half-German wife, Soraya, presumably to be "safely out of range," should anything go wrong.

But the coup failed and the Shah had to move out of Iran. Pro-Mossadeq moles swept through Teheran. But when royal statues were toppled from their pedestals, Mossadeq took fright and ordered Gen. Riahi to intervene. "But there was no ammunition. By a previous order of Mossadeq the Teheran garrison had been issued only blank cartridges.

"The army and police laid into the anti-Shah crowds with such vigor that the royalists took cheer. . . ."

And the royalists struck again and this time they

succeeded. Gen. Zahedi came out of his hiding and proclaimed himself as the Prime Minister.

The Shah received the news of the success of the second coup from Hotel Excelsior in Rome. Mr. Allen Dulles, Director of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency, arrived at the Excelsior to greet the Shah. And from Switzerland came Princess Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister.

These sensational developments in Iran had in turn engendered a good deal of speculation if a second Korea was going to be enacted there. Iran had been the object of power-politics for long. So long the struggle for domination over Iran had been confined to Britain and the Soviet Union. Now a new power, the United States of America, had appeared in the scene. This partly sprang from the assumption by the U.S. of some of Britain's strategic responsibilities. "More important," *Newsweek* writes, "it proceeds from American development of the vast oil resources of the Arab States. . . . Thus Iran is now not only a buffer in the sense of military strategy. It is also a buffer in that it lies between areas containing oil reserves that are vital both to the Russians and the West."

According to the paper, the West was sure to intervene if Iran seemed to be going Communist. The Russians, on the other hand, could not be expected to accept gracefully an anti-Communist Government there. Still many forces militated against Iran becoming a battle-ground. "Russians, Americans, and British alike realize," the paper writes, "that the chips really would be down in the event of armed conflict in Iran. The stakes would be much higher than in Korea and the danger of a local struggle erupting into a world war proportionately greater."

Thus far the American view of the picture. Now let us turn to the other viewpoint. The *People's* diplomatic correspondent in New Delhi writes that it was no longer doubted in New Delhi that the Shah's return had been primarily due to Anglo-American machinations and to the "American-bribed army, which has executed the anti-Mossadeq coup." The U.S. Ambassador to Iran, Mr. Loy Henderson, played a significant part in this affair. The correspondent writes: "Breaking every known international law, the U.S. Ambassador told Mossadeq shortly before the aged Premier was thrown out, that he could no longer be considered Iran's Premier by the United States, as the Shah had dismissed him." Undoubtedly this intervention had affected Dr. Mossadeq's position adversely. The U. S. Consulate in Teheran was being guarded by the police and Americans dared not venture out because of the popular anti-American sentiment.

The people were growing sceptical about the Americans with the realization that the millions of dollars being given by America were not really

DEFINITION OF ECONOMICS

Whether Economics is to us a subject of thrilling interest or a dismal pseudo-science depends upon ourselves. If we come to it with liberal minds, seeing what has been definitely accomplished, we find the discussions dull and the conclusions dubious. But if we come to think of man's long struggle to master his own fate, then the effort to solve economic problems, seems a vital episode in human history. And the future of economics, the question whether man will ever succeed in establishing a serviceable science of economic behaviour, becomes one of the crucial issues on which hangs the doubtful fate of human kind.³

Gandhiji regarded economics as indivisible from political, legal, social and other such aspects of life. For all these aspects of life are not really separate from one another. A man is not merely an economic machine or a political animal or a legal unit; nor is he any one of these at single point or time. He is all these things at one and the same time and all the time. Economics, in his opinion, could not be considered in isolation from the multi-sided facets of the prism of life since all these aspects have something without which life is incomplete and the conclusions are unreliable.

"I must confess," he declares, "that I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurts the moral wellbeing of an individual or a nation is immoral and therefore sinful. Thus the economics that permits one country to prey upon another is immoral. It is sinful to buy and use articles made by sweated labour."⁴

In this he is in that long line of philosophers right from Jesus Christ and Shri Krishna in ancient times up to Carlyle and Ruskin in recent times, who have preferred welfare to price and morals to money.

His definition of economics is unique and characteristic. For him economics is neither "a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life" (Marshall); nor "the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses" (Robbins). He differs from Prof. Cannan's aim of Economics as "the explanation of the general causes on which the material welfare of human beings depends." He considers Prof. Pigou's economic courtyard consisting of "that part of social welfare that can be brought directly or indirectly into relation with the measuring rod of money," too qualified and too small. For him the best political economy is care and culture of man—a combination (both horizontal and vertical) of individualism, socialism and idealism—one that will admonish its own mischief.

THE OBJECT OF ECONOMICS

Here we are confronted with the fundamental question of the object of political economy. Right from Adam Smith up to Robbins, the classical economists have

held that Economics is the pure science of money and hence it is to be divorced from all other sciences. In their zeal to maintain the purity of their science the classicists have ardently fought against any attempt of co-ordination of economics with equally important sciences of religion, sociology, law and ethics. Perhaps Senior best stated their viewpoint defining political economy as "the science which treats of the Nature, the Production and the Distribution of Wealth;"⁵ wealth being defined as scarce material goods, having the power of satisfying wants. But it made no difference whether the goods were beneficial or harmful. The science of economics was to be perfectly neutral. Rigidly carried out this concept requires the economist to be entirely indifferent to the ethical quality of a given demand. Thus Cairnes holds that "the science is neutral, as between social schemes in this important sense. It pronounces no judgement on the worthiness or the desirability of the ends aimed at in such systems."⁶ With characteristic frankness, H. J. Davenport reveals that

"Peruna, Hop Bitters, obscene literature, indecent paintings, picture hats and corsets are wealth, irrespective of any ethical or conventional test, to which they may or may not conform. Being marketable, price-bearing, they are wealth. So likewise of service, in no sense is economic productivity a matter of piety or of merit or of social deserving."⁷

After being told authoritatively by Prof. Davenport that obscene literature and indecent painting also constitute wealth, no wonder that the perplexed layman turns over the pages of the dictionary to brush up his knowledge of English, only to find to his dismay that the word wealth has been derived from the root 'weal'—meaning prosperity and wellbeing!

HUMANITARIAN ECONOMICS

The first broadside against the classical economists was fired by Sismondi, the father of the Critical School, who declared that the real object of the science should be man or at least the physical wellbeing of man. To consider wealth in itself and to forget man was a sure way of making a false start.⁸ Then followed the Romanticists, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin and J. A. Hobson in England and H. D. Thoreau in America. "Both in definition of the elements of wealth, and in the statement of the laws which govern its distribution, modern political economy has been absolutely incompetent or absolutely false"—declares Ruskin in the Preface to *Munera Pulveris*. Thoreau, the American philosopher, summed up his idea of social good in restricting material wants to the simple things in life—simple food, simple clothing and simple shelter plus plenty of leisure to philosophise. Instead of

5. W. N. Senior: *Political Economy*, p. 6.

6. J. E. Cairnes: *The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy*, p. 37.

7. H. J. Davenport: *Economics of Enterprise*, p. 126.

8. Gide & Rist: *History of Economic Doctrines*, p. 177.

this idea America was building up a false set of social standards:

"We worship not the graces—but Fashion," cries Thoreau. "the head-monkey in Paris puts on a traveller's cap and all the monkeys in America do the same."⁹

In Ruskin's Essay "Ad Valorem" one comes across the magnificent Peroration: "I desire to leave this one fact clearly stated. There is no wealth but life; Life, including its powers of love, of joy and of admiration. That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of happy human beings; that man is richest, who having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of possessions over the life of others."¹⁰

Gandhiji's viewpoint regarding economics is very akin to the above. For him life is more than money and hence "that economics which disregards the moral and sentimental considerations, is like wax-works that being life-like, still lacks the life of the living flesh."¹¹ He thinks that

"That Economics is untrue which ignores and disregards moral values. The extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international trade."¹²

It may be pointed out here that the concept of such 'human economics' is not an out-dated romanticist fad. Pigou and Marshall, though essentially classicists and revelling in abstractions, had to treat economics from the point of view of human welfare. The most ultra-modern American Institutionalists following the lead given by Auguste Comte, started, what is popularly known as the 'Positivist' movement in Economics. They are welfare economists and hold that economics and ethics cannot be separated into two independent fields. As Albert B. Wolfe writes:

"Economics as the science of production, distribution and use of opportunity or of wealth and services, is essentially a science of means and ends. But ethics is also fundamentally, perhaps we should say, the science of means and ends; of their relative value and significance and their mutual functional relations. If there is a disagreement between economics and ethical valuations, one or the other is at fault. The economist's avowed reluctance to consider ethical or social value is an error of judgment, for human attitudes and human activity, the narrowly economic included, involve the adaptation of means to aims, ends and purposes."¹³

Similarly Gandhiji discussing the relation of ethics and economics clearly indicates this 'Positivist' spirit:

"The religious principle requires that the debit and credit side of one's balance sheet should be perfectly square. That is also the truest economics and

therefore true religion. Whenever there is any discrepancy between these, it spells bad economics, and makes for unrighteousness . . . But the majority of mankind do not understand this use of economics to subserve religion; they want it only for amassing 'profits' for themselves. Humanitarian economics, on the other hand, for which I stand," Gandhiji declares, "rules out profits altogether."¹⁴

The inclusion of human values in his scheme of things is one of the characteristics not only of Gandhiji's economics but of his whole philosophy. An economics based on human values is a sure and effective challenge to this world where money and profit are the sole considerations. Callous exploitation, tragic unemployment and 'sweated labour' are common occurrences in the reign of the almighty dollar. The West has tended to emphasise the ideal of material progress above everything else. The value of an individual is often judged in terms of bank balances, in terms of what he has rather than what he is. Human values are thus commercialised. Everyone talks of his rights than his duties. Honesty is only the best policy. As Prof. Kumarappa bitterly points out:

"The factory workers might be made into minced meat, but the machinery of meat-packers of Chicago could not be stopped to save the life of a labourer."¹⁵

To counteract such callous and immoral disregard of humanity, the ideal of human economics, Gandhiji declares thus:

"Khaddar economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of human factors. The former concerns itself with the human."¹⁶

It would indeed be a happy day for the world at large when we subserve economic behaviour to ethical considerations. We must admit the truth of the contention of the Archbishop of Canterbury that "Industry and Economic activity are not ends in themselves to be pursued without reference to the main ends of human society or by methods inconsistent with it."¹⁷ We must realise that the satisfaction of man's material needs which is the function of industry, ought to be ennobled by the spiritual purpose to which it contributes. Mere materialism would not pay. In spiritualism lies the fate of this dismal globe, where too much of materialism has led us to our never-ending conflicts. The principles of simplicity and non-violence as applied to economic life seem to be quixotic to an ultra-modern-mercenary world of today which intoxicated by its own genius is heading towards the path of destruction and ruin. Historian Toynbee has stated that twenty-one human civilizations known to history have gone down and if we do not turn our back to the precipice by adopting Gandhian principles ours will be the twenty-second. There is basic material for sober reflection by the destiny-holders of the world because his prescription is based upon eternal values which were the same yesterday, today and for ever.

14. Y. I., 1927, p. 316.

15. J. C. Kumarappa: *Why the Village Movement*, p. 10.

16. *Harizan*, 10th December, 1938.

17. The Archbishop of Canterbury: *Christianity and the Industrial Problem*, p. 10.

3. "The Prospect of Economics" by Wesley C. Mitchell in Tugwell's *Trends of Economics*, p. 3.

4. Y. I., 13th October, 1921, p. 325.

9. H. D. Thoreau: *Walden or Life in the Woods*, p. 156.

10. John Ruskin: *Unto the Last*, p. 156.

11. Y. I., October 27, 1924, p. 344.

12. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1924, p. 421.

13. "Functional Economics" by Albert Benedict Wolfe from R. G. Tugwell's *The Trend of Economics*.

BASIC EDUCATION AND CHILD WELFARE

By MARJORIE SYKES,

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha

THE members of an international conference in our times come literally from all over the world. The so-called "advanced" countries are represented side by side with the so-called "backward" countries, "rich" countries alongside "poor" countries. The delegates, both in their personal and in their representative capacities visualise the subjects under discussion in widely different settings—social, economic, cultural and religious. It is likely that almost every individual member of this child welfare conference has a different picture at the back of his mind of the actual children whose welfare he seeks. The children of Manchester and of Madras, of a farmstead in Canada and a village in Kenya, differ in many ways much more fundamentally than their costume and their physical features and colour. Yet if there were no common bond at all, no interests shared, an international conference of this nature would have no meaning. One of its main tasks is surely to define common concerns and to see how the experience of workers in a number of different local settings can be pooled to enrich the whole.

DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

Public discussion of a national education policy for India was stimulated by the Congress Party's acceptance of ministerial office in the Provincial Governments in 1937. The educational conference, on whose initiative the objectives, principles, and methods of Basic Education were first tentatively defined, met to confer with Gandhiji at Wardha in October, 1937. The report of the Zakir Hussain Committee which was then set up was endorsed by the Haripura session of the Congress in February, 1938, and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was brought into being in order to implement it. I quote from the resolutions of the Conference:

1. That in the opinion of this Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

2. That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue.

3. That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

4. That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

Briefly outlined the development of the work has been as follows: During the years 1938-40 work began

in basic schools planned for the age group 7-14, in Sevagram village and also in a number of Provinces under Government and private auspices. During the political crisis of 1940-42 however almost all these experiments came to an end with the exception of the group of Government schools in Bihar and the Sevagram School, which carried on with difficulty in very disturbed conditions until the end of 1944, when a new phase began with Gandhiji's release from jail.

In January 1945, after an interval of nearly four years, an All-India Basic Education Conference met at Sevagram. Its work and findings were inspired by the new vision and conviction which Gandhiji had reached after long thought during his imprisonment. The title chosen for the conference report, *Samagra Nai Talim*, is an indication of the nature and scope of this vision. Already in 1937, the Zakir Hussain Committee had made it clear that it recognised the importance in education of the first seven years of life, but that its specific plans were limited to what might be immediately possible. In 1945, the thought of the conference was focussed on two main issues:

1. That the principles which were proving their worth in the education of school children must and should be widened and applied to an educational programme covering the whole span of human life in all its aspects. It must be education for, through and throughout life.

2. That this *Nai Talim* (new education), as Gandhiji preferred to call his plan, was bound up with a new conception of the way in which society should develop; it was seen as the means to the establishment in India of a new and juster social order within whose framework a richer individual and community life would be brought within the reach of every citizen.

Neither of these issues was new to the workers; they had been raised and included in the report of the 1937 Conference. But from 1945 onwards they were embodied in new experimental work. Adult education was taken up, also the education of the pre-school child; plans were made for the adolescent period of life and in 1947-48, the first "Post-Basic" classes were started in Sevagram and Bihar. As a result of these experiences working syllabuses and plans of work have been drawn up for covering the education of parents in the home and of children of all ages from birth to eighteen. 1952 has seen the first beginnings of experimental work on *Nai Talim* principles at the University level.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The whole of this programme of education is based on a conviction that it is possible, in Gandhiji's

words, to give "a true education, which draws out and stimulates the spiritual, intellectual, and physical faculties of the children" by means of work in a productive craft for the satisfaction of one or more of the primary needs of human life. The work must be productive and useful, or it will not be fully satisfying to the child's emotional and social nature; it must be a social undertaking done in co-operation with others, or it cannot be done properly at all; and it must be thorough, honest, and intelligently planned, if it is to stimulate the intellectual faculties and train the character.

The crafts which have been used most successfully as the centre of the work programme are gardening leading to agriculture, card-board work leading to carpentry and metal work and, most of all, the entire process of cotton manufacture from the growing of cotton to the weaving and dyeing of the finished cloth. Side by side with this major centre of education schools stress the importance of a similar intelligent practice of life activities, such as programmes of sanitation, health, and the planning and the preparation of food. The co-operative life of the school also expresses itself naturally in the observance of the social, national, seasonal and religious festivals by means of which the child's imagination and social understanding is strengthened and deepened.

The development of this type of education in India has been governed at every point by considerations of the primary needs of the Indian nation. The picture in Gandhiji's mind and in the minds of his co-workers has been that of the Indian villages with their under-nourished, poverty-stricken populations, whose local crafts and social traditions are being slowly crushed out of existence by the impact of an alien civilisation and of political and economic policies, which take no account of the welfare of the primary producer. Gandhiji's social and economic teaching cannot be understood, his educational teaching cannot be understood, unless they are both seen as the outcome of his concern for the oppressed and his search for a way of truth and non-violence in social life, which would restore to them the possibility of self-respect and of true welfare. He found this message in the gospel of work and self-reliance, and he applied these principles to the teaching of children side by side with the training of adults.

AIMS AND METHODS

Let us translate this ideal into concrete terms. Child welfare in *Nai Talim* must begin with Adult Education. "All the time and money spent on child education is liable to be completely wasted if the parents of the children do not understand their responsibility for the welfare of their offspring. It is the parents who must provide the child with a happy home, meet his daily needs, look after his health and comfort and guide his moral and spiritual develop-

ment. All parents are educators whether they are conscious of it or not. Their all-pervading influence determines the direction of the child's development in the all-important years of early childhood. The education of the parents is therefore the first step in the education of the child." Adult education in *Nai Talim* does not mean first and foremost the removal of illiteracy; it means the training of village adults to enable them to provide better food, cleaner and more hygienic houses, healthy and more sufficient clothing for themselves and their children. It also means the inculcation of habits of personal cleanliness which will then be passed on to their children, and habits of social co-operation in the village community by which the children's social outlook will be moulded for good. The means of this adult education are the actual work of the villager and his daily needs and problems, his water supply, his drainage, his panchayat, his quarrels and his social and religious customs. For the village woman, education must begin with the daily round of work in her own home and show how for the sake of her children every item of it can be improved.

It follows from this that the education of a pre-school child in *Nai Talim* begins at home and centres throughout the child's home. In early childhood the child is inseparable from his home and surroundings. The school building is less important than the teacher's contact with children in their families and at their games in the village streets. The pre-basic school is less a school than a community centre for parents and children where the older children for a few hours each day work and play under the guidance of the teacher, learn how to help each other, acquire standards of personal cleanliness and self-reliance in meeting their daily needs, and then with the teacher's help carry this knowledge back to their homes. The equipment tools and playthings of a pre-basic school are in harmony with the life of the village of which the school is a part. They consist of things that can be made in the village by the villagers with local materials, and their educational value depends not upon their costliness but upon the intelligent way in which they are planned and used. The children's delight in imitation of the real work of its parents, digging, sweeping, vegetable cutting, cooking, watering the garden, is given full play as it is in the Montessori system of child education. The ideal is that the village schools should be such as the village community could build and equip for its own children out of its own resources, thus carrying out in this field also the principle of self-reliance and self-respect. Expensive material equipment such as is sometimes provided in city "Montessori" schools is out of place in our villages, where such training must and can be given by simpler and more natural means. The principles of self-reliance,

and of harmonious interaction between the development of the school and the development of the whole village community, are of greater educational importance than an abundance of material equipment.

The syllabuses of pre-basic, basic and post-basic education are built step by step, upon these foundations. It is not necessary to go into detail here; they are all centred in the provision of urgently needed goods and services, and directed to the building up of self-sufficient co-operative communities of work in which the personal talents of every individual will be developed and used. They are integrated programmes covering every aspect of rural community living, and they are based on the premise that education is for the good of all alike, not for the personal aggrandisement of a few. This in itself justifies the name "New Education" (*Nai Talim*) for the spirit of the conventional education which India has so far undergone is a spirit of personal privilege. Education for village boys has nearly always meant an escape from the problems of the village into a privileged individual position. The goal of *Nai Talim* (New Education) is identification with the life of the community for the development and enrichment of the whole.

THE INTERNATIONAL VALUE OF NAI TALIM

Basic Education was designed as education for a nation of village communities, and planned in detail for Indian village children. It is obvious that many of its detailed programmes are not for export. One is bound to ask, however, whether it has anything to contribute to the discussion of child welfare on an international level. I believe that the answer is "Yes."

In saying this I am not thinking specially of the emphasis placed upon co-operative, useful work in the educational programme. This is happily a feature of modern methods of child education throughout the world, and the nursery schools, the Montessori schools and kindergartens, and activity schools of many different kinds, are in this way recognizing and catering for a fundamental need of child nature as such. The great importance of approaching the child not as an isolated individual but as a member of a family group, a living social organism, is now also widely recognized. The distinctive contribution of *Nai Talim* lies elsewhere—it lies in the content we give to the word "welfare."

The philosophy of Basic Education is a vigorous protest against the assumption that "welfare" must be synonymous with national abundance. Perhaps more than any other system, it gives a major place to work for the supply of material needs, believes that such work is potentially the most powerful educational instrument in the world, and yet at the same time it believes with equal conviction that "man does not live by bread alone" and that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things that he possesses."

This is not a contradiction, it is a natural consequence of the motivation of work not by personal greed but by the service of the whole group. Neither child nor man can ever find true welfare or lasting satisfaction if he measures his wants and his achievements by materialist standards alone. Welfare surely must be measured by the power to achieve personal happiness and serenity, and for these things social and emotional satisfaction are of far greater importance than material abundance. The highest intellectual, artistic and spiritual development of man is possible in great simplicity of material possession; it may well be that it can be strangled by excess as surely as it can be stunted by privation. Delight in simple things, a glad acceptance of a very moderate standard of material living, is an essential of true welfare. If we are really concerned with the welfare of the whole world family of children, this is the only practicable as well as the only right way to attain it. Let us beware of the glib phrase "raise the standard of living," and ask ourselves what it really implies.

The second contribution that Basic Education has to make is closely related to this. It is of little use to adopt in the schools the methods and ideas which have been described, unless one is striving at one and the same time to refashion society on lines consistent with these ideals. A distinguished American educator on a visit to Sevagram somewhat ruefully commented that American schools all too often labour to develop the co-operative spirit, and at the same time to qualify the children to "make good" in a competitive "go-getting" society outside. Those who are concerned with the welfare of children cannot escape the responsibility to think out the implications of their concern for society as a whole, to take their decision and to act on it. It is calculated that something like 6 million children, destitute, uprooted, torn from the security of the family group, deprived of affection and robbed of any chance of stable growth, are today the victims of our national greeds, suspicions, hatreds and wars. They are the most tragic and horrifying casualty of all. This is what we do to the helpless and innocent by our failure to take seriously the greed and injustice of our common ways of living. *Nai Talim* declares that a just and peaceful society is possible and attainable by the ways that Gandhiji and his followers have described and worked for. Instead of dismissing them as "escapist attempts to put the clock back," our situation demands that we give them the most serious consideration. In *Nai Talim* education and social work are not separable: the social consequences cannot be ignored. Child welfare is a part of the welfare of the whole human race, and the one cannot be achieved on a world scale without the other.*

* Paper presented to the International Study Conference on Child Welfare, Bombay, 5-12 December, 1952.

EMPLOYMENT, MORE EMPLOYMENT!

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

It is but proper that the problem of employment is now being given the foremost place in all our schemes of national planning. It is one of the main directive principles of our Constitution that "the citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood." It is, therefore, a constitutional obligation on the part of the Government to provide gainful employment to every able-bodied citizen of India. We are glad to notice that the Government of India and the Planning Commission have recognised the urgency of the problem and have placed before the public certain schemes for finding more avenues of employment in the country. Instead of always talking of unemployment in negative terms, we prefer to discuss various points relating to the positive aspect of providing more employment to the wholly unemployed or partially employed people of India. We also deprecate the tendency on behalf of certain political parties in the country to exploit even a common problem of this nature for political or party purposes. The programme to observe the Independence Anniversary as "Anti-Unemployment Day" was, to say the least, unbecoming of any political party. Although we ourselves have been critical of the achievements of the Government and desire that the pace of progress in the economic sphere should be quickened a great deal, we are convinced that it is unpatriotic to under-rate our successes and observe the Anniversary of our Freedom as a Black Day. Our achievements in various fields of national progress compare favourably with those of any country in the world. But we do not desire to rest on our oars; the Congress and the Governments are fully alive to the economic problems and are determined to do their best to solve them to the best of their ability.

The Planning Commission have circulated to the State Governments an Eleven-Point Programme for combating Unemployment in the country. This programme includes the provision of adequate assistance to the establishment of small industries and businesses, the training of technical personnel, development of road transport, slum clearance schemes and the construction of houses for the low-income groups in urban areas, and the setting-up of work and training camps for re-orienting the outlook of the educated classes. This programme is meant to be a short-term measure and should, therefore, be judged as such. It can provide certain "first-aid" steps to save the unemployment situation from worsening further. In

order to plan for full employment, as a long-term measure, the Government will have to think of certain radical changes in its educational, industrial and commercial policies. Merely trimming the leaves and pruning the branches will not serve as a lasting remedy to the deep-seated malady of an under-developed country like India. We will have to adopt and execute a bold policy of industrial decentralisation throughout the countryside in order to absorb the idle labour-power in the rural as well as urban areas. We are not against large-scale industries as such; our basic or key enterprises will have to be on a big scale. But the consumer goods industries like textiles, oil-extraction, paper-making, flour-grinding, rice-husking, gur-making, etc., will have to be organised on a small-scale or cottage basis so that every citizen of the country may be able to find fruitful avenues of productive work and employment. All further expansion of large-scale consumer goods industries, therefore, must stop: processes of excessive mechanisation or rationalization should also be rigidly controlled by the State in order to save the people from being thrown out of employment still further. The Government must also demarcate categories of commodities to be produced by the large-scale, small-scale, and cottage industries respectively. In these days of national planning it would be short-sighted and even suicidal to allow the large-scale and small-scale enterprises to enter into unfair competition with each other for the survival of the fittest. This old doctrine of laissez faire is now dead as dodo and the Government of India must provide the fullest scope for the speedy development of small business and industry in India with courage and conviction. To try to solve the problem of fuller employment by expanding big business is like ploughing the sands. At present all the large-scale establishments in the country employ only about 3 million people with a total investment of approximately 1,200 crores of rupees. Where is the money for further investment in the large-scale sector in order to absorb a substantial portion of surplus labour in India? And even if we are able to find the money where are the markets to purchase these mill-made goods? Conquering markets in foreign countries through Imperialist methods is out of the question, and purchasing power within the country could be increased only by organising fuller employment to millions of people through decentralised industrialisation. The Government has,

of course, accepted this policy in the Five-Year Plan. But we are not yet in a position to say that there are any visible signs of the implementation of this policy.

The Commercial policy of imports and exports also needs further examination from the standpoint of providing fuller employment to the masses through the development of new industries in India. It is not an inspiring sight to see most of the New Delhi shops full of foreign articles at a time when we are seriously planning to build up the economic structure of our country by undertaking ambitious schemes of industrialisation. It is true that the people should imbibe the spirit of Swadeshi and patronise home-made goods. It is also true that the Indian manufacturers should take special care to improve the quality of their products and should not try to misuse the spirit of Swadeshi among the poor consumers. It is, however, equally necessary that the Government of India should once again scrutinise the long list of articles which are still allowed to be imported from foreign lands. It is argued that a few consumer goods are allowed to be imported so that the quality of goods may not go down. It is an argument which fails to carry conviction. If the Indian producers are given a wider scope of selling their goods, more manufacturers will enter into production in accordance with the well-known economic laws and mutual competition would tend to push up the quality of products. We see absolutely no reason why consumer goods like second-hand clothes, bottled and canned fruits and vegetables, crockery, biscuits and cakes and confectionary, artificial silk fabrics, handloom and book-binding cloth, hosiery and toilet goods, etc., are still being imported by us. We have also allowed a number of foreign firms to run consumer goods industries within the country with the result that our own industries with wholly Indian capital have suffered a serious set-back. In this connection, the Government should review the working of foreign-owned units in the manufacture of soaps, chocolates, fountain-pen inks, tooth-brushes and pastes; cold drinks like Coca-cola, etc. The Store Purchase Policy of the Union and State Governments also requires radical changes with a view to patronising Indian-made and specially cottage-made products even though they may be costlier in the beginning.

Above all, our educational policy must undergo

far-reaching changes. We welcome the scheme of the Ministry of Education to open a large number of one-teacher schools in the rural areas to absorb thousands of the educated unemployed youngmen in India. But is this enough? What about the ever-growing number of matriculates and graduates that still continue to be manufactured every year by the existing type of schools and colleges. The number of passes in the Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. and B.Sc. examinations during 1949-50 was 2,78,400. In 1951-52, the figure had swollen to 3,74,900. In Uttar Pradesh alone the number of students passing the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations was 1,50,000 in 1952; in 1953, it had increased to 2,59,000. What is the Ministry of Education doing to stop this rising flood of educated boys and girls in our country? The present type of schools and colleges imparting the so-called liberal education have had their day: they must now cease to be. It is almost a crime against society to permit their expansion further. Our new educational institutions should be in the nature of occupational institutes or Polytechnics which prepare our boys and girls for specific vocations in life. There should be the closest co-ordination and integration between our educational and industrial programmes. The Government or the Planning Commission must indicate from time to time the types of courses for which there is likely to be a growing demand for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. Admissions to various technical courses will then be adjusted and regulated accordingly by the educational institutions and the guardians. Although education is a State subject under the present Constitution, the Ministry of Education can do a lot to revolutionize the existing system of education which is wholly unsuited to the vital needs of the nation. It is, of course, risky to try to move too fast; but the risk in not moving fast enough is also a potential danger to the new type of democracy in this ancient land of ours.

Gandhiji had told us that to a poor and hungry man God could appear only in the form of bread or a bowl of rice. To millions of our unemployed countrymen, the National Plan can have some meaning only if it gives them work and bread. Instead of asking for "Light, more Light," they want us to provide them with Employment, more Employment.

YUGOSLAVIA SHAPES HER DESTINY Welcome to Her "Good Will Mission"

By AJIT KUMAR BOSE

New Yugoslavia has been successful in drawing world's attention towards her. The reception that was accorded to the recent Yugoslav "Good Will Mission" clearly indicates India's lively interest in her.

Yugoslavia is the land of the South (Yug) Slavs. It consists of six Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia and is the largest country in the Balkans having 16 million population covering one lakh square miles. There are four main languages—Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian—which, though similar to each other, have distinctive qualities.

Yugoslavia is surrounded by Austria and three Soviet countries from the north up to the east—Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, by Greece and Albania on the south, by Adriatic Sea from south up to the west and by Trieste on the west. She is rich in natural resources and beauties—rivers, forests, mountains, oil, minerals, ores, etc.—sufficient for her developments in industry and agriculture.

The ancestors of the Yugoslavs were inhabitants of the Carpathian Mountains situated in the north. They began to settle in the Balkans in the 6th century. Since the 8th century there developed the Slav civilization which reached its peak in the 13th century.

But subsequent centuries were the days of decline and darkness. The riches of the lands allured foreigners to invade. The Turks invaded Serbia, one of the strongest States. Of course, Serbians resisted fiercely, but they were ultimately defeated and their country fell in the hands of the invaders in 1389. Their invasion continued for long 500 years and the patriotic Slavs did nowhere yield without fighting. As a result, the Turks took a century to conquer Bosnia (in 1463) and Herzegovina (in 1483) and no further they could advance. During the rest of their long domination the Turks could not rule peacefully; they had to face resistance in various forms within their conquered territory even. Thus, of course, the Turks could be prevented from penetrating further ahead, permitting the rest of Europe to develop. Besides, Yugoslavia was invaded from the north by the Austrians and the Hungarians, who also occupied some parts. Italy had also an eye on the Dalmatian Coast always.

In spite of these the South Slavs retained their individuality and cultural identity, and the Montenegrins, who could never be conquered, were a constant source of inspiration for patriotism. While powerful movement for the unity of the Slavs was growing

stronger, various forms of resistance, including guerilla fighting, developed in the 16th century. Since the early part of the 19th century and onward, fight for independence had been gathering momentum. In 1804, Serbia revolted successfully. But it was only after World War I that Yugoslavia became completely independent of the Turks and of the Austro-Hungarian imperialism as well.

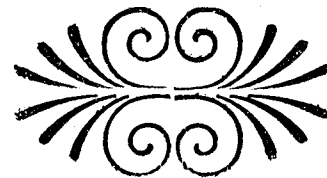
But political independence brought no change in the day-to-day life of the people; for the most part their lives remained hard. Despite her great natural resources Yugoslavia remained one of the poorest nations in Europe. Illiteracy was high, average span of life was very low and want of employment was widespread. Yugoslavia was mainly a source of raw materials at cheaper rates for the foreigners. On the other hand, of the total capital invested in industries, whatever Yugoslavia had, foreign shares were 92 per cent in cotton mills, 100 per cent in matches, copper, lead and bauxite, 70 per cent in merchant shipping, 76 per cent in sugar and 55 per cent in coal. Workers' conditions were far below human level. The Monarchy in the country, subservient to the greedy foreign investors, was impotent to solve the basic problems.

Three-fourths of Yugoslavia was agricultural, cultivation being carried on old methods by impoverished peasants. The rich peasants and the big land-owners, who made up only 5 per cent of the population, held majority of the lands. Almost half a million were landless workers and the share-croppers were also of a equal number.

Consequently, during the period between the two World Wars, a strong movement to transform the Government of the country and its economic structure for the benefit of the people developed. The Yugoslav Communist Party affiliated to the then Comintern, took the leading part under the Moscow-trained leaders like Marshal Tito. Other radical political parties and individuals, students, trade unionists, etc., joined them and formed the People's Front ultimately to fight the fascist invaders.

In the meantime, after the Moscow-Berlin non-aggression pact of alliance, Nazi-Fascist Governments began to trample one country after another till the whole of the West Europe and Balkans, excepting Yugoslavia, went under the heels of Germany and Italy within a very short period. Despondency overtook the world. The war was then on the point of taking a turn.

As stated, Hitler planned to attack Russia on



May 15th. As a prelude to that attack, on March 25, 1941, the Royal Government of Yugoslavia signed a pact of alliance with the fascist powers in Vienna and thus surrendered the country's independence. But, on 27th March, the people rose in protest; they wanted no truck with the fascists. Belgrade's streets rang with the cries: "Better war than Pact," "Better death than Slavery!" The Royal Government was overthrown and the pact was repudiated, though, of course, U.S.S.R. and the Comintern were then acting as faithful allies of the fascist aggressors.

On April 16th, 300 German bombers swooped down on Belgrade, the Capital of Yugoslavia, leaving behind them more than 25,000 dead and a ruined city. The war against Yugoslavia began on a full scale with invading armies attacking not only from Germany and Italy, but from their satellites Hungary and Bulgaria as well. Thus attack on Russia was delayed, preventing Hitler's army from reaching the gates of Moscow before winter set in. Undoubtedly it was of tremendous help to Russia.

Yugoslav people continued to fight, guerilla resistance spread everywhere. Before the end of 1941, there were 41,000 partisans, fighting at first with farm implements and such arms as they could capture from the enemies. Their number had increased to 400,000 by 1944 and by 1945 the guerillas were transformed into the regular Army of National Liberation with 800,000 partisans. As a result, Germany was forced to keep more than a million men to fight the Yugoslavs. Thus the fighters against fascists in other fronts, including Russian, were amply helped. By 1944, the Yugoslav National Army liberated three-fourths of their country mainly with their own efforts.

No help was given to Marshal Tito and his forces at the first instance. Instead, the disguised collaborators of the Germans like Mehailovick were given assistance. At last however, the Liberation Army was recognised. After suffering and sacrifice the fighters for Yugoslav freedom came out successful.

But unfortunately, Marshal Tito and his forces were cursed by the U.S.S.R. and its satellites as collaborators and "agents" of Anglo-American powers, though subsequently, by the force of events, they also fell in line with the allied powers and dissolved the Comintern at the dictates of the same Anglo-American powers.

The South Slavs are now united under one banner, the banner of the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia. A new social order has been established on a new economic and political structure. But the foundation of this republic was laid in the midst of the war. The new state was created step by step as village after village and city after city were liberated, by electing Peoples' Committees. Thus the basis of the Peoples' Government was formed, with powers to administrate and manage the entire

economic, social and cultural affairs of the respective locality. Late in 1942, the representatives of these Peoples' Committee met and formed the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia, the AVNOJ, which again met on 29th November, 1942, in the Bosnian Mountains. In this meeting a Provisional Government was formed—the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia—and a programme was adopted calling for broad social reforms and a government organised on federative principles.

On November 11th, 1945, after liberation, a Constituent Assembly was elected by secret ballot. On the 29th, this body proclaimed the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia. After two months' discussion, on 31st January, 1946, the Constitution of Yugoslavia was adopted and the Constituent Assembly became the first regular National Assembly, which would be elected by popular votes every four years. The second Assembly was elected on March 26th, 1950.

The National Assembly, the supreme body of State authority in Yugoslavia is composed of two houses, the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities, having a Presidium and the administrative agent. Each of the constituent republics has its own Assembly and Presidium. The Executive branch of the government is headed by the Prime Minister. Both are appointed and recalled by the respective Assembly.

As provided, at the meetings of the Peoples' Committee reports on current progress are made and plans for the future formulated. Local citizens are allowed to attend such meetings. They may discuss and criticise the members of the Committee openly in the public and have the right to demand explanations and pass judgments on the Committee's works. Unsatisfactory members may be removed by the people at any time. In 1949, there were 8104 village committees with a total membership of 119,804. They are helped by hundreds of thousands of members of different councils. Thus the common people of Yugoslavia participate in the political life and day-to-day social activities of the country.

Apart from trade unions, which are free to look into the interests of the workers, workers' councils are elected to participate in the management of industries. At least three-fourths of their members must be workers. In 1950, these councils were given more powers. Thus the Federal Government, in direct contrast to the Soviet bureaucratic centralism and State directorate, is divesting itself of the direct control of the major share of the country's economy and industry.

Yugoslavia adheres closely to the Charter of the United Nations and firmly believes that its principles are the only guide to enduring peace. She stands to fight for equal relations between all countries and

rejects the unjust policy of dividing the world into "spheres of influence" by the big powers. For this reason she refuses to join any contending power blocks and condemns the Soviet-sponsored idea of "five-power peace pact" which is nothing but recognition of the big powers' right to dominate over the weak and under-developed countries.

In addition to the miserable conditions and backwardness that persisted through centuries, the effect of the war on Yugoslavia was thoroughly devastating. According to the statistics of the Paris Reparation Conference, Yugoslavia had 1,706,000 casualties in the war, or about one-third of the total losses of the 18 major allied countries and the damages amount to 9.1 milliard dollars, or 17 per cent of the total damages suffered by those countries. In fact, every ninth person was killed and every three of the rest were physically invalidated and about 3.5 millions rendered homeless. Moreover, 24 per cent of orchards, 38 per cent of vineyards, 67 per cent of horses, 55 per cent of cattle, 63 per cent of sheep, 58 per cent of hogs, 50 per cent of railway trackage, 289,000 farms and most of the mines, factories and electric plants were damaged.

But parallel with the progress of the liberation struggle, the Liberation Army, with the Peoples' Committees, by the close of 1941, began to rebuild the areas freed from occupation. Since the close of 1944, full attention was directed towards reconstruction. Peasants got lands and powers through their committees and worked with the fullest enthusiasm, while the workers vigorously devoted themselves to production and various economic rehabilitations of the country. Due to their untiring efforts and sacrifice production soon attained the pre-war level, alleviating the effects of the havoc wrought by the invaders. The Constitution provides for national ownership, or control whenever necessary, of industry, banking, communications, foreign trade, etc.

In 1947, the first Five-Year Plan sets, *inter alia*, the following main tasks: The national income was to be raised from 132 milliards in 1939 to 235 milliards in 1951, *viz.*, an increase of 193 per cent and the value of industrial production was to be raised from 203 milliards in 1939 to 336 milliards in 1951, *viz.*, an increase of 180 per cent.

Trade Unions and Workers' Councils played a very significant part in executing the Plan. Want of workers, technicians, engineers, etc., was not insurmountable to the determination of the people. New hands were trained and efficiency developed. Results were remarkable. Here are some instances in the main branches of industry:

	1939	1947	1949	1950
	Index.	Per cent of production		
Coal	100	157	342	265
Lead and Zinc	100	181	330	479
Iron and Steel	100	167	260	290
lol.	100	...	6260	...

In other industries of Electric powers, Chemicals, Building materials, Timber, Paper, Textiles, Leather and Foot-wear, Rubber, Food, Tobacco, Film, etc., production increased on an average from 26.6 in 1946 to 46.1, 70.8 and 82.6 in 1947, 1948 and 1949 respectively. Moreover, motors, tractors, electrical machineries, generators, etc., are also being manufactured. Various important items that were never produced in Yugoslavia before war emerged from her new factories. In the spheres of Railways and trackage, Roads, Communication, Transport, etc., progress has been equally rapid. Side by side, new buildings and cities are being constructed.

In the sector of public welfare, provisions have been made for social insurance, pensions and medical aids including medicines and sanitariums, protection to mothers and children, conquering diseases and illiteracy, etc., which is, in reality, being enjoyed by the nation as a whole. The Constitution makes the State responsible for the protection and nurture of children and provides for free and compulsory elementary education for seven years. About 80 per cent of the students in higher education receive monetary aids from the Government. The expectant mothers receive increased facilities in every respect before and after child-birth. She also receives extra money from the Government when the baby is born.

Unemployment has been eliminated. In fact, Yugoslavia's problem is shortage of workers and not want of work or unemployment.

In respect of agriculture, arrangements have been made for training the peasants and guiding them through the State farms elaborately. Co-operative farming is encouraged. It is voluntary and co-operators remain owners of their lands. The co-operative movement in Yugoslavia was started in 1945 with only 31 societies; by April 1950, the number had grown to about 7,000, involving over 350,000 families and covering, together with the State farms, about 26 per cent of the country's arable lands. Arrangements have been made to manufacture agricultural machineries for which factories are working. Construction of dams for hydro-electric power and irrigation have been taken up.

In short, Yugoslavia's progress, within only seven years, is all-round and unparalleled in history.

On the contrary, in the case of the U.S.S.R., the entire first post-revolution decade was a decade of failure and intense suffering, famine, starvation and deaths for the people. Production in industry declined, while in agriculture, it came down to 50 million tons in 1920 as compared to pre-war years when the average harvest was of 80 million tons. As measures against such all-round deterioration and discontent, USSR had to fall back and take up "New Economic Policy," encouraging private enterprise. Foreign helps were accepted including American help and the foreign policy was so formulated as to encourage

foreign helps. On the other hand, machineries of repression and suppression were let loose; terror, mass-scale murder and concentration in slave labour camps in the name of "socialism" and "revolution" became the order of the day.

But still the brave leaders of Yugoslavia are condemned by the Soviet Bloc as "traitors to the people," as "agents of Anglo-America." Like "Trotskyism," "Titoism" has become a word for abuse in the Soviet vocabulary.

In June, 1948, the Cominform expelled the Yugoslav Communist Party which was its member since its inception. The Cominform called upon the Communist Parties all over the world and the Communists of Yugoslavia in particular to unite and overthrow the Tito Government.

In essence, the whole issue boiled down to a Soviet attempt to stop the industrialisation of Yugoslavia, in particular the Five-Year Plan, which began to gather momentum. Moscow had planned for agrarian satellites whose varied and extensive resources would make cheap sources of raw materials for Soviet factories.

Because of the importance of trade to the success of the Plan, the Cominform instituted its *economic blockade*, which was the Soviet answer to Yugoslavia's determination to maintain her independence and develop her economy on her own way. Prior to that 60 per cent of Yugoslavia's trade was carried on with the Cominform countries.

But the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and her government refused to be intimidated, as she refused during the war. In spite of continued political pressure, diplomatic incidents, border provocations, unceasing propaganda and economic blockade, the people of Yugoslavia have remained unshaken and stepped up the tempo.

Recently very bold steps have been taken towards further democratisation and decentralisation of power, both political and economic. From base to the national level the formation of councils of workers has been provided in the country's constitution. Only the workers directly engaged in the process of production are entitled to be elected in these councils. In the levels of legislation they constitute the third House of Representatives and no budget can be effective unless it is passed by this House. And in the production level at the base the entire authority of the management of the factories—authority of employment and dismissal and drawing up of plans and budgets, etc.—has been transferred to the respec-

tive councils. Thus the authority of disbursement of surplus values, the only measure-stick of Socialism, is now in the hands of the actual workers. Whereas, in the Soviet Union and countries within its grip, it is entirely in the hands of the all-powerful Soviet Government of the Communist Party, membership of which is strictly restricted and scrutinised by the ruling group.

As regards the party structure in the popular level, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is no longer a political party; it has now been transformed into a cultural organisation so to say. It will not run any candidate in the country's elections. It will only preach the basic principle of Socialism. A broad-based Socialist platform has been created to facilitate proper and open discussions on political and various other national issues to determine the course of action. The people of Yugoslavia, having faith in the independence and sovereignty of their motherland and Socialism, irrespective of their various shades of opinion, may unite under this political organisation—the 'Yugoslav Socialist League.' Members are free to differ and discuss openly to build up public opinion. Undoubtedly, it is a step forward towards the establishment of democratic rights of the people—steps new, bold and encouraging enough as against the systems prevailing in the rest of the world, including U.S.S.R., America, etc.

Evidently, therefore, new Yugoslavia is a source of newer inspiration for the suppressed nations in their struggle for emancipation, while for the newly independent under-developed countries she indicates a definite line of action for progress, prosperity and strength.

But it should not be forgotten after all that alike in Soviet Russia, there is no right of association in Yugoslavia. Excepting under the Socialist League of Yugoslavia, the Constitution of the country provides no right for the people to organise, or to be organised under, any political party. It is one of the few fundamental questions relating to the basic rights of man. On it depends the ultimate security of the individual and of the nation as well, nay, of the whole human society. At present, of course, there are great differences with Russia in the nature of Yugoslavia's working out her plans, which helps the people, as reported, to develop initiative and free judgment. Let us hope that Yugoslavia will ultimately be able to lead the suppressed people of the world in their fight for collective well-being and individual freedom as well.

SAGA OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

By PROF. DIP CHAND VERMA, M.A.

I

THE career of Napoleon Bonaparte has been a fascinating subject for biographers. Historians have dealt with it from diverse angles. But even today the name of Napoleon not only arouses interest but grips the imagination. Goethe typically summed up the reactions on the minds of most readers when he said:

"The story of Napoleon produces on me an impression like that produced by the Revelation of Saint John the Divine. We all feel there must be something more in it, but we do not know what."

It is likely that for all time to come the genius of Napoleon will remain controversial, hard to define, provoking but delusive, beyond real grasp. Napoleon was not only the representative man of his age—his life was a running commentary on the great revolutionary period of which he was the product—but succeeding generations have been left bewildered at his truly amazing career. The dilemma however remains unresolved, the dilemma of his miraculous success and no less disastrous failure. Both in the magnitude of his success and the tragedy of his fall, Napoleon remains to date an enigmatic figure, defying the meticulous labours of historians and research scholars to solve the riddle.

II

The broad facts of Napoleon's life are easily told. He was born as second son to Charles Bonaparte in the town of Ajaccio in the small island of Corsica, on the 15th August, 1769. His father at one time adjutant to the Corsican hero Paoli, though of a noble descent, was of a flippant disposition. Napoleon seems to have inherited all his great qualities from his mother who was a very remarkable woman. Madame Letizia gave birth to eight children, five sons and three daughters. They are known to history by the simple incidence of their being related as brothers and sisters to the colossus that in his day shook the world. More through accident than design Napoleon got admitted at the military school at Brienne and after a year's training at the Paris Cadets School, he became a lieutenant at 16. His first attempts were to capture power in his own homeland Corsica, alternatively by joining hands with Paoli against the French and later by siding with the French Government against Paoli. Both attempts were unsuccessful and nearly ruined the Bonaparte family. Napoleon's own position was rendered most precarious and he was driven to such straits as pawning his watch and at one time actually thought of suicide.

He got associated with the Jacobins which was the rising faction but the death through guillotine of the elder Robespierre sent the young Napoleon also to jail for a short period but was saved as the charges were not substantiated.

Napoleon steps into history by his part in the siege of Toulon. This is Napoleon's first victory although he is not the official commander. The real opportunity comes when he is offered the command of the army of Italy which puts him on the world-stage as it were to play the great part. For a score of years from this day onward, he rises higher and higher reaching a pinnacle with few historical precedents, suggesting comparisons to celebrated names like Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, almost within reach of world-power and then suddenly the meteoric career is snapp'd. Napoleon is devoured by the forces he himself produced. He awakened to the danger when it was too late.

What are the landmarks in his great career? He engaged during his short and busy life in nearly sixty pitched engagements. Some of his battles mark him out as the greatest strategist and captain of all time. His military genius remains to date unrivalled and unsurpassed. Napoleon not only conquered nearly the whole of Europe and ruled a larger part of it for a dozen years but was actually on way to world conquest and just missed it.

Marengo, Lodi, Arcola, Austerlitz, Wagram, Jena and a dozen other places scattered over Europe and Asia reaching the far-flung steppes of Russia and the far-off deserts of Egypt—these are a testimony if a testimony is needed to the military genius of Napoleon.

Original and in a way incomparable as Napoleon appears as commander, his real greatness consists in the imagination with which he remoulded the age, rightly called the 'Napoleonic Era.' As consul and Emperor, administrator, diplomat, reformer and law-giver, Napoleon looms large in world-history. Code-Napoleon continues not only to be the basis of the judicial system and social institutions of France but has influenced the growth of law and government in all lands that came directly or indirectly under his rule.

Napoleon's career was possible mainly because of the age in which he lived. He was the son of the Revolution. He created order out of the chaos in which France was thrown by the revolution of 1789.



As first Consul his record is not only unblemished but admirable. He brings about important changes in the internal administration of France, modernizes her agricultural and industrial systems, directs the revolution to constructive channels and above all makes repeated attempts to give peace to Europe. Napoleon is so far fighting defensive wars. The revolutionary ideas which the First Consul symbolises in his person are a standing dread to the world of Legitimacy and the European rulers spurn all his approaches. Partly to stabilize his own position and partly to appease and disarm the hereditary kings of Europe, Napoleon himself dons the crown and becomes Emperor. No body is deceived. He is still regarded symbolizing the dreaded revolution. He attempts to dominate Europe by raising his own brothers, relatives and marshals to thrones carved out of conquered territories. His first thoughts had been to follow in the footsteps of Alexander the Great and establish an Empire in the East, in India and had conquered Egypt as a half-way house. This was frustrated by the destruction of the fleet at Aboukir-bay. His next thought was to restore the Western Empire with himself as the chief potentate. He succeeded to a great extent but the destruction of the grand army in the Russian campaign gave the first mortal blow from which Napoleon never recovered. The campaigns of 1813 and 1814 were again fought in the old style and there were several opportunities for honourable compromise but till the last Napoleon thought that he could undo the reverse and regain the lost position. After the Dresden defeat, he could have retained France for himself with 1793 frontiers but he thought it more honourable to step down from the Imperial throne rather than give up his conquests. After a brief stay at Elba to which place he was confined by the allies Napoleon returned to France once again to rule for another 100 days. This return from Elba is a most astounding performance even for Napoleon whose whole career runs like a ballad. So great is the awe inspired by his very name that the Bourbons who had come in the baggage of the foreign rulers, escape once again across the channel and the romantic hero occupies Paris amidst the ovations of the people to play the final part in the great saga. Immediately on assumption of the Imperial office once again he liberalized the constitution giving it a democratic and parliamentary form and issued appeals to his enemies to leave him in peace so that he might complete his life-work interrupted by his defeat in 1814. So great is the distrust and fear amongst the allies that almost in a panic they outlaw him and prepare for his final overthrow. His own father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria and his wife Marie Louise—who had already sullied herself by her scandalous conduct—are a party to his outlawry. Napoleon wants to repeat his performances of twenty years ago when he took the world by storm by his brilliant campaigns in Italy

and once again plans in his masterly style to defeat each enemy separately before they have time to prepare. His first strokes are successful. He defeats and annihilates Blücher but is overcome and finally crushed at Waterloo because he is not able to attack Wellington in time, his orders are not given in his usual crystal-clear style, leaving so much to his subordinates in which they bungle and finally he calls the National Guard too late, when his main army has already been routed. Discouraged but not wholly disheartened he rushes back to Paris and appeals to the French people whom he has loved so much to rally to him once again and help in driving away the enemy. His brothers and some of his devoted friends rally round him but the enemies he had left behind in Foch and Talleyrand, his erstwhile employees, have already undermined his position and they subtly work for his downfall. He is still popular with the masses; the soldiers are as devoted to him at this hour of defeat as they were at moments of his most glorious victories but his generals and marshals on whom he showered so many favours are unwilling to risk their positions and some of them actually betray him. Marmont, one of his earliest comrades, who rose with the Emperor, proves to be the greatest traitor and is responsible for the final rejection by the allies of Napoleon or his successors to the French throne. His cause ruined beyond redemption, Napoleon attempts to escape to America. Having wasted too much time he is surrounded by the British navy to which he voluntarily surrenders making an eloquent appeal to Prince Regent for a treatment and asylum worthy of a great and generous foe. While his fate is being decided his ship is anchored in the Plymouth harbour, a great surge of people crowd the coast and when Napoleon appears on the deck spontaneously all heads are uncovered as a mark of reverence. The crowd offer flowers to the defeated hero. This was the great tribute of the British Nation, the general masses, the ordinary people who knew no politics but were instinctively drawn by the true greatness which Napoleon represented. The allies decided on the cruel and hard punishment of exile to the rocky island of St. Helena. Napoleon protested strongly for he was not a prisoner of war and had surrendered voluntarily. For the remaining 6 years of his life which he spent as a prisoner on this forsaken unhealthy place Napoleon busied himself in preparing a record of his great career as he had promised the National Guard while taking leave of them at the time of departure for Elba. The accounts left by the companions who had followed the exiled emperor have helped greatly in reconstructing the great events of his age. Within a few years of the Eagle's death the whole Europe was talking of him and so strong was the revival of the Napoleonic cult in France that the July Monarchy was forced by public opinion to bring back the remains of the Emperor from St. Helena

and over them a grateful people have constructed a noble mausoleum, becoming the hero.

III

What sort of man was Napoleon? What was it that brought him to supreme power? Having achieved this power how did he use it? What was it that he really achieved and left for posterity? Why did his supremacy last for so brief a period? Finally why did he fall? What is the great lesson of his miraculous career?

To these questions we must now turn to size up the man and his work. Physically he was short-statured, with a prominent forehead, bright blue eyes whose glare few could stand and in whose great depths one could have a glimpse of his whole life, a breast soft and padded almost like a woman, thin fine handsome hands impeccably neat, somewhat short legs, and during later years, a tendency towards obesity so that he appeared somewhat fattish. Inside this human dynamo was a will that no human power could bend, a determination that could overcome any obstacles, a mind that worked mathematically like a clock but could soar to great heights; he was a poet and mathematician, a realist and idealist, a man of figures and one whose imagination could penetrate to greatest depths and survey the highest altitudes. Skilled administrator, subtle diplomat, clever negotiator, he was equally at home both on the battlefield and his study. His mind is original and sharp like the edge of the sword, so comprehensive and quick that in a trite he can grasp a situation in its entirety and take final sweeping decisions, essentially constructive and productive. Rightly remarks Goethe:

"So divine an illumination is always linked with youth and productivity, and in very truth, Napoleon was one of the most productive men that ever lived."

His chief traits were imagination, self-confidence and energy, this last almost inexhaustible and super-human. This combination explains his success first in the battlefield and later in politics and diplomacy. He was remarkably modern, rational, just and fair-minded but also had belief amounting to superstition in his own lucky star, his fate and destiny. About Sydney Smith who checked him during the Turkish campaign, he said, "That man made me miss my destiny." At the fall of Moreau, his one time rival and later banished by him to America, who returned to take part in the campaigns of 1813, when Napoleon is meeting with reverses, he exclaimed, "My Star." About his own end, he said, "St. Helena was written in the book of destiny." He confessed that it was luck that brought him to supreme power. His self-confidence helps him to face enemies outnumbering him by 2 to 3 and yet by impromptu combinations he can beat them. When during the Russian disaster he

was asked, who in spite of all would defend him in France, he replied: "My name."

Napoleon's achievements were unique, unparalleled before or since. Just within twenty years, rising from obscure origins under most trying and difficult circumstances, he rose to supreme power in France, conquered nearly the whole of Europe or effectively controlled it, engaged in 60 pitched battles most of which he won against great odds by sheer supremacy of tactics, reformed France out of recognition and left abiding influence over the whole of Europe. In point of military genius the only comparable names are those of Alexander the Great, Hannibal and Julius Caesar but Napoleon's place is his own, without rivals. He was the greatest man of action ever born. Even in the matter of thought his grasp was amazing. While voyaging enroute to Egypt he was carrying with him the most noted scholars and scientists, a sort of travelling University with him. He held regular debates and meetings and the savants are astounded, for the commander-in-chief interrogates them minutely about their own subjects and seems to know everything. While on board on the "Bellérophon" in custody of the British after defeat the ship captain is greatly surprised by the technical knowledge shown by Bonaparte on naval affairs.

Napoleon was fond of power but not grossly ambitious. He was ambitious because he wanted to do great things and achieve results on a grand scale. "My age has produced nothing great. Let me set an example," he at one time exclaimed. His first aim, after he was set on the path of military glory, was to found an Empire in the East, in India, on the model of Alexander the Great. This was foiled by defeat on the sea but he never completely gave up the idea; till his final break with Alexander, Tsar of Russia, he continued hobnobbing with the plan for the conquest of the East. While invading Russia he was thinking of establishing a common system of Government and institutions thus forestalling all later ideas about the United States of Europe. He was in fact, the forerunner of President Wilson of America as he actually thought of founding the League of Nations. His ideals were good but he attempted to realize them through gross means. He himself admitted the supremacy of these spiritual powers over the physical forces but it was too late to reverse the course of history. Napoleon once said that he would live to be ninety for his work could not be completed in lesser time. But he failed to curb his impatience and craze for speed and ended his active life when he was hardly 45. Napoleon's age lasted very short, but in that brief period he has left behind a blaze of glory and immortality that will last till humanity. Untold generations will read the story of his great deeds and marvel how all that could be achieved by one man single-handed. He was so much ahead of his age and his ideas were so

original and inspired that a careful study of his career will help in tackling the problems presented by the 20th century. Napoleon belongs to the 19th century the main events of which he could foresee but he was so modern that he seems to belong to us, to this age. William M. Sloane, an American historian, remarks in his *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, Vol. II:

"The creative ideas of the revolutionary era with which Napoleon's name is so closely connected are no longer called in question; his own career was now verging to its decline but in his fall the fundamental conceptions of the epoch were firmly established."

Napoleon fought against the system of Legitimacy and his greatest mistake seems to be, to have attempted to appease it or compromise with it. The establishment of the hereditary empire was also a mistake for by these attempts he moved away from the principles of the Revolution of 1789 which made his very career possible. He was careful throughout his life to promote his soldiers and marshals on merit and merit alone but he made exception in the case of his brothers and sisters whom he raised to thrones, which they never deserved. He admitted that this was a mistake and contributed to his downfall. The treaty of Vienna which had imprisoned the son of the Revolution and restored the world of Legitimacy which Bonaparte had torn to shreds, was repudiated by the major developments of the 19th century. Nationalism and Democracy were the dominating forces of the 19th century and strangely speaking they fed on inspiration received from the Napoleonic era.

IV

"To every man, be he whom he may
There comes a last happiness and a last day."

So wrote Goethe on Napoleon's fall, whom he had shortly before declared invincible. Nothing lasts for ever in this transient world and at last even a Napoleon is defeated. He could have easily saved the throne for himself by accommodating with the allies in time, he could possibly have saved the Empire itself if he had followed Carnot's advice and declared himself dictator for the emergency and disbanded the legislative bodies which he himself had founded and entrusted with constitutional powers. He refused to do either because the first compromised his honour and the second would have given him a bad name in history. So punctilious was Napoleon about his sense of honour and so sensitive was he about his position in the eyes of posterity that he decided to end his career rather than besmear his name.

Napoleon's end was tragic and the fact that such greatness should have perished under such dismal and

pathetic circumstances is a sad reminder of the vicissitudes of life. Talking to Las Cases, one of his companions at St. Helena, the Emperor reflected:

"Adversity, too, has its heroism and its fame. Had I died on the throne, surrounded by all the emblems of power, I should have remained a riddle to many. Today the wrappings have been stripped from me; thanks to my misfortunes, every one can judge me in my nakedness."

When he hears of plans of his return to France he coldly analyses the situation and comments:

"But what can they hope from my return? That I should again conduct wars? I am too old. That I should seek for fresh glories? I am sated with them. . . . It will be much better for my son that I should stay here. If Christ had not died upon the cross, he would not have become the Son of God. My martyrdom will give the crown to my son, if he lives."

Subsequently he says:

"Misfortune has its good side: it teaches us truths. . . . For the first time, I am able to contemplate history as a philosopher."

Finally he confesses:

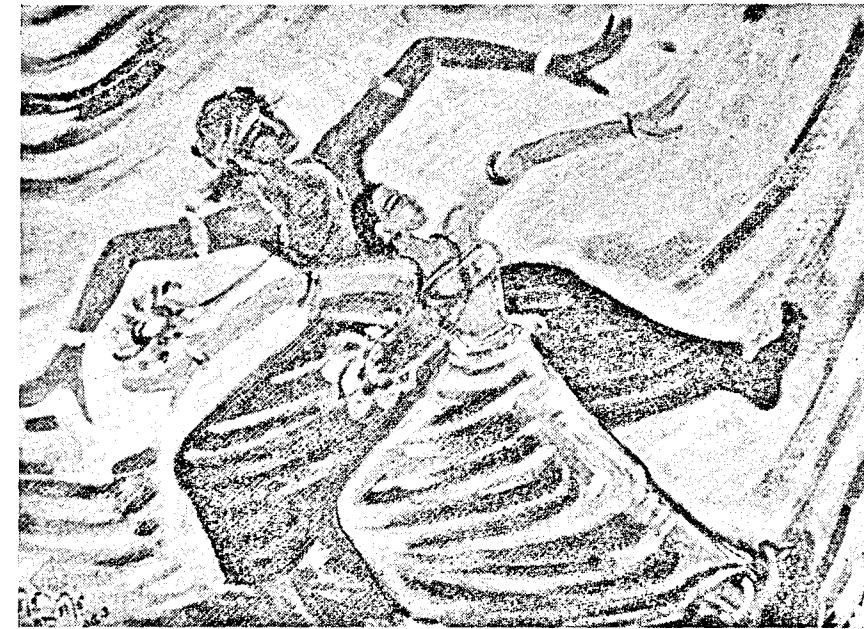
"No one but myself can be blamed for my fall. I have been my own greatest enemy, the cause of my own disastrous fate."

And, "I wanted too much. . . . I strung the bow too tightly, and trusted too much in my good fortune."

Reviewing his whole career in a flash as it were he explained to Las Cases:

"Every future historian will have to allow me my share. . . . Facts speak for themselves. I closed up the chasm of anarchy, and put an end to chaos. I cleansed the revolution from the filth it had accumulated, I ennobled the peoples, I stabilised the thrones. I encouraged all those who had talents, rewarded every merit, and widened the boundaries of fame and glory. . . . Could not historians protect me against many grave charges? If I am accused of despotism, they can claim that dictatorship was necessary in the circumstances. Is it freedom I attacked? They can answer that anarchy was still threatening on our very threshold. Love of War? I was never the aggressor. Striving for world domination? This arose accidentally, because of the conditions of the time. Too ambitious? Yes, true indeed. But my ambition was of the sublimest: to found the kingdom of reason, with full development and unrestricted enjoyment of all the human faculties. The historian may deplore that such ambition could not wholly attain its goal." "There, my dear fellow," he concludes, "in a few words, you have my entire story."

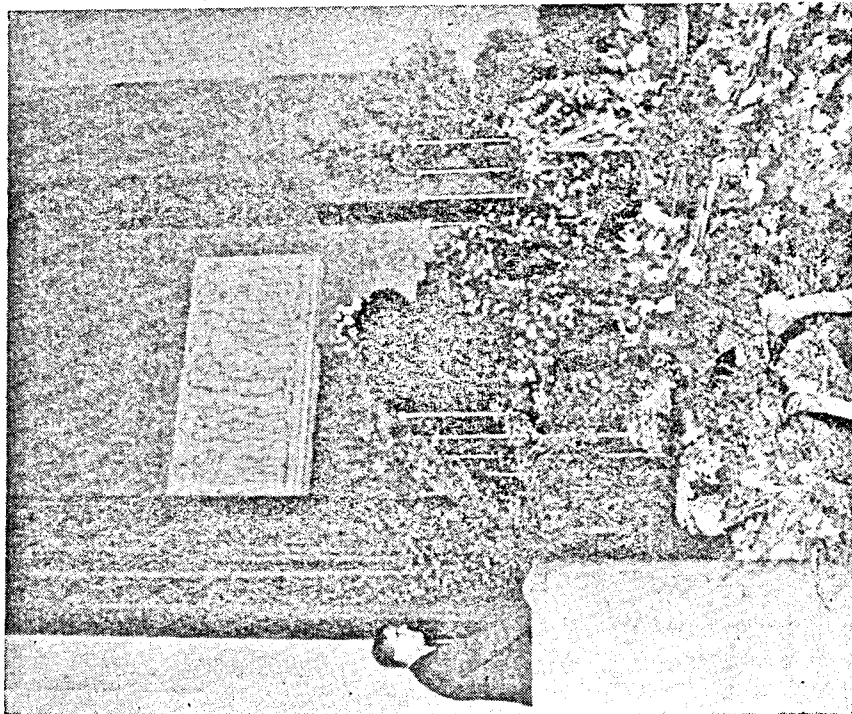
So the mighty Napoleon passes into legend and the saga of his great deeds would continue to be narrated in countless ways to the ends of the world and when credits and debits have been balanced on the immortal ledger of history, all would marvel that such a one as this ever existed.



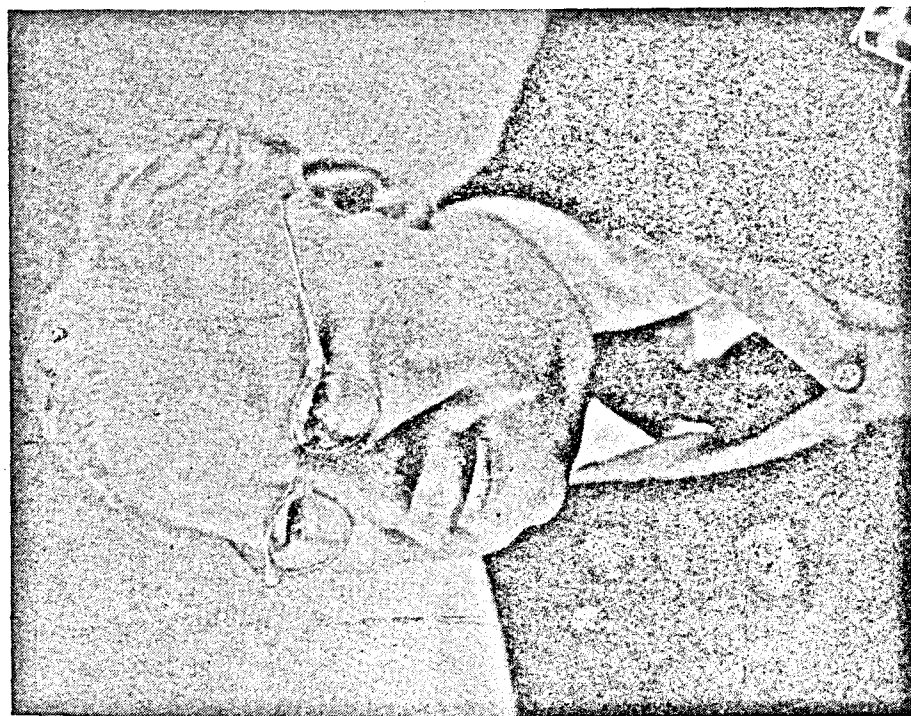
Dancers
By S. Khastgir



Old refugee
By S. Khastgir



Prof. Lesny's last journey. Dr. Prusek, present director of the Oriental Institute in Prague, delivering a speech



Prof. Vincenc Lesny

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

Article Two

CHANGING THE VEHICLE OF PATRIOTIC SERVICE

[Specially written for *The Modern Review*]

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

IV*

THE staircase seemed to be moving. The whole of it. How? By some invisible mechanism. All one had to do was to plant the feet on the nearest step, stay there till the landing above was reached and then get off. There was no climbing, step by step. No effort was involved.

Way back in the early years of this century, when my eyes first lighted upon this contrivance on the Pacific coast of the United States of America, it impressed me as being a marvel of applied science. A little later, when moving staircases were installed in some of the Underground Railway ("Tube") stations in London, I noticed that boys and men—and a few women—were not content with being carried up without physical effort on their part, but that, to save time, or to use up a little of the abounding energy within them, or perhaps unable to resist the temptation to show off, they jumped from step to step and arrived at the top earlier than diffident slow-coaches like myself.

To Syama Prasad Mookerjee came, almost as an item of his inheritance, the moving staircase of educational administration. Hardly had he passed out of the University portals when he, without ado, planted his feet on the step that came near him without any exertion upon his part. This, as stated in the preceding article, was his election in May, 1924, to the Syndicate.

Had he been of a phlegmatic temperament he would have stood quietly upon it, sure in the knowledge that he would be carried right up to the top. Being dynamic—I use the word designedly and in preference to "ambitious"—he would not let the mechanism that he was confident, worked noiselessly, faultlessly, carry him, in its own time, to be the Vice-Chancellor. By dint of his own motive-power he jumped up and up and, in 1934, to the surprise of those

who had not rightly assessed his character and capacity, he, at 33, was installed as the chief administrator of his Alma Mater.

But—and that but is important—this was not the only hoist that he fancied or that to him was accessible—easily accessible. There was a lift (or elevator, in American phraseology) in addition to the educational moving staircase. It led into the legislature.

Some urge, some impulse within him, made him enter this lift in 1929, while he was only a syndic of the University. By a trick of Fate (shall I say?) it carried him into the "upper house," while the "lower house" more or less monopolised such power as Britons, noted for their possessive propensities, passed on to it. In the circumstance of the day the Council, as it was designated, was not a very important or influential organ. It nevertheless provided opportunities—opportunities for self-expression and possibly for patriotic service.

The Congress, in behalf of which he had stood and had been elected by the University, decided, the very next year, to non-co-operate with the "Satanic Government." It called out the legislators. Syama had his doubts about the move: but he, without question or delay, resigned. Having satisfied his sense of honour, he stood as an independent and was re-elected to the Council.

In 1937, while well into his second term of office as Vice-Chancellor, a new chapter opened in his life. Elections were held under the Government of India Act of 1935. He stood from the University constituency for the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Even in the spring of that year, when he began throwing tendrils round my heart, he was using this legislative lift without giving up the moving staircase of educational administration. As I indicated in the preceding article, a tumult seemed to me, however, to be raging in his breast. With this I purpose to deal now in some detail.

It was caused by the mental conflict over

* The section numbers run on with those in Article One, printed in the September, 1953 number of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.

the mode and means of his service to the country. Was he to continue to devote himself more or less exclusively to managing the affairs of the University, or was he largely to concentrate his attention upon the political sphere? Or was he, in the figure I used in the beginning of this article, to have one foot on the moving staircase and the other in the lift?

What would be best for the people? That was the question he seemed to be pondering at the moment.

As I discerned from the outset, his thoughts were not at all for himself—but all for them. How could he conserve freedom in jeopardy—how could he make his maximum contribution to the country's welfare? By going on much as he had been going, or . . . ?

It was evident that he could not occupy the Vice-Chancellor's chair for ever and a day. At the moment of which I am writing he was coming towards the end of his second term of office. When he vacated it he would no doubt continue to supervise and to develop the Post-Graduate studies. That was the lever of the greatest potency. So long as he could operate it he could render invaluable service to the University and through it to the people of Bengal.

But he was greatly dissatisfied with the way things were going in the country. Only recently a new craftsman had voyaged to India and had taken his place at the imperialist loom in Delhi. The Marquis of Linlithgow had come to it with a pattern in his hand. That pattern was largely of his own design. It had taken shape when he was the Chairman of the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 1935.

One portion of the federal structure had come into being. Under it Syama had been elected to (what may, in the circumstance of that day, be termed) the people's house. The other had, however, been marred by the Earl Willingdon, who, not long before, had quit functioning at that loom of destiny. So at least his successor must have thought.

The Rajas were supposed to have accepted Federation. There were murmurs—rumours. Nobody in his senses expected, however, that when the hour struck any member of that exalted order would have the temerity to shun the parliamentary parlour specially provided for them.

Much to everybody's surprise the Jam Saheb of Jamnagar—the famous cricketer "Ranji"—had openly refused to knuckle under.

The revolt had taken place at an open session of the Prince's Chamber—the "Narendra Mandal," in the phrase of that Maharaja of Alwar who had been broken by that very noble Lord.

As a consequence, the accession of the "Princes of India" to the Union as settled by the Linlithgow Fourteen, could not be quietly secured through the vote of the Chamber. The new Viceroy hoped that, despite his immediate predecessor's bungling, he may be able to persuade the Rajas to change their minds. "Ranji" had died within a few days of the tussle in that Chamber and, as everyone thought then, as a direct consequence of the insult his proud spirit could not bear. That was true enough. The revolt had not seemingly died with him.

Linlithgow had, however, the supremest faith in his skill as a political angler, particularly because he had it in his power to manufacture bait that, in his view, none of their Highnesses would be able to resist. Disillusionment lurked round the corner.

According to the imperialists' calculations, the coming of the Rajas into the Federation was the surest way by which the British could avowedly give away power and yet, in reality, retain it. Weightage had been claimed by the representatives of the Princely Order as their price for entering the proposed union. It had been conceded to them by the spokesman for what then was called British India in contradistinction to Indian India or India of the Rajas.* This weightage, coupled with the mutable legislators that are to be found in any assembly in the world, would enable the Britons who pulled the strings, to defeat any move that they may deem dangerous to their monopoly. It is contended on authority that seems to be indisputable that "Ranji" defied Willingdon because he would be no party to the eternal enslaving, through this device, of his brethren of British India.

Important as the gilt strand was for the completion of the pattern Lord Linlithgow was weaving at the imperial loom set up in the Viceroy's House (as the magnificent pile was then, with British modesty, called) at New Delhi, there were other threads that would serve his purpose equally or nearly as well. There was, for instance, Mohamed Ali Jinnah's Muslim League, with its ramifications all over India.

* See my book *The King's Indian Allies: The Rajas and Their India*. (Sampson Low, London, 1915).

Bengal that then absorbed Syama Prasad Mookerjee's energies, though, in his thoughts, there was plenty of room for the broader issues affecting the Motherland, had become the hotbed of separatist activities. These had been whipped up, sometimes with scandalous flagrance but generally under the rose, by Britons placed astride the Province and their bureaucrats.

This had been going on for decades. Sorely tried by the Bengalis, the Earl (later the Marquis) Curzon had hacked it into two in 1905. Rallied for his bias against the Hindus, Bamfylde Fuller, while ruling the newly constituted East Bengal with the Muslims predominant in its population, likened himself to a man with two wives, who favoured now one, now the other. To still agitation the two Bengals were reunited in 1911, but India's capital was removed from Calcutta to Delhi and the western districts, rich in coal, iron, manganese and other minerals, were lopped off.

Disparate increase in the population had, in time, placed the Muslims in a small numerical majority even in united Bengal. Though inferior in education and wealth, this majority, petted by officials and secretly working in concert with them and unashamedly backed up by the vested British interests, acquired dominance. To any one who had the eyes to see, this combination of alien imperialists and Indian separatists constituted a terrible menace to Indian nationalism and even honest, decent administration. Such was the case in the 'thirties when I returned to the Motherland from my protracted world wanderings and soon after Syama Prasad Mookerjee formed a deep attachment for me.

As he surveyed Bengal, in which, save for 20 months or so, he had lived since birth, he was sick at heart. His eye lighted on none who had the character, courage and wit effectively to counter these anti-national tendencies. In this event, he felt that it would be wrong for him to go on hugging the life that had given him, in his early manhood, position, power and no small opportunity to hasten the pace of progress, and to refrain from doing what lay in him to fight down these evils.

It would be wrong to say that he was sucked into politics. No. His choice was deliberate. It was made with much searching of heart. This not because he would have to give up something certain for something uncertain. He did not have any doubt that he would succeed in the political sphere as he had done

in the educational one. Success or failure, in fact, did not matter to him. Not personally. His concern was only that he must not hang back when the call of duty rang in his ears—call from the mother in anguish at the misdeeds plotted and perpetrated by an unholy alliance of indigenous and alien forces. And he did not.

V
During the brief few years when the educational administrator was turning into the political crusader, I saw or heard from him at fairly frequent intervals. Three things about him impressed me most during this period, his

- (1) love of the University and concern for its steady, accelerated advancement;
- (2) anxiety about our civil liberties and determination that he should leave nothing undone to defeat the destroyers of freedom; and
- (3) longing for keeping green his father's memory, particularly through an imaginatively written memoir of that illustrious parent.

In a letter that he indited in his bold, legible writing from the Senate House, Calcutta, on March 18, 1937, he had this to say about "our students":

"We shall be delighted to welcome you here during your visit to Calcutta. We are however closing for Easter holidays and it would be convenient if you came here early in April . . .
"You must keep one afternoon free for us. I would like you to give a short address to our students. I would also like you to go round the different University buildings, which we may do one morning."

How clean-cut were his ideas and how openly, tersely he expressed his wishes! As I drew these conclusions my glance fell upon the seal in the left-hand, top corner of the stiffish sheet upon which he had written. Between the words "Calcutta University" and "Advancement of Learning" there was the "Dieu Et Mon Droit" device with its ever so familiar British Crown interposed between a rearing lion and a steed—ever so familiar and yet ever reminiscent of our psychological as well as our political subordination. A sight of it trooped into my mind episodes connected with our long-drawn-out struggle to shake off the shackles put upon our intellect, just about a century earlier, by Macaulayan casuistry spun to serve the slaying intent of an imperialising Governor-General—the Lord William Bentinck. A shadow was cast athwart these recollections of the expunging, at the behest of petty-minded separatists, of certain emblems and words from the University seal, though they had come out of the crucible of our culture, old—old, yet ever new. I could

visualise the difficulties bred by prejudice masquerading as religion that Syama, in administering the University, must have been encountering.

What joy would it be for me to be taken round the various faculties by a man who was almost born in the University and who, in addition to being its Vice-Chancellor, was President of the Post-Graduate Councils in Arts and Sciences! I could not help feeling, too, that, to borrow the phrase from the railway-man's cant, the point had been set that would take Syama's coach from the educational to the political track. Of this I wished to learn from his own lips.

While Syama was taking me round the University I casually mentioned to him the desire to revisit Chandernagore. Since I had been taken there previously, during one of my 1921-23 visits to Calcutta, by a young Chandernagorean who was an artist to his finger-tips, I had spent a whole year on the Continent, mostly among French-speaking peoples. This had made me all the keener to peer, if possible, into the minds of our countrymen in French tutelage.

I had barely gone back to my "palace on wheels" at Howrah Station when the Professor who taught French at the University called and handed me this missive from Syama, again in his own hand:

"This letter will be taken to you by Mr. Chandra who has very kindly arranged for your visit to Chandernagore. I hope you will enjoy your trip."†

I never have had, anywhere in the world, half so capable and considerate a guide as Mr. Chandra proved to be. He took me home after a long interview with the Administrator and showing me the sights and there his kindly wife, who had come from Calcutta specially for the purpose, had spread a luncheon fit for a king.

Syama fell seriously ill soon after my pilgrimage to the University. I use the word "pilgrimage" advisedly: for most of the men who helped me to mould my mind way back in the concluding quarter of the XIX century

came out of that temple of learning. Northern and North-western India owes to it an irredeemable and ineffaceable intellectual debt.

When Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I returned to our "Suryasthanam" in Dehra Dun after our next visit to Calcutta, I wrote to Syama:

"It was a great disappointment to Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and me that we could not see you during our last visit to Calcutta. Brief as it was, I enquired over the telephone more than once about your health and was told that no visitors were permitted. Gurusadai Dutt,* who called on me and with whom we subsequently dined, told me that he, too, had not been permitted to enter your room.

"Pray relieve our anxiety by letting us have a line to assure us that you have been restored to normalcy. We are very fond of you, not only because you are your father's son and he was very good to us, but also because you are you—because of your affectionate nature and your intentness upon forwarding Bengal's—and India's—cause. We expect great things from you, educationally and politically, and we hope that you will not be prodigal with your physical vitality, as, I am afraid, you are inclined to be . . ."

By return of post came his reply:

"Thanks very much for your kind letter. I am much better now. I am sorry to have missed you when you were in Calcutta last time. With best wishes to you both. . . ."

This assurance was reinforced by his hand-writing, as firm and clear as ever. Though he gave no indication in this letter, he must have noticed that in my view he had entered the political field—for good. At that time I hoped that he would be able also to go on with his educational work: but as we shall see, politics proved to be a jealous mistress, admitting no rival.

[Article Three will appear in the November issue of *The Modern Review*].

* At that time the most senior Indian Civilian in the Presidency, holding one of the highest appointments in the Bengal Administration. I knew him from his early manhood. Born in an humble home, he, mainly through his exertions and through the loving, efficient co-operation of his highly educated wife, Srimati Saroj Nalini Dutt, herself the daughter of a pioneer Indian Civilian, had made his way in the world. Yet he never forget the woes and welfare of the lowly. He helped his wife to build up a magnificent institution for serving women and children and himself tried to regenerate the youth of India through his Brattachari drills and camps. Possessing a keen sense of artistic perception, he further sought to revive folk-songs, folk-dances and the crafts and arts of rural Bengal.

† Letter dated Dehra Dun, U.P., September 26, 1937.

§ Letter is dated 28.9.37, but bears no address—no doubt 77 Asutosh Mookerjee Road.

† This letter was dated 23.4.37 and bore the address, 77, Asutosh Mookerjee Road, Calcutta.

TAXATION STRUCTURE OF INDIA

Problems Before the Taxation Enquiry Commission

By SURESH PRASAD NIYOGI, F.R.E.S. (Lond.)

IN the economy of every modern capitalist country taxes play a very important role. In fact, taxation structure is the corner-stone upon which the fiscal edifice stands. This is because every modern State has to undertake welfare activities which require adequate finance. Moreover, in modern times taxes play a very important role in eliminating disparities in the distribution of wealth. Even in the economy of Socialist Russia, which is based on the principle of equitable distribution of wealth the importance of taxes could not be washed out altogether. The problem also assumes special importance in our country particularly at this dawn of planning era. For, finance, the ever-dreaded nightmare to all developmental activities in any under-developed country, is now a puzzling problem before us. On the satisfactory solution of this financial handicap depends much of the success to be achieved in treading the unfamiliar path of the mixed economy.

When to meet the increased war expenditure and other expenditures of immediate nature due to the partition of the country, the Government was introducing new taxation measures, the need for appointing a Taxation Enquiry Committee was felt. It may be pointed out that in 1924 a Taxation Enquiry Committee was appointed in this country for the first time. After that in 1935 an Income-tax Enquiry Committee was appointed. Due to the excessive profits made during the war when tax-evasions were on the increase, an Income Tax evasion committee was appointed. Dr. John Mathai as Finance Minister first spoke of appointing a new taxation enquiry committee. His proposal had the enthusiastic support of informed opinion throughout the country. Our present Finance Minister in his last budget speech announced the appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Commission with Dr. John Mathai as chairman. The present Commission have to make recommendations with regard to the modifications required in the system. In particular, the Commission have to examine the incidence of taxation on different classes of people and in different states and to consider the tax system in relation to the objective of reducing economic inequalities. They have also to consider the bearing of the structure and level of income taxation on capital formation in dealing with inflationary and deflationary situations. Finally, the Commission have to examine the suitability of the tax system as a whole with reference to the resources required for the country's development programme and to suggest, if necessary, fresh avenues of taxation.

In analysing the taxation structure of a country we should know first of all: (i) How far the taxation

structure is effective, (ii) How far it can effect production and enterprise, and (iii) How far it is effective in redistributing wealth in the country. It appears from an examination of all these criteria that unlike the tax system of some other countries the only object of the Indian tax system is the production of revenue. No attempt is made here to remove or modify, through its system of public finance, the inequalities that exist in the distribution of wealth among the different classes of society.

Our Central and State Governments in framing their budgets do not professedly adhere to any of the current theories of the apportionment of taxation. As a matter of fact, however, so far as the income-tax is concerned, they have definitely accepted the principle of progressive taxation.

It can categorically be asserted that the Indian tax system is not unitary, i.e., it does not make any reliance on single tax. It rather inclines to the opposite extreme, viz., the multiple tax system. For, the taxes are collected from a fairly large variety of sources.

Just like all other modern countries India also has a mixed tax structure composed of both direct and indirect taxes. The land revenue and the assessed taxes are direct whereas the customs and excise duties are indirect. Opium revenue partakes more of the character of profit from commercial transactions than of a tax. It must be remembered in this connection that it is hardly possible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between direct and indirect taxes.

Empirically it has been found that the tax structure of a country is more or less fixed. Mrs. Hicks opines that except in the wake of a revolution it takes years to switch over from a commodity tax structure to an income-tax economy. A study of the history of taxation in capitalist countries, shows three distinct trends: first, swing-away from indirect taxes to direct taxes, secondly, return from direct taxes to indirect taxes and finally, swing-away towards direct and indirect taxes. A careful examination, however, reveals that the Indian tax structure has a strong bias for commodity taxes. Recent history of the Indian tax structure is marked by two broad movements—the one is a swing-away from the commodity taxes and the other a return to the commodity taxes.

During World War I, direct taxes amounted for a very small proportion of the total tax revenue. The Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1924 came to the conclusion that the total burden of taxation was not oppressive on any particular class but its distribution was unequal. So it affected the poorer section of the



people proportionately more than the richer classes. This will be evident from the table given below:

Heads of revenue	Burden on the rich	Burden on the poor
Customs	20	21
Land Revenue	20½	21½
Railways	33	60
Municipal	3	10
District Board	—	10
Income-tax	20	Nil

(K. T. Shah's figures)

The actual incidence was Rs. 6-1-8 pias per head in 1922 according to the calculation of Sir Purusottam-das Thakurdas and it came down to Rs. 4-12-11 in 1937-33 according to the Government of India.

But since World War II, drastic changes have taken place in our tax structure and direct taxes have become an important item in it. The following table gives the position:

	In crores					
	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47
Total direct taxes	44.48	86.32	129.91	192.21	180.25	162.06
Indirect taxes	122.52	118.28	150.91	204.83	260.72	278.06
Total revenue	167.00	204.63	280.83	397.05	440.98	431.65
Per cent of direct tax to total tax	26.3%	42%	46.3%	48.3%	40.8%	37.5%

From the figures given above it appears that in 1938-39 the contribution made by direct taxes constituted nearly 22.6 per cent of the revenue of the Government of India. Due to the exigencies of war the increasing need for tax revenue led to a rise in the rates of direct taxes that accounted for a considerably large proportion of the total revenue in 1944-45 (i.e., 68 per cent). It was about 48 per cent of the total tax revenue. This increasing importance of direct taxes may be ascribed to political reasons as well as economic reasons such as the difficulty of balancing the budget. During the War years the balance decidedly tilted in favour of direct taxes and this led to some economists' approbation. Some were of opinion that the importance of income-tax was commendable on the ground of distribution and maximisation of welfare as well as from the standpoint of productivity. The late Mr. N. R. Sarkar in presenting the West Bengal Budget for 1950 made a plea for moving the income-tax much higher. The combined effective rate of income tax and super-tax on incomes over Rs. 30 lakhs was nearly 85.7 per cent while in the U.S.A. the maximum combined rate was 77 per cent. In India, a man with an income of Rs. 1 lakh had to pay 48.2 per cent in tax, whereas in the U.S.A. a man with an income of \$1 lakh had to pay 45.64, provided the assessee was married and had only 2 children. Mr. Sarkar made a plea for the reduction of income tax rates mainly with an eye to stimulating investment and attracting foreign capital. As a matter

of fact, countries with economies comparable to ours (Canada, Australia, etc.) have reduced their rates of income tax in the post-war period. In Australia there has been a 23 per cent reduction in this respect with 67 per cent tax on the highest slab of income. Canada has also reduced her income tax rates by 16 per cent in 1945.

A comparative statement of revenues of some countries in the world during the post-war period is given below:

Country	1938-39=100			Highest per cent reached in 10 years
	Growth of Revenue 1938-39	Income-tax Revenue in 1938-39	In 1948-49	
U. S. A.	851	43	76	79 (in 1944-45)
Canada	530	28	49	57 (in 1944-45)
South Africa	468	36	42	52
U. K.	405	45	46	59
Australia	373	13	44	54
India	393	22.6	49.7	60.9
New Zealand	...	...	24	48 (44.45)
Ceylon	...	18	21	21

Furthermore, Mr. Sarkar emphasised the need of relating the fiscal policy to the existing state of affairs.

It has been argued by some that a high rate of income tax reduces saving and capital formation and produces a very unfavourable effect on the incentive to invest. The *Eastern Economist* have even argued that a high rate of income tax has actually led to dissaving in India. But on theoretic grounds it may be contended that dissaving should be accompanied by concomitant disinvestment. Mr. Ranganekar has pointed out successfully that no disinvestment has occurred in India at the present time. Therefore, the dissaving thesis so ingeniously brought forward by the *Eastern Economist* cannot but fall to the ground.

That high income tax kills the incentive to invest and leads to dissaving is but one side of the picture. On the other side, however, there are serious considerations which should not be ignored at any rate. A steep graduation of income tax leads to a shift of income from the saving class (high income brackets) to the spending class. Thus with a high propensity to consume nobody can expect that investment will be unfavourably affected. A policy of graduated income tax *cum* social expenditure will more decidedly give an impetus to the progress of investment.

Furthermore, under the existing situation of inflation one very significant question may be posed in this context: Does not inflation by itself distribute the income in favour of the rentier class? Most certainly it does. Hence, what the Government takes away in the shape of taxes from the high income brackets can be justified.

On the other hand, the slackening of investment in India at present might be ascribed to other reasons as follows:

(1) Investors in post-war years nourish an expectation of profit which stands at unduly high pitch. The earning of war profits has made them too greedy to readily accept the peace-time economic conditions.

(2) In view of the inflationary situation there has been a psychological tendency on the part of the investors to expect future rise of prices. Hence, there has been a tendency towards long-term investments.

(3) The lack of any incentive to invest may also be ascribed to the tug-of-war between the investors and the Government.

(4) The lack of saving may also be due to the prevalence of high prices. Rise of prices increases the propensity to consume with an increasing flight of money towards goods because of the progressive decline in the value of money.

Of course, it cannot be denied that the real burden of income tax in India is much higher due to the presence of widespread evasion. Large-scale evasion is a pointer that tax rates are too high.

Now let us turn to the detailed analysis of the budgets. In the beginning of the post-war age we find the priority of indirect taxes. In the Rowland Budget of 1945-46, the rates of direct taxes were reduced. After that Janab Liakat Ali Khan introduced some new direct taxes and of these the capital gains tax may be mentioned. But in later years Mr. Chetty and Mr. Deshmukh, in order to give an incentive to savings and capital formation reduced the rates of direct taxes. The abolition of capital gains tax and business profits tax in the budget of 1949 and 1950 are remarkable facts. The imposition of duty on cotton by Dr. Mathai in 1950 clearly indicated that the trends were towards indirect taxes. Mrs. Hicks opined that in the post-war years, the burden of direct taxes has been considerably reduced as compared to indirect taxes and the high income groups receive much relief. But in the budget of 1951-52, the Finance Minister introduced both direct and indirect taxes. In the colourless budget of 1952-53 we find the shadows of the past budgets. In the budget of 1953-54, income taxes have been reduced but postal rates have been increased. So from these budgets it clearly appears that in the Indian tax structure the importance of both direct and indirect taxes and the scope for new taxes are on the increase.

In the Five-Year Plan we find that out of the total planned investment of Rs. 2,069 crores in the public sector Rs. 738 crores are expected to be available from revenue surplus of the Central and State Governments. The revenue surplus is to be secured by additional taxation and the sources to be tapped for the purpose are higher incomes from land, estate duty, wider coverage and better administration of Sales tax, Betterment tax, Motor Vehicles tax, etc. The financial position of the Central Government is becoming worse day by day. A review of the Central Budget will show that the Centre has been producing deficit budgets for

the last 16 years or so. One way of achieving surplus is to reduce expenditure on civil administration but experience shows that expenditure on this account has been mounting higher and higher since independence. In 1951-52, there was a revenue surplus of 93 crores. In 1953-54, it is a deficit of 140 crores.

But the chronic budget deficit during the last few years, especially in the Budgets of West Bengal and Bihar, have led the authorities to increase taxes; and the taxing capacity has reached the maximum in most of the States leaving no room for new or higher taxation. Now let us take the case of taxes proposed by the Commission. Sales tax in Part A and B States taken together contributed about 14.6 per cent of the total revenue of the States. The yield from this source in course of a few years has increased to about 60 crores which was about 17.24 crores in 1947-48. This is due to the fact that the schedules of exemptions to sales tax have been curtailed and a few more additions have been made in the schedule of taxable items in most of the States, particularly, Bombay, Bihar, West Bengal and Madras. Other taxes contributing to the revenue of the States are, Excise 11.4, Stamp 5.5 and Land Revenue 14.6. The yield from entertainment tax has also increased due to the increase in the rates of the tax in most of the States. The yield from the betting tax has increased in West Bengal and Bombay but declined in U.P. and Madras due to the policy of the Government to discourage betting and gambling. How can this tax be increased?

The average taxation per head in India is very low. By comparing these figures with the relevant figures of countries like Australia, Canada, etc., it is sometimes sought to prove that the burden of taxation is not heavy as is sometimes imagined, that is, there is scope for increasing the taxation on consumption. While it may be accepted that there is some scope for minor readjustments as a whole it may be said to have reached its fullest limit under the existing state of our economy. Comparison between India and other advanced countries is rather misleading, for the general standard of living in these countries is higher and hence the lower income groups in these countries are in a better position to bear higher taxes on consumption.

Again some say that as the proportion of tax revenue to national income tax here is lowest in the world there is ample scope for further taxation. As for example, the Planning Commission has pointed out that in India it is only 7 per cent. The proportion of tax revenue to national income is as high as 35 per cent in U.K., 22 per cent in Australia, 23 per cent in U.S.A. and Japan, 27 per cent in New Zealand, 19 per cent in Canada, 20 per cent in Ceylon, 16 per cent in Egypt, 15.5 per cent in Cuba, 14.4 in Chile, etc., and 14.4 in

Brazil. But in a backward country like India, where a vast majority of people do not have enough money even to get two meals a day, where only less than 8 lakh persons out of a population of 38 crores pay the income tax and where national savings are not more than 5 per cent of the national income, the taxable capacity is much lower. If we take the percentage of taxation to national savings we find that the taxable capacity of the people has almost reached the maximum, that there is no scope for further taxation.

The people are already paying more direct (28 per cent) and indirect taxes than they can possibly afford. If direct taxation is increased and the prices of goods rise the already harassed consumer, who has suffered all the consequences of super-inflation, would not be able to stand the strain. If direct taxation is increased people who pay the income tax would be forced to reduce their savings still further and to contract the output and their effort in industry.

SUGGESTIONS

(1) Since the whole process of direct taxation is unscientific and also gives rise to some anomalies and gaps, the reform of direct taxation is long overdue. Within the same scale the principle of ability to pay is not fully taken account of. Therefore, some sort of allowance on the British model should be provided (e.g., allowance for children, etc.).

(2) Again, the method of income taxation should be extended more and more to the agricultural sector. In fact, agriculture contributes 54 per cent of the national income, but pays only 12 per cent to the Government revenue. If the burden of taxation is properly distributed and if more revenue is derived from agricultural income tax then the burden will not fall so heavily on wage-earners.

(3) The desirability of reimposition of the salt tax may be considered. As it is an old tax the effect of the tax on the payee is not likely to be very much.

(4) Land revenue at present contributes only 8 per cent of the total tax revenue as compared with about 25 per cent in 1939. There is scope for further upward revision of land revenue.

This revision, it is hoped, will yield more revenue to the Government but the reorganisation of the tax system may mean some loss. To quote Prof. P. C. Jain:

"These sources would yield some additional revenue but the much needed rationalisation of the tax structure as between different classes of people and a proper balancing of the direct and indirect taxation would mean some loss of revenue to the Government. It may be possible that if all these changes are made the Government's revenue surplus may increase by a small amount but it can not possibly be expected to fill a substantial portion of the gap."

II

QUESTION OF REDUCING ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

The most important point in regard to the terms of reference to the Commission is to consider the tax system in relation to the objective of reducing economic inequalities. It is well-known that the Indian income structure is today far from satisfactory. It is now generally agreed that a more equal sharing of the national product by the different income brackets are necessary not only from the point of view of social justice, but even for full mobilisation of the productive resources of the community. It is, therefore, essential that this inequality of income should be removed in any planning.

There are three basic causes of unequal income distribution. These are: (1) Unequal distribution of capital ownership, (2) Too large portion of national income paid to capital owners, and (3) Unequal opportunity for acquiring skill and getting adequate nutrition and medical care.

One way of changing the distribution of income within a capitalist society is to redistribute incomes through taxation. The percentage of income available to the low income brackets can be increased by decreasing the taxes. Also the relative income of those in the high income brackets can be increased by decreasing their taxes.

There are various methods of redistribution of income but we are specially interested in the redistribution of incomes between groups of families. The grouping of families can be effected according to a number of criteria such as types of income, industry, occupation, size, etc., but since the mobility between industries, occupations, districts and regions are comparatively free we are more interested in redistribution of incomes between groups classified according to the standard of living. The latter type of redistribution is called vertical.

Now-a-days in England a very significant part is played by horizontal redistribution, i.e., redistribution from families with smaller number of dependants to those with greater number of dependants. Under Britain's system of food subsidies, families with a large number of dependants reap the greatest benefits.

A close scrutiny of the British and American taxation reveals that the percentage of income paid as taxes shows a steady increase from the lowest brackets to the highest in U.K., whereas in the American tax system the percentage of income paid as taxes is less for the middle and the lowest income brackets. The British tax system is progressive throughout all income brackets, whereas the U.S. tax system is regressive in the lowest income brackets, approximately proportional in the middle income brackets and progressive in the highest income brackets. However, the tax systems of both the coun-

tries decrease the portion of the total national income available to those in the high income brackets and increase the portion available to those in the low income brackets.

Now let us consider the economic consequences of redistribution of taxes. These are:

1. *Corporate Tax*: The corporate income tax is largely paid by persons in the upper income brackets. It is a revenue measure well-suited to reducing the disparity in income distribution.

Recent study shows that corporate savings form an important portion of the total national savings in a community and that it plays a very important part in financing national development programmes in highly advanced countries like U.K., and U.S.A. This has also various advantages in financing economic development programmes over the other forms of domestic savings. Hence, in India, some have opposed the tax. But the needs of public exchequer at the present moment are paramount and it will, therefore, not be desirable to reduce the rates of this tax. It is, therefore, suggested that corporations who will use the undistributed profits for the purpose of the Plan should be exempted up to a certain percentage from taxation.

2. *Sales Tax* collects a larger portion of the income of the lower income groups than it does of the upper income groups. This can be made progressive by laying the tax only upon certain articles consumed to a great extent by those receiving the larger incomes, e.g., expensive liquor, cigar, cigarettes, etc. Savings of upper income brackets should be taxed. This is particularly necessary to reduce the gulf between the poor and the rich. We should also see that savings are not taxed twice—once at the source and again when savings yield income. Four remedies have been suggested to remove the difficulty. We shall consider only the last one, i.e., the exemption of future investment income from taxation. This seems to me the best remedy in this country. But there is one administrative difficulty inasmuch as no Parliament can bind its successors. If a definite period is specified after which future investment income would be taxed, then this method will avoid many undesirable repercussions.

3. *Property Tax* can reduce the wealth of individuals obtaining larger incomes. But the tax will not have so great an income-equalising effect as the individual income tax because it is not levied at progressive rates. However, its effects even with proportional rates would be similar because of the concentration of property ownership in the upper income brackets.

In our country property tax should also be introduced. But there is some inherent weakness in the tax as regards assessment, collection, etc. The Commission should give their careful consideration to the

problems. The Commission should also examine the desirability of exempting (1) Government-owned property, (2) Property owned by religious, educational and charitable organisations, (3) Homestead up to a certain limit should be exempted from the tax. In this connection the imposition of tax on bricks by certain local authorities may also be examined.

4. *Social Security Taxes*: It is assumed that the contributions made by employers are passed on in higher prices, as they are during a period of a pre-vailing sellers' market; these contributions are paid largely by the workers in the middle and upper income groups whose share in the nation's total consumption is the highest. Also it is likely that social insurance tax payments made by employers for upper income wage-earners are most readily shifted backward in lower wages. For, the wages received by those workers include a surplus above the requirements of subsistence which can be reduced more easily than money income required for subsistence.

5. The collection of *Death Taxes* reduces the wealth and income of the beneficiary and not of the descendant. Death taxes reduce the concentration of wealth in the future, but they do not affect the current distribution of wealth and income. These taxes are particularly desirable because they do not cause the reduction of total satisfactions and individual initiative through a reduction of income earned. This makes these taxes particularly desirable in maximising satisfactions and reducing the concentration of wealth and income. The Government of India have already introduced the Estate Duty Bill. Those who oppose the bill say that the enactment of the bill will reduce capital and savings in the country. But it may be pointed out that death duties are seldom paid out of capital. Taxes as a rule, even though based upon the capital value, are met out of current income or at least income not yet converted into capital plant. In any case, in this effect it is comparable to high and progressive income tax. While it undoubtedly reduces large estates, it does not mean any destruction of the existing capital as such. The remarks of the Colvin Committee are very relevant in this connection:

"Though death duties are assessed on capital, they destroy no existing capital, at most they absorb potential capital by diverting to the payment of the duties, income which would otherwise have gone into new savings. In this they do not differ from income tax or any other tax of comparable magnitude. The property sold must eventually be bought by someone who has free income seeking an investment and the only effect is to divert this income from the creation of a new to the purchase of an existing investment. There is no reduction of actual capital."

As regards the effects of death duties on savings, there are divergent views. It is held that it reduces the incentive to save, in a very deterrent manner.

Here again, there is comparison between income tax and death duties. Highly steep income tax reduces the incentive to savings to a certain extent. The same is true in regard to death duty. The Colwin Committee, however, considered that "Taking physical and psychological effects together, we think that the estate duty is distinctly more damaging to saving than the income tax (although we do not suggest that the difference is great)." This result is due in part to the fact that under the existing scale the bulk of the duty is drawn from the largest estates. We doubt whether the estate duty is more damaging than income tax to enterprise. On the whole, we are inclined to think it is less so. Prof. Pigou, however, holds the contrary view. He is of opinion that

"Death duties have no deterrent effect and are rather a good form of taxation in that people are probably not discouraged from saving by thinking of the death duties as they are by thinking of an income tax on unearned incomes."

In his evidence Dr. Dalton was also of opinion that

"The prospect of heavy death duties will stimulate those who are waiting for a windfall of inherited wealth to work harder and to save more than they would do otherwise."

6. The individual income tax with progressive rates has a levelling effect on the distribution of

incomes of a nation. The incomes of the high income receivers are reduced by a greater amount than the incomes of the middle and low income receivers. This effect is desirable in a democracy, for political equality is much more difficult to maintain under conditions of neat economic inequality. Also a tax resting with greater weight on an individual obtaining a large income enables the Government to obtain required revenues without pressing on the necessities required for a healthy and efficient population.

A very important point in the redistribution of wealth which deserves special attention of the Commission is the too much concentration of economic power in Banking and Insurance companies. In India, now-a-days the entire economy is controlled by a few families. This is against the social ideal envisaged in the Constitution which wants to establish a social democracy for India. The Constitution also disfavours concentration of wealth in a few hands. The only effective remedy of eliminating this concentration of economic power is to nationalise these concerns. But, as nationalisation will face some difficulties at the present moment, my suggestion is to impose a high rate of taxation on the incomes of these monopolistic anti-social business concerns.

It is hoped that the Commission will give their careful consideration to the problems raised above and suggestions made.

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THE ART OF SUDHIR KHASTGIR

BY SUMANTRA SEN GUPTA

An exhibition of paintings, and drawings by the eminent artist S. Sudhir Khastgir was recently held in the Salon of the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta.

Opening the Exhibition on the 1st of August, 1953, His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, paid handsome tributes to the artist. Although Dr.

Mookerjee, in the outset, remarked that he was not one of those who had any claims to criticising art, his speech, when completed, proved that he was a real connoisseur of art. Dr. Mookerjee's assessment of the works of S. Khastgir revealed his close intimacy with the artist's works.

Dr. Mookerjee was much impressed by the realistic subjects chosen by the artist for his compositions. S. Khastgir was essentially an artist of the people—the ordinary people. The artist derived inspiration from such simple sources as the life of the country-folk. Rather than neglect these people near the earth he keenly observed them and created his work around them. Indeed they were his own people. It would, therefore, not be wrong to say that there was no place in his art for sophistication. The pompous, the fashionable, the ostentatious, held no inducement for him. His work reflected warm humanity as the story he had to tell was



Spring-dance
By S. Khastgir

that of life in its simplest and most genuine form. Khastgir was not only a great painter but a great sculptor as well. One of his masterpieces was *Winter*, Continuing, Dr. Mookerjee further said that the artist's



To the field
By S. Khastgir

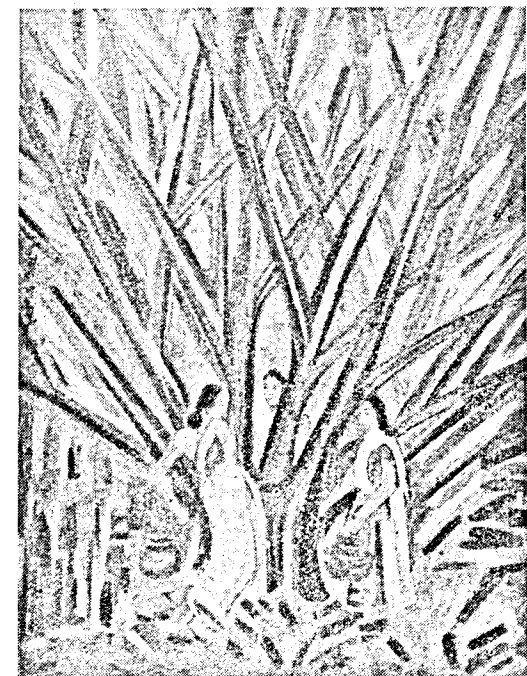
work was varied and refreshing as he had attained a great freedom of expression, never being bound to one particular mood or subject at a time. The artist possessed compositional adroitness, psychological insight and discreet symmetry. His general treatment was charmingly bold and vigorous. His work was infused with freshness and vitality.

However, in the opinion of Dr. Mookerjee the most outstanding feature of the artist's work was the versatility of his genius. S. Khastgir's efforts ranged from drawing with pencil, ink, charcoal to oils and water-colour. He worked with equal facility through all these mediums; this was indeed, the true expression of the artist's greatness. He was not bound to one style or one medium of manifestation, but there was constant variation. The colours used in his paintings and drawings were in keeping with his vigorous treatment. These colours were often bold, yet these radiated a feeling of softness. But the artist triumphed in the beauty of his lines whether he worked in colour or in monochrome. These "pure" lines lifted his pictures to a state of absoluteness.

Dr. Mookerjee noted with pleasure the fact that S.



A sketch in crayon
By S. Khastgir



Gossip
By S. Khastgir

depicting an old woman sitting in front of a fire, warming her hands. The expression on the old woman's face conveyed a sense of helplessness; old age was captured so very vividly that it made the model almost living. Concluding, Dr. Mookerjee said that it was the joy of creation and nothing else that supplied the motif of all the artist's work. His creations were not something deliberate—but spontaneous—coming out, as it were, from a great urge of the inner self. The artist had chosen this line, which was not very remunerative, because of the great pleasure and joy that he derived from it.



Baul
By S. Khastgir

Dr. Suniti Chatterjee also spoke a few words in appreciation of the artist, whom he knew for a long time. Speaking of him, Dr. Chatterjee gave the details of the artist's life. S. J. Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir was born on 24th September, 1907. He was a disciple of S. J. Nandalal Bose of Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan. He toured extensively over India and Ceylon to study ancient Indian art and architecture. His works were exhibited in the big cities of India, mostly in one-man shows. In 1937, an exhibition of his paintings was held in London. He toured over England and the continental countries, visiting their art-centres.

Dr. Chatterjee remarked that in 1927, S. J. Khastgir along with Sri Ram Kinkar Baij, started working on an

entirely new form of sculpture at Santiniketan. From the very beginning S. J. Khastgir surprised everyone by producing some masterpieces. *Daughters of the Soil*, produced in the same year, was an example of the greatness of the artist's creation even in the initial period of experiment. Dr. Chatterjee considered S. J. Khastgir as one of the greatest artists of our times. Dr. Chatterjee was, however, of the opinion that his sculptures rose above his paintings and drawings. It was Khastgir the Sculptor that he admired more than Khastgir the Painter.

I have been fortunate enough in knowing S. J. Khastgir



Tejesda's hut
By S. Khastgir

intimately. It was my pleasure to accompany him to no less a place than the famous Sun Temple at Konarak in Orissa. During the trip, I discovered to my joy that he had a very affectionate disposition, always ready to share one's thoughts with a charming smile. In the ruins of the Sun Temple the artist's face was transformed into a mirror of agony; he suffered within himself for the decay that was creeping into the temple. His extremely sensitive mind seemed to rebuke Nature for the grave injustice she was doing to the exquisite man-made Temple.

I have been acquainted with the artist's works for quite some time. The portrayal of ecstatic figures—specially of dancers—is one of the artist's favourite

subjects. This has resulted in some of his finest compositions. The ecstatic figures, in many of his paintings, attain a height which makes one feel that these figures are, in a way, in tune with the infinite. The restless self in the artist finds true expression through these figures—bold and vigorous, yet so sublime and absolute. Real beauty has been captured by the artist in the human form in movement—beauty that is fascinating.

Coming to his sculptures, I would venture to add that his work with the chisel is as great as his work with the brush. Both bear the hallmark of his unmistakable power. To choose between two really great things is a very difficult proposition. The versatility of the artist

has made his position unique in the field of Indian art. Such a prodigious worker both with the brush and the chisel is rarely to be found.

Ever experimenting with new styles and expressions, S. J. Khastgir has made his work very dynamic. Of late, there has been a marked tendency on his part to attempt "abstract" pictures. This is a bold and laudable attempt and may well be the evolution of a new style. Even in his new efforts the artist is completely at ease. The gradual inclusion of the abstract motif in his paintings is probably a pointer that the artist has at last found his goal—the culmination of his true genius. All we can do is to wait and see.

—O:—

PROF. V. LESNY AND INDIA

By MILADA GANGULI

WHEN I, during my first visit to Santiniketan, was introduced to Gurudeva and he had learned that my home was Czechoslovakia, he said: "Oh, we have a good friend there, Prof. Vincenc Lesny. He spent several months with us here and we were very fond of him. He knows Bengali quite well."

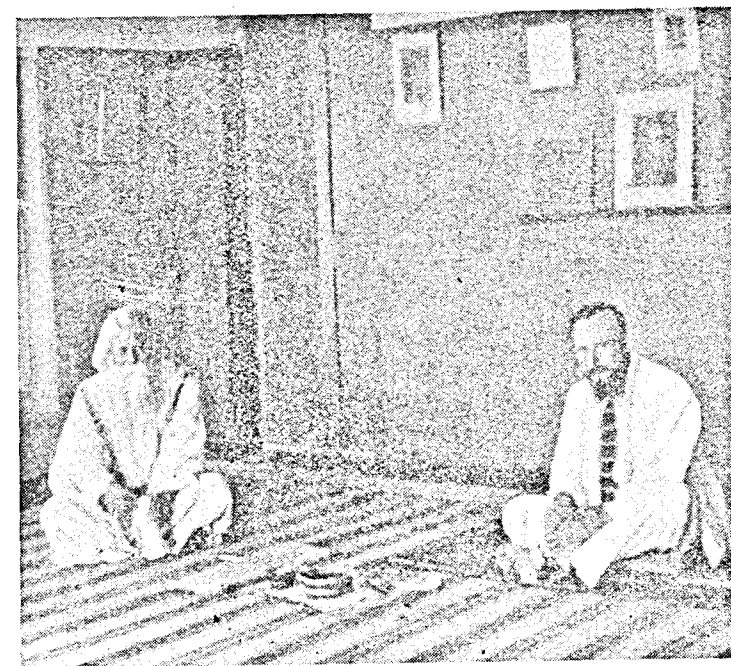
And, indeed, India had a good friend in Prof. Lesny,* perhaps one of her greatest, most devoted friends. Those who knew Prof. Lesny could feel it from his attitude, from his enthusiastic talks, others from the many books on India he had written and from his innumerable translations and contributions to both learned and popular journals at home as well as abroad.

Prof. Lesny became interested in Indian philosophy, religions and Indian languages already as a student. As early as 1917 he published his first scientific treatise, *The Developmental Degree of Prakrit Dialects in Bhasa's Dramas*.

Perhaps the most comprehensive work is his *Spirit of India*, published in 1927 and its enlarged edition *India and the Indians—A Pilgrimage through the Centuries*,

* Prof. Dr. Vincenc Lesny, (born April, 1882, died April, 1953) was Professor of Indology at the University of Prague. Through his scientific work he belongs to the most outstanding orientologists of the world.

published in 1931. The first page of the book bears a picture of Gurudeva with Prof. Lesny and the second page a translation of a poem by Gurudeva: "Oh, India, my dear Motherland."



Prof. V. Lesny with Gurudeva in Santiniketan

In this work the author takes us through the ages from the oldest Harappa culture to the fight for national freedom, and makes us acquainted with the main currents of Indian thoughts, religions and literary achievements.

It contains a big chapter on Rabindranath and his work and extracts from his poems.



Prof. V. Lesny and Rabindranath in Santiniketan
Rabindranath's poetical works captured Prof. Lesny's mind as early as 1914 when he published a



Prof. V. Lesny with Indian visitors at the Oriental Institute in Prague

selection of his poems. His love and admiration for Gurudeva was strengthened by his two visits to Santiniketan in 1923 and again at the invitation of Gurudeva in 1927. Because of his intimate knowledge of Sanskrit and Bengali it was possible for him to

publish a great number of excellent translations of Gurudeva's works.

From his direct contact with Rabindranath, Prof. Lesny created a detailed biography, *Rabindranath Thakur, His Personality and Work*. Unfortunately, the bulk of the English translation of this book, with the exception of a few hundred copies, was destroyed in

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Rabindranath's letter to Prof. V. Lesny

London by a bomb during the last war. Prof. Lesny was one of the first scholars to show the greatness of the Poet's personality, the developmental trend of Rabindranath's creative activities, his educational ideas and his life's struggle for India's freedom.

After many years of thorough study of Buddhism, Lesny published in 1948, in an enlarged form, his book *Buddhism*, where he answers questions on Buddha's teachings and its influence on Christianity.

Prof. Lesny wrote also many scientific treatises on Bhasa's and Kalidas's dramas, Zoroaster's doctrine, on Avestan language and several studies on the language and the life of the Gypsies and valuable papers on the centuries-long contacts between the East and the West. Here belongs one of his latest works, about the travels of a Russian merchant Afanisiy Nikitin across the three seas to India in the 15th century.

Prof. Lesny was one of the founders of the Oriental Institute in Prague, that centre of Oriental scholars of Czechoslovakia, and the School of Oriental languages;

he organised lectures, exhibitions and conferences of Oriental scholars. He founded the cultural magazine *Novy Orient*.

To promote friendly relationships between India and Czechoslovakia he founded, after the last war, the

Indian Section of the Oriental Institute.

In these few lines I could only briefly touch upon Prof. Lesny's whole-life's efforts to create a deeper understanding of India and happy relationship between India and his own country.

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MILE-STONES TO OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE Patriotic Movements and Associations of Early Nineteenth Century

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

II

THE PRESS AND THE PLATFORM

WITHDRAWAL of the Press Regulation in 1835 by Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe not only paved the way for free discussion of public questions, but gave fillip to the Press industry also. Some newspapers were newly started, some were revived and those in a moribund state amalgamated with others. *The Hindu Pioneer* appeared as a fortnightly on 27th August, 1835, the editor being Kailas Chandra Dutt, an ex-alumnus of the Hindu College and second son of Rasamay Dutt. *The Reformer* of Prasanna Kumar Tagore and *The Calcutta Literary Gazette* of Captain David Lester Richardson came under the management of the proprietors of *The Bengal Herald*. Dwarkanath Tagore, the philanthropist business-magnate, purchased the proprietary rights of *The Englishman*. A considerable share of *The Bengal Hurkaru* also devolved on Dwarkanath, as *The India Gazette* of his was amalgamated with the former.

The Vernacular Press received no less an impetus. *Samachar Darpan* of the Serampore Mission and *Gyananveshan* of Rasik Krishna Mallik of 'Young Bengal,' both bi-lingual weeklies, continued as before. *Sambad Prabhabkar*, the famous Bengali journal, discontinued for a time, was revived by its editor, Poet Iswar Chandra Gupta, as a tri-weekly on 10th August, 1836. It turned into the first Bengali daily on 14th June, 1839. In March of this year another Bengali weekly, *Sambad Bhaskar*, appeared under the editorship of Pandit Gaurisankar Tarkabagish, who had already gained eminence as a journalist. *Sambad Purnachandrodaya*, another Bengali newspaper of considerable repute and of long standing, was started even before the withdrawal of the Press Regulation, on 10th June, 1835. These journals continued, unhampered, the discussion and criticism of the various measures of the Government and lent unstinted support to the patriotic movements and associations of the time.

The societies of the earlier 'thirties gave place to others of more particular and pointed views. The Academic Association continued but short of its former vigour. The prominent members of this Association participated more and more in the discussion of political and social questions. The Charter Act Meeting of 1835

had a great spokesman in Rasik Krishna Mallik. The Calcutta Public Library, the only meeting-place of the intellectuals, both European and Indian, owed its inception no less to the initiative and resources of the Indian leaders. Ramgopal Ghose, a stalwart of 'Young Bengal,' started the Epistolary Association with his friends, with a view to discuss public questions in



Radhakanta Deb

form of epistles. In the late 'thirties, the Indian labour was much in demand by the Britishers for exploitation in Mauritius, Bourbon and other British territories overseas. The poor labourers, contemptuously called *coolies*, were amassed in the most unhealthy parts of Calcutta and left to suffer and even to die. David Hare took up the matter in hand and with the help of his Indian friends organised a public meeting on 12th March, 1838, to ventilate the grievances of the labourers. As a result

of these efforts the Government concerned modified the rules of emigration for the mitigation of their miseries.

But an association of the mid-thirties deserves special mention. Bangabhasaprasika Sabha was originally a cultural body, and its deliberations were conducted in Bengali under the presidency of Pandit Gaurisankar Tarkabagish. At one such meeting held on 8th December, 1836, the scope of its discussion was extended by a resolution moved by Kalinath Roy Chaudhury of Taki to matters political. The actual resolution was to the effect that "the Society should petition Government or take other matters with a view to prevent a national grievance."¹ The Society included the gentry as well as the litterati.



Debendra Nath Tagore

At this time the question of the "Resumption of the Rent-free lands"² was uppermost in the minds of our leaders. The Society took up the matter in hand. It held some sittings in which its members took an active part and thrashed out the *pros and cons* of the governmental action. Ramlochan Ghose, an influential member of the Society (father of Monomohun and Lal Mohun Ghose), supported the Government and placed cogent reasons in favour of his contention. But the majority of the Society, including the editors of *Sambad Prabhakari* and *Sambad Purnachandrodya*, Kalinath Roy Chaudhury, Gaurisankar Tarkabagish

and Munshi Amir, protested vehemently against the measure. They also proposed to arrange a public meeting in protest and send a petition to the Government stating therein their views. But this proposal did not materialise. Because a more representative body was needed for concerted action.

THE LANDHOLDERS' SOCIETY

This need was supplied by the Landholders' Society, in which the leaders of both the progressive and the conservative section of the community joined. It was purely a political body. The leading landholders of Bengal met in a conference at the Hindu College Hall on 11th November, 1837. It was proposed here to form a society on the lines of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to discuss the governmental and other matters from a political view-point. The Society would also see that people's interests in land were particularly safeguarded. A provisional committee was formed with Radhakant Deb, Ramcomul Sen, Tarinicharan Mitter and Prasanna Kumar Tagore. According to *The Reformer*:

"The only instructions with which the members of this provisional committee were charged was, that in preparing the rules they should bear in mind that the association was intended to embrace people of all descriptions, without reference to caste, country, or complexion, and rejecting all exclusiveness, was to be based on the most universal and liberal principles: the only qualification necessary to become its members, being the possession of interest in the soil of the country."³

The provisional committee prepared rules for the proposed society. They must have taken the views of the European leaders beforehand. The latter also wanted to act jointly, because they had acquired considerable interests in the land since the Charter Act of 1833. So we find in the inaugural meeting of the Society on 19th March, 1838, leaders of the European community take prominent part in the discussion. Radhakant Deb presided over the meeting. In his address he laid bare the objects of the society in the following suitable words:

"... circumstances pointed out the expediency of forming a society the benefit of which would be felt not only in Calcutta but all over the country... Representations were always necessary to be made to government; in these proceedings if anyone adopted an erroneous course, the society afforded a ready means of correction, and through it grievances could be easily brought to the notice of the proper authorities. It was a common saying among the people that straw could be easily broken by the finger when in separate blades, but if several blades be united together and formed into a rope, it was capable of confining even a wild elephant and reducing it into subjection. Union among the people was therefore highly necessary, and the establishment of such a society was much called for in order to keep a

watch over the measures of Government and its functionaries and for the purpose of making representations to it."⁴

Resolutions were passed, formally inaugurating the Landholders' Society and adopting the rules framed by the Provisional Committee. An influential executive committee was constituted with Raja Radhakant Deb as president, and Prasanna Kumar Tagore and John Cobb Hurry, Editor of *The Englishman*, as secretaries. The members of the committee included such notables as Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy Chaudhury of Taki, Raja Rajnarain Ray of Andul, Raja Kalikrishna, Asutosh Deb, Ramratna Ray of Narail, Ramcomul Sen, Satya Charan Ghosal of Bhukailash, Munshi Amir, a prominent Mahomedan of Calcutta, Theodore Dickens, Bar-at-Law and George Prinsep. David Hare took a lively interest in the formation of the Society. But the main impetus came from Dwarkanath Tagore. It was not a little due to him that the Europeans were induced to join the Society so actively.

The immediate object of the Society was to fight the 'Resumption' measure of the Government. But it was subsequently so broad-based as to include matters pertaining to the welfare of the country. The Society wanted improvement and reform in the civil administration. The Government could not but recognise the Landholders' Society as a representative body and treat it in the same way as they did the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dominated by the Europeans. They used to send draft bills for opinion to the Society. The Society, in its turn, criticised them and often offered suggestions for their improvement.

In the annual report for 1838-39, the secretaries gave a brief account of the national activities of the Landholders' Society in the country. The committee of the Society submitted memorials and appeals to the Local and the Supreme Government. The memorial on the resumption of *Lakheraj* tenures did not elicit any favourable reply from either of them. They now proposed to appeal to the Government of England, the 'land of liberty, humanity and justice.' The committee expressed satisfaction at the extension of the vernacular language in the proceedings of the Courts of Justice since the beginning of 1839. They also considered some other matters, such as, revision of the Stamp Act, the comparatively high duty charged in England upon Indian and Canadian tobacco, etc. They suggested an equalization of the duty.

We have a full report of the second anniversary of the Landholders' Society which came off on 30th November, 1839. The Society had appointed an agent in England, named John Crawford. The annual report, above mentioned, referred to his zealous exertions. The committee kept up a regular correspondence with

him. Mr. Crawford, so says the report, was the "channel of communication between this Institution and the British India Association of England." This Association was newly started, and the committee of the Landholders' Society, says the report, "strongly recommend you to co-operate with the British India Association, the object of that Institution being so identical with that of your Society." At the end of the report, the secretaries, on behalf of the committee, called particular attention of the members "to the



George Thompson

nature of the institution (the Landholders' Society), to its national character, and the great objects of national improvement which form its basis, to the number of those who are likely to be benefited by it, and to the amount of the revenue they contribute in support of the Government of the country."⁵

Several resolutions were passed in the meeting. The main resolution was regarding the resumption of rent-free lands. In another resolution, the Society welcomed the formation of the British India Society of London and appointed a sub-committee to correspond with them. It was directed to correspond with the London Society, particularly, on the following subjects: (1) the prevention of the resumption of rent-free tenures, (2) extension of the permanent

1. *Samachar Darpan*, 17th December, 1836.
2. By the Regulation II of 1819 as modified by the Regulation III of 1823 the Government started resumption of rent-free lands which were computed to be one-third of the total area of the Bengal Presidency.

3. Quoted in *Samachar Darpan*, 18th November, 1837.

4. *Samachar Darpan*, 21st March, 1838.

5. The full proceedings of the Second Anniversary of the Landholders' Society will be found in *The Bengal Hurkaru*, December 14 and 16.

settlement,⁶ (3) reform of the judicial, police and revenue systems, and (4) the granting of waste-lands to occupants on equitable terms, so as to encourage the application of capital to the soil of India.

The Landholders' Society continued its work vigorously for some time. It succeeded partially in the modification of the "Resumption" question. Up to ten bighas of land were allowed rent-free to an individual. The British India Society, of which I shall speak presently, took up its cause and worked for the good of India at the very seat of the British Government. The pioneer efforts of the Landholders' Society could never be over-estimated. Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra later referred to its achievements as follows:

"He looked upon it (the Landholders' Society) as the pioneer of freedom in this country. It gave to the people the first lesson in the art of fighting constitutionally for their rights, and taught them manfully to assert their claims and give expression to their opinion. Ostensibly, it advocated the rights of the Zemindars but as their rights are ultimately bound up with those of the ryots, the one cannot be separated from the other."⁷



Tarachand Chuckerverty

THE BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY, LONDON
The London Society of the above name played an important role in our nascent constitutional struggle, and deserves separate treatment. The Society was established in the middle of 1839. W. W. Adam, a friend and disciple of Raja Rammohun Roy and a close associate of Dwarkanath Tagore, took initiative in forming this Society. Previous to his departure for England, he had even consulted Ramgopal Ghose, one of the 'Young Bengal' and induced him to supply materials regularly regarding Indian affairs. Since its formation, the Society was largely assisted by the Landholders' Society of Calcutta.

6. This item formed the Omnibus Resolution of the Indian National Congress for a good many years.—J. C. B.

7. Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra's Speeches (S. K. Lahiri, 1892), p. 25.

Even during the first year of its existence, the London Society was able to enlist the active sympathy of such a humanitarian as George Thompson, the famous worker for the liberation of slaves. He was also a finished orator. Along with a few others Thompson toured important centres in England and delivered speeches on various Indian topics in especially organised meetings. The Society got them printed in book-form for distribution. Sir Charles Forbes, a true well-wisher of India, subscribed five hundred pounds to the Society.

In its first annual meeting (July 5, 1840) the Society passed several resolutions, drawing attention of the Government to the different aspects of the maladministration of India. The main resolution, which might be regarded as embodying the real object of the meeting, was comprehensive, and ran as follows:

"That this meeting is of opinion, that the oppressive and fluctuating amount of the land revenue, the general resumption by the Indian Government demand on lands hitherto held rent-free, the imperfection and corruption in the administration of police and justice, the maintenance of vexatious monopolies, are evils which ought to receive the immediate attention of the Government of this country, as tending to produce distrust and discontent among the native population, to unsettle the tenures of property, and endanger the public peace, to cramp the exertions of industry and the progress of improvement, to lessen the production of exportable commodities, and by necessary consequence, the capacity of extending commercial relations with Great Britain and other nations, and to diminish the force of the example which England has set by the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and thus perpetuate the existence of slavery in the other parts of the world."⁸

The Society published the *British Indian Advocate* from January, 1841. William Adam edited the journal:

"One of the ends contemplated is," wrote the Editor in its very first issue, "to make the journal a medium of communication between the people of England and the people of India, faithfully representing the sentiments of each to the other on all the great questions that affect their rights and interests."⁹

The relation between the Landholders' Society and the British India Society were all along cordial. And even when the former showed signs of languor, the other was active. In the meantime there had been some forces at work in Bengal itself which require a little elucidation.

TWO SOCIETIES OF THE YOUNGER SCHOOL

The Landholders' Society was, really speaking, a society of elders. The younger section, or the 'Young Bengal' as they were popularly known, did not join this Society either individually or *en masse*. The objects of the Landholders' Society were mainly political. But politics formed only a part of our

8. *The Friend of India*, 1st October, 1840.

9. Quoted in *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India*, etc., by Ram Gopal Sanyal, Vol. II, p. 25.

national life. Other aspects, especially the educational and cultural aspects, required to be properly attended to for strengthening the morale of the people. These, in other words, might be called the constructive aspects of our national activities. And the 'Young Bengal' began to attend to these aspects more zealously than before.

The Society for the Acquisition of General knowledge, rather a longish name, and the Tattwabodhini Sabha were almost contemporaneous of the Landholders' Society. The former was started even a few days earlier, on 12th March, 1838. The Tattwabodhini Sabha came into being on 6th October, 1839. Both of them were mainly cultural institutions, one having for its object the spread of higher knowledge and newer experience amongst the ex-students of the educational institutions and through them, to the generality of the people. The object of the Tattwabodhini Sabha was the cultural regeneration of the people on the lines of the Brahmo Somaj of Raja Rammohun Roy.

But both these institutions contributed largely to the growth of nationality, based on national culture. The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, had, for its President, Tarachand Chuckerverty, considered at that time the foremost leader of the younger section. Ramtanu Lahiri and Peary Chand Mitra were its joint secretaries. Such eminent public men of later times as Ramgopal Ghose, Dukshinaranjan Mukherjee and the Rev. K. M. Banerjee sat on its committee. David Hare was unanimously elected 'Visitor' of the Society. Discussion ranged between history, literature and science and could be conducted both in English and Bengali. The newly educated had already spread throughout the Bengal districts and even beyond the Bengal Presidency. Some were posted as Deputy Collectors in those places. They read papers on the condition of the respective places, based on knowledge and experience. Local history, topography, social condition of the masses—everything came to be discussed and debated upon. Thus a bond of fellowship was growing between the classes and the masses, at least on the intellectual plane. Papers were read and addresses delivered both in English and Bengali, giving the mother-tongue the same status as English.

Debendra Nath Tagore (later, Maharshi), the eldest son of Dwarkanath Tagore, was the founder of the Tattwabodhini Sabha. The Sabha did not confine itself to discussion only. Just after its start, it took up the work of the proper dissemination of Indian culture through educational institutions, started on 'national' lines. The Sabha ran a Pathshala where instruction was given on useful subjects through the medium of Bengali. The study of Sanskrit was a special feature of the institution. To keep pace with the time, English was also later added to its curriculum.

The school was transferred to Bansberia early in 1843—a village in the Hooghly district. Schools were opened in the mofussil after the model of the Pathshala. People were imbued with nationalism through these 'national' schools even in those early days of transition.

Tattwabodhini Patrika, organ of the Tattwabodhini Sabha, started in August, 1843, became the forum of discussion on different aspects of our national life. Besides the religious subjects, those on literature, science, education, culture, health, economic condition of the people, intrusion of the Christian missionaries in our body-politic—all came to be discussed and thrashed out in different articles. Akshoy Kumar Dutt



Ramgopal Ghose

was its editor; and Debendra Nath Tagore, Rajnarain Bose, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Pandit Ananda Chandra Vedantabagis, were amongst the valued contributors of the *Patrika*. Nationalism was to be based on our national culture. This fact was brought home to the minds of the people in those days through the writings of this journal. The *Patrika* rendered immense service to the country in the 'forties in combating the anti-national activities of the Christian missionaries.¹⁰

THE BENGAL BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY

In the early 'forties the Landholders' Society began to show signs of decay. Two reasons may be

10. Facts about the Tattwabodhini Sabha, etc., have been elaborately dealt with in my *Debendra Nath Tagore* (Sañitiya-Sadhak-Charitmala), pp. 19-40.

assigned to this. The Europeans gradually withdrew, because their interests came to clash with those of the Indians. The younger section also kept themselves aloof from this society. But Dwarkanath Tagore, the principal founder of the Landholders' Society, reposed enough confidence in the 'Young Bengal' and expected much from them. While returning home from England, late in 1842, Dwarkanath brought with him the famous philanthropist and friend of mankind, George Thompson, and introduced him to the leaders of the 'Young Bengal.' At a meeting of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, held on 11th January, 1843, the latter extended a cordial welcome



Pearychand Mitra

to George Thompson and requested him, while in their midst, to benefit them with his mature advice for the improvement of their motherland. Thompson's subsequent speeches inspired the young and old alike. The Landholders' Society grew active. They even appointed Thompson agent in England to speak and act on their behalf. But the most useful work during his sojourn here, was the foundation of the Bengal British India Society on the lines of the British India Society of London, by the leaders of the 'Young Bengal.'

The Bengal British India Society was formed at a meeting held in the Foujdari Balakhana Hall,¹¹ Calcutta, on 20th April, 1843. George Thompson presided. The elite of the city attended the function. But most of the elders refrained from joining the

Society, perhaps for its more progressive character. George Thompson spoke very highly of the younger leaders, especially of Tarachand Chuckervetty. There were six resolutions in all, passed at the meeting. These related to the aims and objects of the Society, the programme of work it would follow as also the committee of management. The third resolution speaks of the aims and objects of the Society, and is given below:

"3. That a Society be now formed and denominated The Bengal British India Society; the object of which shall be the collection and dissemination of information, relating to the actual condition of the people of British India; and the Laws and Institutions, and Resources of the country; and to employ such other means of a peaceable and lawful character, as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects."¹²

A provisional committee was formed with Chandrasekhar Deb, Tarachand Chuckervetty, Ramgopal Ghose and Pearychand Mitra (Secretary) to frame rules of the Society and prepare an address to the public, based on the resolutions. A strong executive committee with these and other persons was constituted. There were only three Europeans on the committee. Like the Landholders' Society, this Society, too, was a political body. But it differed from the former on two principal points: (1) The new Society laid more emphasis on work in this country rather than in England and (2) this was mainly Indian in character. Besides political questions, the Society included matters, social, cultural and municipal in its programme of work. From this point of view, the Bengal British India Society may also be rightly called the first national political organisation of the country. In *The Bengal Spectator*, started during the previous year, the Society had its own organ. The paper was turned into a full-fledged weekly.

Even from its start the Society incurred odium of the European community for its unstinted efforts of a progressive type. Its conservative section did not at all like the speeches and movements of George Thompson which, they thought, were too radical and advanced for the country. They spouted venom over the proceedings of the 'Young Bengal.' They went so far as to nick-name the party as "Chuckervetty Faction," after the surname of their leader Tarachand. In spite of these hostilities from the European quarters, the Society was able to do considerable work according to programme during the first year of its existence. In his first annual report, Secretary Pearychand Mitra narrated the various activities of the Society. The Society gave opinions on several acts of the Government, sent memorials to the House of

Commons and Court of Directors, and petitioned the Government of India on the subject of proposed Small Causes Court in Calcutta. The Society attended to another important subject, namely, "Compilation and publication of evidences relative to the efficiency of Native Agency in the administration of the affairs of the country, with a prefatory notice of the offices held by the Hindoos during the Mahomedan administration and of those to which they are now eligible." The object of this compilation was to support the petition sent to England on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta 'praying for effect being given to 87 Clause of the last Charter Act.' The Committee also sent a questionnaire on the condition of the Ryots to the moffusil leaders.

The first anniversary of the Society was held at the Foujdari Balakhana Hall on May 2, 1844, before which the above report was presented. The office-bearers for 1844-45 were elected as follows: W. Theobald, Vakil of the Supreme Court,—President; G. F. Remfrey and Harimohan Sen—Vice-Presidents; Pearychand Mitra—Secretary; Ramgopal Ghose—Treasurer; Brajanath Dhar, Gobinda Chandra Sen, Dukshinaranjan Mukherjee, Tarachand Chuckervetty, Chandrasekhar Dev, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Shyama Charan Sen, Ramchandra Mitter, Satcouri Dutt, G. F. Speed, and E. Colebrooke—Members.¹³

During the second year, the Society applied its attention to the municipal improvement of the Metropolis. It collected information respecting the rural population. The Society's attention was directed to social matters. According to the president, "Native polygamy was one of them . . . He valued much the expression on the part of Hindoo members, a strong disapprobation of the custom. . . . With equal propriety, the re-marriage of Hindoo widows had engaged the attention of the Society. . . . The Society had applied for the opinions of the highest Hindoo living authorities. . . . With still greater satisfaction he referred to what the Society had done on the subject of Hindoo female education."¹⁴

Since 1845, the Tattwabodhini Sabha took up the social matters in right earnest. The Bengal British India Society began to bestow more attention on things political, as it had done during the first year. Both these associations supplemented each other's work and became a force in the land. Ramgopal Ghose became the President of the Bengal British India Society in 1845-46 and continued in the post till the end of the decade. Meanwhile another movement started which induced various sections of the community to act unitedly.

13. *The Friend of India*, May 9, 1844.

14. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1845.

THE ANTI-MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

The onslaught of the Christian Missionaries against the Hindu society and religion grew intense in the mid-forties under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff. Conversion was resorted to in the towns and the moffusil. The free schools of the missionaries turned into places of conversion. Leaders of the Hindu community headed by Debendra Nath Tagore could no longer tolerate this state of affairs. They wanted to start free schools for indigent Hindoo boys. With this object a huge public meeting was held on 25th March, 1845. The meeting resolved to establish a model free English school as the first practical step to counteract the missionary plan. A strong committee was formed with Raja Radhakant Deb as president, and Debendra Nath Tagore and Harimohan Sen, the eldest son of Ramcomul Sen, as secretaries. This was almost the first event when the elder and the younger section met for the first time for the realisation of a national purpose. As a result of these efforts the Hindu Charitable Institution was established on March 1, 1846. Motilal Seal, the Rothschild of Calcutta, had also started a free school of his own initiative in the meantime for the same purpose. The services of *Tattwabodhini Patrika* should be gratefully mentioned in this connection. The paper in its editorials unravelled the evil intentions and doings of the missionaries and their baneful effect upon our national life, education and culture.

The anti-missionary movement, sponsored by Debendra Nath Tagore under the auspices of the Tattwabodhini Sabha and carried on with unabated zeal up to the middle of the 'fifties, contributed largely to the growth of our national unity. It was considerably successful in stemming the tide of the proselytising activities of the Christian missions.

During the 'forties the Tattwabodhini Sabha and the Bengal British India Society rendered immense services to the community by their political and cultural endeavours. Bhudeb Mukherjee, the great thinker and litterateur, offered these felicitating remarks on their far-reaching effect:

"The Tattwabodhini Sabha determined the sort of religion the young educated should follow. The Bengal British India Society, under the chairmanship of a patriotic Bengali (Ramgopal Ghose) began to pay exclusive attention to its political work. It is usually said that the Bengalis cannot do anything of their own initiative, and what they do, is the copy of some other's work. But the Brahma Sabha (here, the Tattwabodhini Sabha) and the Bengal British India Society are not another's copy, nor have they received any foreign help. The seeds of future changes in the Hindu community were sown by these two societies."¹⁵

15. Translated from *Banglar Itihas*, Part III, pp. 41-42.

11. A house on the junction of the Lower Chitpore Road and the Colootolah Street, no longer in existence.

12. "Bengal British India Society"—*The Bengal Hurkaru and the India Gazette*, 24th April, 1843.

A GLANCE INTO THE POSITION OF THE TEA INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By JYOTIRMOY ROY, M.A.,
Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

Tea is no longer a luxury. Apart from being the source of bread for a good number of our brethren it also fetches substantial foreign exchanges to the country.

Recently there has been a hue and cry that the tea industry is in peril and as such demands sympathetic attention from every quarter. This article is not concerned at all as to why the industry that earned a bumper profit during the war years is now in need of spoon-feeding. It aims at giving an overall picture of the tea industry in India with the help of readily available statistics.

The plantation of tea varies greatly in size from State to State. Before the partition, the total number of plantation was 6,551. In Assam, 1,128 plantations are reported to have had a total area of 440,278 acres which gives an average of 390 acres per plantation while in Bengal the average size of 413 plantations was 515 acres, in Travancore the average area of 220 plantations was 351 acres, and in Mysore the average area of 15 gardens was 297 acres. In Cochin, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madras the average was much smaller being about 186, 155, 134 and 37 acres respectively. In the Punjab, where the plantation of tea is carried on a small scale, the average area per plantation was only 4 acres in the pre-partition days. The above figures relate only to the tea-bearing areas and excludes the area not under tea though in occupation of the planters.

No statistics are available after the period 1949-50 which were published only by the latter part of 1952. The following table shows the production of tea in different States up to the year 1949:

States	1942	1948	1949
Assam	308,879*	311,089	314,357
West Bengal	152,999**	150,238	166,136
South India	95,153	107,406	95,616
North India	4,927	3,333	3,123
Bihar	2,101	1,989	2,123
Tripura	Not available	3,752	3,675

* Including Sylhet dist. ** Pre-partitioned Bengal.

The average production of tea per acre varies widely in different districts. In 1942, the highest being 960 lbs. in Jalpaiguri and 955 lbs. in Goalpara, while the lowest figures were 184 lbs. in Ranchi and 51 lbs. in Garhwal (U.P.). The average for the whole of India was 724 lbs. per acre.

Tea occupies a prominent place in our export trade and the United Kingdom is the best of the buyers. The table given below shows the distribution of our foreign trade in tea between the different countries:

Countries	1942-43	1948-49	1949-50
United Kingdom	78.2	69.3	62.6
Rest of Europe	0.3	10.6	8.5
Asia	6.8	7.9	5.6
Africa	1.2	0.7	4.0
America	9.4	9.4	15.2
Australia	4.1	2.1	4.1

During 1949-50, 7,983,287 lbs. of waste tea alone was exported from India. Of the total quantity of Indian tea exported to the U.K. a considerable amount is normally re-exported to other foreign lands. A certain amount is also imported in India; and before the year 1942-43 Burma was the chief importing country; that position is now usurped by Ceylon.

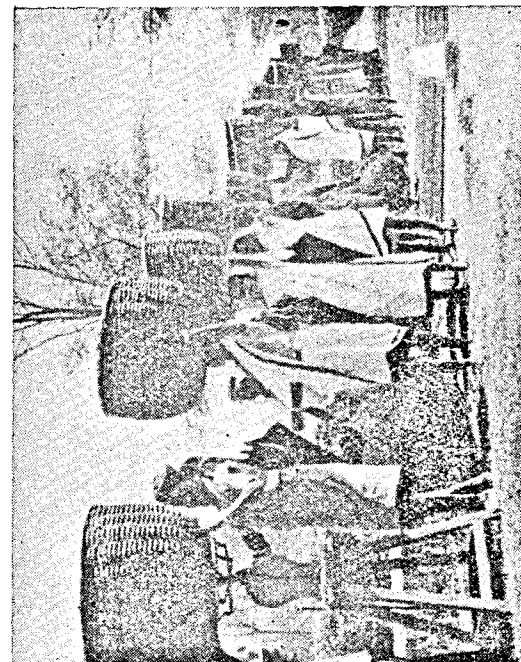
It is very difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the per capita consumption of tea in India because the figures quoted above are not quite accurate as they were supplied by the planters themselves voluntarily. Moreover, no accurate data of land frontier trade are available. So, in a very vague way, deducting the amount of export and the stock left at the end of the year, and summing up the previous year's stock and the current import, the following figures are obtained which give a rough indication as to the internal consumption of tea in India:

Years	Consumption in million lbs.
1936-37	81
1938-39	93
1941-42	112
1947-48	217
1948-49	159

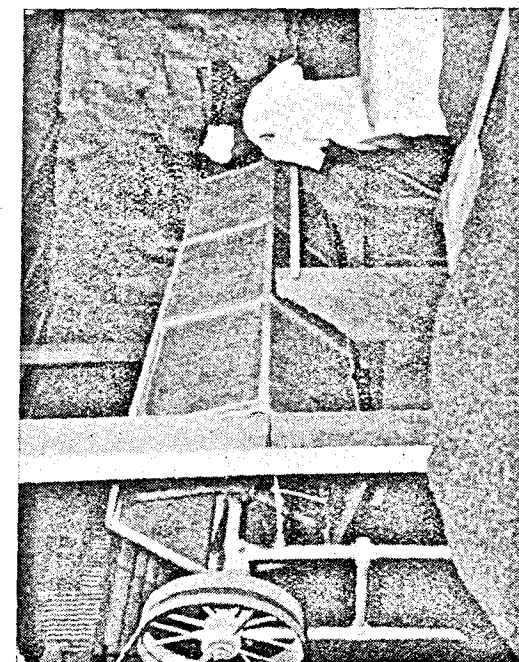
[Figures up to 1947-48 refer to undivided India]

For facilitating the export of tea, India imports a huge amount of tea chests and other accessories from foreign countries besides the purchase of machineries. Table No. IV records the distribution of the above amongst the three important exporting countries:

Countries	Tea Chests		
U. K.	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50
U. S. A.	1,510	11,703	5,34,206
Canada	1,01,72,836	1,10,63,515	10,35,349
	1,35,216	27,95,018	1,66,687
Total	1,08,77,403	1,88,76,937	1,26,59,847
	Machineries		
U. K.	54,56,027	55,25,153	69,26,098
U. S. A.	....	12,987	....
Canada	....	....	....
Total	56,28,828	56,93,841	70,47,316



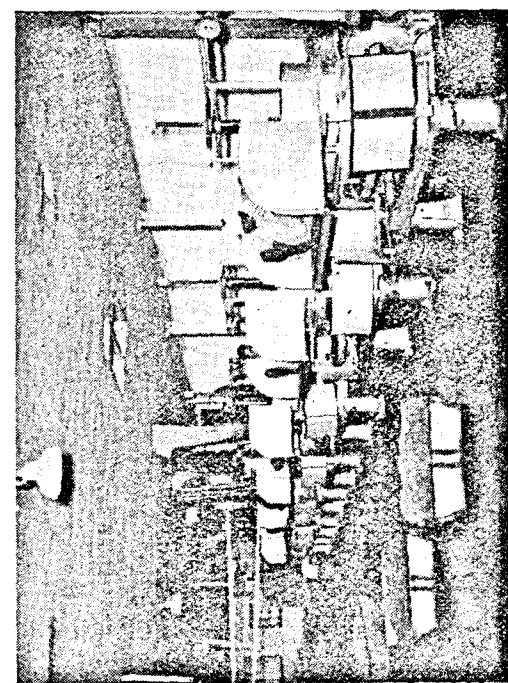
Weighing : Baskets loaded with picked leaves are carried by workers to the weighing centre before being taken to the factory



Sorting and Grading : The leaves are sorted according to their size and quality before being packed into paper-lined chests

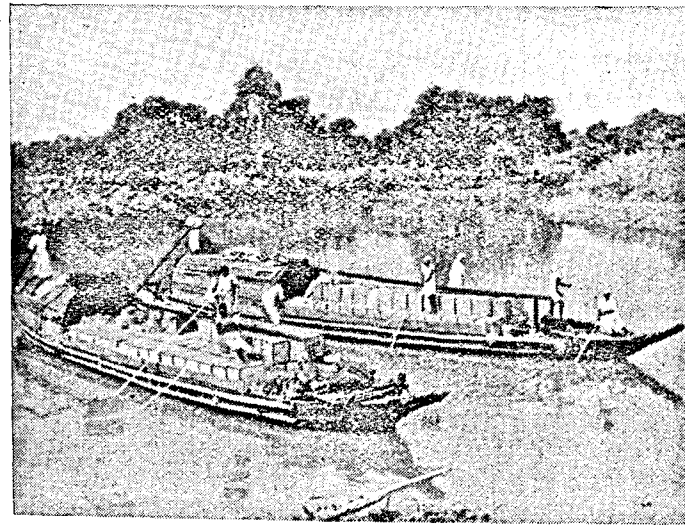


Plucking : Two leaves and a bud at a time is the secret of fine plucking. This work is done chiefly by women who carry light bamboo baskets strapped to their backs



Rolling : The rolling machines process the withered green leaves which are twisted, breaking open the cells containing the stimulating juice of tea

Tea plantation in India is a potential source of employment and the condition of the labourers are far from being satisfactory. It is, however, a good sign that the National Government's attention has been diverted to this direction also. Labourers are mainly recruited through Sardars (middlemen) who approach the villagers in far distant lands and promise them all possible earthly pleasures in return of their leaving the homestead and joining the tea gardens where even the children are paid! The poor villagers fascinated by these alluring promises come to the garden *en bloc* only to realise that their future is sealed.



Transport: Tea chests are being loaded on to river boats. Considerable difficulty is experienced over getting the tea from the producing districts to the market at Calcutta. Tea chests are required to be carried by men, lorries, bullock carts or water transport

The number of persons employed in the industry in 1942 was returned at 923,742 which rose to 985,616 in 1949 in spite of the fact that certain tea-producing areas acceded to Pakistan. The following table gives the number of persons in different categories employed by the industry in recent years:

Years	Garden labour	Outside labour (permanent)	Outside labour (temporary)
1948	863,915	52,416	53,399
1949	880,774	53,180	51,662

Below is another table to show the average monthly income of plantation labour in different years:

Settled labour—	Men Rs. as p.	Women Rs. as p.	Children Rs. as p.
1941-42	10 7 4	9 12 9	6 4 4
1945-46	11 14 6	10 7 1	7 5 11

	Men	Women	Children
1946-47	18 4 1	15 9 7	9 9 6
1947-48	21 14 3	19 6 11	14 8 1
Faltu or Basti labour—			
1941-42	9 7 11	8 11 5	5 13 8
1945-46	11 13 8	10 11 0	6 10 3
1946-47	16 1 10	15 4 6	9 0 0
1947-48	22 11 9	18 15 1	11 0 10

The above wage rate has been modified with effect from December, 1951. An adult male labourer now earns a cash wage of Re. 1-3-0 per day which is farther supplemented by an income of two and a half annas per day in gardens with more than 500 acres under plantation and two annas in gardens having less than 500 acres under plantation. The daily wage of a female and a child labourer now comes to Re. 1-1-0 and 13 annas respectively.

In 1903, an Act known as the Indian Tea Cess Act IX of 1903 was passed at the request of the trade for the promotion and manufacture of tea. Under this Act a duty of $\frac{1}{2}$ pie per pound was levied on all Indian tea exported up to the 30th April, 1921, after which the duty was raised to $\frac{1}{2}$ pie per pound. By increasing the duty gradually in March, 1939, it was fixed at one rupee and annas six only per 100 lbs. and in May, 1946, it was subsequently reduced to rupee one. It was again raised to one rupee and six annas per 100 lbs. on 10.1.48 and the final enhancement took place on 5.11.49 when it was made one rupee

and annas ten only. The whole of the amount collected was credited to the India Tea Cess Fund which was governed by a committee appointed for the purpose. The Indian Tea Cess Act expired on August 1, 1949, when the Central Tea Board Act came into force. The total amount collected in different parts of India in 1948-49 was Rs. 58,09,000 against Rs. 41,97,000 in 1947-48 and Rs. 35,73,000 in 1946-47. This shows that the industry is in a prosperous condition in spite of losing some tea-growing areas which acceded to Pakistan.

Excise duty in respect of tea brings approximately an annual revenue of Rs. 14 crores to our national exchequer. Every pound of tea must be duty paid before it is allowed to come out of the factory and the present rate of excise duty is as follows: If exported—annas four per pound, if not exported—annas three per pound.

The tea industry in India is mainly conducted with foreign capitals. Table No. VII given below

illustrates the capital structure of the tea industry in India:

Years	Companies incorporated in India Rs.	Companies incorporated outside India Rs.	Total Rs.
1942-43	1,50,572	26,877	4,92,413
1944-45	1,50,691	26,687	5,08,932
1945-46	1,61,218	26,703	5,06,518
1946-47	1,77,272	26,072	5,17,258
1947-48			5,24,899

The living condition of labourers in tea gardens is bad, which in Indian-owned industries is worse still. The war brought an unexpected boom to the industry; the profit was practically consumed by the management and the shareholders who did not even see the necessity of creating an adequate reserve fund to tide over unforeseen contingencies. The peril that the industry is now facing is mainly due to the above-mentioned factor. The labour got practically nothing out of these bumper profits and there are hardly any cheap canteen in the tea gardens to supply hygienic food to the labourers. The only amusement provided by the management is the installation of a radio set in the office building from where occasionally programmes are broadcasted. Arrangement of sports and games is more on paper than in reality and almost all the gardens are operated on "no work no pay" basis. Hospitals are meant for governmental

inspections while the outdoor dispensaries are in chronic dearth of medicines.

There are several well-known organisations of the planters whose aim is to bargain as much benefit as possible for themselves while there is practically none to look after the cause of the poor labourers. Trade Unions are run on the whims of the party bosses and they are more political than economic; this type of trade union activities do not cover even all the gardens. As such whenever necessary the management purchases a section of labourers to suit its own objects and the last general election furnishes immense proof as to how the labourers can be bribed to suit the cause of the capitalist owners.

There have been some legislations aiming at the welfare of the plantation labour but the situation as it is will convince even a casual observer that those legislations are honoured more in the breach than in their observance. Strictest possible measures must be adopted to enforce the spirit of those legislations if the welfare of the toiling masses is really aimed at.

These are not to be mistaken as generalisations. The writer who lives in a place surrounded by tea gardens claims to have an intimate knowledge of the state of affairs in the tea industry and whatever he has said in this article is the outcome of his first-hand knowledge.

Illustrations: By courtesy of the Central Tea Board.

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THE CHALLENGE OF ANGLICISM AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN BENGAL

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

It is reported that a history of the Indian Struggle for Freedom is going to be written. We do not know on what lines this history is proposed to be written; whether the facts of this history will be restrictively selected and interpreted in the light of a particular school of thought or facts will be impartially selected and objectively treated to tell the full story how the nation's endeavour for attainment of freedom has been again and again halted or delayed by obstacles created by alien and native opponents of Indian nationalism, by the people's own weakness or by the shortcomings of leadership. We shall have, perhaps, no opportunity to know all this before the history, if the proposal to write it materialises, is published.

When the report that a history of the nation's struggle for freedom is proposed to be written reached us our eyes rested for a minute on the face of Bengal

today, pale, anxious and deeply furrowed by agonies and sufferings of the last half a century and then slowly wandered through the realm of forgotten memories and settled down on the face of Bengal as it was more than a century back.

Those were the days of the new awakening of India and it was on the soil of Bengal that the awakening took place. Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) inaugurated the new era of awakening.

Through the united efforts of Rammohun, David Hare and others, the Hindu College was established in 1817 and English became the medium of instruction in India in 1835. The first effect of English education had an unbalancing effect on the majority of those who received it. For nearly thirty years from 1817 a great mental ferment marked by loss of self-possession seized a large section of the middle class

English-educated Hindu Society in Bengal. It was the age of the challenge of Anglicism and rise of the Young Bengal School.

A perusal of the contemporary records of the exploits of the first generations of the Young Bengal School will now provoke a laugh. But they were serious-minded people, though somewhat ostentatious. They were possessed by a mania for destruction and hurled indiscriminately their blows of criticism against Hindu religion, Hindu society, Indian languages, customs, manners, dress, etc. Their words and deeds breathed an exaggerated rage against and contempt for the society in which they were born and betrayed infatuation for things foreign. They cultivated Anglicism in everything with a vengeance. The following extract throws interesting light on the time:

"Indeed the rage for Anglicism went so far among the first generations of English-knowing men that a giant of English learning of that time used to sprinkle brandy over his children's rice saying, take your rice with the milk from the English cow, it will make you strong. . . . Some English-knowing men of that time thought the manners and customs of the people of India were Satan's devices while others regarded them as Brahminical devices. With them it was manliness par excellence to hate those manners and customs. Yes, that proved moral courage and independence. And the English-knowing youth who behaved in that way were applauded as wise by the Englishmen of that time."

While the British well-wishers of India were still gloating over their easy success in the task of anglicising the Bengalis, furnishing incidentally in their eyes one more evidence of the superiority of Western civilisation over the Eastern, and the challenge of anglicism threatened the contemporary Bengali society, something unsuspected was shaping itself beneath the surface of that society.

While adopting English dress, English food and drink and English manners the Young Bengal also memorised Bentham, Bacon, Thomas Paine, Byron, and Shelley and studied the political history of the English people, the history of the French Revolution and American struggle for independence. They became anglicised in mind as they had become anglicised in manners and dress. The direct result of this intellectual anglicisation was that they completely shed off the inferiority complex of a conquered people. They regarded themselves as belonging to the same level with Englishmen in education and culture. And they started demanding to be treated as such.

The challenge of Anglicism evoked a retort not realised by India's rulers.

And by this time a fresh wave from Europe had reached the shores of India, helping to put the Young Bengal again on their feet.

In Germany, France and elsewhere scholars were carrying on researches in Comparative Philology and Vedic and Avestan studies. They proclaimed to the world that the Hindus of India, though dark-skinned, were distant kin of the European Aryans. The Young Bengal were astonished when they heard it; their exultation knew no bounds and their thoughts began to follow a new track. It was the track which the great Rammohun had shown.

Little by little the attention of many of the members of the school turned to the ancient religion, literature and philosophy of their country, to the ancient glories of their ancient land. Things of their own country which they had learned to despise revealed themselves as possessing a new significance. Those that had turned their face towards Europe from a sense of frustration and despair, thinking that a people held in subjection for long centuries they had nothing to be proud of, now looked back to their own country. They realised that they had indeed a proud heritage of ancient wisdom and learning, they were descendants of far-famed ancestors. The first unhealthy mental ferment began to subside; the spell of anglicism was broken.

On the soil thus prepared a cultural revolution of the greatest significance took place in Bengal. It opened the epoch of a new awakening in India. It marked the beginning of national renaissance in India after seven centuries of political subjection, moral stagnation and intellectual somnambulism.

The claim for equality with the English and demand for equal treatment with them presaged a clash between the English-educated young Bengalis on the one hand, and, on the other, the new feeling of pride for the ancient glories of their country and deep regret for her present fallen condition roused them to devise means for her uplift.

The clash was the first phase of revolt declared by the English-educated middle class Bengalis against British administration in India. The voice of revolt became distinctly audible after the Sepoy Mutiny.

It was at this time that a section of the Young Bengal school led by Ram Gopal Ghose and assisted by some landholders and wealthy men founded the British Indian Association (1851) for securing the right of greater participation in administration for the children of the soil. It was the first political organisation in India.

Shortly after this the great Mutiny broke out.

TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By S. N. RAY, M.A., Ph.D.,
Delhi University

If an English teacher today thinks of planning for the future education in this country, he has to satisfy himself whether he has any future for himself. In other words, he has to assure himself if there would be a legitimate place for the study of English in the curricula of the Boards and Universities of this country. That assurance I think is not difficult to give. It will be clear to anybody who happens to wander through the collections of books in the libraries of any school or college devoted to the teaching of Medicine, Engineering, Military Science, Forest Research or Geological Survey. Are these books, he will ask himself, mere junk to be scrapped or useful? If higher education is impossible without them, how are we to get them in our own language? Will the books on military strategy, histories of wars, biographies of great soldiers, accounts of how wars were won or lost, now to be found in the Defence Academy, Dehradun, be ever translated into Hindi, or if so, how long will it take, and how about the cost? Coming nearer home, is research in Indian history possible without acquaintance with the original findings of the great European scholars of Indian archæology? An attempt of course is being made to bring out textbooks in Hindi as quickly as possible. But is the newly coined terminology with its flexible connotation good enough for exact science, or even for law where each term must have a fixed meaning well-known to all? A dispassionate consideration of these problems is sure to impose a restraint on the enthusiasm of the people who would discard English, say, at the end of ten or fifteen years. If to dislodge Persian, at one time the language of culture in this country, took about a century, how long will English which has struck a deeper root in our soil, a root more widely spread and intimately interwoven with our mental life than Persian? A time-limit for the exit of English from the cultural life of this country can therefore be set only by a facile optimist.

Here is the justification of our existence and ground for continued usefulness in society. We must realize that our days are far from nearing an early end. Even when English will be squeezed out of its strong position, it will continue to serve a very great purpose in this country. English is the language of every port, and is spoken or understood over at least half of the world. The demands of commerce and diplomacy, if not the need for international contact on personal level, will make it incumbent on us to acquire a good knowledge of it.

If I am taking the liberty to rehearse these well-known facts, it is to remove the misgivings of some of our worried friends, and to look ahead with a clear conscience and knowledge of our place in the new dispensation of our country.

It is true English one day will go out of the syllabus as a compulsory subject of study, and its place will be gradually taken by Hindi. We must not forget that at one time our grandfathers took their young people out of the *maktabs* and *pathshalas* (tols) and sent them to High English Schools, for the knowledge of English was the *sine qua non* for Government employment. The same paramount necessity will drive the future generations to the cultivation of Hindi, even in regions where it is not known or taught.

But the reasons mentioned above will remain, and English will have to be studied by all who would look forward to higher education. It is possible that this will be done with a split mind and ever-waning purpose. The time which was given to its acquisition hitherto will perhaps not be available. Yet as much of it must be learnt as would help the future generations to use it, *if not for writing or speaking, at least for reading and understanding*, with as much facility as their predecessors.

The task of the future English teacher will grow more difficult and involve greater responsibility than now, but it would not be impossible if approached with a well-prepared plan. This must save much frittering away of energy of the present system and ensure progress in a much shorter time than before.

The question therefore is at what stage should a student be introduced to a course of English, where he will end it, and how shall we conduct it so as to produce the most effective results.

At present the study of English commences even from the lowest class. Each student has to give up the greater part of his time for about ten years in acquiring a good knowledge of the language. But it does not end there. It continues for another two years at least, if not four. Still a confident grasp of the language is nowhere in sight. Perfection no one can claim. And all this at what cost? This early imposition of an alien tongue on a young learner, deprives him of much valuable time when he could have gained a good deal of useful knowledge. For example, at present he finds very little time for geography, drawing and common knowledge. He has very little opportunity of knowing the history of any country but his own. Scientific and vocational subjects cannot have place on the time-table for the same reason. He has to sacrifice all interests in life because he has no time for them.

A young student whose mental horizon has not widened beyond his home and his immediate neighbourhood, wonders why he should be subjected to the torment day and night for the acquisition of something whose value is of doubtful significance to him. If it is so now, would it not appear more futile to him in the future? Formerly he was at least aware

of the physical presence of the Englishman in his own country and saw his life at least from a distance. In course of time, the Englishman will become as legendary a figure as Alexander, Chengiz Khan or Nadir Shah. If this is so, the young learner will have no chance of discovering his contact with, and realize his interest in, the West before he starts upon the scientific subjects, and this will not happen before he comes to the last lap of the Middle School stage. If I were to plan for him, I would introduce him at this stage for the first time to the rudiments of the English language. This may be in Class VI or Class VII, probably the latter. I have reasonable grounds for hoping that he will now take to it with an awakened interest and delight. Just for the sake of novelty, and perhaps with some puzzled amusement, he will romp through the alphabet and the mystery of the English vowels.

What shall we do now not only to sustain this interest but also to stimulate a sense of wonder in his mind? I would put before him those very English words he has been using all his life under the guise of his mother tongue. Thus he would be amused to know that bat, hat, pan, fan, pin, tin, line, fine, boot, shoot, ball, goal, kick, back, bowl, catch, shirt, photo, rail, train, light, and numerous other words in daily use even by the illiterate, are really English. These and their uses will keep him occupied in the first year of his new venture.

It is claimed by the supporters of basic English that one can express oneself with eight hundred and fifty selected words. I would therefore ply the novice with a little more than two hundred new words every year for four years from Class VII to Class X. Indeed, I would set my target a little higher. It would be twelve hundred or three hundred per year. In addition to the words with whose sound he is familiar already, I would introduce him to the names of objects he is surrounded by at home, school and in the neighbourhood. I would perhaps begin with the kitchen and the dining room and move out to the neighbourhood and the school and onwards. Like the star, his mind must be kept moving, though not perceptibly perhaps but in effect. By daily repetition, he will thus remember the names of animals, their sound and simple behaviour, and also the names of inanimate objects and the verbs to describe them with. Stage by stage he must go forward according to a plan acquiring more vocabulary and its uses. Wave after wave with a calculated rate of attainment, the student must reach the predetermined goal. If he fails, he must not study English. *Let him try something else, and not aspire after University education which, as far as I can see, will not be within the reach of those who would not possess the knowledge of some European language.* All over Europe, a student has to learn a modern language which is not

his own. In some States, he has to acquire three or four languages.

At this stage, I would not harass the young learner with any poetry or drama, nor with the grammatical definitions. Indeed I would not scare him with such forbidding terms as Orthography, Etymology and the names of the Moods of verbs. Rather than making an attempt with the abstract rules of grammar, I would initiate him to the mysteries of grammar by means of simple sentences with known words showing their relationship with one another. Only in the final year, of the Matriculation, a simple grammar showing the various uses of words should be put before him so that he learns systematically what he has known before.

Should he not study any literature all this time? Of course he will, but only the one written for him with the words he has already been acquainted with. As his vocabulary increases, the volume of his literature will increase in the corresponding manner. If he proposes to go in for science, I would put into his hands such writings of scientific nature as would familiarize him with scientific language. Should he think of literature, he must do some poetry and stories, in addition. Indeed I would prescribe for him an additional paper consisting of poetry, drama, essays and stories.

But specialization cannot be thought of at the Matriculation stage. It really begins at the Intermediate. A student then makes up his mind what he is going to study in the future. Here therefore the course of English syllabus should be so framed and enforced that he is not thwarted in his later studies by his inability to understand the books in English that he wants to consult for a more comprehensive knowledge of the subject he might perhaps be studying in an Indian language. Such books should be put into his hands as deal with science if he is a science student, or if he pursues an Arts Course he must familiarize himself with a diction sensuous and speculative.

It must sound as a tall order, because books have never been written or selected with a purpose. But a beginning must be made, and there is no dearth of people who are capable of this task. The Bihar Text Book Committee has already begun this laudable work according to its needs and plan. This should be emulated everywhere and we shall have all the books we want.

This is my scheme for Secondary Education. I am profoundly interested in it because I have to shoulder a heavy burden at a later stage. Possibly there is nothing in it that has not been thought of or said before. I have made bold however to set them before my readers for a discussion. I shall be amply rewarded if it results in a clarification of thought.*

* Read before the All-India English Teachers' Conference (1952) held at Ajmer.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN

By PROF. N. VENKATA RAO, M.A.

"UNLESS philosophers become rulers or rulers study philosophy, there will be no end to the troubles of man." Such was Plato's conception of a ruler. With the help of the Light of Reason the philosopher is able to guide the destinies and affairs of men. Asoka, Akbar and Marcus Aurelius were the philosopher-kings of yore who administered their countries wisely and justly. They were no mere dreamers that lived in the abstract world of ideas. They were practical enough to bring their philosophy down to the Assemblies and Council Halls. It is just that a philosopher like Radhakrishnan should have been chosen as the first Vice-President of the Indian Republic. With his long and varied career as Professor and Administrator, Preacher and Diplomat, he richly deserves the place.

Born on 5th September, 1888 to orthodox parents at Tiruttani, Radhakrishnan enjoyed neither the advantages of wealth nor birth. From the early years he dreamed of the things of Eternity and had a firm faith in the reality of an unseen world behind the flux of phenomena. By nature, shy and sensitive, he loved silence and solitude. He always lived in the world of books and made companions of poets and philosophers. His pursuit of the world of ideas earned him a reputation for coldness and indifference. But, to quote his words:

"I am capable of strong and profound emotions, which I generally tend to conceal. I am nervously organised, sensitive and high-strung."

Radhakrishnan had his education in the Christian Missionary Schools where he early imbibed the teachings of Jesus. But his pride was wounded when he heard Christian Missionaries attacking the Hindu beliefs and practices. As a zealous young man, inspired by the work and eloquence of Vivekananda, Radhakrishnan determined to clear the cobwebs of prejudice of these missionaries and vindicate the spirit of the Vedanta. Steadily and ceaselessly, he worked up to his dreams, became the interpreter of the East, and carried the greatness of the Vedanta to the Western world.

Radhakrishnan drank deep of the wisdom of the Upanishads and the Gita, the epics and the Puranas, the great teachings of the religions and philosophies of the East and West. His acquaintance with the literatures of the world is deep and profound. He tempered his mind with scientific knowledge and earned a reputation for precise thinking. Thus he acquired a wide knowledge of human affairs, a broad outlook, religious tolerance and successfully and harmoniously blended the Eastern and Western cultures in his teachings. His mind is a fine flower of culture, a synthesis of all that is true, good and beautiful.

Radhakrishnan's early thesis on the *Ethics of Vedanta* shows his bent of mind. It was a reply to the charge that

the Vedanta had no room for ethics. It won high praise from his teacher. His main argument is that

"Religion must express itself in a reasonable thought, fruitful action and right social institutions."

To him religion is not a dogma or a ritual. It is essentially a personal experience, a concern of the inner religion, for which faith and hope, spiritual labour and life which lifts man above the meaningless existence and dull despair. The sense of the infinite is the basis of moral activity are essential. The ethical aspect is vital for the purification of the mind and communion with God. With this end in view, Radhakrishnan maintains that Hindu Religion is not other-worldly, that conduct is supreme, and the doctrine of Maya belongs only to the phenomenal existence and does in no way conflict with the ethical seriousness. Thus his view is spiritual and non-dogmatic. In this light he has interpreted the East to the West. His writings bear the stamp of a creative artist with lucid style, clear insight, fertile imagination and sympathetic understanding.

Radhakrishnan is not blind to the weaknesses of Hindu Religion. It has fallen on evil days, lost much of its old vigour and vitality, become dull and listless. Many of our practices have disgraced our religion, blocked the way to progress and social reconstruction. We have mistaken tradition for Truth and the household gods are dethroned by the tin-gods of fashion and vanity. These gross abuses must be eliminated ruthlessly. We have to learn much from the West—its vitality and courage, its science and technology.

"After a long winter of some centuries, we are today in one of the creative periods of Hinduism."

It is not without misgivings that Radhakrishnan looks upon scientific progress and industrial civilization. Science helps us to build up our body and mind. But the cultivation of the spirit is equally necessary. In spite of our tremendous progress in knowledge and scientific invention, we are not above the level of past generations, in ethical and spiritual life. Mechanization is the death of the spirit. Void within, we are reduced to mere atoms in a community, members of a mob.

Radhakrishnan sees abnormal inequalities in modern society and pleads for social justice and rational distribution of wealth. Today luxury and starvation dwell side by side. He thinks that

"The Russian experiment, whatever we may think of it, is at least an honest attempt to secure for all an equal share in things which constitute the physical basis of life. The glaring contrasts of poverty and wealth are not accepted by them as inevitable."

Society has become intensely selfish and greedy; love of humanity is replaced by love of power and the

ture of position. Physical efficiency and intellectual alertness are dangerous if spiritual illiteracy prevails. Loss of faith and indifference to ethical discipline have resulted in the crisis of modern civilization.

Radhakrishnan deplures the lack of spirit in the modern civilization and its pursuit of the glittering bubbles of life. The trouble with our civilization is its neglect of the enduring things of life and the preoccupation with the fleeting. It is sacrificing Life for the sake of life. Our civilization is emptied of its spirit-content. Politics and economics do not take their direction from ethics and religion. Our society can be remoulded only by sincerity and understanding, by ethical discipline. Only integrated personalities can save us by their inner strength and sincerity.

"They by their self-sacrificing will contribute to the reign of God, of love, of virtue on earth. The stronger individuals help the weaker ones until all are saved."

Radhakrishnan is a Hindu to the core. We find the spirit ruling him at every step. A spare, light figure, keen alert face, bright brown eyes, his personality is arresting. As a Hindu preacher delivering sermons from Christian pulpits at Oxford and Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, he made a profound impression on the audience. With a melodious and beautifully modulated voice, he conveyed his thoughts in a series of exquisitely turned phrases thus revealing his mastery of English language as well as Hindu metaphysics. His lectures were spontaneous outpourings of a soul that gazed at Eternity. "The audience swayed at times to his chant; and one felt as if the barrier between the East and West was gone." Referring to his sermon on "Revolution through Suffering," an Oxford Daily observed:

"Though the Indian preacher had the marvellous power to weave a magic web of thought, imagination and language, the real greatness of his sermon resides in some indefinable spiritual quality which arrests attention, moves the heart, and lifts us into an ampler air."

I had the opportunity to hear his Gita Lectures delivered at the University of Benares during his Vice-Chancellorship. Every time I heard him he was lifted into a rarer and diviner atmosphere.

Radhakrishnan is a Hindu not only in his thoughts and outlook, but also in his dress and habits. His food is simple and frugal without the touch of an ascetic; his dress too is simple and immaculate; his hair is never combed (now he has grown bald). He entertains his guests on a strict vegetarian fare seasoned with brilliant talk. He is accessible to all and sundry. He undergoes a severe self-imposed discipline.

The detachment of Radhakrishnan is really remarkable. A beloved husband to a devoted wife, an affectionate father to brilliant children, servant to all, he leads the life of Janaka with detachment, simplicity and humility. He is not an ascetic but he attaches little

importance to the joys and values of the earth. Authority sits lightly on him. The choicest delicacies of the dinner room at All Souls were not an attraction to him. "Some say that he used his private key to go out of the college by the back door when he found the front door jammed by celebrities."

Radhakrishnan has made this wide world his own home; mankind his kith and kin. Like a bird of passage he constantly moves from one part of the globe to the other, meeting and addressing people of different types and creeds. Whether lecturing to a class or addressing statesmen his burden is invariably the same—the re-establishment of the Indian outlook of life in the heart of the human family. Society must live in peace and toleration. Hatred and ill-will must cease; intolerance and violence must go. Love and compassion must rule the world. Catch-words like socialism and capitalism do not appeal to him.

As a teacher Radhakrishnan came into contact with many young men pulsating with life. He educated them to a belief in a spiritual and ethical universe, stressed the importance of prayer and a frequent withdrawal to oneself from the machinery of existence. A genuine teacher is a living lamp that kindles light in his pupils, quickens them to the ideas of Truth and Beauty. Through suffering we grow and obtain grace. With the shedding of ego, love reigns supreme, and love is greater than law or justice, learning or fame.

"The touch of a compassionate hand," writes Radhakrishnan, "often illuminates one like lightning-flash in the darkness. Profound influences are wrought by creative minds by a light gesture or a brief conversation."

Radhakrishnan is not a pedantic scholar or cold dispenser of thought. He is intensely human and is alive to the value of emotions. He has a capacious heart and sympathetic understanding. He suffers fools and criminals. The infinite pathos of life, he says, call for infinite understanding. He sees in the sinful, the mystery, the beauty and the sadness of life. He has the magic gift of confidence and his correspondents include all and sundry craving for help and advice.

"It pleased me to know," he writes, "that to some lonely or enslaved souls I was perhaps the only or the first person to show any sympathy or understanding."

Radhakrishnan is an apostle of culture, an ambassador of love. He works for sweetness and light to make the will of God prevail. Blessed are they that spend their lives in dispelling ignorance and mitigating misery. Great souls like Buddha, Christ and Gandhi strove to lighten the burden of humanity by suffering and love. "If we are to imitate in some small measure their example, we must help the weak and comfort the unhappy." A little help, a kind word, or even a smile may go a long way in alleviating human misery.

THE LATE MR. T. R. VENKATRAMA SASTRY A Personal Tribute

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, ADVOCATE

THE passing away of Sri T. R. Venkatrama Sastry, the doyen of Indian liberalism and a Constitutional lawyer of considerable erudition and noted for his moderation and caution marks the end of an epoch in the public life of our country. As a faithful disciple of the late Rt. Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, he lived up to his faith to the last breath of his life. Like most of the public men of his generation, he took to the legal profession and soon made his mark as a great jurist and an eminent advocate. The Advocate-Generalship in Madras came to him in the normal course. Though he succeeded Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer as the Law Member in the Governor's Executive Council, he could not remain in that position for more than 48 hours consistent with his notions of dignity and self-respect as the Police Portfolio was suddenly removed from the control of the Law Member. His exit opened the door to yesmen who were awaiting an opportunity.

Whatever his politics were he espoused the just causes whenever and wherever they cropped up. When Rev. Paton, the Christian Missionary, was unjustly beaten by the Police during the Satyagraha Movement, he lodged his protest. Again when the Madras High Court sought to take action against Mr. Vaidyanatha Iyer of Madura for defying the ban imposed on him by the executive during the Quit India Movement of 1942, Mr. Sastriar stood by him and described the conduct of Sri Vaidyanatha Ayyer as a symbolic protest against an order which he considered to be unwarranted. The then Chief Justice Mr. Lionel Lach who was both imperious and hot-tempered cooled down and closed the matter with a censure. The tragic end of Mahatma Gandhi sent the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh into disgrace. Many were grieved to find this brotherhood of Hindus built upon sustained service and sacrifice disintegrating. In the fitness of things Mr. Sastriar came to its rescue and rehabilitated it in the eyes of the public and the Government alike. The instances are merely illustrative and not in any sense exhaustive.

He touched life at many points. He was an ardent social reformer. He was the earliest champion of equal rights for women. As a member of the Sir B. N. Rao's Committee on the codification of Hindu Law he rendered yeoman's service. He was interested in the cause of higher education and was intimately

connected with the various academic bodies of the Madras University for a long time. He also officiated as the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. Above all, he was a Sanskrit scholar and was responsible for the upkeep of the Kuppaswami Sastri Sanskrit College and Research Institute. He also enjoyed his share of club life till the end.

Above all, he was unassuming and fast in his friendships. As one known to his master the late Rt. Hon'ble Sastri, I required no introduction to him and enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. He always received me with great warmth. We exchanged notes on public problems. I differed from him often and even gave publicity to such differences. But it never affected our personal relations. I always admired his enthusiasm for the study of public problems. He expressed himself on every crucial issue. When I met him last in April, though signs of senility were apparent, his mind was mobile. Though the atmosphere was surcharged with ill-will, animosity and prejudice on account of the impending formation of the Andhra State, we talked to, instead of talking at, as Indians. We discussed all the topical issues at length and in detail, with impartiality and detachment. I wish that all my contacts were at such a high cultural level. He was definitely distressed over the formation of States on linguistic basis before we consolidated our freedom and developed the spirit of Indian citizenship. He was also apprehensive that the separation of Andhra would let loose the forces of communalism in Tamilnad. When I asked him why did he not at least agree to the conversion of Madras into a C class State, he replied with a spirit of resignation that the lot of Madras was after all cast with Tamilnad. But the Indian in him desired that the residuary State should be known as the Madras State, where the non-Tamils also would feel at home. He told me that some of his well-meaning friends (since they are distinguished Tamilians, I do not want to disclose their names) criticised him for saying that Madras should be part of Tamilnad. They wanted him to say that Madras would not be part of Andhra and leave it at that. He had settled views on many problems. He felt that there was more politics than music in the Tamil Isai Movement. He was all admiration to the inherent musical potentialities of Telugu. In the event of a clash between the two power-blocs on the international scene, he was confident that India would be

neutral. He was an invaluable link between the older and the younger generation.

He passed away full of years and honours. But his death has created a void which cannot be easily

filled up. I salute Sri T. R. Venkatrama Sastry, the liberal, patriot, scholar, educationist and philanthropist who passed away from mortality to immortality.

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AN OUTLINE OF A SCHEME TO ATTRACT YOUNG MEN OF MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES To Adopt Agriculture as a Profession

By DEBENDRA NATH MITRA

It is high time that earnest endeavours should be made to encourage young men of middle-class families to adopt farming as their main occupation. But prior to it, it is important to demonstrate adequately that farming, on an area of land, 10 to 15 acres, which may be readily available in the countryside to some young men, is a paying proposition. With this object in view an area not more than 15 acres in suitable localities may be acquired or taken on lease by Government and a cropping scheme adopted in order to demonstrate abundantly that farming on such a small area pays sufficiently to enable a young man to maintain his small family. The farm will be run on absolutely economic lines and the buildings, sheds, etc., constructed on it should be as simple as possible, fitting in with the conditions prevailing in villages, with such improvements which may be effected within the means of a villager. The methods adopted to run the farm should also be within the reach and means of an average cultivator.

A young man of the locality, preferably a Matriculate, with a bias towards agriculture and possessing some capital, should be entertained at the farm as a learner, but he should be required to work on the farm with the labourers doing with his own hands all the operations of the farm. The training should be so arranged as will give him an insight into the working of the farm in all its sections in-

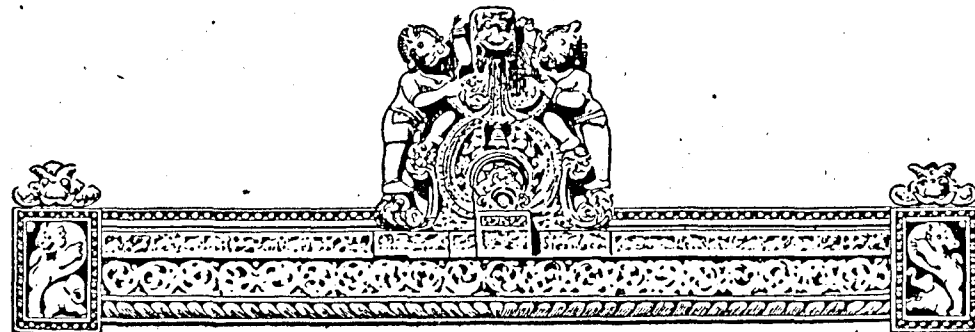
cluding cropping, accounts, balance sheets, etc. He should be given a wage of Rs. 65 a month.

A farm of this type should be run in a locality for 3 or 4 years entirely at the cost of Government and under the spot supervision of a competent agricultural officer. In course of this period the Agricultural Department should be able to demonstrate that the cropping scheme worked out at the farm is suited to the local conditions and is a distinct improvement over the local methods. If they cannot demonstrate it within a reasonable period, the farm should be abolished.

But if they can demonstrate that the farm is sufficiently paying to enable a young man and his family to maintain themselves it should be offered to the young man to run it on his own account. If he has funds, he may purchase the farm at a reasonable price or the farm may be leased out to him on a reasonable rate of rent. If the farm is paying the young man is likely to be attracted to enter into an agreement with the Government under suitable conditions to run it on his own account.

The above is only an outline of a scheme to attract and inspire suitable young men to adopt agriculture as a profession. Details may be worked out.

A number of farms of this type will also serve as an object-lesson to the cultivators of the locality.



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 enquires relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE TEACHINGS OF THE UPANISHADS: By Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya. University of Calcutta. Pp. vi + 326. Price Rs. 10.

Sri Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya, who has utilised his retirement from an exalted post under the Government of India, gives in the volume under review a summary of his convictions, based on wide reading, concerning some of the fundamental conclusions of orthodox Hindu philosophy and religion. The key to his position is to be found in the last chapter, namely, "Complete Truth in Vedic Religion," in which he tries to establish the superiority of Hinduism over other religions, indigenous and foreign. In the chapter preceding he gives a summary of "Other Schools of Hindu Philosophy" and attempts to prove the superiority of Vedanta over other systems of thought, orthodox and heterodox alike. In the chapter of "God and the Soul" he tries to show that Ramanuja has given a better interpretation of Vedanta than Sankara.

The reader can now expect what the general aim of the author would be like: it is to establish the superiority of the theistic position with the help of the Upanisads. This objective has narrowed the scope of the enquiry by practically limiting the treatment of the Upanisadic materials to their bearing upon the nature of the soul, its spiritual training, and its ultimate destiny. The book is therefore not a comprehensive study of the Upanisads like that of Deussen or Ranade nor a critical account like that of Keith or Belvalkar and Ranade. In fact, the introduction of Vedanta and Bhagavadgita materials has tended to obscure to some extent the exact Upanisadic speculation. Conversely, the inclusion of the big penultimate chapter on other schools has somewhat widened the scope of enquiry though it has tended at the same time to deflect the attention from the Upanisads proper. The book is, therefore, to be regarded more or less as a critical examination of the Vedanta as interpreted by Sankara and Ramanuja with the help of Upanisadic texts and as an attempt to establish the validity of the traditional Hindu view as against the criticisms of modern scholars, both Eastern and Western.

But within the limits set by himself the author shows intensive study and deep meditation. His spirited defence of the Hindu view of life with its doctrine of karma, its eschatological speculation, and its scheme of spiritual discipline and his vindication of the Varnashram Dharma make him a redoubtable champion of Hindu orthodoxy. It is obvious that on some of the positions taken up by him it is possible to join issue with him, seeing that divergence of opinion is present

within the orthodox texts and interpretations themselves and an historical evolution of thought cannot be lightly set aside in favour of an eternally fixed canon. A wholesale support of ancient texts runs the obvious risk of ignoring evolution of human thinking in all parts of the world with the growth of critical faculty. Naturally, arguments have sometimes to be twisted to support a personal view-point.

The salient points that the author wishes to make out are that the Upanisads did not condemn or abandon unequivocally the performance of ordained duties and the invocation of the gods in the Vedic fashion and that they did not make the practice of morality difficult, illogical or superfluous. He naturally justifies the use of images for worshipping God, but wisely permits sectarian difference on temperamental grounds, and even supports syncretism and synthesis. He holds that the Smritis and the Puranas can be relied upon to supplement the Upanisads in spiritual matters as being ultimately based upon the Vedic tradition. He has no difficulty in showing that Sankara's philosophy is neither Vijnanavada nor Berkeleyan idealism, though it is not a better guide than Ramanuja's, and that it is not impossible to reconcile the two statements that Brahman has no parts and that the *jiva* is a part of Brahman. He has used his mathematical knowledge to establish that space and time can be proved to be limited and false in an ultimate reference. Naturally, philosophies that take matter as equally important with soul find no support from him though he does not favour Sankara's *vivartavada* as an explanation of matter and finite souls.

This short review does not do full justice to the wealth of materials to be found in the book nor to the simple and forceful style in which the author defends his view-point. It is a matter of great regret, however, that due to very bad proof-reading a large number of mistakes should manage to linger on in the text and need correction in the next edition. His spelling of Sanskrit words is not free from mistakes and the diacritical marks have not been properly used in many places. Seeing that it is a Calcutta University publication, expert aid should have been placed at his disposal for removing slips and checking references. The author's own mistakes are very few as compared with the errors in printing. If these are ignored, we have in this volume a unique spectacle of a highly cultured Hindu not afraid or ashamed to own publicly his allegiance to the much criticised and much maligned culture of this ancient land that has weathered so many storms in course of its long career and shown renewed vitality when all seemed to be lost through the hostile attack of outsiders and the wavering faith of its adherents.

HARIDAS BHATTACHARYA

MYSTIC APPROACH TO THE VEDA AND THE UPANISHAD: By M. P. Pandit. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library, 369 Esplanade, Madras. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 3.

This book is a collection of six papers contributed by the author on special occasions to the Annual Numbers of Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay and Sri Aurobindo Pathamandir, Calcutta. These papers are, according to the learned author, governed by a unity of purpose which is to test and see for ourselves how far the claim made for the Vedas as revealed scriptures is justified and also to appraise the soundness of the mode of symbolic interpretation. The main principles of mystic interpretation of Sri Aurobindo are enunciated in the first paper and application of this method and the results it yields are illustrated in the subsequent chapters and on the legend of Shunahsepa. The last chapter emphasizes the need for a new approach to the Upanishads. The author observes that Upanishads do not constitute a departure from the Vedas but they draw upon and continue the spiritual tradition of them. He asserts that they are not philosophical texts but essentially living guide-books to the seekers of Truth. There is in the Rig-Veda a Sukta named after Rishi Shunahsepa. Shunah denotes bliss, and sepa, a ray. Its literal meaning is, therefore, a ray of bliss. The Rishi finds himself bound by a bond and aspires after release and to be restored to Aditi. The legend recurs in the Aitareya Brahmana. Some Western Indologists conclude from this legend that *narabali* or human sacrifice is mentioned in it. Like Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, Colebrooke, Wilson and Rosen, the present author challenges their false conclusion and refutes it with strong arguments.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR (A Study): By Haridas Mukherjee. Dasgupta and Co., Calcutta, 1953. Pp. 76. Price Rs. 2.

The late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar deeply impressed himself upon his contemporaries at home and abroad by the amazing richness and versatility of his talents, the originality and boldness of his ideas, and the extraordinary fruitfulness of his literary output. It is therefore in the fitness of things that an attempt should be made in the present monograph to do justice to his remarkable career with special reference to his manifold activities spreading for nearly half a century over different branches of thought and action in connection with the Indian liberation movement. To the present reviewer, the work is specially welcome as it gives him an opportunity of paying his homage of affectionate regard for the memory of one whom he had learnt to esteem as one of his most valued friends since he was a fellow-student at the Presidency College at the beginning of this century.

The book consists of three chapters of which the first gives Professor Sarkar's life-sketch, while the second and the third deal in detail with his services to Bengali literature and with his contributions in the field of comparative study of Eastern and Western cultures. It is adorned with a portrait of Mr. Sarkar and it concludes with a number of appendices consisting of appreciative extracts from his friends and admirers in and outside India. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, as a senior fellow-worker of Mr. Sarkar for many years, contributes an appreciative Foreword.

On a few minor points we may offer our criticism of the present work. The author's treatment suffers from a certain amount of duplication, the material of the second and the third chapters being anticipated

to a slight extent in the first chapter. The author, again, has fought shy of the question, why such a highly gifted person, to quote an extract from the Foreword, "did not get his dues in life which was somewhat marked by a subdued sense of frustration?"

U. N. GHOSHAL

BENGAL VILLAGE IN WOOD-ENGRAVING: Engraved by Haren Das with a foreword by R. N. Chakravorty and Introduction by L. M. Sen. Ten examples, two in colour. Published by G. C. Laha and Co., 1 Dharmatala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 12.

This is a fine collection of wood-engravings representing typical scenes from Bengal village-life, of considerable charm and beauties. Wood-engraving is not yet a popular art though it has immense possibilities in the realm of illustrated journalism, particularly, in the Sunday editions of our dailies, still addicted to the pernicious habit of using clumsy, smudgy half-tone blocks which could be easily replaced by wood-engravings which will help to keep alive a group of artists, specializing in this art. The price is prohibitive and will prevent a large circulation.

O. C. GANGOLY

RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE STATUS OF THE INDIANS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: By H. K. Junckerstorff. Published by Book Land Limited, 1, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta 6. Price not stated.

"Africa is on the march . . . The crucial question governing the future of the Dark Continent is the problem of the racial, religious and linguistic minorities incorporated in the old States and the new ones to be created."

Dr. H. K. Junckerstorff of St. Louis University gives in the volume under review a terse, yet on the whole clear, account of the plight of the more than three lakhs of South Africans of Indian origin. He knocks the bottom out of the Union Government's contention that the Indian problem is the domestic concern of South Africa by clearly demonstrating that Indians in the Union of South Africa are a national minority in international law, one which "includes only those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics materially different from those of the rest of the population." (Definition by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities established by the United Nations). Specially brilliant is Chapter VI which shows how the South Africa Government has denied to the Indian minority the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The rulers of South Africa should remember—more in their own interest than anybody else's—that the suppression of the minorities "will bring internal trouble and revolution." A policy of tolerance, mutual understanding and mutual help will usher in an era of peaceful progress in that benighted land.

The learned Doctor should have been more careful, however, about some of his statistics. Thus, according to him, Indians in South Africa number 282,500. In reality they are now more than 300,000. Again, in one place (p. 25) he puts the number of Indians in Durban at 113,400, and in another (p. 56) at 128,241. Both cannot be correct at one and the same time. These and similar inaccuracies and contradictions should be removed from the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

WHEELS ROUND THE WORLD: By Alan Hess. Published by Newman Neame, London, 1951. Pp. 94. Price 15 shillings.

This exciting little book narrates the daring exploits and the quixotic adventures of the pioneers of motor traction from the end of the last century down to our times—of men battered, twisted, thrown about, but never vanquished or thwarted by the unspeakable hazards of the road. Here we read about the three-ton contraption—painted bright yellow—of Dr. E. E. Lehwess christened "Passe-Partout," which, after a flamboyant announcement of a round-the-world circumnavigation, lumbered its way from London through an interminable succession of dinners, receptions and festivities, and finally ended up ignominiously by getting bogged in a snowdrift near Nijni Novgorod. Then there was the three-car race from Peking to Paris organised by *Le Matin* in 1907. The winner was Prince Borghese who reached Paris in 60 days. 1908 saw an even more ambitious race from New York to Paris. The journey was initially planned via Alaska over the frozen Bering Strait. But this part of the programme was abandoned at the last moment. Andre Citroen's Sahara expedition in 1922-23 in an aluminium car, which took 22 days to make the crossing, was another mile-stone in the life of the "horseless carriage." Also remarkable were Michael Terry's dash across Northern Australia's "Never Never Land," in 1923, through 200,000 square miles of bush and desert country and the desperate ingenuity displayed by the men of the Court-Treatt Cape-to-Cairo expedition during 1924-26. Equally spectacular were Captain T. Yates-Benyon's race from London to Calcutta in 1932, the Sleigh expedition from Algiers to the Cape in 1938 and, finally, the author's own air-cum-overland circumnavigation of the world in the record time of three weeks in June, 1951. Numerous beautiful sketches from the pen of George Bass and eight pages of illustrations covering Hess' round-the-world trip enhance the value of this exceedingly well-produced book.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE WEST BENGAL SECRETARIAT CLERKSHIP EXAMINATIONS: By B. Sanyal, M.A., B.L. Published by the author from 106, South Sinthee Road, Calcutta 30. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 5.

Questions 1947-52 are included with answers besides a very useful Appendix at the end of the book. Rules of the Examination together with the syllabus are also given for the benefit of the examinees. This is the fifth and up-to-date edition of the book and shall prove a useful guide to those for whom it is intended.

DIRECTORY OF THE BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS, 1953 (Parts I and II): Compiled by Dewan Ram Prakash. Published by Bookwala Brothers, Calcutta 17. Pp. 214. Price Rs. 10.

Part I contains names and addresses of Booksellers and Publishers in India and Pakistan, alphabetically arranged according to places of business. Part II contains names of Newspapers and Periodicals similarly arranged. Although a useful publication, the price fixed seems to be a bit too high.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

BANGLAR BARSALIPI, 1360 (B.S.): Edited by Sisirkumar Acharyya Chowdhury. Published by

Sanskriti Baithak 17, Pandit Place, Calcutta 29. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a Bengali Year-Book dependable and up-to-date. Its popularity is proved by the fact that this is the tenth year of its publication. We have no hesitation to remark that from a schoolboy to a businessman, particularly, those who cannot make use of Year-Books in English, this handy volume will prove extremely useful.

A. B. DUTTA

KRISHI-BIGNAN, Vol. II (Fasal Sabji-O-Fal): By Rai Rajeswar Das Gupta Bahadur, I.A.S., M.R.A.S. (Eng) and edited by Ramesh Das Gupta. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 607. Price Rs. 10.

The book deals with a subject, applied agriculture, which is throbbing with life to-day and is in the forefront, now when India is making a bold bid to be self-sufficient in food. The book is of interest because it is written by one who in the earlier part of the twentieth century instilled the life or the spirit of research in agricultural enterprise in Bengal.

Agriculture in India, then, was just a by-word. The Government sent men abroad for agricultural training and on their return gave them magistrateship or something like that, while the state of agriculture in the country was getting worse and worse. The author felt the distress of the cultivators and was determined to improve the condition of agriculture. He invented improved agricultural implements and found out more scientific and economical methods of agriculture. It is a pity we lost him early, but we are fortunate enough to be left with his masterly views and ideals in his books.

The book under review is a part of the author's encyclopaedia on agriculture. In every page of the book we feel his keen passion for improvement of agriculture in India. This particular book deals with crops, vegetables and fruits, from economic, practical and theoretical aspects. Whatever the author has dealt with he has done exhaustively and in lucid style to be understood by anyone with an elementary knowledge of the Bengali language. The book is indeed an asset—the first of its kind in Bengali language. The book has kept up with the modern views and facts in the fast developing science of agriculture. This reflects much credit on the author's knowledge and farsightedness. The book has been admirably edited and revised by Ramesh Das Gupta with his thorough knowledge of the subject. There is a chapter on popular sayings to interest the general reader and an appendix containing cost of cultivation of important crops, vegetables and fruits to help the wise and thrifty farmer. The author has dealt with the subject in several well-classified chapters and has given all the information that the reader may wish to know. He has dealt separately with the insect pests, and plant diseases, and their prevention, manures, cultivation, seed required and nett yield per bigha, for each item. In the chapter on fruits he has dealt at length with the procedure and use of different types of grafting.

This sumptuous Volume of about six hundred pages embodies the experience and observation of an enthusiast and specialist in agriculture.

Now that the national government have come to realise the importance of improved agriculture in India the book ought to be the text-book for students in agricultural colleges and schools and in the hands of all officers entrusted with agricultural improvement.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

HINDI

HINDI SAHITYA KI PARAMPARA: By Hansraj Agarwal. Published by Sahitya Prakashan Mandir, Lashkar, M. B. Pp. 436. Price Rs. 5.

A handbook of Hindi literature tracing its growth from the beginning to the present day, briefly but informatively, against the triple concurrent background of political, social and cultural influence and environment of each period. As such, it will be found very useful by students but it could be used with advantage also by all those who desire to have ready at hand a helpful reference book on the subject. But the handbook is more than a history of Hindi literature; it is a delightful interpretation and assessment thereof as well.

KALA KI KALAM: By Raghuvir Sharan "Mitra." Published by Akhil Bharat Rashtriya Sahitya Prakashan Parishad, Meerut, U.P. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 3.

A collection of sixteen stimulating critical essays on Art, Literature, Beauty in Poetry, Literature and Society, Mysticism and other allied themes. The author is a well-known litterateur and critic, so he has written with intellectual acumen and literary flair and felicity. G. M.

GUJARATI

SHI K. M. MUNSHI-NI PATRA-SRISTHI: An Album of pictures drawn by Ravi Shankar Rawal and published by Guzerat Sahitya Sabha, with a dedicatory page signed by C. M. Diwan, K. K. Sastri, D. D. Shah, Ballantyne Haveli, T. N. Darvaja, Ahmedabad. 1953. 32 colour plates. Price Rs. 25

This is a respectful tribute offered by his countrymen to the Hon'ble K. M. Munshi, the distinguished son of Gujarat, on his 60th birth-day. Such *Fechtiche* volumes of tribute have become quite fashionable in India. But generally such tributes are in the form of a bunch of learned essays and articles from the pen of scholars and savants. But this is a new departure as it avoids the trodden path of literary contributions and takes the form of a bunch of Water Colour Paintings, specially painted by Ravi Shankar Rawal, the famous artist and journalist of Ahmedabad. The 32 pictures, each mounted on cartons, with a descriptive note in Gujarati and Hindi, are in three sections: Vedic-Pauranik (14), Historical (14) and Social (4). The pictures are imaginative presentations, not always happy in their designs, draughtsmanship and colour scheme, the best pieces being Kartavirja-Arjun, Daddanath Aghori, Dhodha Bapa, Chaula, Muhammad of Ghazni, Prasanna, Ranak Devi and Kirtideva. The unspecified portrait pasted on the Album is a powerful study of an unidentified historical figure. The famous Gujarati artist has set a new precedent for the forms of Prasasti volumes which it is hoped will be followed by later pilgrims on the same path.

O. C. GANGOLY

1. **SHRI KRISHNI AN OR AT THE MONTH OF THE GUN**: By H. D. Dave.

2. **GITA SAPTARATNA SAPTATI**: By Babubhai Ichcharam Desai, B.A.

Both published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay 1. 1950. Cloth-bound. Paper-cover. Pp. 176: 171. Price Rs. 4-12, Re. 1.

The weekly paper *Gujarati* presents to its subscribers at the end of every year, a novel or other book for the last sixty-six years. Book No. 1 is its present for the sixty-seventh year. A man called Bhandas was, through jealousy, unfairly shot, by Maharaja Khanderao, at the month of the Gun. Later he

repented and honoured in open Darbar his widow and daughter-in-law. The book sets out that story and is based on the archives of chroniclers (Bahroti). The second book contains the Sanskrit text and Gujarati translation of the first Part (Shlokas 1-40) of the 18th Adhayaya of the Gita, with useful explanations and comments based on the sermons of Godse Shastri-Babubhai is a close student of the Gita and has propounded its principles very well.

MAHASABHANUN BANDHARAN: Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 17. Price As. 8.

This is a Gujarati version of the contribution of the Hindi Rashtriya Mahasabha as adopted at Bombay on 24th April, 1948.

SATYAGRAHA MIMAMSA: By Maganbhai P. Desai. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 294. Price Rs. 3.

This is the second edition of a book first published in 1934, when Satyagraha was being practised at its highest. Its significance, its object, its limitations, its *ahimsa* character, and every phase relating to it was given there. During the course of fifteen years after 1934 many occurrences have taken place, to which Shri Desai has referred in his extensive Introduction. He has noticed that Sangathan-Union can be based on jealousy, envy, hatred and falsehood, instead of on love and truth, and gives us an instance, the union of Muslims brought about by the late Mr. Jinnah. Kaka Kalelkar's second Introduction, i.e., Introduction to this edition, entitled "The Direction in which Hope Lies," is a valuable guide to workers in this line.

ARTHASHASTRANI PARIBHASHA: By Vithaldas Maganlal Kothari. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 66. Price As. 14.

In these days of economic upheavals a sort of Dictionary, giving synonyms and explanations of economic terms and phrases was necessary. Mr. Kothari has met the need, by this small volume, where he gives the meaning, significance, and trend of nearly 500 English words and phrases, and explains them, e.g., cornering, currency, dumping, socialism and many more. K. M. J.

GOPALAN: By Natubhai Solanki. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir. May, 1953. Price Rs. 3.

Natubhai Solanki has been trained in Sabarmati Gandhi Ashram working on cow-keeping, and has produced a book on Gopalan in Gujarati covering different aspects of the problem. He has carefully studied Shri Satish Das Gupta's well-known book as well as the special issue of the *Kalyan*: *The Romance of the Cow*, Sri Valjibhai's *Go-Raksha Kalpataru*, and he has in course of seven chapters produced a handy book showing how the cow was held in great request in our ancient books. He has described the different breeds, milk and milk products. He has also treated ordinary cattle diseases and easily available remedies and *pinjrapoles* for the old and infirm. He has assessed the value of cows against buffaloes, bullocks against tractors, and in a few appendices he has shown how records are to be kept regarding cows and how the various forms of Vanaspati and similar products are to be balanced against ghee, concluding his books with miscellaneous interesting side topics. The book is sure to be very useful to all interested in our cattle wealth, and surely their number should be large enough to embrace all rural welfare workers.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Professor Girindra Sekhar Bose

Dr. S. C. Mitra writes in *Science and Culture* :

Dr. Girindra Sekhar Bose, D.Sc., M.B., F.N.I., the first Professor of Psychology of the Calcutta University and one of the founders of the Indian Psychological Association, passed away on 3rd June last at the age of 67 years. He had a stroke in 1949 and since then he had been practically confined to bed till the time of his death.

We had the privilege of living in close association with Dr. Bose for more than 30 years and thus had the opportunity of witnessing the gradual development and unfolding of the rich and varied powers of his mind. We first came in contact with him in 1917 when he was our teacher. What struck us most at that time was the keenness of his intellect, his novel methods of teaching, and his original ways of interpreting the phenomena of mind. Above all, the rigorously scientific bent of his mind fascinated us. Everything that he said and did, even the routine of the daily activities of his life was based on strict scientific principles. Through close contact we gradually realised the versatility of his interest and his capacities in different fields of intellectual and social activities.

Girindrasekhar was a son of Dewan Chandrasekhar Bose and was born in Darbhanga on January 30, 1886. He is survived by three elder brothers, one of whom is Rajsekhar Bose, a former manager and a present director of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works; a master of Bengali humorous prose who writes under the pen name *Parashuram*.

Graduating in science in the year 1905 with Honours in Physiology and Chemistry in both of which he obtained First Class and stood first, Girindrasekhar entered the Medical College. Passing out all medical examinations with great credit in 1910 he began his career as a medical man. By this time he had already mastered the techniques of hypnotism. From a very early period of his life he was deeply interested in the workings of the mind and had a burning desire to study these in a thoroughly scientific way. The creation of the Psychology Department in 1916 gave him the desired opportunity, and he at once took advantage of it. He joined the Department as a student and acquainted himself thoroughly with all that the leading psychologists of the day had to say about mind. He passed the M.Sc. examination in Experimental Psychology in 1917 in the First class. He however was not satisfied with what he learnt about psychology from the authorities and found serious gaps in the theories about many of the mental phenomena. At that time Sigmund Freud's revolutionary theories had begun to agitate violently the scientists, the religious men and leaders of society of the Western countries. Storms of protests and personal vilifications were the order of the day. Dr. Bose however, was convinced of the truth of Freud's discoveries and found them extremely helpful in explaining much of the hitherto unexplained mental phenomena. He was bold enough to adopt and preach Freud's theories and began practising psychoanalysis himself. It was a great step taken in the history of the progress of psychological

studies in our country. To-day psychologists, anthropologists, historians and even fashionable leaders of our society refer to Freud and speak of his psychoanalytical theories but let us remember that it was Dr. Bose who introduced Freud to India and it was he who was the pioneer of psychoanalysis here.

Dr. Bose was not content merely to discuss and disseminate Freud's theories. He began his own investigations on the unconscious regions of the mind and soon made contributions which attracted the attention of Freud, Ferenczi, Jones and other foremost psychoanalysts of the day.

It was these researches which won for him an international reputation and Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose was asked to be a collaborating editor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. In the meantime he obtained the D.Sc. degree of the Calcutta University in 1921 by submitting his thesis on "The Concept of Repression." In the general psychology too he made a number of original contributions and Spearman in his famous book *Psychology down the Ages* quoted long extracts from Dr. Bose's article on Illusion and elaborately discussed the views expressed therein.

During the course of his psychoanalytical researches, however, Dr. Bose's versatile mind soon realised that there were parallelisms and similarities between the psychoanalytical view and the ancient Indian conceptions about the mind. Accordingly with his characteristic zeal he began with the help of Pandits to study the ancient Sanskrit texts, philosophical, mythological and historical. The products of his devotion to these studies are his well-known treatises *Puram Prabesh*, *Gita* and other articles. The manuscripts of another book had been completed before his death but unfortunately had not been published as yet. With the help of a German tutor, Dr. Bose learned the German language and acquired considerable proficiency in it. His studies on the psychology of language, Bengali technical terms, are authoritative ones. The pages of many journals, English as well as Bengali, have been enriched by his valuable contributions. It was his book *Swapna* written in plain, easily intelligible Bengali language, which first introduced the theories of Freud to the intelligent lay public of our country. As such it was a definite contribution to our own literature. Juvenile literature also did not escape the touch of his hand and his *Lal-Kalo* will always occupy a distinctive position in this field.

Apart from these versatile intellectual activities he had many other solid achievements to his credit. For wider propagation of psychoanalytical knowledge he founded the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, the first of its kind in India, if not of Asia, in the year 1922, long before many other countries of Europe and States of America thought of doing so. He remained the President of the Society, which was affiliated to the International Society, till the last day of his life. Another notable achievement of his was the opening of the Applied Psychology Section in the Department of Psychology of

our University. He considered it humiliating that whenever we had to discuss anything about the child mind or any other topic of Psychology, we had to rely on observational data of other foreign countries. While our students know many things about the I.Q.'s of the British and American boys and girls and the temperamental qualities of the children of Germany and Switzerland they did not have any reliable scientific data about the children and youths of our own country. In order that this serious defect could be overcome the Applied Psychology Section was started with the main object of collecting data and carrying on researches. A scheme was formulated with the help of Dr. Myers, the Founder of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, and Dr. Spearman, the then Professor of Psychology of the University of London, both of whom happened to be present here at that time at the invitation of the Indian Science Congress. The late lamented Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University gave full support to the scheme and the section was inaugurated in 1938. It was the earnest desire of Dr. Bose that this section would gradually be converted into a full-fledged Postgraduate Department of Applied Psychology and Dr. Mookerjee assured him that there would be no difficulty in doing so.

It is a matter of deep regret that even after fourteen years, this undertaking given to Dr. Bose has not been implemented by the responsible authorities. Even now efforts have to be made every year to induce authorities to extend the life of the Applied Psychology section. It will be a fitting recognition of Dr. Bose's efforts in this direction if finally a separate Applied Psychology Department of the University be established. To Dr. Bose goes the credit of starting this completely new venture in our country.

The most important activity of Dr. Bose in the social sphere was the starting of the Lumbini Park Mental Hospital.

Bengal did not have any hospital, Government or private, run on strictly scientific lines for the treatment of the mentally diseased persons. The Lumbini Park is the only hospital in Bengal where all the latest methods of scientific treatment, physical as well as psychological are meted out to patients suffering from diseases of the mind. Starting with 3 beds in 1940 Dr. Bose had raised the hospital to its present position where 80 patients can now be accommodated. It is still a completely private institution and receives no help from the Government.

Dr. Bose's radiant appearance, his magnetic personality, his winning smile attracted everybody towards him. His deep insight and his wide sympathies had considerable influence on his friends, acquaintances and patients. As he was versed in so many subjects it was always a treat to listen to his discourses whether in the academic circles or in drawing room parleys.

Lastly, I cannot refrain from mentioning one thing which has made a deep impression on me. The way he bore his illness during the last 4 years of his life was wonderful indeed. Not a single day did I hear him making any complaint or fretting about his illness. Unless asked he would never voluntarily speak of his ailments and of the pains and troubles he had been suffering from. This spirit of calm resignation is seldom met with now-a-days. If I be permitted to use such an expression, I would say that while other persons read the Gita, our Dr. Bose used to live the Gita.

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H. J. Massingham

THE CRAFTSMAN AND SOCIETY

John M. Todd, a Britisher of Pacifist convictions and Gandhian sympathies, writes in the *Aryan Path* appreciatively of the late H. J. Massingham's contribution to agricultural and industrial reform :

There has died recently in England a man whose great concern was to see the restoration of the intensively cultivated small farm, and the revival of the myriad rural crafts which are needed by it. H. J. Massingham was no 'sentimentalist'. He knew that agriculture and rural society generally must adapt itself to and take advantage of industrial power. So sure indeed was he that the day of the old craftsmen had gone that he made a collection of representative agricultural instruments and craftsmen's tools, to make possible the study of techniques which had ceased to be practised. This collection has now become a permanent museum situated at Reading, in Berkshire, England, useful to the student of history, the economist and the sociologist.

But Massingham knew that any healthy society must be based on a thriving agriculture and must have a responsible attitude towards every bit of work that any man or woman does. He held up the achievements of the past in England, and put a spotlight on the modern abuses of the natural world. He was a prophet, though a minor one. Like most prophets he was detested or laughed at by entrenched opinion for his central message, whilst he was equally adulated by a following of men unknown to fame.

His literary fame in England rests on a collection of books describing the English countryside, *English Downland*, *Cotswold Country*, *Chiltern Country* and his last book, *The Southern Marches*. These fine books are the fruit of his early work at London University as an anthropologist who also studied geology, combined with an increasing interest in the relationship between society and religion. The result is a quite remarkable ability to convey the "feel" of a countryside. Massingham knew the underlying physical nature of it, and the historical processes, social and spiritual, which it had seen.

But all this was ultimately only the happy overflow from his most substantial work and his deepest convictions. It was these convictions which enabled him to convey the sense of wholeness, of harmony, of unity in diversity, in his descriptions of the limestone hills, the stone villages which they nurtured and the craftsmen who lived there, of the chalk downs with their treeless pastures, and religious monuments.

Like most prophets, Massingham was a fighter. He was not content merely with making careful historical surveys of country craftsmen. He did make many of these; though through them could always be seen Massingham's own passion for good work, for beauty wedded to usefulness. But, further, Massingham felt the need to take up controversial positions on contemporary questions. Thus he became known as a bitter critic of the policy of the Forestry Commission in England in planting great areas of hill-sides exclusively with conifers. He became known also as almost fanatically opposed to the use of artificial fertilizers, at least as a virtually complete alternative to organic manure. And Massingham became known too as one of those who maintained that the wholemeal loaf should be the loaf to be subsidized, not that made from flour from which the germ and the outer skin of the grain had been removed.

There has been a spate of books in the last few years about world food shortage and soil erosion, and most of them go to one extreme or another on an exclusively material level in propounding solutions.

One will advocate compulsory birth prevention. Another will advocate the exploitation of natural resources on a vast scale. For Massingham either of these answers is an attempt to make a short cut past the most fundamental considerations. He maintained that any approach will be doomed to failure if it looks on nature as something "to be conquered." The materialist approach forgets that man is a creature, set amongst creatures. It ignores the fact that God made the world, and ordered it in a system of love. Man thus has no right to treat the natural world just as he thinks fit. His proper attitude is indicated in a phrase which Massingham used to describe the peasant: he is wedded to the natural world in husbandry.

Massingham presented his own thought most methodically in a book published in 1943, *The Tree of Life*. It is a historical survey of religion, society and literature in England. In it he quotes a key passage from T. S. Eliot's *The Idea of a Christian Society* :

"A wrong attitude towards nature implies, somewhere, a wrong attitude towards God, and the consequence is an inevitable doom. For long enough we have believed in nothing but the values arising in a mechanized, commercialized, urbanized way of life; it would be as well for us to face the permanent conditions upon which God allows us to live upon this planet."

The publications of the SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE, Amritsar in Punjabi, Hindi and English are sold almost at their cost prices. The first editions of the Holy Guru Granth Sahib in Punjabi and Hindi are out and Bheta fixed is Rs. 40, and Rs. 16, respectively. Printing of Gurbani in Punjabi is done through Photo Blocks. "Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in 1947" 20" x 26 1/8" size, antique paper with pages 453 is sold for Rs. 8 only. For further information and free copy of the catalogue, please write to the Secretary.



In a short article of this sort it is impossible to indicate the full scope of the theoretical background to Massingham's thought which *The Tree of Life* provided. But one can indicate its purport by practical examples from his other works. Massingham observed that few men have lived so well and so happily and with such benefit, in the ultimate sense, to others, as the peasant and the craftsman. So he travelled far and wide observing the last inheritors of their traditions. Here were men who had clearly fulfilled the conditions upon which God permits us to live on this earth. Here were what the modern philosopher calls the "synthetic criteria" by which we could judge modern society.

In 1942 Massingham wrote *The English Countryman*. This was again a historical survey and perhaps the greatest of Massingham's works, illuminated with his own personal acquaintance with contemporary craftsmen.

At the end of Chapter III, entitled "The Craftsman," he wrote :

"I have known many craftsmen of various types and trades and I possess many of their works and implements. Is there a family likeness between them as there certainly is between their tools? Since their personalities are probably more diverse than those of an equal number of mechanics or factory-workers for the simple reason that their work gives them latitude for self-expression, it would seem that a family likeness, say between an Oxford saddler, a Dorset thatcher, a Cotswold slatter, a Yorkshire hurdler and Sussex wheelwright could not possibly exist. From my experience which is not small, it does exist, this shared quality of being, and, for want of a better word, I shall call it serenity. . . . This equanimity of temper, exceeding rare in an age of schizophrenia, is conferred upon them by the nature of their work and their intimate contact with Nature herself. It is not insensibility but poise, and, if it owes something to inheritance, still more to lack of frustration, more yet to consciousness of service and even more to the small green world in which they live, it owes most of all to an attunement with the will of Creation itself."

The "will of Creation" is an ambiguous phrase and typifies Massingham's principle fault, that of verbal inexactitude. Yet the principal meaning is clear. He had been elaborating the virtues of the craftsmen in the preceding pages. He described the training of son by father, and referred to Arthur Bryant's description of this sort of education as "a mental and spiritual discipline," Massingham went on :

"Tradition became variable within certain limits because the human element, nourished by skill and personal responsibility, was always replenishing it It fostered rather than fettered individual treatment and so was inevitably antipathetic to mass-production But it is impossible to understand this interplay between tradition and individuality except by watching a craftsman at work," and Massingham here goes on to describe the Cotswold dry-wallers.

The complex traditions of the old crafts, bound to no time-sheet united with a regional self-sufficiency, and acting by an interchange of goods and services rather than money, were the pillars and arches of a social structure whose core of soundness was no less ethical than economic.

Many times during his life Massingham made his basic attitude to the machine clear, although, as we shall see later, he failed to apply his attitude to the industrial world. In *The Tree of Life* (p. 157) he wrote :

"It is not the machine itself which has been responsible for this degradation, since electricity and the internal combustion engine could and should be of the utmost service in the diffusion of property. It is the machine in combination with a predatory philosophy which has degraded work and finally gone on without it, and this is the work of the economic system which has degraded property and has gone on into a functionless finance."

From there he goes on to quote from R. H. Tawney's *The Acquisitive Society*, about the morally satisfactory nature of mediæval economics. Massingham sums this up :

"The peasant's relation to the land is symbiotic by nature, and so the reverse of predatory. . . . The hallmark of every peasant society is that of integration between nature and religion, freedom and tradition, responsibility and ownership, social service and individual rights. That such wholeness was commonly realized in practice would be too much to claim; what is incontrovertible is that it was the normal and familiar pattern of peasant society."

Massingham emphasized "wholeness" as an essential characteristic of the craftsman. His is a synthesizing work. A master of his own craft, the craftsman is also skilled in understanding his material from its first natural setting to its final use, whether it be from tree to chair, osier bed to basket, stone to house, or sheep to serge. He is in a sufficiently close relationship to the natural setting and to the ultimate consumer to produce an article which is perfectly fitting; he moulds its natural beauty into efficient utility, the result of an under-

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standing, in love, of the created world and of the men and women for whom he works. Part of the craftsman's particular virtue, then, is to be situated in this organic position. He cannot function in the abstract.

In the craftsman Massingham sees the perfect example of man coming to God through nature, man finding beauty through the ordinary processes of his craft, man expressing truth, by fitting harmoniously in with the laws of the natural world.

There is material here for the theologian to consider. But there is material also for the sociologist and the economist. How can the virtues of the craftsman, these supremely fine developments of the best in human nature, be educed in the modern industrial world? To what extent should it be a long-term aim in industry to make it possible for the majority of workers to have an opportunity to be craftsmen in some sense of the word?

Massingham did notably fail to attack this central problem of work in the industrial world. His thought never attained a full engagement in England. Yet the work he did achieve may in the end prove to be of wider import; and, in any case, encouragement of the old traditions, and efforts to enable craftsmen to adapt themselves to modern conditions, are valuable and important. Massingham did much in this sphere; in England the Rural Industries Bureau also has done very much.

In *The Wisdom of the Fields* (p. 136), Massingham cites as a typical instance of adaptation the case of a Somerset wheelwright:

"Sid Poole uses a bandsaw and so presented me with one more example of the utility of the small machine to the master-craftsman. He maintained that it not only freed him to devote more time to the artistry of his handwork but cut out the shapes of the fellows more accurately than by hand."

In 1947 Massingham edited a book called *The Small Farmer*, a principal theme of which was the need for small agricultural machines. One of its chapters, "Small Machines for Small Farmers," by L. T. C. Rolt, dealt with the subject exclusively.

Can we say anything about industrial mass production in the light of Massingham's work? There is no question of doubting the goodness of using the power of steam or electricity or atomic energy. What might, however, be questioned is the wisdom of concentrating the work of design itself solely in the designer of the machine. Can the love of a Christian, can the personality of a human being, be properly exercised in producing the stock responses required in minding a machine which not only has its own power, but also the ability to complete an article within itself?

Mass production has sometimes to produce articles of doubtful quality, to last only a short while, in order that there shall be a continuing demand for the products of the mass-producing machine. On the other hand, we live in an age which is developing its understanding of

the natural world so rapidly that it could be unwise to commit oneself to objects that were going to last a very long time. But these considerations do not humanize work that is essentially inhuman.

As industrial organization is increasingly considered from the point of view of the human being, Massingham's witness will be increasingly of value as a yardstick.

Eventually it should be possible to talk quite realistically about the machine being used by human beings.

The revival of rural society and the increasing use by it of the machine may serve as an example here of what will enable industry to develop in the most human way. In England at the moment a great increase in agricultural production is being planned. In the last ten years a great revival has already taken place. And the work of Massingham and many others like him has been a part of it. At last it is again being widely understood that no society can be healthy, economically and spiritually, if it has not got its feet firmly on the agricultural ground.

The earth is provided by God for the provision of basic necessities. It is ignored only on pain of many troubles. On the most realistic level it has been obvious since the middle forties that it would become necessary for England to alter very considerably her "workshop of the world" economy. It is now becoming clear all over the world that man and the earth are in a relation to each other which has certain rules—there are quite definite conditions under which we are permitted to live on this planet.

Massingham is one of the minor prophets who have been recalling men to an understanding of these conditions. His thought and writings will enable man not to go slavishly backwards in time, attempting to copy the exact patterns of a past age which can never be revived, but to use these past achievements in developing the natural world today in the most human way possible.

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Goa and the Problem of Merger

M. N. Wagh writes in *The Indian Review*:

We in India have the strong feeling that if a referendum is taken in Goa, the Goans, one and all would plump for a merger with India. This view is held not only by the proverbial man-in-the-street, who is a weather-van without an opinion of his own, but also by those who profess to be experts on the Goanese situation.

From the newspaper accounts of terrorism in the form of arbitrary imprisonment and whipping of those who talk, or are alleged to be talking against the Portuguese Government, we have come to take it for granted that the Goans if called upon to vote, would unanimously vote for a merger with India; that India, or Bombay in particular, is a heaven for them. This is a delusion, and the sooner we get over it the better.

There is no doubt that Goa is out and out a police state. It is beyond doubt that the Portuguese are interested only in making the maximum out of the manganese and wine industries that flourish there, that they do not want to utilise these resources for the general good of the colony. It is also true that Minister Rodrigue's promise to redress the grievances of the people was a sham to postpone, or if possible to evade altogether, what is a desideratum. It is also true that the ugly incident that occurred when the Minister toured the pocket reverberated through every nook and corner, and lingered many a day after its occurrence.

But—and that is a big 'But'—in spite of all these bad features of Portuguese colonial rule, which would normally have strengthened the embryonic desire of the subject people to cast off the shackles of slavery and be free, the problem of merger does not hold much attraction to a Goan. It is a paradox no doubt, but a paradox which can be easily explained only if we examine closely the background of life that the people in Goa lead.

Poverty does not necessarily mean discontent and unhappiness. Poverty foments discontent only when it verges on starvation and destitution. It is then that he people manifest their discontent with revolts and revolutions. A Goan is poor, economically or clearly, monetarily poor. He has no bank account, nor does he invest his money, for he has no money to invest. But he gets without difficulty what every human being in a civilised society should get, food, shelter and clothing. In the absence of stream-lined publicity and mass advertisement the temptation to struggle for luxuries is more or less nil. Hence the contentment and sense of security. An average Goan family with five to six children cultivates rice and if possible supplements its income from land by a wine shop called a taverna, or grocer's. From father to the youngest member of the family everybody is engaged in his or her piece of work and six to eight hours to toil and toil leave little or no time for thoughts of freedom and politics. The family lives in a shell of its own. The Minister's tour was merely a ripple in the otherwise smooth, monotonous stream of its life. Nobody understood the significance of the visit; nobody cared to know. Nor does anybody really feel that reform is necessary. The people are not only poor, but illiterate—insouciantly illiterate.

This is a vital fact. It is essential to look at the problem of merger in the light of this vital fact. The delusion under which we labour stems from ignoring it.

If after a study of the life of the people in Goa, we turn our eyes to our shores, we will find that Goa and Bombay are Poles apart. If Goa has no major food

problem, and rice though insufficient for home consumption can be imported conveniently, we have got a tremendous food problem to tackle. If Goa has adequate housing supply many of us here have to sleep in garages and even foot-paths. If crime is conspicuous by its absence in Goa, we are getting more and more worried over our mounting crime graph. And above all, if wine is the tea of Goa, we here have to rest satisfied with pure water, or what for our consolation we call, Adam's ale. What have we got to offer the Goans in exchange for the peaceful, happy life that they lead there? Ave, there is the rub. "Goa might be a frying pan, but do you think we are eager to jump from the frying pan into fire?"

That was the answer, more like a rhetorical question that I had to take when I asked a man in Assolna, a village three miles from Murgao: "What do you think about a merger with Bombay?" In Kanakona also I pointed out to a policeman named Caroz with whom I had made friends the absence of educational facilities in Goa, and the charm of education in Bombay: "Is your damn education going to get me food, shelter and wine?" The answer was as convincing as the answer that a lady is reported to have given, when a journalist asked her if television would replace newspapers: "We can't wrap herrings in a television!"

Such answers as these are not rare. They are a common feature. They clinch the issue; they leave one speechless, stunned. In short, they reflect the attitude of the Goans towards merger. We have to realise that the problem of merger is not as easy as all the experts argue it is. The necessity of awakening the people is of utmost importance; it comes first and foremost. In carrying on propaganda there is one grave danger of hurting the conservativeness or susceptibilities of the people. The problem is as delicate as the problem of birth-control, or the problem of enlightening an adolescent mind. Here we can very well imitate the method of door-to-door indoctrination carried on by the communists in our country. This method has yielded good results to the communists. By constant repetition of the fact of slavery, by making the people aware of the injustice of their life, public opinion can be mobilised. Such intrepid leaders like Brute De Costa are striving to do that.

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How Jews Built the Movie Industry

In the *Jewish Frontier*, July 1953, Ben B. Seligman tells the interesting story of one of the most romantic and gigantic industries of the modern world, viz, the motion picture industry and startles us by revealing that it is the Jews who came to Hollywood and built the movie industry in America:

The history of Jewish enterprise in the Diaspora is largely a history of peripheral industries. Developed by entrepreneurs who were compelled to seek their fortunes in untried pastures, these industries acquired non-Jewish respectability only when their high profits were well established. During the Middle Ages money-lending and banking were the only occupations open to Jews, and later it was foreign trade that permitted them to display their commercial talents. But these pursuits were viewed with disdain by the populace, and the authorities did not mind letting Jews extract the initial profits. This pattern of industrial development holds true even in America: and the motion picture industry is the classic example.

The motion picture industry is young—its commercial beginnings go back to but 1896—but it has already passed through all the major phases of capitalistic growth. Innovators forcibly took the industry away from unimaginative inventors and promoted it into a fantastic money-maker. Expansions and mergers marked its history during its first three decades, and once financial success was firmly established, Wall Street moved in quietly to capture another bastion for finance.

The potentialities of the motion picture were not recognized by the first promoters and inventors. They were anxious to protect patent rights, and did not seek a mass market. The task of development was undertaken by hard-driving, aggressive nickelodeon operators willing to shoulder the risks of an infant industry. They did their own financing; they wrote their own scripts; they built their own scenery; they developed the films and exhibited

the pictures in their own primitive theatres. They had a capacity for work that only those on the periphery of the business world possess. These entrepreneurs were glove salesmen, pharmacists, furriers, clothiers and jewelers. They were innovators, arrogant and often vulgar, but they knew what the people wanted and they created a form of entertainment within the reach of all. Responsive to the demands of a hungry movie-going public, they created the feature picture and the star system. Their names were Zukor, Fox, Lasky, Loew, Mayer, Selznick and Goldfish.

In the beginning the movie industry was shunned by respectable business men. They thought it a low form of amusement that would only ruin reputations. The public, however, felt no such qualms and demanded more films. Studios mushroomed all over the country and anyone who could rent or steal a camera became a producer. By 1909 competition had become so intense that the larger manufacturers formed the Motion Pictures Patents Company as a measure of self-protection. Independent producers, however, refused to be intimidated by the patent combine's legal tactics, and economic warfare raged unabated.

The bitter struggle between the patent combine and the independents continued until in 1914 the MPPC

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ceased to be a dominant factor. Carl Laemmle had formed a powerful protective association; William Fox, faced with a shortage of films for his theatres, began to produce his own pictures; the Lasky organization became too important to be suppressed. Men of that calibre did not accept easily the restrictive dictates of the early movie monopolists. Leading a shoestring existence, they did not mind an occasional hasty trip to Mexico to avoid an injunction suit.

The need for quick escapes from the patent combine's process-servers compelled the independents to seek movie locations close to the Mexican border. Southern California became the ideal place, for here one found superb replicas of the deserts of Africa and of the wilds of India. Continuous sunshine permitted all-day shooting and cheap labor made mob scenes an inexpensive undertaking.

The experience of the patent combine proved to alert movie entrepreneurs that distribution and exhibition were the keys to absolute control. Adolph Zukor, William Fox and Marcus Loew began to dispose of their nickelodeons and acquire more dignified theatres. The extremes to which the early magnates went in their search for dignity is illustrated by one of Loew's theatre purchases. He bought a closed burlesque house in Brooklyn that had been often raided by the police. When acquired, the building was being used as a storage place by the Salvation Army. The decrepit theatre was fumigated physically and morally; for several months it was used by a troupe of Italian Shakespearean actors. Loew then opened it as a respectable family movie house.

Marcus Loew was a conservative business man in an industry marked by flamboyant extravagance. He started life as a newspaper boy on New York's East Side and by the turn of the century had become a fairly successful furrier. Peep-shows, the latest rage in low-cost, high-profit entertainment, offered a more attractive field, however; and together with Adolph Zukor, Loew began to build a chain of penny arcades. Zukor and Loew were very unfriendly partners; each wanted to run the business his own way. When the firm rented new office space, Loew conveniently forgot to provide his colleague with a desk and chair. Zukor could not overlook the insult to his dignity; he left to become an independent producer of films.

Throughout this early period of Loew sought to exhibit a better kind of picture. But he soon found it difficult to obtain good films, for Zukor, his erstwhile partner and now an important producer, stubbornly refused to exhibit in the Loew chain. In 1920 Loew decided to make his own pictures. He bought out a moribund producing company called Metro Pictures, and in 1924 added the Goldwyn Picture Corporation and

L. B. Mayer Company. Thus was formed the alliterative MGM; Loew's producing subsidiary.

L. B. Mayer, born in Poland, came to the United States in the late 1890's. A member of the original group of Jewish furriers, jewelers and nickelodeon operators who built the movie industry, he became MGM's chief. Mr. Mayer's fantastically high salary testifies to his shrewd bargaining powers. When Loew wanted to buy his firm, Mayer inserted a profit-sharing clause in the contract—a clause that has often brought his yearly earnings close to the half-million mark.

After Marcus Loew's death in 1927, the enterprise was directed by Nicholas Schenck, a hard-headed business man who followed the conservative practices of his predecessor. Schenck had come to America in 1892 with his brother Joseph, and together they had operated an amusement park at Fort George, N. Y. One day Marcus Loew came there to show movies and the Schenck boys were imaginative enough to forget the amusement

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park game. Nicholas joined the Loew organization and Joseph became a movie producer. Nicholas Schenck soon won the reputation of knowing best where to build theatres. Thus, although the Loew chain is much smaller than the Paramount or Fox group, its income is markedly increased by the fact that about half of its houses are first-run theatres.

It was Adolph Zukor, however, who established the pattern for expansion in the new industry. Emigrating to America with \$40 sewed into the lining of his coat, he sought his fortunes in the novelty-fur business. Penny arcades were more exciting, though, and in 1905 Zukor transferred his energies and his \$200,000 profit in furs to that outcast branch of the entertainment world. When motion pictures became an important addition to the line of arcade gadgets, Zukor immediately realized the potentialities of the new entertainment form, and they soon became the sole attraction.

Exhibitors in those days had very poor fare to show. Skirt dances, a dare-devil ride in a barrel over the falls, or the pounding of surf on the coast of Maine made up the twenty- or thirty-minute program. Zukor wanted pictures that told a coherent story; the unprecedented success of Sarah Bernhardt's *Queen Elizabeth* strengthened this desire. After his split with Loew in 1912, Zukor went into picture production and formed the Famous Players Company.

Within four years he was at the top of a brawling infant industry. Motion pictures in those days were distributed by so-called exchanges. Zukor did business with the Paramount Picture exchange, headed by a

W. W. Hodkinson. Dissatisfied with the financial arrangement imposed by Hodkinson, Zukor suggested a merger. The former indignantly refused, but he failed to reckon with Zukor's pertinacity. Zukor quietly bought up most of Paramount's stock and within a year was able to oust Hodkinson.

Zukor reasoned that control of the market rested upon control at the source; if the best actors belonged to Paramount, he thought, the exhibitors would be at his mercy. Within a few years Zukor assembled a great collection of talent. Film rental fees increased sharply and block-booking was forced upon the reluctant independent exhibitor.

The latter, however, did not willingly accept this situation. In 1917 several theatre circuits formed First National Pictures, a producing company. With their own supply of film, they could exclude competitors' pictures from their theatres. Soon First National had 5,000 members and Zukor began to worry about theaters rather than talent. For two years he watched First National's tactics and then decided that it was time to set up his own distribution and exhibition outlets. Convinced that theatres were a good investment, he sold ten million dollars' worth of securities through Kuhn, Loeb and Company and began to build the Paramount movie chain.

The technique by which a theatre circuit was welded was not a soft one. An independent exhibitor was approached and bluntly told either to sell his property or suffer the competition of a newly constructed theatre. Independents screamed that the industry was

Widely appreciated at home & abroad..

April 13, 1953

Gentlemen,
Enclosed please find Bank Draft for dollars (\$5.00) for which please send me another supply of Neem Tooth Paste.

I believe I have a small credit from my last order on May 6th 1951.

My dentist shakes his head and can not understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

He has been my dentist for the past fifteen years and my last trip in was the first time my teeth had needed cleaning since just before I started on my round the world trip five years ago.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years.

Again I thank you.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. A. W. Hunter
3801 Wallingford Ave.
Seattle 3, Washington.
U. S. A.

The letter from an American lady is convincing about the supreme quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

It contains intrinsic principles of NEEM and natural CHLOROPHYLL, well-known for antiseptic, germicidal and deodorant properties.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LD.
CALCUTTA-29

being "raped," but Zukor went his way, disposing of First National's individual members one by one. By 1921 he controlled over 300 movie houses and in 1926 his acquisition of the Chicago Katz-Balaban circuit completely destroyed First National's importance in the motion picture industry.

With more than 1,600 theatres exhibiting the Paramount product, Zukor felt safe in the face of the depression. But the quiet ex-furrier discovered that even so depression-proof an industry as motion pictures could not carry the heavy fixed charges imposed by Wall Street financing. Paramount began to hit the financial reefs and for two years 53 assorted law firms, banks, investors' committees and experts scowled and quarreled over the ailing corporation. Involved in all this high legal bickering were the Chase National Bank, the Royal Insurance Company, American Telephone and Telegraph, and the Atlas Corporation. Paramount was finally reorganized in 1935. Of the old officers only Zukor and George Schaefer remained; the new board of directors was composed of bankers and real estate men. John Otterson, head of A.T. and T.'s Electrical Research Products, Inc. (ERPI) became president.

The early movie pioneers were quite aware of their humble origins and their thirst for industrial power was perhaps motivated by an unconscious urge to be treated as equals. But not all of them felt that it was necessary to create financial monstrosities; some preferred to be known as artistic picture makers. Such a man was Samuel Goldfish.

Goldfish left his native Warsaw at the age of 10 and arrived in Gloversville, N. Y., one year later. At 15 he began a successful road-salesman career in the toughest itinerary in the glove business. One day he walked into a Herald Square nickelodeon and became fascinated by the notion of owning a theatre. He soon discovered that it was cheaper to produce and sell films. Together with his brother-in-law Lesse Lasky, a vaudeville producer, and on a capital of \$26,500, he organized the Jesse Lasky Feature Play Company. Goldfish soon acquired the reputation of a man who did things his own way or not at all. When Lasky merged with Zukor in 1916, Goldfish stepped out to create a new production unit. His partners in this venture were the Selwyn Brothers.

The new business was called after the founders, Goldwyn Pictures. Goldfish thought so well of the title that for the first time in the history of corporate enterprise a man named himself for a corporation: Goldfish became Goldwyn. And despite Zukor's hope that it would fail, the new company became a factor to be reckoned with.

Goldwyn's great contribution to movie making was his emphasis upon quality. In 1919 he conceived the notion that the key person in production was the writer. Before this a scenario had been nothing more than a rough outline to guide the director. Of course, this elevation of the writer to an important position may have been but a shrewd competitive device turned against Zukor, who had cornered the market in acting talent. Goldwyn hired such writers as Rex Beach, Gertrude Atherton and Maurice Maeterlinck. While he failed to obtain many usable scripts, he did get a good deal of valuable publicity thereby.

When MGM was formed in 1924, Goldwyn tried to establish himself as production chief. Here, however, he suffered one of his rare defeats and was forced to withdraw. Not at all disturbed by this unfavorable turn of events, he organized another movie company, Samuel Goldwyn, Inc., Ltd. Here he was absolute boss and the responsibility was all his own. He continued to emphasize the quality of his pictures; in no other way could they have been exhibited. Then when the sound film made dialogue an important feature of the movie, Goldwyn's faith in writers was vindicated.

Most producers also tried to duplicate Zukor's tactics. They realized that their pictures possessed value solely in proportion to the number of theatres they controlled. Movie-making could be enlarged only by tapping an extensive market, and the need for a continuous outlet soon overshadowed the processes of production. Distribution and exhibition became the major means of eliminating rivals and of acquiring control of as large a segment of a highly competitive market as one could grasp.

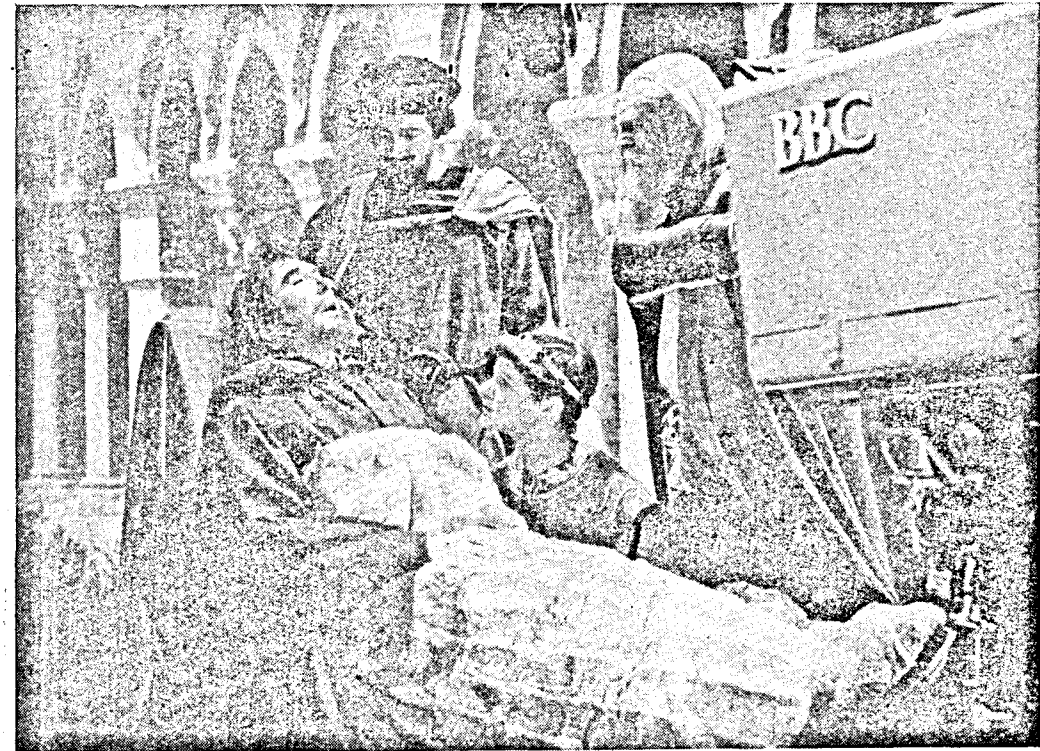
The struggle for the movie market produced gigantic interlocking corporations whose complexity paralleled the complicated corporate structures in utilities, finance and automobiles. Independents were ruthlessly eliminated; production, distribution and exhibition became the functions of a few large corporations.

With the battle for theatres increasing in intensity, Eastern bankers began to recognize motion pictures as a legitimate enterprise. As Leo Rosten says, Hollywood shifted from the Arabian Nights to Dun and Bradstreet. The bankers, however, could think only of box-office receipts and this markedly influenced movie-making policy. In the early days producers exercised their ingenuity without any financial inhibitions; but with the advent of big business, Wall Street supervisors replaced the Hollywood genius. The supervisor's job was to protect his employer's investment; players and directors were selected with both eyes on the box office. A motion picture had to have "production value," "picture sense" and "box office appeal." And, of course, the best way of assuring these was to imitate the smash-hit formula of another company. Forced into this orientation, the motion picture as an art form began a steady decline.

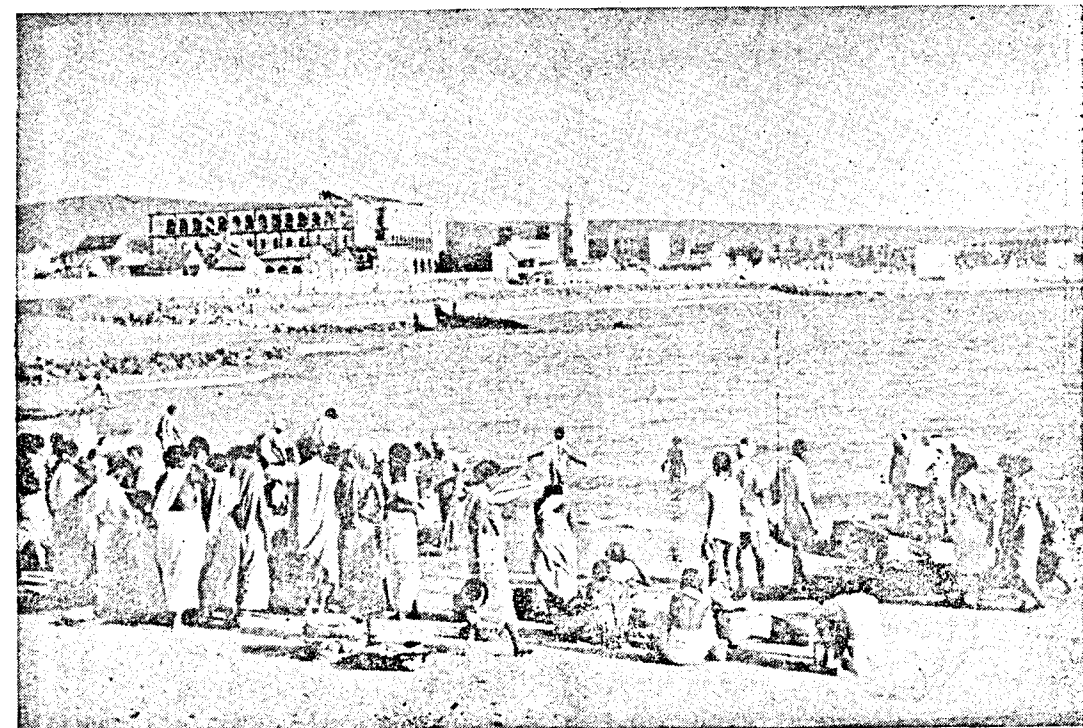
Wall Street men as well as Wall Street money entered the movie industry. W. C. Durant, of the General Motors Corporation, and Harvey Gibson, of the Liberty National Bank, became members of the board of directors of Loew's. The Duponts and the Chase National Bank sponsored the formation of Goldwyn Pictures. The financiers reorganized the larger movie companies and mergers were effected. Soon the public began to recognize the signatures of these new movie-makers.

Into the midst of all this, the sound film broke with an impact that further shook the hold of the old-timers and strengthened that of the financiers. While most industries were prostrated by the depression, the motion picture industry remained financially healthy. Wall Street gazed at this astounding example of economic health and resolved more than ever to secure absolute control.

(To be continued)



The Life and Death of King John by Shakespeare: King John (Donald Wolfitt); The Earl of Pembroke (Roderick Lovell); Prince Henry (Cavan Malone); The Earl of Salisbury (Maurice Colbourne)
Courtesy: B.B.C.



Fisher-folk engaged in their trade on the Vishakhapatnam beach. Vishakhapatnam, Andhra State, is seen in the distance

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NOTES

The Gorwala Study of Calcutta

Calcutta has been going through a series of demonstrations and disturbances, which reached a peak in July last. Much in the July disturbances was puzzling, not only to officialdom, but also to the observant by-stander. Mr. A. D. Gorwala made a study of the situation and presented it to the public in a summary form through the columns of the *Statesman* on October 19 last. This survey is important, not only because of the writer's repute as a trained observer but also because of the gravity of the issues. For a superficial survey it is surprisingly deep in places, but all the same, it has the defects of omissions and wrong conclusions as is common in all bird's-eye views of an unfamiliar terrain. But its importance cannot be denied nevertheless, and we propose to deal with it in some detail. The *Statesman* has rendered good service to the citizens of its parent city by presenting such excellent fare for thought though its full implications do not seem to have been realized by many.

Let us take the omissions first. Mr. Gorwala has completely failed to see the part played by most of the popular newspapers of the city, most probably because he and his informants are not acquainted with the vernacular papers. The English language dailies were not all in a helpful attitude either, but even the most rabid amongst them were restrained in comparison with most of the Vernacular papers. These latter were the backbone of all the demonstrations and disturbances, as the leader of the July movements himself thankfully acknowledged to the editors he had called for a Press interview on the day the movement was called off. Indeed, taken as a whole, the attitude of the Vernacular Press was deplorable.

Even more deplorable has been the loss of contact between the common citizen and the Government.

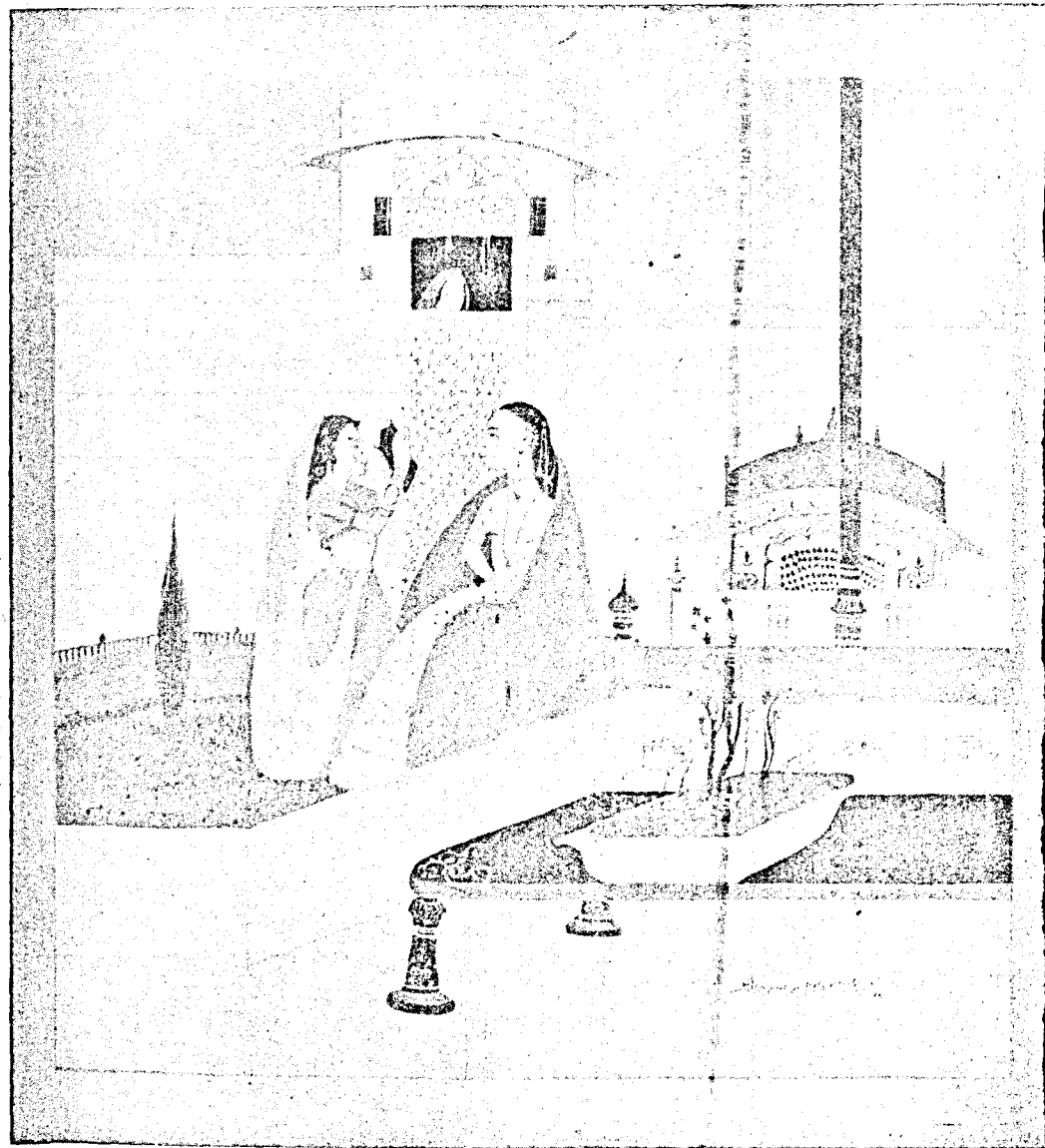
This has been brought about because of the breach between the intelligentsia and the Congress Party. This has resulted in the Government becoming totally out-of-touch with public opinion and ignorant of the factors that were breeding mass unrest. The July movement took the Government completely unawares, which fact has been missed by Mr. Gorwala. This increasing loss of faith in the Congress and the Congress Governments, on the part of the informed and intelligent section of the public, is on the increase everywhere, and as a result the Government cannot find any means of rallying public opinion on its side in a crisis. This is the case in West Bengal today. Tomorrow it will spread out to other States unless the Centre wakes up. The Congress no longer possesses the sanctions that it had in 1947, or even in 1951.

We have dealt in detail with the July disturbances in our editorials of August, and therefore we need not recapitulate. We shall now proceed with the text of the Gorwala study.

Mr. Gorwala's study is as follows:

"The city of Calcutta has never been particularly noted for the tranquil behaviour of its inhabitants. To-day, however, the observant visitor finds an intensity of feeling far beyond the normal. Calcutta is even less at peace with itself than at any time in the past. A deep malaise seems to be eating into its system. Uncertainty, lack of confidence, fear—these appear to be the keynotes of its thought. Even the normally care-free are affected.

Calcutta has, of course, suffered more in the years since Independence than any other great city in India. Partition reduced its hinterland considerably. Its principal industry was cut off to a great extent from the areas where grew the raw material for its products. Refugees poured into it off and on for years, refugees of a kind unknown elsewhere, often totally unwilling to adjust themselves to a new life, resentfully anchoring themselves to their misery. More recently, low prices and lower exports for



AFTER TOILET

By Gopal Chandra Ghosh

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

the products dealt in principally, jute, tea and coal, have led to considerable deterioration in the economic position, involving substantial reduction of profits, and losses, for many firms, with consequent shrinkage of opportunities of employment. All this time the cost of living has continued high, making life year after year more difficult for the middleclass and the working man."

We would add that Calcutta suffered far more from war conditions than any other city or town in present-day India. The children of the soil suffered from the evils of war for three years, without receiving any of the benefits that other cities enjoyed. So the period of suffering started from 1942. In 1943 was the Great Famine.

"Psychologically, too, Calcutta suffers from deep-seated frustration. Very little of the trade or industry of this great port is in the hands of its native children. Almost all positions of importance in these spheres are held by people from outside the State or the country. In business, the Bengali does not come even a bad second. On the political scene too, his metier of the past, he feels he plays no great part now. None of the major Ministries at the Centre is held by a Bengali. The latest of Bengal's great men, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, resigned his Ministership because of the policies of the Central Government and even the striking role he played in opposition came to an end with his unfortunate death, the circumstances of which further embittered the people of Bengal against the Centre and authority generally. Within the State, the Bengali sees what is in effect a one-man Ministry, an energetic personality holding power almost alone, partly because there is none other of equal calibre to support him and partly because he chooses not to work with really able and good men outside his party."

This frustration is far more deep-rooted than Mr. Gorwala could possibly imagine. The native children were forcibly dispossessed of their share of the trade and industry from 1903 as a result of victimisation of the Bengali by the British in retaliation for the Swadeshi movement and the Nationalist agitations of 1903 against Lord Curzon's imperialism. The Bengali had hoped that he would get back all that he had been forcibly deprived of, when freedom came. He has reasons, therefore, to feel that he has been swindled.

"Despite these and other difficulties, for a time the Government of Bengal seemed to have a sufficient grip on the situation. Though its efforts at amelioration were by no means always rightly-oriented or effective, it gave the impression that it was striving hard, and thus gained a certain amount of goodwill, in spite of the general feeling that it was not altogether averse to acting in the interests of some of the rich men who were its supporters, even when such action did not necessarily accord with the public good."

"Now, however, all this goodwill would seem to have

been dissipated. The conduct of the Government in recent months has been largely responsible for this. Its extremely undistinguished handling of the situation caused by opposition to the increase in tram fares, during the whole of which period the Chief Minister remained away, started the decline in reputation. Since then there has been further evidence of the same lack of ability to manage. Despite the Chief Minister's return, the Bengal Government has allowed itself to be so bullied and intimidated from time to time that it seems that all that is necessary now to bring about a change in policy is the gathering together of a crowd of several thousands on the Maidan, the making of emphatic speeches and the sending of deputations to see the Ministers."

"The Communists have naturally taken the greatest advantage of this state of affairs. Their usual exploitation of the difficulties of the people and the Government, economic and other, has received an added impetus from the lack of will displayed by the Ministry and the consequent victories they have won over it have added greatly to their reputation, strength and influence. They seem to have been considerably assisted by the feeling in some Governmental circles that there was really no point in resisting them vigorously since even at the Centre there was now beginning to be a view among some quite influential Ministers that they were the party of the future and were bound to win in time."

"The Communist doctrine of the inevitability of the success of the Communists was, it is said, being stated privately by at least one senior Minister. What then was the good of the State Ministry in its enfeebled condition attempting to hold out against the Communists? How could it even be sure that, if it did, it would receive the full and unflinching support that it had a right to expect from the Centre?"

"A variation of this feeling has already led to the intimidation of business executives by employee unions led by Communists, without evoking any counter-measures. The Calcutta Communist labour leader has added a new variation to the old Indian custom of sitting 'dhurna.' A large number of the employees march into an executive's room, sit down in front of him and say they propose to prevent him from leaving until he agrees to whatever demands they wish to put forward. From time to time, they urge him to sign a paper and, on his refusal, the union official, usually a Communist, each time delivers a short address on the sufferings of the proletariat and the blood-sucking habits of employers and their tools."

"Such a session has in some cases lasted until the early hours of the morning; sometimes the telephone wires connecting the office are cut to prevent any contact with the outside; sometimes, aid from outside is refused by the executive, who having little confidence in Government's ability to look after him later, prefers to bear his cross now. On occasion, the intimidation brings successful results from the point of view of the union. In any case, it increases the influence and prestige of the

Communists and reduces that of the Government. What faith can one have in a Government which cannot protect one from such gross intimidation, of which one dare not even complain, lest worse befall? And how strong and well-organized must not the Communists be when they can with impunity behave in this manner?"

This is a fairly accurate picture excepting for the fact that undue emphasis has been put on the Communist Party. That party, of course, is a foreign inspired and guided disruptionist body. But the leading roles in all the disturbances were taken by their fellow-travellers of the day, the P.S.P., the R.S.P., and the Forward Bloc groups. Without them the C.P.I. could not have done much, if anything at all. The Communist menace is confined mostly to the student community and some fractions of organised labour.

"The situation is indeed full of danger. In the circumstances of Calcutta, the future may well see a tremendous increase in Communist power in Bengal, unless immediate and vigorous steps are taken to put an end to the present Communist dominance. In this matter there must be the fullest co-operation between the State and the Centre. The State by itself can do little unless it receives the wholehearted support of the Centre. There must be an unequivocal repudiation of any pro-Communist tendencies by the Centre. It must be made quite clear that the Centre regards as the veriest moonshine talk about the ultimate victory of the Communists and that for its own part it will deal severely with anyone, however high in authority, who attempts to shatter morale by such talk. The Centre must be exceedingly vigilant and must take all action allowed by the law against the Communists. It must also endeavour to meet Bengal's legitimate desire to have a person in whom the Bengalis can rightfully take pride in a senior Ministership at the Centre."

"The State Government too must make up its mind to govern. Having decided, after careful consideration, on policy, it must carry it out determinedly, not allowing every stress that appears to influence it into changing direction. Dealing firmly with the Communists, it must create confidence in its ability to protect and to punish. In consultation with the Centre, it must take such measures as will reduce the strain upon the middle and poorer classes and give them a feeling of hope. It must attempt to remedy their grievances of its own accord, not wait until they have become so deep-seated as to cause an explosion. By its behaviour, it must make clear to the people that integrity inspires its every decision and action. Then only will it be enabled to meet the dangers that threaten not only it but the values it should cherish and the organized society that it is its duty to guard."

This is correct so far as it goes. But the most important factor is the rehabilitation of the children of the soil. They are being deprived of all means of

livelihood even today. Land and jobs are going to the refugees and contracts and trade passing to the non-Bengali in unfair competition. This must stop.

Student Unrest in Lucknow

Disturbance of peace and upsetting of civic life by student demonstrators has become a common occurrence in Calcutta. But this lawlessness and lack of discipline is evidently contagious; particularly when unprincipled politicians and inane journalists can fan the flames with impunity. In Lucknow, we see the outlines of the all too familiar pattern. Let us hope the U. P. Government will handle the situation with firmness and tact.

Lucknow, Oct. 24.—Over 2,000 students of Lucknow University this afternoon raided the union building closed by the authorities and after a slogan-shouting ritual burst open the doors and took possession of it.

The students' action committee sent out squads to the University asking the students to participate in what was described as the "grand festival of lock-breaking."

Earlier in the day, representatives of the agitating students met the Vice-Chancellor and asked him for the union building or some other suitable place for two fasting students.

Soon after occupation, the students set about cleaning the building and then shifted the hunger-strikers into it.

Tonight the union building was again functioning as the HQ of the students.

In an interview the Vice-Chancellor, Acharya Jugal Kishore, described the students' action as a serious example of indiscipline but he would consult his colleagues before taking any steps.

The Vice-Chancellor expressed regret at the impatience shown by the students whose demands were under examination by the relevant authorities. He said the expulsion of 14 students could be reviewed if the students concerned individually expressed regret for their past behaviour.

He indicated that the correspondence which had passed between him and Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Governor and the Chancellor, would soon be published.

Linguistic States

In the October 17 issue of the *People*, Sri S. N. Agarwal has written an article on the matter of agitation for Linguistic States. As the subject is of interest to a great many of our readers, indeed, to all thoughtful men, we adjoin *infra* extracts from it, with our comments. Sri Agarwal writes:

"There appears to prevail a wrong notion that the new State of Andhra has been constituted because of enormous pressure on the Central Government through fasts and civil disorders that followed a sad demise. This is, however, an erroneous impression which must be removed from the public mind in the interests of

Andhra and the creation of other States in course of time.

The announcement by the Prime Minister about Andhra a few days after the violent and unruly demonstrations might have been, at best, unfortunate coincidence. But anybody who thinks that the Government of India was coerced into this announcement owing to threats of any kind does not know our Prime Minister. We have no doubt in our minds that if the unseemly disorders had not taken place in Andhra, the new State would have been brought into existence at least a few weeks earlier."

We have no doubt that Sri Agarwal sincerely believes in what he has written. We only wish we could believe it to be true.

"The latest resolution of the Congress Working Committee makes it abundantly clear that the Government of India is determined to redraw the map of India on more rational foundations after receiving the report of the proposed High-powered Commission. But all those who still seem to think that threats of fasts or violent upheavals would succeed in hustling the Government into hasty action will be doing a great disservice to the cause of the Reorganisation of States in India."

We do not believe in violent upheavals either. But we confess we have lost faith in these twopenny High-powered Commissions.

In this context he writes about the Andhra State as follows:

"Will this new State be just an imitation, and perhaps a poor imitation of the other existing States? Or will it be modelled on a different pattern so that it might serve as a good example to other States? It is on the satisfactory answer to this crucial question that the success of the Andhra State would ultimately depend. If Andhra tries to copy the ways of the existing bigger States in the country and take pride in the magnificence of its buildings and the 'dignity' of its Ministers and other high officials, we do not feel very enthusiastic about the future of this new State.

On the basis of the fashionable model, the Andhra State would be a deficit unit of administration to the tune of about five crores of rupees every year. It is, therefore, being suggested by the 'experts' of Public Finance and Administration that the policy of Prohibition should be abandoned in the Andhra State in order to balance its Budget. This is very short-sighted and even mischievous proposal.

By scrapping Prohibition, the new State may be able to balance its Budget in terms of rupees, annas and pies; it will, however, lose the balance of its social and moral structure which is as important, if not more, as the economic and financial stability of an administration."

We are in complete agreement with Sri Agarwal on these points.

The main editorial of the *Harijan* for October 17, is devoted to the same subject. It says:

"The question of redistribution of States in the Indian Union is fast getting prominence all over India. It has therefore compelled both the Government as well as the political parties to pay heed to it, whether they like it or not. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru spoke on it during his last tour in South India at Madras. Mr. Rajagopalachari inviting Mr. Nehru to speak, said that they were glad the Congress President and Prime Minister was going to tell them a few things which they would keep as 'wise and permanent advice.' The speech is summarized below from *The Hindu*, October 3, 1953:

"I shall confess to you," Mr. Nehru said, "that I did not wish to hurry it. I wanted to delay—I am not talking about Andhra, I am talking about general problems—till the other processes of consolidation in India had taken place. We are consolidating our country in many ways and we are, I think, a strong national unit in the world. Nevertheless, there is much to be done if we are to bring about what I would call the full emotional integration of India and her people."

"I would have preferred," Mr. Nehru went on, "that this process of re-fashioning the provinces and States of India was postponed or delayed till we had built the country with a solid foundation. I had no doubt that it was necessary to some extent to re-fashion the map of India, but I cannot say to what extent. There is no reason why we should accept everything that came down from the British as a permanent institution in India. The process has begun and let us do it well and thoroughly. Let us not be afraid of it or sorry about it. It is certain it is a historic development which is taking place or is going to take place all over India, in various shapes and forms."

In a way Pandit Nehru has thus contradicted Sri Agarwal's primary assumption that pressure tactics were not needed.

"The Prime Minister, in this connection, referred to the talk about linguistic provinces and observed that while there might be something in it he did not like this particular phraseology, 'linguistic provinces.' Language was no doubt important and represented a major element in the culture of a people. They wanted to preserve the variety of culture in India which was represented among others by language and to give the languages, whether Tamil, Telugu or any other tongue, full opportunity of growth and cultural expression. 'But when we talk about linguistic provinces, while we lay stress on an important aspect of the question, the trouble is that we somehow ignore many other important questions. The question has to be considered in its entirety in all its aspects, linguistic, cultural, administrative, financial, security, defence and so many other things. Then, you are in a position to look at the picture as a whole. Also, you cannot isolate the

problem of any one State, because one State adjoins two, three or four States. As soon as you touch one State, it affects other States. People do not seem to realize it. The formation of the Andhra State is relatively the simplest problem and yet it was by no means simple. All kinds of difficulties arose and will arise, no doubt."

But what should be done when one State tries to suppress by foul means the very mother tongue of a minority group within its boundaries, as is being done in parts of Bihar and Assam?

"Mr. Nehru said that there were demands for linguistic States in South India and in Western India. They could not be treated in isolation. Let them, for instance, take the demand for a Maharashtra State. The Maharashtrians were a fine and virile community among the people of India. There was nothing wrong in their desire for a Maharashtra Province. But, as soon as they began to consider this problem, they could see how many questions arose. The first naturally was that the Bombay State would have to be broken up with other consequences.

That applied to Karnataka also. The Kannadigas wanted a State. He sympathized with them and there was no reason why they should not have it. There was more reason on their side than on the side of many others. But Karnataka by itself was not a simple issue. If they took up the problem, Mysore came into the picture. Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Berar also came into it. They could not just say: 'You can have Karnataka province and there it is.' The whole of Central and South India would be shaken up. Therefore, they had to consider the picture in its entirety.

The biggest problem, Mr. Nehru pointed out, was economic. They talked a great deal and rightly about the economic problem. The principal question was the economic issue of raising the standard of people and getting rid of unemployment and poverty. 'If this is the biggest problem,' he asked, 'should we do something which comes in the way of a solution of it or delay it? It is an important consideration. That is why I say, language, though an important factor, is not the overriding factor. The other factors have to be considered.'

'It is for this reason,' Mr. Nehru said, 'that we are going to appoint a High Power Commission to go into these matters.' He had always thought of the appointment of such a Commission because he did not think that they should accept everything as it was in India today. But certainly he had hoped that the appointment of such a Commission would be delayed for at least ten years till independent India settled down and that they could take up the cutting up of States in a slightly different way.

Mr. Nehru said that they came to the conclusion that it was better they did not delay the matter. 'If by delay one merely keeps the people's mind in

ferment, it is not worthwhile. So, we have decided to go ahead with this Commission.'

We are glad that Pandit Nehru has at last realised that it does not pay to ignore the factors that agitate the people's mind. But does it always pay to ignore some people's demands? He has very carefully omitted the case for the inclusion of contiguous Bengali-speaking areas in West Bengal.

"The Congress President hoped that the Commission would be appointed in the course of this year and that it would go ahead with its work quietly and dispassionately. How far the Commission would be able to do its work in such a manner depended upon other people. Anyhow, it was his intention that the Commission should work in that way and take into consideration the picture of India as a whole.

'I am not prepared,' Mr. Nehru said, 'to consider linguistic provinces singly. But I am prepared to consider here and now the whole of India, how the reorganization of States could be carried out keeping in mind all factors and keeping in view linguistic, cultural and other matters, so that the Commission can put before India a full picture.'

'This business of linguistic provinces,' Mr. Nehru declared, 'narrows our outlook and makes us less conscious of India and more conscious of our State or province. If this is the result, it is a bad result. The overriding consciousness of the people must be of the country as a whole. It is what is called national consciousness. Otherwise, you become narrow and provincial.' If in each State, people become narrow or had an awareness only of their own State, it was bad. They had to guard against it."

If Pandit Nehru could enforce full rights for all people in all parts of India then he would be justified in making such a statement. As he is unable to do so, we cannot attach the slightest importance to it.

Subject to what we have written above, we are in agreement with what Sri Maganbhai P. Desai has written on the same subject in the October 31 issue of the *Harijan*, from which we append an extract below. But we wish he had also given his opinion on the complicated issue of Hindi "imperialism," in all its aspects, with particular emphasis on Manbhum.

"The demand for the formation of linguistic provinces has recently grown increasingly insistent and may soon become an irrational clamour. It is high time that we got it clear in our minds what it is exactly that we want in this matter. Else there is reason for the fear that in our zeal for an otherwise admirable objective, we may lose our bearings and drift away into directions that we least expected. For the forces of pride and prejudice which the controversy round this issue is fast unleashing, are a growing danger to the unity of India.

There are in India several major languages, each of which is spoken by lakhs and crores of people. It is therefore natural as also desirable that the administration,

including the administration of justice and education in a particular area, should be carried on in the language of the area concerned. This alone will enable the mass of our people to have the real taste of Swaraj and create the necessary atmosphere for their intellectual and civic development. In fact, Swaraj loses much of its meaning if this is not done.

This was the simple truth which came to be formulated in the shape of the demand for the refashioning of India's map on the basis of linguistic areas. However, the need behind the demand was as stated above. And that need remains as true today when we have attained Swaraj as it was in the past. That is why the people continue to cry for it.

The Congress appreciated this need and organized its work on that basis from as early as 1920-21. This arrangement suited the convenience of the people and was greatly instrumental in creating and educating public opinion in favour of this idea. Indeed its hold on the mind of the people soon became firmly established. Not only that, to some who were too intensely attached to it, it almost acquired the virtue of a fetish.

But the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis in the Constitution of the Congress did not mean constituting the entire area in which a particular language is spoken into one single separate State. It was not based on the slogan—'One language—one State'. It is very necessary today to get this fact clear in our minds. For example, the Congress recognized several provinces, such as Bihar, U.P., Delhi, Punjab, etc., in the large Hindi-speaking area in the North. In the same way, the Marathi-speaking area comprised Maharashtra, Vidarbha, and Central Provinces (Marathi). On the other hand, the C.P. which were one administrative unit, comprised of these Congress provinces—Mahakoshal, Vidarbha, C.P. (Marathi). The Bombay City constituted one separate province by itself; and there were three other Congress provinces in the Bombay Province. Congress Gujarat included Kutch and Saurashtra. This shows, though the Congress provinces were said to be based on language, it did not mean that the entire area of a language was to be brought under one administrative unit and constituted into a separate province. The essence of the principle in this regard was, as indicated above, the adoption and use of the language of the common people for all work, administrative, educational, judicial and otherwise.

To this end, in some cases, as in the then Central Provinces, where it was felt necessary to demarcate an existing province linguistically, it did so. But in others where the said purpose could be achieved without any formal division, it did not do so, though it followed the principle in practice. The Congress did not countenance the view, which some are wrongly advocating today, that the entire area of a language should be brought within a separate administrative unit."

Sri Prakasam and the P. S. P.

Sri Prakasam's resignation from the P.S.P. has caused a very considerable stir in that political body. The whole question is very ably discussed by Shri Dinkar Sakrikar in the October 17 issue of the *Vigil*. Sri Sakrikar writes:

"The successful execution of a manœuvre by which Sri Prakasam's exit from the P.S.P. was secured is a matter of grave concern for everyone who is pledged to building a democratic society in this country. That instead of an honest, principled and conscientious attempt to follow well-defined traditions of democracy, a deliberate, calculated and, it must be confessed, a successful attempt was made to by-pass the demands of a democratic system in order to ensure 'power' for the ruling party, raises a problem in the practice of democracy which should exercise the minds of all irrespective of party affiliations. The discomfiture which the PSP has suffered in Andhra is nothing compared to the serious repercussions that this may have on the political life of the country. The question is not of the PSP's ability to enforce discipline among its ranks but of the democratic system preserving its basic code of political morality without which it will inevitably collapse.

'Power' is the motivation behind all politics. At least that was the accepted belief until Mahatma Gandhi outlined a new orientation of politics. The 'real politik' was not confined to Germany. In every country politicians resorted to it to further their personal or group ambitions or the parochial interests of their nation as against the wider interest of an international community. 'Real Politik' was not even the product of the capitalist society, for long before laissez faire economy was born the Prince of Machiavelli had become the Bible for all statesmen. Even in India the accepted mode of conducting politics was outlined in *Chanakya-niti*, which is the Indian version of Machiavelli. In modern times, Lokamanya Tilak advocated the policy of *Sadam Prathi Sadyam*. Gandhiji differed from this approach radically. His whole being revolted against it for he believed in 'conversion' of an enemy not his defeat, much less his destruction. He stood for conquest by love and evolved a new terminology for his programme of mass action. He called it Satyagraha in which the victory would be not of this or that party but of Truth, leaving behind no trail of bitterness. All suffering and sacrifice in his movement were to be undergone by Satyagrahis, and not by those whom the Satyagrahis sought to win by their soul force. As against the slogan of *Sadam Prathi Sadyam*, Gandhiji raised the slogan of *Sadam Prathi Sakyam*. He had accepted the Sermon on the Mount which ordained: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." He never countenanced any

thought and action which violated this indictment. In every situation Gandhiji always considered what was right, what was consistent with what he regarded as his religion. He never tolerated the water-tight division of religion and politics and could not bear the idea of judging any issue on purely 'political' considerations. He was accused of introducing religion in politics. He explained to a correspondent: "I do not conceive religion as one of the many activities of mankind. The same activity may be either governed by the spirit of religion or irreligion. For me, every, the tiniest, activity is governed by what I consider to be my religion." By his refusal to let politics be divorced from 'religion,' he changed the fundamental conception of politics. He rejected categorically the power-motivation of politics and substituted instead the service-motive.

The most saddening feature of the public life in post-freedom India is the return to real-politik and the rejection of Gandhiji's conception of ethical politics. No doubt India still talks in international assemblies with a high moral tone and proclaims moral purpose as the basis of all her politics. India believes that she has a right to preach to the world, and when the world remains unimpressed, Indian spokesmen lose their temper and revert to the political theme of Asian resurgence. Beneath the polite pleasantries that are addressed as a matter of course is a lurking suspicion that we are either moral cowards or the less harmful type, the insufferable sanctimonious humbug."

We agree with Sri Sakrikar in his analysis of the present-day trends in the Indian political fields. But in levelling all his accusations against the Congress, does he not assume that the P.S.P. is above all these? If so, we beg to differ. Here, in West Bengal, we have just had a visual and forceful demonstration of real-politik, led and organised by the P.S.P. leaders. We say this with sorrow.

Democracy and Real-Politik

The editor of the weekly *Star* of Lahore has written an open letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, in the October 23 issue. Much of what he has written could be said with a good deal of force, about our own Prime Minister. We do not for a moment hope that this excellent attempt on the part of the editor of the *Star* will meet with any response, unless his Prime Minister is less of a *khushamad* addict than ours. We append an extract below:

"Incidentally, it is highly insulting and humiliating to believe that save the Prime Minister, our nation cannot produce a single man—or woman—who is fit to mount the League horse as President. The fact is that if any leading public man, outside the Government, becomes the League Chief, he is sure to provide a powerful and popular check on the misdeeds of the Government, his own Muslim League Government. Since our present rulers seem determined to continue in power as long as they can, the

situation I have tried to imagine would mean that either they shall have to commit political *hara kiri* or they would be democratically murdered in course of time. If it is said that no set of rulers can ever be expected to work for their own liquidation, my only answer is that ultimately, all attempts to dodge democracy result in the liquidation of democracy. Are we prepared for it?

"Dear Prime Minister, I really wonder whether you were cajoled or coerced into accepting the Presidentship of the Muslim League. I cannot imagine, sir, a more undemocratic act on the part of those who gave you such an advice. I assure you that they are not your friends, but flatterers. Probably you know that Quaid-i-Azam was given a similar offer but he declined it. And, then, sir, can you really work as Prime Minister, Defence Minister and League Chief? I believe that you should not even hold any portfolio, for you can best act as a co-ordinating factor, a supreme supervisory agent, a vital link between the various ministries, a sort of hyphen that joins the different departments of the Government. Think it over: it is not only a matter of your personal prestige and popularity; it is a question of your success as Pakistan's third Prime Minister.

"In the circumstances I have depicted above, am I not entitled to ask: Is Pakistan a Democracy?"

North-East India Tribals

There is considerable disaffection amongst the tribal peoples in North-East India, as was prominently shown during Pandit Nehru's visit. The forces behind this disaffection are complex, and there is no want of instigation. News like the following make sad reading particularly the shocking news of the attack on the goodwill mission, made by the Tagin tribe in the unadministered zone.

Jorhat, Oct. 26.—Four leaders of the Revolutionary Nationalist Party of Manipur have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Imphal, Mr. O. Chaoba Singh, according to news reaching here today. They will be placed in "A" Class.

They were arrested on April 24 under Sections 120B, 124A, and 153A IPC for holding a meeting on April 19 in the Polo Ground, at which they were alleged to have delivered provocative speeches demanding an "independent buffer State of Manipur," and threatening to launch the Satyagraha movement on the 15th day from the date of the meeting.

The Revolutionary Nationalist Party of Manipur was formed by amalgamation of the All-Manipuri National Union and the Gandhi Sevak Sabha.

Jorhat, Oct. 29.—Twenty-five Government officials including some military personnel were killed by hillmen in the interior area of Abor Hills in Nefa recently, it is reported.

A party of Government of officials touring Abor Hills

in a goodwill mission was attacked and killed wholesale by about 500 hillmen when the officials were distributing sweets among children. An operational force was rushed to the spot. Further details are lacking at present.

The Etawah Project

The Weekly Magazine Supplement of the *Hindu* of October 18 contains a very succinct and informative account of the Etawah Pilot Project, by Taya Zinkin. What is written therein is worthy of note by all the ministries of agriculture and food. For the Etawah experiment is a series of practical demonstrations of what is likely to benefit the country and what is pure waste—such as, the Krishikar Pandit competitions. We append extracts below:

The main object of the Etawah Pilot Project is the improvement of agriculture.

Improvements meet with response strictly according to the benefits they bestow. Improved seed increases yields by 30 per cent. Improved seed plus green manure increase yields by 68-70 per cent. Improved seed plus green manure, plus complete manuring (ammonium sulphate and superphosphates) increase yields by 100 per cent and sometimes even bring yields up to 22 maunds per acre. Now to the economics of it. Improved seeds cost nothing. One maund of green manure seed—needed for one acre—costs Rs. 12 and the cost of ploughing it under is another Rs. 10, extra water may be Rs. 8 per acre. Total cost to improve yields by 68-70 per cent equals Rs. 30 in order to get Rs. 150 worth of extra wheat. Well worth it. Fertilisers will cost Rs. 20 more and require another Rs. 8-10 worth of water, the extra wheat thus obtained will fetch another Rs. 42 for a capital outlay of Rs. 23. When one takes the work involved into account, it is not worth it. Therefore the offtake of "almonia" as the villagers call it, has dropped so sharply that it has drained the scanty resources of the co-operatives which are still carrying last year's damaged stocks—bought at Rs. 350 against the present price of Rs. 275.

Indeed this costing brings one to a critical and dispassionate analysis of the results achieved by the Krishikar Pandits. One such Pandit who had topped all jawar records, give the recipe of his success in the *Indian Farmer*. Curiosity drove someone to calculate his costs and found that, having paid for all his activators and the labour, he was Rs. 3 out of pocket per acre. But back to Etawah.

The same demand which exists for improved wheat exists for improved peas. The new 163 strain produces 26 maunds instead of 15. The only cost is Rs. 20 for the additional water per acre and the return is Rs. 140. The villager needs no persuasion, the Project needs more seeds. There has also been a great response to the Patna Potato—a small brand—which grows quickly in between seasons and for which the seed, being small, costs only Rs. 23 per acre against Rs. 40 for the usual large size. The Patna variety brings the

usual 100 maund per acre yield up to 236, a net gain of Rs. 540 per acre for an outlay of Rs. 180 (manure, fertiliser, water, etc.). Three years ago there were 50 acres under potatoes in the Project areas, there are now over 500; the villagers eat them and sell them in the Etawah market; the co-operatives have so far failed to plan for marketing.

The Kosi Project

The Kosi has been rightly termed the River of Sorrows in North Bihar. Vast tracts of arable land are laid waste every year and hundreds of thousands rendered homeless by this erratic and turbulent river. We are glad that decisions have been taken to attempt to curb the destructive power of the Kosi at last as the following report shows:

Patna, Oct. 27: The Government of India have decided to start the work of Kosi Project in the coming winter, it is learnt here.

The first stage envisages the construction of a barrage at Terhi Bazar with embankments on both sides of the Kosi river and a canal system on its right as well as its left bank.

With the completion of the project the river is expected to be confined between its two embankments which may be as wide as six miles and people on both sides of the sixty mile long embankment will have security they have not enjoyed for ages.

Later news, emanating from New Delhi, where a discussion was held at a meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation, give a more detailed account of the problem:

"Mr. Kunwar Sain, who summed up the discussion, stated that no single measure was likely to be adequate in meeting the challenge of the Kosi. The problem required a combination of all the known solutions—a dam, a barrage, and embankments. He stressed the uniqueness of the Kosi problem. It was so difficult that it could only be solved by people who gave it full thought and were so steeped in it that they remembered it even when asleep. He appealed to the engineers to think about the Kosi, India's biggest engineering problem, and send him suggestions which he promised would be fully examined.

"In a sense, the Kosi presented three problems. The first was the problem of floods. The peak discharge of the river varied from 200,000 to 700,000 cusecs. As in all flood problems, the solution lay in reducing the discharge to manageable proportions. This could only be done by building a storage dam so that the water could be released more gradually. The dam had to be of adequate capacity. Any such dam would necessarily be expensive. That is why one had to think in terms of a temporary but cheaper solution.

"Secondly, the Kosi brought down coarse sand which it spread over a wide area, rendering it barren.

Evidence of it was unmistakable. People were trying to reclaim the land which the Kosi had spoiled. Intrinsically, the land was extremely fertile.

"Thirdly, the Kosi was shifting its course westwards. Some thought it would eventually swing back. But the land on its right bank was precious. It was necessary to check the damage the Kosi was causing.

"Referring to remedies he said he was not thinking in terms of a storage dam in the immediate future. The other two problems of sand and meandering were inter-connected. The PWD was studying the relevant factors of silt discharge, gradient, etc. A great deal of data had now been collected. He hoped to announce certain conclusions by the middle of November."

D.V.C. Power Supply

We append below a curious bit of news which appeared recently in the daily press. We call it curious because the "decision" taken seems to be out-of-date by about three and a half years. Have the decisions on flood-control and irrigation been taken or do they await the completion of the dams?

New Delhi, Oct. 27: A decision to extend the power transmission system of the Damodar Valley Corporation to Calcutta, Patna and Gaya was taken at the Inter-State Conference which reassembled in New Delhi today under the presidentship of Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Irrigation and Power and Planning, Government of India.

The extension of the power supply to Calcutta will necessitate additional generating equipment for housing which provision has already been made in the Bokaro Power House structure. The programme in this connection will be reviewed after a year, depending on the growth in demand for power in the DVC and Calcutta areas.

The C.P.I. and the Forward Bloc

In the July disturbances in Calcutta, which were the planned preparation for the South-East Calcutta Parliamentary bye-election, the "Leftist" groups co-operated with each other in making the life of the common citizen miserable and in increasing the circulation of certain Calcutta dailies, which boosted the movement. Now they have fallen out as evinced by the following report:

"Pandit Sheelbhadra Yajee, Secretary-General of the All-India Forward Bloc, has issued a statement describing the decision of the West Bengal Communist Party to set up Mr. Sadhan Gupta as its nominee in the bye-election to Parliament from South-East Calcutta Constituency as a 'betrayal' of its agreement with the Forward Bloc.

"Pandit Yajee said that after prolonged negotiations among the leaders of the Forward Bloc, the Praja Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist

Party, the Communist Party, the Bolshevik Party and others it had been decided by all Left parties that Dr. Bhupal Bose, the Forward Bloc nominee, should contest the seat, which had fallen vacant following the death of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, against Dr. Radha Binode Pal, the Congress candidate.

"The West Bengal Communist leaders, including Mr. Jyoti Basu, had assured him, Pandit Yajee said, that if the CPI was not driven out from the United Famine Resistance Committee they would not set up any CPI candidate but support the Forward Bloc nominee. The Forward Bloc and other Left parties had fulfilled the conditions. The CPI had set up Mr. Sadhan Gupta as its candidate."

Bhoo dan and the Churches

The fragrance of Bhoo dan Yagna has been wafted abroad by the action of the Bishops of the Southern Christian churches. We find the following report in the September 18 issue of the *Worldover Press*. We add our felicitations to these dignitaries of the Churches mentioned for their very appropriate action.

Kottayam, India.—Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoo dan Yagna" (Land Gift Sacrifice) Movement has received support from the heads of the indigenous churches located in the southeast coastal strip of India, commonly known as the Kerala region. In a joint statement to the Protestant and Syrian Christians in this part of the country the bishops urge them to counter the violence of the Communists with the love and non-violence basic to the Land Gift Movement.

Nearly a million and a half acres of land have now been distributed through the appeals of Vinoba Bhave for voluntary gifts. This is in contrast to some 30,000 acres distributed by Indian Communists in places where they have sufficient political power.

The signatories to the statement endorsing Vinoba Bhave were the bishops of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Church, the Knana Syrian Church and the Kottayam diocese of the Church of South India. Among them they reckon nearly a fourth of the entire non-Catholic Christian population of the country.

Considerable importance attaches to this open move on the part of the bishops because no other church prelates have so far come out thus in support of the Land Gift Movement on their own initiative. Besides, the Christian elements in this part of India, which comprises Malabar and Travancore-Cochin states, are among the wealthiest in the nation. The ancient churches count among their members many influential proprietors of large land areas.

Railway Ills

Our railways, which are all nationalized, are suffering from many evils, which emanate from many

different sources. Some of them are due to faulty or ill-planned administration, some originate from the travelling or using public, and others are due to purely nefarious activities of criminals. Recently public attention has been drawn to some of them as the following news shows:

"New Delhi, Oct. 23.—The National Railway Users' Consultative Council, which concluded a two-day meeting here today, urged the Railway Ministry to take suitable steps to eradicate ticketless travel and beggar nuisance from the Railways.

The Council "viewed with concern the national loss that was taking place owing to ticketless travel" and recommended that the Ministry should take steps not only to improve the efficiency, calibre and integrity of the ticket-checking officials but also to secure public co-operation in the eradication of this evil and enthuse public opinion generally against it.

The Council suggested that its members and members of the Zonal Committees should be enabled to call upon the ticket-checking staff to make checks in their presence.

With regard to elimination of the beggar nuisance, while the Council recognized the difficulties of the problem, which were often aggravated by misplaced sympathies, it considered that "tangible results can only be achieved by adequate and effective action by police in dealing with beggars at stations or on trains."

The Council urged the State Governments to pay particular and immediate attention to the removal of this nuisance and take effective legislative and other action."

Theft on trains and pilfering from goods wagons have become rife. Certain stations, like Khargpur, have become notorious. The *modus operandi* of the thieves is well-illustrated in the following news that appeared on October 30. It is difficult to believe that such bold attempts could be made without the connivance of some of the railway staff:

"Shortly after midnight of Wednesday-Thursday, the police surprised a gang of about 25 men and arrested 10 of them while, it is alleged, they were removing buckets from a railway wagon which they had broken open near the outer signal on the Sealdah South Section. The wagon was immediately behind the engine of a train that was coming from Canning and was due at Sealdah at 12-30 a.m.

Over 100 buckets, which had been thrown out of the wagon, were seized. A knife, about 15 inches long, was found on one of the men arrested. A near-by bustee was searched later in the night and nine more arrests made.

It is stated that the signaller at Sealdah noticed that although he had given the green signal to the train, the red signal continued to show. This made him suspect that the mechanism had been put out of order by pilferers to stop the train.

He immediately communicated his suspicions to the

Railway Police, a party of whom and of the Railway Protection Police went to the place. Seeing them, the thieves began to run, but 10 of them were caught. Later, the Railway Police searched a bustee in the direction of which the men had fled."

Industrial Finance Corporation

The annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation for the year ended 30th June 1953, indicates that industrial concerns in India appear not to have taken full advantage of the long-term credit facilities provided by the Corporation. Although the number of applications increased from 54 to 74 and the amount of loan sought from Rs. 7.3 crores to Rs. 8.25 crores, the actual number of applications sanctioned and the loans granted thereon declined from 33 and Rs. 4.45 crores to 14 and Rs. 1.43 crores respectively. The number of rejections, too, was high at 30, as against 19 in the preceding year. Moreover, the number of applications under consideration at the end of the year, too, remained very high at 41 for loans amounting to Rs. 5.22 crores, as compared with 17 applications for Rs. 2.02 crores during the last year. The report explains this state of affairs as follows:

"Though the number of applications was larger than in the previous years, the proposals were often not well-thought-out, and some of the applicants did not show keenness in pursuing their applications. For this reason, more time had to be devoted on the consideration of the applications."

The types of industries and the amount of accommodation sanctioned to each of them during the year, as compared with those of the previous year, are stated below:

	(In lakhs of rupees)		
	Amount sanctioned during year ended	Amount sanctioned up to year ended	Total
	30. 6. 53	30. 6. 52	
Textile machinery	...	64.00	64.00
Mechanical engineering	5.00	68.00	73.00
Electrical engineering	12.00	114.50	126.50
Cotton textiles	65.00	204.75	269.75
Woollen textiles	...	35.00	35.00
Rayon industry	...	50.00	50.00
Chemicals	11.75	186.00	197.75
Cement	...	90.00	90.00
Ceramics and glass	...	119.00	119.00
Oil mills	3.50	2.50	6.00
Electric power	25.00	17.50	42.50
Metallurgical industry (non-ferrous metals)	...	35.00	35.00
Iron and steel (light engineering)	17.50	50.50	68.00
Aluminium	...	50.00	50.00
Sugar industry	...	115.00	115.00
Mining	...	30.00	30.00
Paper industry	...	74.00	74.00
Automobile and tractor industry	...	50.00	50.00
Unclassified	3.50	47.70	51.20
Total	143.25	1,403.45	1,546.70

The above table indicates that the textile industry stands foremost amongst the borrowers of the Corporation, accounting for nearly a fifth of the total amounts sanctioned. The chemical industry continues to hold the second place, while electric and ceramic and glass industries have stolen a march over that of sugar, which has come down from the third to the fifth place.

The total amount of bonds outstanding at the end of the year under review remained at Rs. 5.80 crores. The Corporation will soon sell further bonds of the face value of Rs. 2 crores. The Directors observe that, with the rising cost of borrowing, the Corporation was compelled to raise its rate of interest on its loans to 6½ per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent for prompt payment of interest and instalments of principal on the due dates.

The following table will show the State-wise distribution of the loans and the total amount sanctioned as at the end of June, 1953:

	(Rupees in lakhs)			
	Up to 30th June 1953		Up to 30th June 1952	
	No. of Units	Amount	No. of Units	Amount
Assam	27	427.5	29	415.00
Bombay	5	83.0	7	83.00
Bihar	3	39.75	4	29.75
Madhya Pradesh	4	27.50	4	20.00
Punjab	6	126.50	6	121.50
Madras	2	59.00	2	59.00
Orissa	7	54.70	9	54.70
U. P.	17	301.75	16	250.00
West Bengal	2	60.00	3	50.00
Rajasthan	3	140.00	4	140.00
Saurashtra	1	3.50	1	3.50
Madhya Bharat	3	65.50	3	65.50
Travancore-Cochin	7	98.00	5	71.00
Mysore	2	60.00	1	40.00
Hyderabad				
	98	1,546.70	94	1,403.45

For the first time since its inception, the accounts of the Corporation show a profit which is large enough to pay the whole of the guaranteed dividend of 2½ per cent on its paid-up capital of Rs. 5 crores without assistance from the Government by way of subvention. The profit before taxation for the year ended 30th June, 1953, aggregated Rs. 23.17 lakhs as against Rs. 9.26 lakhs in the preceding year. It may be mentioned here that in the preceding four years, the Corporation had received an aggregate amount of Rs. 26.9 lakhs, as subvention from the Government of India.

Estate Duty Act

The Estate Duty Bill which was passed by the House of the People on 15th September 1953, has come into force with effect from October 15, 1953. The objects of the Government in introducing the measure are two-fold—to rectify, to some extent, the existing inequality in the distribution of wealth and to assist the States towards financing their development schemes.

It may be noted that one of the directive principles of State policy calls for prevention of the excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, and this measure will go a long way in fulfilling an objective of that directive.

Although the Indian Estate Duty Act is modelled on the British Act, it differs in two important respects from the latter. In the United Kingdom, the step system is in force, whereas in India the slab system has been adopted. Under the slab system, the incidence will be much smaller, particularly on upper income levels. Secondly, the rates in India are much lower than Britain's. For example, in Britain exemption is given to estates not exceeding £2,000; in this country, exemption is given to estates not exceeding Rs. 50,000 in the Mitakshara families and Rs. 1 lakh in case of others.

The Indian maximum rate is 40% on property exceeding Rs. 20 lakhs; whereas the British maximum rate of estate duty is 80 per cent. In that country, estate duty at the rate of 40 per cent is payable on the whole of a property the value of which exceeds £60,000 (Rs. 8 lakhs) and does not exceed £75,000. Further, in Britain there are succession and legacy duties in addition to the estate duty. Estate duty is a mutation duty, succession and legacy duties are acquisition duties. The Indian rates are so low, that they will in no way act as a deterrent to capital formation. The incidence on the first four slabs has been kept at a rather high figure. It is also clear that the rates of levy on the higher slabs are well below the worst expectations entertained in the market. Because of the slab system, even the big estates will get the advantage of lower rates on the initial slabs and the rate applicable on the total value of the estate will be less than 40 per cent.

The following figures will support the contention that the incidence of the Estate Duty will be much lighter in this country than in many other countries having a similar legislation:

Value of Estate	India	U.K.	Australia	Ceylon	Pakistan
	%	%	%	%	%
Rs. 1.5 lakhs	2.5	6.0	3.9	5.0	6.0
Rs. 2.0 lakhs	4.38	8.0	5.2	7.0	6.0
Rs. 3.0 lakhs	7.08	15.0	7.1	8.0	8.0
Rs. 5.0 lakhs	10.25	24.0	10.3	10.0	12.0
Rs. 20.0 lakhs	20.0	50.0	26.1	16.0	30.0

An issue which figured prominently during the passage of the Bill in the House of the People, was the question of setting up an independent appellate authority to which an appeal could be preferred, if a party was dissatisfied with the decision of the taxing authority. The position now is that an appeal can be made to the Court when a question of law is involved. But, if there is a difference of opinion on matters relating to the facts of the case, the decision of the Central Board of Revenue is final. The objection to this arrangement springs from the fear that the Central Board of Revenue will not interfere with and that the Board might even actively support

and confirm the decision taken by its subordinate officers. In this respect, the Government's defence of the existing position was not very convincing. It is true that from the purely administrative point of view, there is a great deal to be said for avoiding the delays inevitable in references to law-courts. But that is not so important as the necessity for ensuring that justice will be done. So long as the prosecutor and the judge belong to the same interest, apprehension there will always be in the minds of the people about the justice of their case.

Mr. Deshmukh was afraid that if appeals were allowed to an outside authority, it might lead to confusion and lack of uniformity. It is admitted by all that the language of the Bill is very complicated and verbose.

As regards the justification of death duties, Gladstone observed, "The carrying of properties in perfect security over the great barrier which death places between man and man is perhaps the very highest achievement, the most signal proof of the power of the civilised institutions and an instance so capital of the great benefit conferred by law and civil institutions upon mankind, and of the immense enlargement that comes to natural liberty through the medium of the law, that I conceive nothing more rational than that, if taxes are to be raised at all, the States shall be at liberty to step in and take from him who is thenceforward to enjoy the whole in security that portion which may be *bona fide* necessary for the public purpose."

All rights are created, recognised and protected by the law. The right to property is fundamentally a creature of law and nature has not given any right of ownership over property after death. The right to transmit property by will is created by law and there is nothing objectionable if the State steps in after death of a person to take a share of his estate. Death duties are a sort of final settlement of taxation liability on the unearned accretion in wealth arising from the non-taxability of capital gains and appreciation in value of property. Though death duties are assessed on capital, they destroy no existing capital; at most they absorb potential capital by diverting to the payment of the duties income which would otherwise have gone into new savings. In this way they do not differ from income tax or any other tax of comparable magnitude. Even where estates are sold to meet the duties, capital is only transferred, not destroyed. The property sold must eventually be bought by someone who has free income seeking an investment, and the only effect is to divert this income from the creation of a new, to the purchase of an existing, investment. There is no reduction of actual capital. From the collective point of view, there will be no loss of existing capital, for ultimately the source of payment will be somebody's income.

Unemployment

The Planning Commission has recently addressed the State Governments on the question of urban unemployment. The Commission, which has been

engaged during the past few weeks on a study of the unemployment position, observes that on account of the inadequacy of the available data it is difficult to say whether there has been any absolute decline in the total volume of urban employment. But it appears that the growth of fresh employment opportunities, especially in the private sector, has not kept pace with the numbers seeking work. This declining trend in employment position, while the Five-Year Plan is in operation, has naturally agitated the public mind and the view has been expressed that if through the implementation of the Plan employment position does not improve, the Plan be revised in directions needed for providing additional employment. The existence of this public apprehension finds due recognition in the Planning Commission's communication to the States.

It is pointed out that the Plan, in recommending the fullest use of the available man-power resources by operating labour-intensive methods of production, had kept the employment problem in the forefront. It had also suggested certain special steps to be taken with a view to laying the foundations of proper employment policy. These recommendations included maximum utilisation of the unemployed manpower in the implementation of development projects, minimum expansion of money incomes, speeding up of capital formation, safeguards against excessive unemployment arising out of technological change and proper distribution of capital in new investments with a view to keeping employment opportunities to the maximum.

While the employment aspect was thus kept fully in view in the Plan, in the actual implementation of the programme, the Commission observes, a gap has arisen between the rate of development contemplated in the Plan and the rate actually achieved. This is mainly because many of the development schemes included in the Five-Year Plan were started before the Plan was formulated and some of the important social and economic policies recommended in it have not yet been implemented sufficiently to cause an impact on the employment situation.

The gap should be reduced, the Commission observes, and necessary adjustments made both by the Central and the State Governments. So far as the Central projects are concerned, these adjustments are being examined by the Planning Commission in consultation with the concerned Ministries of the Government of India.

In view of the above, the Commission does not feel it necessary to change the fundamental approach of the Five-Year Plan or its broad pattern of priorities or allocation of resources. On the other hand, fuller implementation of the programme laid down in the Plan and strengthening it at points where it is weak, will achieve useful results.

The Commission's recommendations in their communication to the State Governments are confined to urban unemployment. In regard to the rural sector, the Commission points out that there are large schemes in the Plan which have added considerably to employment opportunities.

The following programme, which is expected to relieve educated unemployment to some extent, has been suggested. The communication points out that in regard to most of the suggestions, necessary action has already been initiated by the Central Government or will be taken shortly. The suggestions are:

- (1) Special assistance to individuals of small groups of people for establishment of small industries and business under the State aid to industries or other similar legislation and in other ways;
- (2) Expansion of training facilities in those lines in which manpower shortage at present exists. There are several directions in which shortages of personnel exist which impede the progress of schemes under the Five-Year Plan. Expanded training facilities will do away with these shortages, at the same time opening up new employment opportunities for semi-skilled workers;
- (3) Active encouragement to be given to the products of cottage and small-scale industries through the purchase of stores required by State Governments and public authorities;
- (4) Municipal authorities, private educational institutions and voluntary organisations should be assisted in establishing adult education centres in urban areas. In rural areas, one-teacher schools should be encouraged to be opened;
- (5) The proposed National Extension Service should be handled with courage, for its own sake inasmuch as it is fundamental to the growth of rural economy in India as well as for the immediate contribution it can make towards the solution of the problem of educated unemployment;
- (6) Development of road transport. The existing licensing policies should be re-examined with a view to stepping up road transport development, particularly through private agencies.
- (7) Implementation of slum clearance schemes and programmes for the construction of houses for low income groups in urban areas;
- (8) Encouragement of private building activities;
- (9) Planned assistance to refugee townships, which suffer from a somewhat chronic unemployment, with a view to developing a sound economic base for their continued existence;
- (10) Encouragement of schemes for development of power sponsored by private capital. At present in several growing towns there is shortage of power which impedes the maintenance of employment and development of industry. The State Governments may review the power position in different areas and to the extent that schemes for meeting power shortage have not been included in the Five-Year Plan send up further proposals indicating the extent to which private capital might be available;
- (11) The last suggestion of the Commission, which is somewhat novel, is for the establishment of work and training camps at places where mainly, through action taken by the Government, work opportunities exist, for example, in projects for

slum clearance, housing for low income groups, irrigation and power projects, road construction programmes, afforestation and soil conservation and co-operative land resettlement projects, etc.

The Commission has urged on all the State Governments to consider this idea, which has been tried in other countries. It may be possible for the Central Government to give some assistance to suitable schemes for work and training camps which State Governments may propose as a specific measure for relief from the present deterioration in the employment situation.

The Commission's communication to the State Governments is based on a comprehensive analysis of the existing unemployment situation. It examines the various factors at work which might have accentuated unemployment. Some of these factors are seasonal and temporary in character, some specific to particular areas or regions or to particular trades or industries, and some arise out of frictional adjustments in the labour market. The Commission has asked the State Governments to examine the employment situation in their States and to indicate the factors at work and the extent to which they can take action to influence them.

World Monetary Trends

The latest Annual Report of the International Monetary Fund notes an improvement in the world payments position. Substantial progress is stated to have been made in the direction of general payments balance; indeed, the improvements in the world's balance of payments with the dollar area during the year 1952-53 appears to have certain elements of permanence which were lacking in 1950. The Fund's analysis of the world payments situation during the year under review may be summarised as follows:

- (1) Despite the downward trend in the world trade that became evident early in 1952, the world payments position for the year as a whole showed a much better balance than in 1951.
- (2) The widespread payments crisis at the beginning of 1952 affected particularly the raw material exporting countries.
- (3) The most significant statistical evidence of the improvement in the world payments position in 1952 is the balance of payments of the rest of the world with the United States.
- (4) The supply position outside the dollar areas has also improved on the whole, a result, in part, of the abatement of inflationary pressures.
- (5) It would be rash to take it for granted that the battle against inflation has now been won. It is significant that, in many parts of Europe, the inflationary impact of rising defence expenditures was kept in check throughout 1952.
- (6) In 1952, as in 1951, the overall inflationary tendencies were, as a rule, stronger in the raw material-producing countries than in the industrial nations.

World Trade with the USA: The Fund refers in particular to what is called the "residual dollar problem" and points out that the US balance of payments surplus disappeared in the second half of 1952 when the country had a small deficit with the rest of the world. Such a welcome change was brought about by an effective control of inflation, although it must be admitted that even today inflation has by no means ceased to be a problem. The Fund observes that in order to prevent any deterioration in the present position, it is of the utmost importance that a high level of employment is maintained in the US and that proper monetary and fiscal policies are enforced in Europe.

The Fund is cautiously optimistic about the attainment and maintenance of a rough balance of payments between the US and the rest of the world. But it warns against its precarious character. The Fund observes: "For many countries, the balance would be disturbed by any considerable weakening of the prices of their staple exports. The possibility of a decline in the United States' activity has also caused concern. It should not be assumed that an easing of political tensions, which permitted a substantial reduction of defence expenditure, would necessarily be followed by any serious contraction of economic activity as a whole in the United States. The US economy has shown a degree of adaptability sufficient to take full advantage of the opportunities for the higher real levels of production and consumption that relaxation of rearmament pressures would permit. The maintenance of high levels of production and employment is a major objective of public policy in the United States. The greater the success of US policy in maintaining domestic stability, the better the prospects for continued progress towards the establishment of a stable multilateral international trading system."

Convertibility Aims: In the considered opinion of the Fund, the improvement in the general payments position in recent months has been in a large measure, the result of the return to "active monetary policies." It commends the renewed efforts of several countries to achieve convertibility of currencies, but stresses the fact that convertibility is not an end in itself. The view that convertibility is an attractive ideal which cannot, however, be realised in a remote and indefinite future, has increasingly given way to the conclusion that progress towards the establishment of convertibility and progress towards the elimination of the dollar shortage should proceed side by side. However, convertibility is not an end in itself. It is only desirable, because it makes possible greater flexibility in international payments, and the benefits of the international division of labour, based on unhindered multilateral trading. It would be valueless if progress towards convertibility by any country was achieved at the cost of imposing new restrictions on trade. The renewed determination with which many countries are endeavouring to move towards convertibility is a most encouraging development. The IMF itself must do everything to support the efforts that are being made,

and to take advantage of the recent progress which has occurred towards a better balance of payments of the rest of the world with the dollar area.

The Fund lays special emphasis in this connection on two important factors. First, the determined efforts of some countries to achieve convertibility of currencies deserve the utmost encouragement. Secondly, the uncertainty of the timing of decisive steps does not mean that countries cannot, in the meantime, take less far-reaching measures which have immediate value. These include, among others, (a) domestic financial and economic stability, (b) larger dollar earnings, (c) education and ultimate elimination of exchange restrictions and discriminatory trade restrictions, and (d) restoration of international capital markets. The Fund wants serious attention to be paid to the last-mentioned measure. For, according to it, capital imports may be a necessary condition for the elimination of inflationary pressures in the underdeveloped countries. At the same time, many underdeveloped countries are recognising that they have a responsibility for ensuring their maintenance of conditions which will make foreign investors feel assured of reasonable security for their investments and the earnings expected to flow from them.

To the extent that an increased flow of capital—particularly long-term capital—from the USA to the rest of the world can be developed, the USA should have a corresponding current account surplus. If the US current account were balanced, the existing disparity between the rate of capital accumulation in the US and in other countries would be accentuated. Any further widening of the gap between the productive capacity in the USA and in the rest of the world would place severe strains on many other countries in their efforts to maintain international equilibrium. Rapid development through diversified industrialisation has come to be accepted as an important objective of economic policy in many of the less developed raw material-producing countries, chiefly because it seems to be the most satisfactory way of increasing real incomes.

British and American Asian Policy

The difference between British and American approaches to the problems of the Far East is not the creation of fanatics, but of geography and history. In the eighteenth century, trade with China was carried on by the East India Companies of European nations. The British, who became predominant in the trade at Canton, regarded it as an extension of their commerce with India, and in so far as the East India Company did not itself directly do business in China, the market was left to the so-called "country" ships sailing under licenses from India. Politically, India with her sea approaches became the pivot of Britain's policy as an oceanic and imperial Power. In so far as Britain looked beyond Europe in diplomacy and strategy, India and the Indian ocean occupied the foreground of the picture; China, Japan and the Pacific belonged to the remote background,

By the beginning of the twentieth century Britain had acquired a very substantial economic stake in the Far East and for a few years Far Eastern affairs became of cardinal importance for British foreign policy. The Russian penetration of Manchuria after 1895 aroused fears in London that China was about to fall under Russian domination, and Britain made her first definite departure from "splendid isolation" in world politics by concluding an alliance with Japan to check Russia's Far Eastern expansion. But it has to be remembered that Anglo-Russian rivalry in the Far East at this time was only an extension of a conflict of policies which already involved Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, and the alarm about China was primarily due to the British sense of weakness in that region of the world. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was intended to redress the regional balance of power, otherwise strongly in favour of Russia, by giving support to a nation able and willing to act locally against Russia.

The pattern of British Far Eastern policy between 1905 and 1918 has since been twice repeated, first in relation to Japan between 1931 and 1941, and again in relation to Communist China since 1949. Its basic principle is to avoid, even at the cost of great sacrifices of interest and prestige, any involvement in a Far Eastern conflict which would require diversion of British power from regions of more vital importance.

British foreign policy and strategy are ultimately based on a scale of priorities which sets Europe and the Mediterranean first, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean second, and the Far East by a long way third. If in a time of crisis certain interests have to be thrown overboard to lighten the load, those which are located beyond Singapore must be the first for sacrifice, and those from Suez eastward must be next; but the needs of security in Europe can never be sacrificed because the very existence of Britain as a nation depends on it. The fall of Singapore in the last war did not finish Britain; even Rommel's entry into Cairo would not have been a mortal blow; but had Hitler's army been able to cross the Channel in 1940, that might have been the end of everything for the British people.

The American scale of priorities is necessarily different. Situated between two broad oceans, the United States has never had to face the same kind of problem of strategic security as that which has been a condition of British foreign policy, and until very recently most Americans thought that isolation was a safe and profitable course for America to follow in world affairs. But in so far as America has emerged from isolation and become involved in the course of history beyond the oceans, the involvement has been as much trans-Pacific as trans-Atlantic. Indeed, it has been even more, for, although the Pacific is wider than the Atlantic, the American acquisition of Hawaii and Alaska and four decades of sovereignty in the Philippines have brought America closer to Asia than to Europe. If there is one part of the world in which Americans, generally speaking, took

little or no interest, it was that region comprising the Middle East, India and the Indian Ocean, which to the British was, and is, so much more important than the countries bordering the Pacific.

The experience of the last war simply confirmed and accentuated the divergence between the two angles of vision. For the British, the war against Japan was a sideshow as compared with the struggle in Europe. For the Americans, the two wars were approximately equal in scale and significance if the Chiefs of Staff always maintained the strategic priority of the European fronts, American popular emotions were more deeply committed in Guadalcanal and Okinawa than in Sicily. Indeed, the circumstances of the conclusion of the second world war, which left the United States participating with Britain, France and Russia in the control of Germany and Austria, but with virtually sole responsibility in Japan, meant that America was more profoundly involved as a nation in East Asia than in Europe.

Another difference separating British and American policies in Asia and closely connected with the basic difference of geographical approach was the focus of view on India and on China respectively. Even though American action at the end of 1945 had the effect of depriving the National Government of its only chance of victory, the final outcome of the civil war appeared to both Chinese and Americans as a Communist triumph not only over the Kuomintang but also over the United States, and the cup of defeat has been all the more bitter for Americans to swallow because of the traditional special friendship between the two countries. The fact that for the last two and a half years a Chinese army has been killing American soldiers has hurt the American nation as a whole less than the outrageous misrepresentation of the American record in the Far East and the denunciation of past generosity in medicine and education to a backward China as "cultural aggression." The Chinese Communists are not merely a Marxist-Leninist party which has gained power in yet another country; they are, above all, an anti-American faction which has alienated the affections of the Chinese people from China's best friend. For this reason, America is basically unwilling to accept what happened in China as an irreversible decision or to admit that the "People's Republic" represents China as a nation. The British, on the other hand, do not share this attitude, and an account of their different relation to China in recent years have great difficulty even in understanding it. The British have viewed China since 1945 with the matter of fact detachment of a spectator who feels himself quite outside the game. They have no sense of failure because they have not tried to achieve anything; they are not greatly disappointed because they never expected postwar China to be stable; they do not like the new regime, but they think it has come to stay and hold that it must be accepted as an accomplished fact.

This difference of attitudes is primarily a matter

of feeling, but it corresponds to a contrast of strategic preoccupations more definable in terms of national interest. As a result of the "Pacific," America has acquired a strategic "frontier" in the Western Pacific, running down from Alaska through the Aleutians, Japan and Okinawa to the Philippines, over against the Russo-Chinese power bloc on the mainland of Asia. This defensive system is the Pacific counterpart of the Atlantic-European system, with its frontier from Norway to Turkey, in which America participates as a member of NATO. In the event of a war between the Soviet Union and the NATO Powers there would inevitably be from the outset a fighting front in the northern Pacific as well as in Europe and the Atlantic. The situation now is quite different from what it was in World War II. There was then ultimately a Pacific as well as a European war, but they were geographically separate spheres of conflict; Germany had no territorial base in the Far East; and Japan, though engaged in hostilities in China, remained neutral in relation to the European war for more than two years after its outbreak. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, straddles Europe and Asia, so that any crisis which involved the USA in an armed conflict in Europe would mean also a Russo-American war on the other side of the world.

More specifically, there are three dangers against which American strategic planning has to provide. In the first place, Siberia is less than a hundred miles from Alaska at the nearest point, and this is the only area in which it would be practicable for Russia to attempt an incursion into the North American continent; such a move might have but little real military importance, but the psychological effect of "carrying the war into America" would be so great that it would be essential to meet the attack successfully. Secondly, even though Russia lacks sea power comparable to that of Japan in 1941, the Pacific would probably be infested with Russian submarines from Siberian bases, and long-range missile-bearing aircraft might strike from Kamchatka at Hawaii and Seattle. Thirdly, Russia would probably attempt an invasion of Japan in order to gain control of her industrial capacity and skilled labour for war purposes. The entire burden of defence against all these possible strategic threats (which are implied in a hypothetical war with Russia, whether China is a belligerent or not) must be borne out by the USA. On the Atlantic side, in contrast, Britain and France are in the first line for any conflict with Russia, and there is no Russian territorial base close to North America.

Ever since India became independent there has been an effort on the side of Britain to adjust British policies in Asia to Indian views whenever possible and to avoid giving Delhi any ground for suspicion

that India was not being regarded as fully sovereign entity, in the field of foreign affairs. But India's ostentatious neutralism in the cold war, the sympathetic attitude of India towards Communist China, and the Indian leadership of the so-called bloc of Asian and Arab States in the United States, all tend to produce tensions between India and the USA and these react on British-American relations because of the constant British desire to conciliate India and give full consideration to the Indian point of view. The history of the last five years shows that increases of Communist pressure in Europe tend to bring Britain and America closer together, while increases in the Far East tend to drive them apart.

Indian Troops in Korea

India has been placed in a most unhappy and anomalous position by Pandit Nehru's decision to send troops to guard prisoners who are unwilling to be repatriated. In trying to maintain a strict neutrality, India is being accused of partisanship by interested parties, the most bitter accusation emanating from South Korea.

Placed as he is we would sympathise with Mr. Rhee, if his remarks were not so rabid and outrageous. And we regret to see that a good bit of American opinion, which is strongly biased and unfair, seems to be on his side.

We have no doubt that our soldiers will carry out their duties in a true and forthright fashion, but we do think that Pandit Nehru should have considered all possibilities before placing them in this unenviable position. The British Press has, on the whole, taken a fair view of the case.

The *Spectator* (October 9), discussing the position in Korea under the heading "Indian Village," writes: "How does the President of South Korea come to be a major threat to peace? Partly because of the decision, taken 18 months ago by the United Nations Command, to replace the American troops fighting in Korea by South Korean troops, and to train and equip 15 South Korean divisions to that end.

"In 1952, when there was no end in sight to the Korean war, this may have been inevitable. But in October 1953, when there is an armistice in Korea but no peace conference in sight, and when Mr. Rhee does not want to observe the armistice, it is a source of danger.

"For the latest from South Korea has been a statement to the effect that he will either throw the Indians, who are supervising the armistice, out of force, or organize another mass escape by prisoners under Indian supervision.

"To permit him to do either or both would be to tear up the armistice. Now it is possible that Mr. Rhee will not—or will not find the means to—carry out these threats. It is also possible that China, which

signed the armistice presumably because it wanted peace, may not choose to exploit a breach of the truce by South Korea as a pretext for starting the war again.

"But neither of these possibilities is certain enough to justify the United Nations taking the smallest risk with Mr. Rhee; if war were to start again, there is no knowing where or how it would end. This is the background to the week's events in Indian village.

"The Indians complain that the 23,000 prisoners in their charge, waiting to have their brains 'washed' by propagandists who hope to persuade them to return to their Communist homes, are infiltrated by Kuomintang and South Korean agents and are resisting the whole operation in a highly organized way; they have also warned the United Nations that they are not prepared to use the necessary force to repel a mass escape.

"The United Nations, through General Clark and a number of other less official American spokesmen, has merely replied with the complaint that the Indians are organizing the operation to the Communists' advantage. Yet there is only one thing in all this that really matters; the armistice must not be broken by South Korea.

"This means that the United Nations, which is in the context the United States, must leave President Rhee in no doubt whatever that his troops will get no supplies and his Government will be disowned if he reaches out a hand against the Indians or to release the prisoners."

India and Pakistan

The relations between these two neighbours can never improve until the spirit of give and take is correctly established both ways. So far it has been "give" on India's side and "take" on the other's.

"In recent weeks there has been several minor setbacks in the relations of India and Pakistan. India has decided not to extend the life of the Indo-Pakistan trade agreement, which expired on September 30, for the sound reason that the present import policy of Pakistan does not provide for the issue of licences for the import of certain important items scheduled for import into Pakistan from India.

"The Prime Minister of India has written to Karachi refuting the accusations made against India for the virtual failure of the Indo-Pakistan conference on exchange of enclaves, held recently in Calcutta, and the continued deadlock over the evacuee property issue. Karachi is being urged to rescue at an early date negotiations on the evacuee property question, as this is holding up payment of compensation to displaced persons, Pakistan is yet to ratify the limited agreement of last August on evacuee property."

British Coup in Guiana

On August 9, Sir Alfred Savage, Governor of British Guiana, declared a state of emergency, suspended the six-month-old constitution and dismissed the first popularly elected Government headed by Dr. Chedi Jagan, with a view "to prevent Communist subversion of the Government and a dangerous crisis both in public order and in economic affairs." The Governor declared that he would himself run the administration with the help of advisers. A commission of enquiry would be appointed to recommend on a new constitution, he said.

A Colonial Office statement issued simultaneously in London and Georgetown, said that Her Majesty's Government was quite satisfied that the elected Ministers and the Party (People's Progressive Party) were completely under the control of a Communist clique. It was clear from the actions and public statements of the leaders of the People's Progressive Party, the statement continued, "that their objective was to turn Guiana into a totalitarian State-subordinate to Moscow and a dangerous platform for extending Communist influences in the Western Hemisphere." The statement charged the leaders with having tried to undermine the loyalty and discipline of the Police force and of persistently intruding into the sphere of the Public Service.

We have yet to see an unbiased report on the British Guiana affair. Dr. Jagan and his associates have denied that there was any move by them in concert with world Communism. Mr. Attlee, on the other hand, has stated, after a long interview with Dr. Jagan that there were undoubted signs of Communism in the methods and moves of the Jagan Ministry, and Mr. Attlee's statement cannot be brushed aside lightly. Of British Press reactions seen by us, that of the *Spectator* seems to be the most clearly formulated.

Writing under the heading "Destination Georgetown," the *Spectator* (October 9) says: "What precise contingency has led the Governor of British Guiana to call for British warships is not known. But Sir Alfred Savage is not the man to use big battalions unless he is forced to, and trouble, including bloodshed, is threatening the colony.

"It is a tragedy that good rule cannot always be its own reward. In theory, there is everything to be said for the gradual transfer of responsibility to native peoples; in practice, whether that transfer succeeds, as it appears to be succeeding in the Gold Coast and Jamaica, or whether it is abused, as it has been in British Guiana, depends on a number of factors which are beyond the control of the British Government or its administrators.

"It is a risk which has to be taken; and when it does not come off, it is no triumph for the reaction-

aries, but one of the inevitable facts of political life that reformers have to face."

The *Spectator* goes on: "The new British Guiana constitution gave, for the first time, a responsible voice in their government to the people of the colony. It was based on full adult suffrage, and on the principle of Cabinet responsibility for the majority party."

"It so happened that the majority (and virtually only) party was led by an Indian, who is now Prime Minister, and his wife, a lady from Chicago with a chip on her shoulder and a powerful character."

"From the first, this pair were opposed to the new constitution because it contained certain safeguards, such as reserve powers for the Governor, a second House appointed on a non-elective basis, and three (out of a total of nine) official members on the executive, all of them minimum safeguards against an abuse of democracy by people who were not accustomed to it."

"The Jagans were also under the influence of Moscow, and had for some years been at work on the primitive but susceptible minds of the workers on the sugar plantations and bauxite mines who live and work in the crowded, arid, narrow plain between the sea and the swamps. The Jagans and their People's Progressive Party were then, under the new constitution, elected to power; and they proceeded—it can only be assumed—with the intention of boycotting the constitution itself, to disregard those conventions without which democracy cannot work."

"The Prime Minister takes his cues from Moscow; the Minister of Labour retains his trade-union post and organizes a Government strike in sympathy with the sugar workers; and now a petition is being organized by the Prime Minister's wife to demand the removal of the remaining checks built into the constitution."

"There is no reason," says the *Spectator*, "why the first attempt to breathe new life into the colonial body should be allowed to be stifled by people with foreign interests at heart. If the ships, whose destinations have been so extraordinarily mobile, are to assist a liberal-minded Governor to restore order and, if possible, to save a democratic experiment, then one must reluctantly wish them a good voyage."

Trieste

The chances of a flare-up on the Italo-Yugoslavian frontier seem to be less likely now than it was about a fortnight ago. The position then was highly critical, thanks to the hasty and ill-advised decisions of the British and U. S. Governments. The following British Press reports give a clear picture of the affair:

The *Spectator* (October 16) says: "The question of Trieste is one of the most knotted and tangled questions in Europe, but there still might be a hope of settling it if one of the many parties to the present

dispute were following a wise and coherent policy. But not one is."

"The British and U.S. Governments, in their announcement of October 8 that their troops would be withdrawn as soon as possible from Zone A of the Free Territory and the administration of the zone handed over to Italy, displayed a crudity, an impatience and a complacency which seemed quite misplaced from the start and have, in fact, led to nothing but trouble."

"President Tito, by making speeches which were unpleasantly reminiscent of some of the outbursts of the pre-war dictators and by threatening to move Yugoslav troops into Zone A if the Italians tried to take it over, went far beyond any right he possesses."

"The Italian Government, by accepting the Anglo-American invitation to take over in Zone A while refusing to modify their claim to Zone B as well, and even refusing to have anything to do with the one reasonable suggestion that President Tito made—the suggestion that there should be an immediate four-Power meeting to discuss the Trieste question—also helped to push the question into the realm of bombast and intransigence. The Soviet Government, while rushing in to underline all the difficulties and dangers of the situation, made no attempt whatever to remove any of them."

"For Trieste is, of course, the port for Austria and Czechoslovakia, as well as being a largely Italian city surrounded by a mainly Slovene countryside. And so long as the natural traffic between Central Europe and the Adriatic is subject to incalculable political interference, no stable solution to the problem is available."

"It is not merely a matter of relations between Italy and Yugoslavia. It is also a matter of time. And even to pretend that during the long period before the affairs of Trieste eventually settle down the Western Powers can wash their hands of the matter is nonsensical."

Time and Tide (October 17) writes: "It is most unlikely that the Trieste affair will push Marshal Tito back into the arms of the Russians, but that does not mean that in planning such a move the British and American Governments should not have taken into consideration the nature of the country and people whom Marshal Tito has led into friendly relations with the West."

"It may well be that the authorities who give the orders for the anti-British and anti-American demonstrations in Belgrade and other cities are the same as those who later hasten to apologize for the excesses committed. That should not obscure the fact, however, that the present rulers of Yugoslavia are forced to make such protests in deference to those, both on the Right and on the Moscow-inclined Left, who wish to discredit and weaken the regime."

Palestine Affairs

Tension has risen considerably in the Arab-Israeli relations due to the armed raid on a helpless Arab-

village in the Jordan area inflicting death and destruction on innocent Arab villagers. The State of Israel has denied responsibility and accusations and counter-accusations are going on. But there can be no denying of the incident."

Referring to the Security Council's discussing the Qibya incident on the Israeli-Jordan frontier, *The Times* says: "This brutal action was promptly, and rightly, condemned by the British Government in the strongest terms, as it was the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission on the spot. Now fears of the likely consequences seem already justified by the mounting excitement and indignation in all the Arab capitals."

"So long as the armistice lines separate the Arab villagers from the land they were accustomed to cultivate; so long as semi-starving refugees look across the arbitrary political boundary at the houses, wells and groves which they once owned, so long will the lives and property of the Israelis as well as the Arabs, of women and children as well as men, remain insecure and hazardous in the border districts. Life is hard for the people on both sides; raids provoke reprisals; murders lead the bereaved either to take the law into their own hands or to clamour urgently for punitive action by their own security forces."

The Times ends by suggesting that the frontier could be patrolled in much the same way as the Kashmir cease-fire line has been kept intact. "United Nations observers there are on the spot when things begin to happen," says *The Times*.

Anti-Communism in Chile

We, in India, are as a rule oblivious of the existence of that part of the Americas that is known as "Latin," in so far as world-politics are concerned. Occasionally we get glimpses of the situation as in the following report from the *Worldover Press*, which shows that that part of the world is sharing stresses in World-Politics equally with the rest. The report given below shows a change, however slight, in the situation:

"Santiago, Chile.—As a reaction against the recent Congress of Culture held in Chile by Communists and fellow-travelers of Latin American countries, a new, non-Communist Congress for the Freedom of Culture has been organized under the chairmanship of Dr. George Nicolai, world-famous scientist, and Roberto Aldunate, outstanding writer and social worker."

In its manifesto, the new movement asserts: "We proclaim the evident truth, that freedom of opinion is an inalienable right of the human being. And this means that one is free to express this opinion especially when one disagrees with those who exercise authority. The man who has no right to say 'No' is a slave."

"In the totalitarian states, the fetters on freedom are not presented to the people as sacrifices. On the contrary,

they are exalted as the triumph of 'progress' and as 'the climax of a new civilization.' We consider that the theory and practice of the totalitarian states constitute the greatest threat that humanity has had to face in the course of history."

The Communist Party, founded in 1918 by Luis Emilio Recabarren, was able, for some 20 years, to exert a strong influence over the workers. However, the lack of insight and good judgment shown by the leaders who followed Recabarren was so tragic that most strikes organized by the workers to secure better wages and living conditions ended in disastrous defeats. As a reaction to this brutal type of leadership, a number of intellectuals and moderate labor leaders organized the Socialist Party in 1933. Its democratic ideals attracted the sympathy of laborers, students and intellectuals in such strong numbers that the Communist control over the workers was completely overthrown by the new party.

Internal battles, however, caused by Communist "fifth columns" and widespread infiltration, produced a series of splits, which all but destroyed the great influence this party had in Chilean administrations from 1938 to 1948. The weakening of the Socialists offered another opportunity to the Communists to regain lost ground, but nevertheless the tactics of the Communists have served to lower their influence to a very small potential.

To make things worse for the Communists, two prominent former members of the party, Senator Guillermo Guevara, loyal spokesman for the poor and a former representative, and Marcos Chamudes, cultured orator and newspaperman, have made known publicly their repudiation of Communism. Senator Guevara in a written statement declared: "After 30 years' membership in the Communist Party, I have arrived at the conclusion that this Party is not managed by Chileans. Rather, it is governed by foreign elements who have nothing to do with Chile. Every move of the Party is made on orders received from foreign bosses who labor in the shadows. Many times, public opinion has been surprised to observe the contradictory steps of the Communist Party. For this there is only one explanation: the bosses give those orders, and the local servants have to obey."

Elections in West Germany

The Adenauer victory in the West German Elections have been boosted up in the Press of the Western democracies as being a vindication of their claims and principles. The Press in India has also supported that view, though in a luke-warm fashion. But here we have a slightly different picture from the *Worldover Press*. It shows that democracy has yet to go a good bit further before it can claim West Germany as being a convert.

"If you are one of those who are kicking up their heels in sheer elation because of Chancellor Adenauer's smashing victory in the West German elections, it may be worth suggesting that you might, if you care anything

about realistic facts, take it just a bit less enthusiastically. There are a number of good things about that election, but there are bad things also. The latter will be obscured for a time, but will gradually come to the fore.

The best thing, obviously, is the stunning witness given by the balloting to the bankruptcy of the Kremlin's program towards the German people. Perhaps the biggest single thing contributing to the Adenauer vote was the series of revolts last June in the Soviet Zone. Russian prestige took a nose-dive, just as, in the votes, did West German Communism. The Soviet Union, whatever else, will now have to reconsider its German policy drastically.

Another good thing was the heavy vote, which shows a desire of Germans to participate in national decisions. In a country that has had scant experience of democracy, and before the end of the war only one brief period under the ill-fated Weimar Republic, this is certainly encouraging.

Perhaps most important of all, however, is a pronouncement made by Adenauer in a post-election speech. Do you remember back to the beginning of World War II, and the role of Danzig and the Polish corridor? Many observers, this one among them, have felt that the greatest threat of war in Europe might well come from the determination of a remilitarized Germany to get back its eastern territories, now largely in the hands of Poland, by force. It is something, at any rate, to have the Chancellor on record as saying a solution could be worked out with a free Poland, and "in any case, this problem must on no account become the cause of a war."

It is natural for Westerners to want their policies vindicated, but have we come to the point where anything goes to get our desires? Adenauer's influence over the electorate cannot be separated from his methods in setting up the machinery in a way to favor his coalition. It is tied up, too, in his huge campaign slush fund, his wild accusations (almost unforgivable in view of his past tenderness to former Nazis and to the less spectacular totalitarians) that the Social Democrats had accepted financing from East German Communists. If anything, the Social Democrats are stronger anti-Communists, and they do not qualify their detestation of all totalitarians, Fascists and semi-Nazis included.

The Adenauer vote, of course, is being interpreted as primarily one for German rearmament and participation in the European Defense Community. That it must be so regarded to some degree is apparent; but the extraordinary economic revival under Adenauer will take first place in the minds of balanced commentators, as it surely did in the thinking of the Germans. The curious fact to be noted at this point is that one reason for the amazing prosperity of West Germany is its lack of expenditures on huge armies—the very armament the new Adenauer vote is supposed to have endorsed.

The relatively low vote achieved by the organized neo-Nazis is widely hailed as evidence that Nazi ideas

are dead. One could wish that this were true; but the most dangerous pro-Nazis are not in the openly neo-Nazi party. They are, instead, among those who backed Adenauer. If neo-Nazism is to wield influence, these people realize, it can happen best, and perhaps only, through the setting up of new German armies. Many of the old Nazi leaders "want in," and former General Herbert Gille has gone so far to curry favour that he contends the whole idea of a united Europe originated in the ranks of Hitler's SS forces! There are at least 150,000, and possibly 200,000, former members of the Elite Guard available for military service, and they know that to get in a new army, their best bet is Adenauer.

It may work out, as Adenauer believes, that his wide support assures the creation of the European Defense Community, but on that subject the French still have a lot to say. They are probably correct in foreseeing a stronger German intransigence over the Saar, their sorest point. They are not going to relish being faced with the alternative of signing up or losing help with their own arms contribution, while Washington goes on building up the Germans with thousands of tanks and the similar types of armament. American leaders were saying only a short time ago would not be given to the Germans for many years to come."

Newspaper Circulations

The following bit of news from the *Worldover Press* is of interest. It shows that newsmindedness does not merely depend on the literacy index or on the standard of living, both of which are the highest in the world in Sweden. It cannot be denied, however, that they are prime factors, as the figures for Asian countries outside of Japan would show:

Dublin.—Studies made of the press in Eire on Southern Ireland during 1950, and recently released, indicate that the total circulation of daily newspapers is 600,000. This is about 200 for each 1,000 inhabitants. The figure is regarded as low compared to many other countries, but is higher than that for Spain or Italy. Figures for the United Kingdom, per 1,000 inhabitants, are 598, for Australia 440, for Denmark 414, for Norway 410, and for Sweden 416.

Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee

We regret to learn of the death of Rai Bahadur Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, the eminent bacteriologist, on the 16th October last at his Calcutta residence at the age of 84. He was a frequent contributor to the Scientific Medical Journals, and a great public worker. As founder of the Central Anti-Malarial Co-operative Society he was responsible for the establishment of several thousand village anti-malarial societies throughout Bengal. He also established the Home Crafter's Association at his native village at Sukchar. He also published several booklets for the improvement of fisheries, and on fish-culture; and on the decay of the Bengal rivers. We hope to publish some day a short sketch of his life with a list of his important scientific articles.

DECENTRALISED ECONOMY

An English View

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE talk about decentralised economy is not a new one so far as India is concerned. Of late, this question was very forcefully raised by Gandhiji, for he felt—and rightly so—that there cannot be any real democracy without a decentralised economic structure. The classical pattern of industrial development and capitalist growth always leads to concentration, even on the world scale. In fact, Lenin successfully argued that Imperialism was the highest state of finance-capital where concentration attains its highest degree. In fact, in the heyday of capitalism, London was not only the capital of the biggest empire in the world, but it was also the hub round which world trade, commerce and finance revolved. A completely decentralised economy is obviously one answer to this evil of capitalism, the other answer being a still more concentrated economy after abolishing all individual ownership. India, however, never had a tradition of over-centralised economy. For one thing, there was never a strong Central Government controlling the whole of India before the British rule. The little village republics—so much idealised by Rabindranath in his *Swadeshi Samaj* and so much condemned by Marx in his *Letters on India* as so many seats of autocracy and conservatism—had been our usual pattern. For another, it is doubtful if our administrative machinery is still strong enough to bear the strain that an over-centralised and rigidly controlled economic system on the Soviet model will put on it. Finally, there is the question of individual liberty and the efflorescence of individual genius. Whether we accept all these arguments or not it cannot be denied that there are very strong practical reasons in favour of a decentralised economy for India.

It is interesting to examine in this background the developments that are taking place in some other countries, specially in Great Britain, the biggest centre of concentration. It should be, however, remembered that the changes that are taking place there are due to reasons mainly different from ours. Naturally their policies must be related to their past, to the world situation as it affects them and to the factors that are changing their economic structure. These would be naturally different from our own. Still there are some fundamental questions of universal interest. Moreover, we sometimes supplement the economy of Great Britain and other advanced countries of the world; the existence of an advanced type of economy as Britain had depends on the existence of underdeveloped countries like India. Industrialisation and development of backward countries correspondingly modify the economic pattern of the advanced countries and set up a new world pattern

as well. In a way, the two groups of countries present two sides of one picture.

PLANNING FOR DECENTRALISATION

England started planning her future policies even before the second World War. Changes during and after the war led to some changes, but the basic direction remains the same. Two major reports which discussed and shaped these policies are the Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Industrial Population, 1940 (Barlow Commission)* and the Report of the Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas, 1942 (Scott Committee-†). These two reports cover almost the entire area and indicate the policies regarding urban and rural areas. Various Acts have also been passed in accordance with the suggestions made in these reports and various organisations and authorities have started functioning under those Acts. On the present occasion we would confine ourselves to the first report, though the way in which Great Britain has been handling her land utilisation has also important lessons.

The terms of reference for the Barlow Commission fall into three parts. They were asked to find out, first, the causes of the present distribution of the industrial population and the probable direction of any change in that distribution in the future. Secondly, they were asked to examine the social, economic or strategical disadvantages of concentration. Thirdly, they were asked to suggest remedial measures, if any to be taken in the national interest. We shall describe the important findings of the Commission under each of the above sections separately.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

At the beginning the Commission very aptly points out that two outstanding features of population growth have marked the last couple of centuries. The first has been the "astonishing expansion of the nations of the Western civilisation." The second, remarkable feature of population growth has been "the even more rapid proportional rate at which the great urban centres of Western civilisation have spread, overflowing their boundaries and forming sprawling agglomerations of humanity, many of dimensions without precedent in world's history." This change is mainly due to the effects of the Industrial Revolution. In Great Britain this development had certain distinctive features. First, the acreage of Great Britain in comparison with other Western countries is exceedingly limited in proportion to the size of its population. For England alone the

* Cmd. 6153 H.M.S.O., London.

† Cmd. 6378 H.M.S.O., London.

density per square mile was 766 in 1939 (West Bengal has however a higher density now). The second distinctive feature, comments the Report, is "the vast—and many would add alarming—growth of population in London and South-Eastern England, largely at the expense of the rest of the country." We shall have occasion to compare this overgrowth of London with the overgrowth of Calcutta.

CAUSES OF PRESENT POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

It is well-known that by the middle of the nineteenth century Great Britain had become the workshop of the world, and for the rest of the century the exports of the products of British mines, factories, shipyards increased while the imports of agricultural products and raw materials also increased. Great Britain also became a great exporter of capital. But all this has undergone very profound changes in the present century. The Commission notes several important changes and comments as follows:

"In all these respects the industrial structure of Great Britain has profoundly changed. In the first place the railways have lost their monopoly of inland transport and are faced with the keen and ever growing competition of road transport. Secondly, steam has lost its place as practically the sole source of power. It was the discovery of the internal combustion engine that destroyed the monopoly of railways. . . . Electricity and oil are being increasingly used as sources of power in factories and other large establishments. . . . In the third place the growth of international special-

isation in the sphere of industry has been checked, largely on account of a widespread protectionism generally termed economic nationalism. But as far as Great Britain is concerned that is not the only factor in the situation. The growing use of electricity and oil as sources of power and the growth of invention have reduced the advantages enjoyed by this country during the steam age and tended to foster the process of industrialisation in other countries. Moreover, the element of monopoly enjoyed by British trade though being the first in the field has disappeared through the industrial growth of other countries possessing similar natural resources and therefore reproducing the industrial structure of this country. Finally, the growth of new industries has been accelerated, to a marked extent, by specific inventions, such as the radio."

All these factors have fundamentally changed the industrial structure of Great Britain. The most important change is the growing importance of light industries in the place of heavy 'basic' industries. The Report points out that hitherto the principal 'basic' industries constituted the foundation of the industrial economy of the chief industrial areas in the North and the West. Now this is all changed. In fact, this is one of the reasons for the growth of London where certain new factors, such as the proximity to the market, availability of electricity and so on, are influencing the location of the new light industries in that area.

What was the distribution of the industrial population? The following tables would make the position clear:

TABLE I
Distribution of the Total Population

Area	Population in thousands				Proportionate population			
	1801	1901	1931	1937	1801	1901	1931	1937
1. London and the Home countries	1892	8655	11123	11843	18.0	23.4	24.8	24.8
2. Lancashire	673	4387	5039	5013	6.4	11.9	11.2	10.9
3. West Riding, Noths. and Derby	891	3953	4915	4964	8.5	10.7	11.0	10.8
4. Staffs, Warwick, Worcs, Leics and Northants	851	3404	4298	4482	8.1	9.2	9.6	9.7
5. Northumberland and Durham	318	1791	2248	2207	3.0	4.8	5.0	4.8
6. Mid Scotland	387	2277	2645	2738	3.7	6.2	5.9	6.0
7. Glamorgan and Monmouth	116	1158	1663	1568	1.1	3.1	3.7	4.4
8. Rest of Great Britain	5373	11375	12900	13193	51.2	30.7	28.8	28.7
Total	10501	37000	44831	46008	100	100	100	100

TABLE II
Distribution of the 'Occupied' Population

Area	Gainfully occupied population (thousands)				Proportionate number of gainfully occupied persons			
	1801	1901	1921	1931	1801	1901	1921	1931
1. London and the Home countries	519	3838	4614	5417	12.3	23.5	23.8	25.7
2. Lancashire	321	2090	2448	2591	7.6	12.8	12.6	12.3
3. West Riding, Noths. and Derby	356	1794	2153	2351	8.4	11.0	11.1	11.2
4. Staffs, Warwick, Worcs, Leics and Northants	439	1522	1864	2104	10.4	9.3	9.6	10.0
5. Northumberland and Durham	92	705	897	928	2.2	4.3	4.6	4.4
6. Mid Scotland	130	1021	1197	1212	3.1	6.3	6.2	5.8
7. Glamorgan and Monmouth	43	473	692	682	1.0	2.9	3.6	3.2
8. Rest of Great Britain	2316	4839	5557	5770	55.0	29.9	28.5	27.4
Total	4216	16312	19442	21055	100	100	100	100

Several features are noticeable. (1) There is heavy concentration of population—general as well as industrial—in certain regions. The seven specified areas constitute only 27 per cent of the total area of Great Britain, but their population in 1931 was 73 per cent of the occupied population and 71.3 per cent of total population. (2) London has been growing immensely. As the Report says:

"Over the period 1923-27 all the specified areas, except London and the Home countries and the Midland countries, lost position relatively to the country as a whole. . . . On the other hand, between 1932 and 1937 the insured population of London and the Home countries increased by more than 4,20,000 persons. . . . The rate of increase in the number of insured persons was nearly twice as high in London and the Home countries as in the whole country."

The main reasons are not far to seek. They are to be found in the changed economic conditions and altered industrial structure. In the words of the Commission:

"While the relative increase in the insured population in London and the Home countries is mainly due to the importance of the expanding industries in the economy of that area, it is partly due to the fact that the area has offered greater attraction than others to such industries as the distributive trades, general engineering, dress-making and millinery, miscellaneous metal goods industries, motor vehicles, cycles and aircraft, and chemicals. . . . After the war the decline of the 'basic' industries removed a population restriction upon the expanding industries, and this took place at a time when a spate of new inventions brought new light, or relatively light, industries into being."

The Commission therefore concludes that

"It would not seem unreasonable to anticipate that the importance of pre-war 'basic' industries may decline, and that that of other industries may increase, and in that event the industrial areas containing the former will only be able to keep up with the national rate of general industrial progress, if they are able to stimulate within themselves a growth of the miscellaneous light industries in excess of the rate of growth of such industries in the country as a whole." (Italics mine).

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND STRATEGICAL DISADVANTAGES

This is the picture of population distribution. Now what social, economic and strategical disadvantages? The Commission enumerates many, while not forgetting to mention the advantages as well. Its main conclusions are as follows:

Social: The main social problem is obviously the problem of health. On this point, however, expert opinion does not support the view that large towns must suffer higher mortality rates than the country. In fact, the gap between urban and rural mortality has already been narrowing. The adverse effects upon health of the defects of present urban life can be minimised by planning. The next problem relates to housing. At the time of the survey of overcrowding

made in England and Wales in 1936 in pursuance of Section I of the Housing Act, 1935, 342,000 dwellings were overcrowded. The number of houses still required to remedy slum and overcrowding is estimated by the Commission to be 430,000. Central re-development is enormously costly; land-values too are extremely high. Then there are other problems, such as lack of open spaces, smoke and noise and so on. The immense size of Greater London and its continued growth over a wide radius constitute a special problem from the social point of view. Considering all the social advantages and disadvantages the Commission advocates the following lines of policy, viz., (1) Continued and further re-development of congested urban areas, where necessary, due regard being paid to the retention of such advantages as a well-planned town can provide, and the addition, as far as possible, of the cultural and physical attributes of the country; (2) *Decentralisation and dispersal of both industries and industrial population from such congested areas* (italics mine); (3) Provision of checks, as far as possible, to the further growth of London.

Economic: We have already mentioned some of the economic factors involved. Besides these, the Commission further considers the advantages and disadvantages of localisation and specialisation, proximity to large markets, variety of occupations in large towns, street traffic congestion in large towns, separation of homes of work-people from places of work and effects of long daily journeys, increased land values, public burdens arising from the establishment of industries in undeveloped areas and, above all, the effects on agriculture. Having discussed all these points, the Commission concludes that

"Concentration of industry and the industrial population undoubtedly possesses definite economic advantages. . . . They may be briefly summed up as consisting of (a) proximity to market, (b) reduction of transport costs; (c) availability of a supply of suitable labour. . . . Great, however, as the advantages may be, they are accompanied by disadvantages, chief amongst which are (a) heavy charges on account mainly of high site values, (b) loss of time through street traffic congestion. . . . (c) the risk of adverse effects on efficiency and output on account of the fatigue incurred by work-people through having to make long daily journeys."

Strategical: We need not discuss this point. The conclusion is obvious. The Commission remarks that

"A policy of decentralisation or dispersal of industry from over-crowded areas is definitely to be recommended on strategical grounds."

THE FUTURE

Having discussed all these points, the Commission goes on to make its recommendations. These recommendations cover a very wide range which includes the creation of a central planning authority, setting up of garden cities, control of population and population distribution, development of the special

and depressed areas in relation to the balance of industry throughout the country, the special problems of London, transport and traffic, regionalism and the distribution of industry and so on. The main recommendations of the Commission have been summarised as follows in the Report itself:

1. A Central Authority, national in scope and character, is required.
2. The activities of this Authority should be distinct from and should extend beyond those within the powers of any existing Government Department.
3. The objectives of national action should be:
 - (a) Continued and further re-development of congested urban areas, where necessary.
 - (b) Decentralisation or dispersal, both of industries and industrial population from such areas.
 - (c) Encouragement of a reasonable balance of industrial development, so far as possible, throughout the various divisions or regions of Great Britain, coupled with appropriate diversification of industry in each division or region throughout the country.
4. The continued drift of the industrial population to London and the Home countries constitutes a social, economic and strategical problem that demands immediate attention.

The recommendations of the Commission are now given effect to through suitable legislation. The most important piece of legislation is the Distribution of Industry Act, 1945.

CONCLUSION

Several interesting facts emerge out of the above analysis. For long England has been the centre of world capitalism and she had reached a very advanced state of capitalistic development. Now that situation has completely changed. As Stalin recently pointed out, there has emerged a very big bloc of socialist countries and the capitalist system consequently no longer covers the whole world. Moreover, there has been an acute crisis within capitalism itself. As a result, capitalism has been trying to keep itself also through all possible adjustments. Emergence of light industries and the demand for decentralisation are only symptoms of that change. It is being increasingly realised that the concentration on 'basic' heavy industries, also concentration all along the line would be totally unworkable in the changed situation. Hence these changes.

Obviously, these factors do not operate in India. There has never been any proper development of the classical pattern of capitalism in India and there can never be. This does not however mean that there has been no development of capitalism in India. But from the very beginning there has been distorted growth. The only solution in this situation is a straighter and quicker transition to socialism without going through the whole gamut of capitalism.

It is from this angle that the British experiment has some important lessons for West Bengal. The

situation in Great Britain and the situation in West Bengal do not, of course, have the slightest similarity. Nevertheless, West Bengal has, in comparison with the other States in India, progressed more along the lines of distorted capitalism and has consequently reached a much deeper crisis than most of the other Indian States. The index of industrialisation is higher; so also the index of commerce and trade. There is a giant city and a big industrial region and this area is growing fast. But as we have tried to point out elsewhere, all these signs are not really signs of growth. In fact, all statistical data point towards rapid decay and disintegration and the deepening of the crisis. There is a regression towards agriculture; degree of dependence is increasing in every sector; there is growing concentration of wealth in every direction; there is consequential disintegration and that at a very fast rate—at the lower level—in all sectors, particularly in the agricultural sector. Owner-tenants are losing their land and becoming share-croppers; even fairly substantial peasants have been involved in loans for meeting the expenditure on food. The giant city of Calcutta and a few other cities are growing at the cost of the countryside and the other towns. There is, of course, a continuous drift from the country to the town,—but that is not always because there is any scope of more and better employment in the town, but because there is absolutely no possibility of even scratching a living from land for the surplus population. This situation calls for bold and fundamental changes. West Bengal falls into four natural regions, viz., (1) Roughly, the Burdwan Division excluding the sea-coast, this area being served by the DVC and Mor Projects; (2) The North Bengal region with their seasonal streams which can be dammed on the Swiss model; (3) Decadent Central Bengal consisting mainly of Malda, Murshidabad, Nadia and parts of 24 Parganas; and (4) The areas bordering on the sea, particularly the Sundarbans. These regions have different problems and each demands solution on lines peculiar to them. For these reasons it is not unreasonable to suggest that four semi-autonomous Development Boards should be formed for developing these four regions. Moreover, it is necessary to remember that there must be integrated development everywhere leading to a fundamental change in the structural economy. The Community Project scheme talks of integrated development, but for various reasons discussed elsewhere, the Community Projects are not expected to effect that widespread fundamental change which must be the first pre-requisite in any scheme of real development. Decentralised economy and regionalism, combined with integrated development of the entire area within the framework of an expansionist economy—this seems to be our only solution. In that matter the British experiment has interesting lessons for us.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA

By Prof. J. C. SINHA, M.A., Ph.D.

THE population problem lies at the root of mass movements of population from one country to another, not merely for political or religious reasons but "for fresh fields and pastures new." So far as our country is concerned, the population of the Indian Union in 1951 reached 357 millions, excluding the population of Jammu, Kashmir and some tribal areas, as compared with 315 millions, the population for the same territory in 1941. In other words, there was an increase of 42 million in ten years, i.e., a percentage increase of 1.25 per annum.

2. THE POPULATION PROBLEM, A WORLD-WIDE PROBLEM

From the economic point of view, the population problem is a world-wide problem, according to what Keynes said more than a generation ago.

"The time has already come," he said, "when each country needs a considered national policy about what size of population, whether larger or smaller, is most expedient and having settled the problem, we must take steps to carry it into operation."

3. CONCEPT OF OPTIMUM POPULATION

The first question which we have to decide is whether the existing population of 357 millions is the most desirable size for us at the present time. Optimum population means the most desirable size of the population of a country at any point of time, other things (e.g., capital, scientific and technical knowledge and natural resources) remaining constant. This optimum is, therefore, not constant in different periods of time. In the economic sense, the optimum is usually defined as the size of the population which is such as to produce maximum economic welfare. But the expression 'maximum economic welfare' cannot be precisely defined. It is not therefore possible to calculate accurately what constitutes the optimum population of the Indian Union at the present time. All that we can try to ascertain is whether there are symptoms of over-population or under-population in our country.

4. OFFICIAL VIEW, PAST AND PRESENT

More than a generation ago, the official view of our British rulers was that the undoubted poverty of the Indian masses at the time was due to over-population in the country. Our nationalist political leaders opposed this contention. In their opinion, India was then under-populated and the poverty of our country was due to the exploitation and mal-

administration of the British people. Mahatma Gandhi supported this latter view in the *Young India* of April 2, 1925, where he observed that with a proper land system, better agriculture and supplementary industries, India could then support twice her existing population.

It is interesting to note here that the present official view of our national government is that India is at present very much over-populated. As the *Draft Outline of the First Five-Year Plan* points out, during the 50 years from 1901 to 1951, the population of the present Indian Union has increased by about 52 per cent. According to this Report, while the sown area per person has steadily declined, the productivity of agriculture has remained almost stationary and industrial development giving employment to only 2.4 million workers, has so far failed to offset the pressure of population on land. As a broad outline, this is substantially true.

5. POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY

But how far is this official view supported by indisputable economic facts and theory? Let us first consider whether our existing food supply, not merely what we actually grow but also the excess of import over export of food-stuffs, indicates over-population. Mr. Kidwai, the present Food Minister at the Centre, expects that India will be able to do without any import of food-grains in the near future. But this appears to be too optimistic. With regard to the question of our food supply, the following points may be noted. First, our food production figures are usually, though not always, under-estimates. Secondly, we have to take an average of good and bad years in making our estimate of food position. Thirdly, we have to make an allowance for wastage after the crops have been harvested and stored. Such allowance for wastage has also to be made for imported stuffs after they have been stored.

But the most difficult of all problems is to ascertain with a fair degree of accuracy the per capita food requirements in our country. Thus Prof. K. T. Shah and Khambata in their *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, came to the conclusion that for the average production of 1900-1922, there was a deficit of 40 per cent in our food-supply. Prof. Brij Narain, on the other hand, came to the opposite conclusion that there was no lack of food in the country during the twenties of the present century.

6. QUANTITATIVE FOOD REQUIREMENTS BY THE F.A.O.

Quantitative food requirements are now usually estimated in terms of heat units called calories, obtained from food products. According to the F.A.O. experts, a normal male of 25 years of age, living in the temperate zone of 50° F.H., and working 8 hours a day in light industries or agriculture, would require 3200 calories a day, while women, children and older people would require less. Climate is also an important factor. People of warmer regions would require a smaller number of calorific units. But the physiological minimum, as reported by the U. N. R. R.A. is 1400 calories per day for an average human being all over the world. The F.A.O. further estimated that the food supply of India provided on an average for 1601 calories per capita per day in 1951-52, a figure which is only 200 units more than the physiological minimum. Further, the protein content of average diet in India is lower than that in similar countries like Pakistan, Ceylon, the Philippines, China and Japan, etc. This will be clear from the Table¹ given below:

Countries	Estimated Energy and Protein Content 'Per Capita' of Daily Average Food Supply			
	Pre-war	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52 as % of 1950-51
Ceylon	2140	2010	2060	100
China (a)	2230	2030	2120	102
India (b)	1970	1620	1570	102
Indonesia	2040	1880	1950	101
Japan	2180	2000	2100	102
Pakistan	....	2240	2160	100
Philippines	1920	1860	2050	99
	Total Protein (Grams)			
Ceylon	48	46	48	101
China (a)	71	62	65	101
India (b)	56	42	42	102
Indonesia	46	42	44	100
Japan	64	52	53	100
Pakistan	..	60	58	100
Philippines	45	44	47	99

Further, the average Indian diet is very ill-balanced and is responsible for the prevalence of deficiency diseases. It seems therefore that India has more mouths than it can properly feed, thus showing signs of over-population.

7. TWO TESTS OF OVER-POPULATION

Is there no precise test for over-population? Two tests have been suggested by economic theory:

- Changes in the average expectation of life at different ages; and
- Variation in per capita real income, assuming that the distribution of income has remained substantially the same.

The first test was suggested by Dr. Drysdale in the World Population Conference, held at Geneva in 1927. This is also called the longevity optimum. It

means that if the average expectation of life increases, there is a definite increase in economic welfare and consequently little sign of over-population. The latest figures of an authoritative character for changes in the average expectation of life in this country are found in the *Actuarial Report*, attached to the *Indian Census Report for 1931*. It appears from this *Actuarial Report* that the average expectation of life for males of all ages up to 80 years, was higher in 1931 than in 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911. (There is no Table giving average expectation of life in 1921 Census Report). But the *Actuarial Report for 1931* reveals the contradictory fact that females of ages 10, 20, 30 and 40 showed a decline in the average expectation of life in 1931 as compared with 1911 and females constitute about half of the total population.

In the subsequent Census Reports of 1941 and 1951, there is no table giving comparative figures for changes in the average expectation of life. We cannot therefore apply the first test in determining how far India is over-populated or under-populated at the present time.

Does the other test, viz., variation in per capita real income offer a more satisfactory answer to the question of over-population? Carr-Saunders, an authority on population problems, holds the view that when the per capita income is increasing, there is little sign of over-population, but on the other hand, when the average real income per head is declining, we have good reason to suspect over-population. Has our per capita real income been increasing or declining? Prof. Findlay Shirras in his article on the "Population Problem in India" in the *Economic Journal* (Lond.), March, 1933, estimated that the per capita real income in India, was gradually increasing from 1901 to 1929-30, though there was a fall in real income in 1921 as compared with the figures for 1911. He therefore concludes that India was under-populated up to 1931.

The *Eastern Economist*, on the other hand, in its Annual Number, 1948, came to the conclusion that during the period of the second World War and immediately after its close, the per capita money income of British India, as adjusted by the Bombay Cost of Living Index Number, declined from Rs. 67 in 1939-40 to Rs. 59 in 1946-47. In other words, by 1946-47, British India was over-populated.

For the next few years, no comparable statistics of per capita national income is available. The Ministry of Commerce, Government of India, gives the following estimates of average money income per head for the Indian Union before the integration of States, in 1945-46 and 1946-47, viz., Rs. 204 and Rs. 228 per annum. The Mahalanobis Committee's estimate for the Indian Provinces and the States in 1948-49 is Rs. 255. These figures refer to different areas and have not been converted into real income by an appropriate index number.

But it may² be said that for years after 1940-47, there has been no material change in our economic condition; on the other hand, population was increasing, as revealed by the last Census. Thus our available statistics does not enable us to give a precise answer as to the degree of over-population in India at the present time. All that we can say is that our country is somewhat over-populated.

8. LONG PERIOD TREND OF OUR POPULATION

Is our present population going to double itself during the next 50 or 60 years, as recently prophesied by a member of the Central Ministry?³ The Planning Commission also observe:

"It has been assumed, as a first approximation, that population will continue to grow over the next generation at the rate of 1½ per cent per annum."⁴

In other words, the population of the Indian Union would reach 500 millions at the end of 25 years. But in finding out the long-period trend of our population, neither the existing excess of births over deaths nor the annual percentage increase of population during the last decade, alone is adequate. We should try to ascertain the net production rate, as suggested by Prof. Kuczynski in his *Measurement of Population Growth*. The pertinent question here is this: Are fertility (i.e., actual number of children born) and mortality such that 1,000 newly-born girls during the span of their lives, give birth to 1,000 girls or more or less?

Prof. D. Ghosh in his *Pressure of Population and Economic Efficiency in India* assumed the fertility rate of Cochin to be the fertility rate of India and applied it to the all-India Life Table for female population in 1931. He came to the conclusion that the net reproduction rate for India at the time was 1.10, i.e., under the influence of current fertility and mortality conditions, (these rates remain substantially the same for long periods of time unless major political, economic and social changes intervene) the population of India had a tendency to increase at the rate of 10 per cent per generation of 25 years. Subsequent Census Reports do not give accurate data for the calculation of the net reproduction rate in India. It should be remembered in this connection that in a more recent study by Prof. Kingsley Davis the net reproduction rate for undivided India in 1930-31 is calculated to be higher, viz., 1.26.⁵ This is all the more surprising, for the basic fertility rate is the same in either case, viz., that of Cochin.

Prof. Davis has, however, used the Chilean rate in his detailed calculation, because of its similarity with the Cochin rate. But such coincidence should not blind us to the many discrepancies in political, economic, social, religious, psychological and racial conditions of the two countries, on which the fertility rate ultimately depends. To sum up, it is difficult to estimate the net reproduction rate of the Indian

Union at present, unless necessary data become available. All that we can say at present with confidence is that we have an increasing population, but until we arrive at 1.40 as the net reproduction rate, we cannot conclude that the population would increase by 40 per cent, i.e., would reach 500 millions in a generation. A priori arguments, such as declining mortality urged by the Planning Commission, point to an increasing population but do not estimate future population accurately. It is out of the question to make any forecast worth the name as to what our future population would be after two generations in the present state of our statistical information on the subject.

THE REMEDY FOR OUR GROWING POPULATION

Even if we avoid all exaggerated statements, we have to face the problem of growing population fairly and squarely. There is no specific remedy but there are several remedial measures which may be broadly classified under three heads: (a) moral restraint, late marriage and birth control in the first place; (b) increased productivity, both of industry and agriculture for raising the standard of living of the masses in the second place; (c) and in the third place, fiscal and other measures, i.e., attempt through taxation and other means, e.g., social security schemes, a better distribution of wealth within the framework of the present capitalistic order. Further, elementary education must be more broad-based than at present. If adequate funds are not available for this purpose, there may be, if necessary, conscription of college students as temporary teachers during their long vacations, supplemented by a smaller number of regular teachers. And above all, there must be real emancipation of women.

Moral restraint is undoubtedly the best remedy, but it is confined to a limited number of people in whom the sense of responsibility is sufficiently developed. The age of marriage of both sexes, has already been raised among the middle classes but it is yet to come among the masses. Birth control also is still a far cry, specially among our uneducated classes and illiterate agriculturists. It may, however, be hoped that with the spread of education specially among women, such measures would be more widely used in our country, to make the planning of family possible. The limited number of birth control clinics which have been started, have already done something to relieve the misery of middle-class mothers, suffering from repeated child-bearing. More clinics of this type should be established with State aid by responsible persons who should take sufficient care to impart this knowledge only to married people as far as practicable. Moralists who object, should note that the lack of birth control measures has not infrequently brought about utter demoralisation, famished children and dying mothers in the poorer ranks of our society.

Mainly on eugenic grounds, there should be compulsory sterilisation by the State of the leper and the lunatic as far as feasible.

It should, however, be recognised that birth control measures alone cannot solve our population problem. We have therefore to concentrate on the second kind of remedies, viz., increased productivity, both of our industries and agriculture. The word 'productivity' is deliberately used, for greater production at a higher cost, might lead to further inflation, if the consumer can be coerced to buy at higher prices. In other words, we should aim at a larger output, both in industry and agriculture, with greater efficiency than at present. Let us hope this will be achieved, even partially, under the Five-Year Plan. Moreover, if the system of taxation becomes more equitable and there is a better distribution of wealth in the country, if there are wider social security measures and greater spread of knowledge among the masses, their standard of living is bound to rise and with such a rise in the standard of living, birth rate is likely to decline, as has been the experience of many advanced countries in the West. As Prof. Brentano rightly observed long ago:

"With increasing prosperity, mankind generally rises above the state of blindly giving way to its animal instincts, and so parents become more and more conscious of their responsibility both for the character and number of human beings whom they bring into the world."

So far as character is concerned, we have some leeway to make up, for unfortunately, we are still in

the days of Walpole when almost every man had his own democracy in our country becomes genuine, if "from log cabin to the White House" becomes a reality in this land, the hope and ambition of rising in life might induce many an able man of limited means with no great social connection, to reduce the size of his family, as has happened in England where within a few generations the average size of a family has declined from 5.5 to 2.2.

There is thus no panacea for our population problem. All that may be urged is that we should not take any alarmist view of the problem and indulge in wild statements. We should apply all the remedies suggested above, with patience, courage and faith in ourselves.

REFERENCE

1. Source: F.A.O. The table is taken from the *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, 1952, p. 69.
(a) Excluding North-east (Manchuria) and Taiwan.
(b) Pre-war related to undivided India.
2. By Sri K. D. Malaviya, Deputy Minister, as reported in the *Hindustan Times* on October 28, 1952.
3. *The First Five-Year Plan* (1952), Vol. I, Part I, Chap. I, p. 31 (cyclostyle copy).
4. Kingsley Davis: *The Population of India and Pakistan*. (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1951), p. 246. See also p. 87 of the same book where the net reproduction rate of undivided India is said to be 1.25 in 1931 and 1.30 in 1941.
5. *Economic Journal* (London), 1910, p. 387.

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PROBLEMS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

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GENERALLY speaking, agriculture is the mainstay of Indian prosperity. The people depend upon the primary industries for a living, with little development in the secondary industries of manufacturing. Whereas in 1931, among the gainfully employed population, agriculture claimed 67.1 per cent, only 10 per cent were employed in the field of manufacture.¹ While the advanced countries have passed from the stage of primary occupations to that of secondary or tertiary occupations, primary occupations predominate in India, and even secondary and tertiary occupations are embedded in the former. The following figures elucidate the position. The Table² shows the distribution of occupations in four countries:

Countries	Primary (Agr., Forestry and Fishing)	Secondary (Mining, Building and Industries)	Tertiary (Commerce, Transport & Services)
1. U. S. A.	19.3%	31.1%	49.6%
2. Canada	34.5%	23.2%	42.3%
3. U. K.	6.4%	43.9%	49.7%
4. India	62.4%	14.4%	23.2%

"It is evident that the key to the Indian economic problem lies even more in improving agricultural standards and productive power than in the creation of large-scale industries apart from such improvements. Only a rise in the standards of peasant consumption can provide a secure basis for intensive industrial development."³

The significance of agriculture in India's economy and its inter-relation with the expansion of industrialisation needs to be appreciated. Improved agriculture

3. C. D. H. Cole: *An Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post-War World*, p. 815.

ensures the supply of raw materials to the industries which, in their turn, create a demand for agricultural products and increase the income of the farmers.

"One might consider industrialisation as one chapter of agricultural reconstruction, or might treat the improvement of agrarian production as one chapter of industrialisation. What matters (in regard to underdeveloped agrarian economies) is to remember that the two are interconnected parts of one problem."

The Famine Commission (1877-78) emphasized the development of industries, other than agriculture, to solve the unemployment problem in India. But the success of a well-co-ordinated and balanced programme of industrialisation must necessarily depend upon the proper development of the agricultural resources of the country, for the foundation of our prosperity is essentially agricultural. The fate of cotton and jute industries depends directly upon the production of these two commodities. To have a balance between rural and urban economies, agriculture must be the base and industry the apex and not vice versa.

Agriculture is the fundamental basis of the national economic structure of India. It provides the source of livelihood to about four-fifths of the population and furnishes 75 per cent of the annual income of the country; it supplies 90 per cent of the products for the internal trade. The important role of agriculture in our economy cannot be over-emphasized. Our economic progress is inextricably linked up with the development of agriculture.

Why is it, then, that Indian agriculture, judged by the test of productivity, has remained unprofitable, backward, and unprogressive and fails to obtain increased yields?

Why is agriculture in India "only 86 per cent as efficient as the average production in the important countries of the world, but compared with most of the European countries, scarcely more than 50 per cent as efficient?"⁴

It is of paramount importance to analyse the causes of agricultural inefficiency and adopt measures to eradicate them. We cannot raise the standard of living of the masses unless we restore agriculture—the soul and barometer of our economic order—to a position consistent with the accepted modern standards of market economy.

India is not deficient in the natural resources or physical factors which influence the development plans of a country—it needs only to fully utilise them in a sound pattern of economic reconstruction by sustained and concerted efforts.

An increase in population and decline in output resulted in a lower standard of living. Thirty-five per cent of the population is unable to secure adequate food even under normal conditions. The intensive pressure upon land due to the problem of "too many people and too little capital," to quote Sir E. John Russell, gives rise to severe agrarian poverty and increasing deterioration of agricultural lands. High pressure agriculture would naturally be unprofitable. It is imperative to reduce "the incidence of the density of population through adjustment of regional resources to the regional dynamics of population," through a "programme of economic administration so as to increase the propensity to consume of the rural population and to maintain a reconstituted structure of occupational distribution."

Productive efficiency can only be enhanced if technical improvements are effected. There is no gainsaying the fact that the crux of the agricultural problem is the inability of the rural machinery of adjustment to effect technical improvements due to a rigid cost-price structure and extreme poverty.

To hold that "the central problem is psychological, not technical" forces us to a blind alley and compels us to leave the 'intractable' problem by proclaiming that our economic difficulties are possibly insoluble.⁵ However strong-willed the cultivator might be he cannot improve his methods of cultivation while the present technical and institutional defects in Indian agriculture persist. It was idle on the part of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928, to blame the outlook of the peasant and to state that he lacks the will to achieve a better standard of life when they admitted that

"In a country with such a long history little surprise need be felt that a system of tillage based on experience should have reached a stage beyond which further progress was bound to await scientific discovery,"

and when they confessed that

"The cultivation of rice in the deltas has reached a marked degree of perfection and the wisdom of many agricultural proverbs remains unchallenged by research."⁶

It is from no lack of knowledge or skill, but from the inexorable conditions under which he lives, that the Indian peasant suffers.⁷ It has been aptly remarked that

6. Sir E. John Russell: *Agrarian Problems from the Baltic to the Aegean*, p. 10.

7. T. N. Ramaswamy: *Economic Stabilisation of Indian Agriculture*, p. 11.

8. Report of Fiscal Commission, 1949-50, Vol. I, p. 89.

9. Thompson and Garratt: *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 647.

10. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928, p. 14.

11. Reginald Reynolds: *White Sahibs in India*, p. 100.

4. P. N. Rosenstein-Rodén: *Problems of Industrialisation of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, p. 202.

5. Rajanikanta Das: *Industrial Efficiency of India*, p. 29.

"The troubles of Indian agriculturists are due to the presence of objective disabilities than to the existence of subjective deficiencies."¹²

On the technical side, Indian agriculture suffers on account of its inability to adapt itself to the dynamics of a competitive world economy. The farmer produces commodities irrespective of market conditions, profits or prospects of future demand; he sells at the harvest-time when prices are lowest and accepts prices which the intermediaries are willing to pay. This reduces his occupation to a level of mere subsistence. In fact, as was revealed by the inquiry into the costs of production of crops conducted by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the margin of profit calculated on an accounting basis, is often negative and the producer is only able to eke out a meagre existence.¹³

The microscopic scale of farming caused by subdivision and fragmentation of holdings should yield place to economic holdings, "which will provide an average family the minimum standard of life considered satisfactory."¹⁴ The process of sub-infeudation and morselment of land, scattered holdings, and seasonal unemployment* should be stopped by the laws of inheritance.

"Unless and until, therefore, land owning or holding is wholly nationalised and reconditioned as a public enterprise, eliminating the profit motive—under a system of co-operative farming—there is little hope of this great problem being solved."¹⁵

An integral scheme of land reclamation, rehabilitation of credit, reduction of rural indebtedness, provision of manures and implements, a regenerated cattle economy, adequate transport and marketing facilities, establishment of a parity between agricultural and industrial prices, would alone be able to redeem Indian agriculture from the vicious circles of subsistence economy.

The system of farming must be flexible enough to adjust itself to the changes in the quantity and quality of food that the consuming public requires. It requires the transition of agriculture from a way of life to a form of business by breaking down the shackles of subsistence economy and the establishment of medium-scale agriculture.

"The farmers," says A. G. Street, "are watching their capital shrink steadily year after year, in a hurt and bewildered frame of mind."¹⁶

This sort of muddled fatalism must surrender to constructive optimism. The marriage of agriculture with the latest improvements in the technique of farming provides the initial premise of a sound agricultural policy and gives us a clue to solve our complex problems.

"The nation has a right to ensure that all land is put to the best use and that it is adequately equipped for its purpose."¹⁷

"This objective can be achieved only if our schemes of agricultural improvements are projected into a proper system of land tenure. Land tenure is of basic importance and is an essential prerequisite for other agrarian reforms."¹⁸

The remarks of R. H. Tawney are illuminating in this context:

"Improvement of agricultural methods is, no doubt, indispensable; but it is idle to preach that doctrine to cultivators so impoverished by the exactions of parasitic interests that they do not possess the resources needed to apply it. In the Europe of the 19th century, the reconstruction of the legal fabric of the land system preceded the modernisation both of productive technique and of the business side of farming; nor, in the absence of the first, would the last two have been possible."¹⁹

All the schemes to renovate agriculture, however, founder on the rock of irrigation. Indian agriculture depends upon the vagaries of the weather. Insufficiency, irregularity or uncertainty of water supply is the crux of the problem.

"Agriculture in India has been a gamble in the monsoon, to the vagaries of which irrigation is the only effective solution."²⁰

Irrigation is the most essential requirement of cultivation and a regular and adequate water supply is the main problem on the solution of which depends, *inter alia*, the success of any blueprint on agriculture. It is an inevitable factor for the increase of agricultural production.

"Among the measures that may be adopted for increasing the area under cultivation, the first plan must be assigned to works for the supply and conservation of water."²¹

The scarcity and uncertainty of the main source of water supply, the annual rainfall, is the principal source of worry and a constant headache to the Indian peasants.

16. F. W. Bateson : *Towards a Socialist Agriculture*, p. 42.

17. *Ibid*: *Tory Reform Committee of England*, p. 6.

18. H. Belshaw : "Foundation of Rural Welfare," *International Labour Review*, March, 1945, p. 296, footnote 2.

19. R. H. Tawney : *Agrarian China*, p. xviii.

20. Speech of Shri R. V. Swaminathan at the International Federation of Agricultural Producers' Convention, Stockholm, June 10, 1950. Vide *The Modern Review*, July, 1950, p. 13.

21. Dr. Vera Anstey : *Economic Development of India*, p. 1.

No substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected, security in future against calamitous failures in the food supply cannot be obtained unless we follow the classical example of river culture that has been tried in Germany and America.

"Irrigation is everything in India," observes Sir Charles Trevelyan and adds, "water is more valuable than land because when water is applied to land it increases its productivity at least six-fold, and generally makes a great extent of land productive which otherwise would produce nothing or next to nothing."²²

This aspect becomes more striking when we realize that the whole country is dependent upon the timely arrival of the monsoon, because all major agricultural operations are regulated by this phenomenon. The great advantage of irrigation was that it lessened the threat of famines, danger from the vagaries of the seasons was mitigated and agricultural improvement was encouraged.

Irrigation helps commercialization of agriculture by stimulating cultivators to produce for the market, and not only for home-consumption. Agriculture, which is today vitiated by the features of subsistence economy, would cease to remain impoverished and sapped. It would become a flourishing occupation and a national industry. It would also ensure the full employment of the natural and human resources associated with the land.

Real and enduring agricultural progress cannot be visualized without consolidation. Any programme that aims at the economic amelioration of the rural areas must give the problem of consolidation of agricultural holdings the first priority. This can be achieved only when the planning authority is prepared to strike at the root of the evil and effect a fundamental change in the customs and laws of inheritance which allows 'each heir to take a share of each field wherever situated' thus subjecting land to a continuous series of 'economic earthquakes' due to subdivisions.²³

Apart from the social consequences, the evil of subdivision gives rise to a number of economic problems. Defective agricultural operations, inadequate supervision and little interest in far-away fields, waste of time in moving bullocks, ploughs and implements from one field to another, loss of valuable space on account of hedges, mud-walls and demarcation boun-

daries which gives rise to boundary-disputes, affrays and quarrels on account of cattle trespasses and litigation (which means enormous waste of money and increased indebtedness), congested living and unhealthy surroundings—all these defects arise due to subdivision and fragmentations of holdings. No improvement measures can be carried out on a piece of land measuring two to four acres. It means uneconomic and wasteful agriculture.

"It is calculated that expenditure for cultivation of land increases by 5.3 per cent for every 500 metres of distance for manual labour and ploughing, 20 to 35 per cent for transport of manure and 15 to 32 per cent for transport of crops. It has been further observed that on compact holdings the income from farming would be increased by at least 20 per cent without any modification in the methods of cultivation."²⁴

The restoration of agriculture on a sounder footing requires the increase of a reduced output to a more normal volume and the 'regeneration of a historical trend towards technological advancement'. Reconstruction of the rural framework has to embrace both functional and institutional reform if we are to be successful in giving to the plough its original glory as the symbol of our prosperity.

India is pre-eminently suited to intensive farming if only the inherent natural and economic advantages are properly exploited in a well-co-ordinated scheme of economic conservation along indigenous lines that do not prove alien to the genius of the peasants dwelling in the area. It is futile to import foreign methods and put up pockets of apparent economic plenty with the rest of the state submerged in the old pattern of subsistence farming. It is high time that we implemented a well-knit plan of rural conservation throughout the State. 'Glass-house' planning and laboratory research should yield place to constructive field work.

We must realize that our agriculture has been caught in the vortex of inefficient production and competitive exchange. We are no longer in the area of economic isolation. The economic backwardness of the rural population can be removed by a decentralized industrial structure and by providing opportunities for industrial employment close to the home of the rural population. This would stop what Prof Lionel Robins calls 'the drift of the land' and the virility of the village as a social unit would be restored.

22. R. Dutt : *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, p. 361.

23. B. P. Jain : *Agricultural Holdings in the U.P.* (1937), pp. 26-27.

24. Karl Brandt : *The Reconstruction of World Agriculture*, p. 405.



12. T. N. Ramaswamy : *The Economic Problem of India*, p. 164.

13. *Report of the Prices Sub-committee of the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries*, 1946, p. 8.

14. Dr. H. H. Mann : *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, Vol. 1, p. 43.

* There are 80 workers per hundred acres of cultivated area in India, as against only 6 workers per hundred acres in U.K., who in spite of primitive methods of cultivation, remain unemployed and unemployed for four to six months in a year.

15. K. T. Shah : *Land Policy, Agricultural Labour and Insurance*, (N.P.C.), p. 24.

WHAT IS THE TRUE PROPORTION OF THE HINDUS IN BENGAL?

By J. M. DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

Mr. PORTER, the Census Superintendent of Bengal for 1931, speaking of the accuracy of the Census, says:

"In 1921, the Census Superintendent estimated that the figures returned were not likely to be wrong by more than one per mille of the whole population and that the accuracy was considerably greater for rural areas. A similar claim can confidently be made also on the present occasion." (See page 2 of the *Bengal Census Report*, 1931, paragraph 4).

Mr. W. H. Thompson, the Census Superintendent of Bengal for 1921, writes thus:

"The census of a stay-at-home rural population through the agency of local people under the careful supervision which was exercised over them, is an operation which, even in a country where education is not far advanced, may be one of great accuracy. Almost every rural enumerator had lived all his life among the people he was to enumerate and was personally known to nearly all of them. The urban population is no more than 6½ per cent of the whole. . . . It may be considered very unlikely that the census total is out by as much as one per mille and it is probable that it is very much more accurate." (Vide *Bengal Census Report*, 1921).

The same Mr. Porter speaking of the accuracy of the census figures for Calcutta, says:

"It is difficult to give a confident estimate of the accuracy of the figures recorded. It is customary for a great outcry to be raised as soon as the Census of Calcutta had been taken and allegations are freely made that there has been a wholesale omission of persons who should have been recorded. . . . On the whole, it is unlikely that the enumeration on the present occasion was less accurate than in 1921 and as then it is possible now also to claim that the inaccuracy does not amount to as much as 2 per mille and is probably nearer 1 per mille." (See page 2, paragraph 4 of the *Calcutta Census Report*, 1931).

Although the claim for accuracy within 1 per mille has been made the basis of this assertion has nowhere been discussed in the Reports. We have had our doubts, and we tried to show in the *Science and Culture* for February, 1941, that this claim is untenable.

The *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* says:

"The accuracy of a Census is ordinarily judged by the accuracy with which the population has been counted, and that under American conditions is, according to the expert opinion of Francis Walker and Carrol Wright, probably within one per cent of the truth. (Italics ours). . . . Negroes are enumerated less accurately than Whites and the probable error of that count may be as high as two per cent." (See Vol. II, p. 300).

If in civilised America with a very high percentage of literacy and paid enumerators, the inaccuracy of

the census count is of the order of 1 or 2 per cent, in India it is expected to be higher.

The 1951 Census was acclaimed throughout the country as the "First Census of Free India"; and therefore succeeded in securing public co-operation in much more abundant measure than on any previous occasion. This has been admitted by the Registrar-General of India. In particular the press was exceedingly helpful. In the 1941 Census, as is generally known, there was competition between the communities in parts of Bengal and the Punjab with the result that numbers were inflated. The Muhammadans of East Bengal, mostly rural areas, inflated their numbers by some 26 lakhs; i.e., by some 10 per cent. The Pakistan Government in their *Census Pamphlet No. 2* admits that there has been inflation of the number of Muslims. Over-enumeration of this wilful and anti-social character, motivated by communal politics, was fortunately absent this time. Further both in 1921 and in 1931, the Hindus boycotted or neglected the census operations on account of the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience movements of the Indian National Congress.

It would be reasonable in these circumstances to conclude that the 1951 Census is a better and more accurate enumeration than the previous ones. But how good is this enumeration? It cannot be claimed that it presents the exact truth, and there are no errors or omissions. Let us remember that even in truncated India, i.e., Bharat, there are six crores and forty-four lakhs of houses to be visited; and there were 59 lakh enumerators, mostly unpaid workers. It cannot be claimed that they made no mistakes; that every occupied house, without any exception, was numbered; that every numbered house, without any exception, was visited; and that every person in every house was enumerated without any exception.

The Registrar-General admits that

"Omissions were not merely probable, they must have occurred. This is true as much of the Census in India as in all other countries. Again, as the count has necessarily to be taken over an extended period, and the people move about during the period, one cannot be absolutely sure that the same person was not counted in two different places by two different enumerators, even though every precaution had been taken in advance in order to guard against this contingency. Over-enumeration is, therefore, possible though far less likely than under-enumeration."

The United Nations in one of its publications speak about the accuracy of census enumeration thus:

"The completeness of enumeration can be estimated by a well-planned verification carried

out immediately after the original enumeration in a scientifically selected sample of the areas. Where this has not been done, the extent of under-enumeration or over-enumeration can sometimes be estimated afterwards by comparing the census figures with data from other sources, such as nominally-complete population registers. Tests of completeness can also be made by examining the consistency of the return for certain population groups, such as males and females in various age classes, or by comparing the results of successive Censuses for individual localities or population categories. However, a scientific appraisal of the accuracy of census results has been avoided by the official statistical agencies of some countries. The result is an unfounded impression in the minds of uncritical users of the figures that they are perfectly reliable. In some countries there is a progressive tendency to discuss frankly the defects in census statistics, but until this practice becomes general it will be difficult to determine with any precision the degree of reliability of the figures for most areas of the world."

A precise estimate of the extent of error present in the Census count in India has never been made before. That it is possible to make such an estimate through verification organised on a random sample basis is a recent idea. Sri Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis' investigations have made it possible and made it a practical proposition. When this possibility was brought to the notice of the Government of India, they approved the proposal that a sample verification of the 1951 Census count should be carried out.

This verification has established that the 1951 Census count contains a net under-enumeration of error. For the country as a whole, the nature of this under-enumeration may be thus described in the words of the Registrar-General, India:

"For every thousand persons included in the Census count, eleven other persons were probably omitted. It is a reasonably safe conclusion that the number of persons omitted (per thousand counted) could not have exceeded 12 or fallen short of 10."

The estimate of error present in the 1951 Census count varies from State to State, zone to zone; and from rural to urban areas. We give below the relevant figures for India and East India only:

Verbal figures for 1951 Census	Verified household population per 1,000 persons enumerated in 1951 Census	Reasonably safe limits for actual household population per 1,000 persons enumerated in household	
		Lower limit	Upper limit
<i>India—</i>			
General	1,011	1,010	1,012
Rural	1,010	1,009	1,011
Urban	1,014	1,012	1,016
<i>East India—</i>			
General	1,018	1,016	1,020
Rural	1,015	1,013	1,017
Urban	1,049	1,038	1,060

As is to be expected the under-enumeration is greater in urban areas than in rural areas. The above difference represents the net inaccuracy of enumeration, the resultant of both under-enumeration and

over-enumeration. Compared to the rural the urban under-enumeration is 3.4 per cent more.

Although there are good reasons to suppose that the census enumerations in 1921 and in 1931 are more inaccurate than in 1951, let us assume that the order of inaccuracy is the same.

We shall now discuss the effect of inaccurate count in the earlier censuses in calculating the proportion of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal. In all subsequent discussions we take the Hindus to be synonymous with the non-Muhammadans.

The percentage of the Muhammadans in Bengal has shown to be 53.55 in 1921, and 54.44 in 1931 in the Census Reports. Even if the census count be correct to 1 per mille, the calculation of percentages to second place of decimal is unjustified.

The religious distribution between rural and urban areas has been shown to be as follows:

	Number living in towns per mille of the total population of each religion		
	Hindus (pure)	Non-Muhammadans including Hindus	Muhammadans
1921	107	107	35
1931	115	115	37

As more Hindus both absolutely and relatively in urban areas than Muhammadans the chances of Hindus being under-enumerated is greater. The amount of under-enumeration in the case of Hindus is $3.4 \times 115 / 100$ or 4.91 per cent and that for the Muhammadans is $3.4 \times 37 / 100$ or 1.26 per cent. The resultant disadvantage in the case of the Hindus is 4.91—1.26 or 3.65 per cent. In 1931, 73 per mille of the total population lived in towns or urban areas, the disadvantage of the Hindus in the total population is .27 per cent.

Thus their real percentage in the population is 45.83 and not 45.56 as recorded in the Census.

This we have calculated on the assumption that under-enumeration in both cities and towns are of the same order. It is common knowledge that greater the urbanization greater are the chances of escaping census enumeration. Mr. Porter is inclined to admit that the census of Calcutta is twice more inaccurate than that of Bengal. Our experience as the Secretary of the All-Bengal Census Board in 1941 tends to confirm us in the belief. There may have been an inflation of the Hindus; but my own brother-in-law residing in the 4th flat of B block of Jatindra Mansions escaped enumeration. And this in spite of the fact that the local Charge Superintendent of Census being a member of our Board, and a councillor of the Calcutta Corporation.

If one person escapes enumeration in an ordinary town, three or four persons escape enumeration in cities like Calcutta.

The population of all cities in Bengal in 1931, was 16,24,100. Of the number of Muhammadans was 4,29,683. The disadvantage of under-enumeration in the case of Hindus, numbering 11,94,417, is $(11.94-4.30) \times 34 \times 3 = 78,000$. The effect of such under-enumeration on their communal percentage is $78/232.77 \times 100$ —the population of Hindus 0.34 per cent. Their percentage is more likely to be $45.83 + 0.34 = 46.17$ than what is recorded in the Census. But our estimate is bordering almost on speculation.

Throughout the above discussions we have proceeded on two assumptions, viz., (1) the order of inaccuracy in 1931 is the same as in 1951; and (2) in the rural areas the inaccuracy of count is the same for both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, irrespective of their mobility.

In the 1921 Census Report and Tables, occupations by religion were given. Of the Muhammadans 77.3 per cent were "ordinary cultivators"; the corresponding percentage amongst the Hindus being 48.9. Of the persons engaged in trade more than three-fourths were Hindus; of the persons engaged in transport, a little over one-third were Muhammadans. The ordinary cultivators are from the very

nature of their calling immobile, and are likely to be correctly enumerated at the census. Not so those who are engaged in trade and transport even in rural areas.

The total under-enumeration in East India is found to be 1.5 per cent. If we assume the enumeration in the case of ordinary cultivators to be correct, then the under enumeration in the case of the rest of the rural population would be 3×1.5 per cent as nearly two-thirds are engaged in such cultivation. If we take the under-enumeration of non-cultivators to be midway between the averages of rural and urban under-enumeration, it would be $(1.5+4.9)/2 = 3.2$ per cent.

Let us take 4 per cent to be the order of under-enumeration in the latter case. The communal disadvantage of the Hindus would be

$[(51.1-22.7) \times 4]/4$ or 1.1 per cent of the rural population. As 93 per cent of the total population is rural the communal disadvantage of the Hindus would be more than 1 per cent.

Thus their total disadvantage is 0.27 per cent for urban population, plus 1.02 per cent for the rural population = 1.29 per cent. Thus their communal ratio may be as high as 46.9 per cent.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

THE cultural revolution which took place in Bengal shortly after the introduction of English education marked the opening chapter of the history of the Indian struggle for freedom under British rule. The renaissance movement with its keen consciousness of rich cultural heritage, its profound emotional emphasis on nationalism and lofty challenge to the Britisher's moral right to rule India, which started in Bengal in the second half of the nineteenth century, as a result of this cultural revolution, gradually crossed provincial boundaries and embraced the whole of India. "Young Bengal" of the 'thirties and 'forties was the father of Young India, still lying in the womb of time. Mahatma Gandhi writes in his *Indian Home Rule*:

"What you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. . . The spirit generated in Bengal has spread in the north to the Punjab, in the south, to the Cape Comorin."

It is proposed to show by means of contemporary documents that though it took the rest of India as late as 1905 to feel the full effect of the awakening in Bengal, the awakening really began half a century earlier.

Before we proceed to trace the progress of the renaissance movement in Bengal a brief outline of the

historical and political background of this movement without which the picture that we wish to draw will be incomplete, may be given here.

The first of the several movements which formed the background of the renaissance movement, was anti-British in its origin and started among Indian Moslems. It is known as the Wahabi movement. It began as early as 1823-24. Its basis was religious assertiveness and the principal object was re-establishment of Moslem supremacy in India which had been lost to infidels. Its secondary object was religious and social reform, that is to say, restoration of Islam in India to its original purity by doing away with un-Islamic excrescence which had crept into it due to long contact with infidels.

Though anti-British in its origin the first target of the Wahabis was the Khalsa State. In Bengal, there was a Wahabi insurrection in 24 Parganas under Titoo Mir in 1826 and the target was the Hindus. The story of the Wahabi plots leading to the Mulka and Sittana campaigns in 1863, arrests in Bengal and Bihar in 1868, assassination of Lt. Omaney and subsequent assassinations of Mr. Justice Norman and Lord Mayo is well known. Wahabism spread to East Bengal and the activities of the sect, known as Farazi, are reported from time to time from 1872 to 1910.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF INDIAN . . . MOVEMENT

Referring to the spread of Wahabism in India, Hunter wrote in the third quarter of the nineteenth century:

"Fifty years ago the Moslems were simply a recognised caste. Through the preachings of the Maulvis a change was brought about. They have ceased to be merely a separate caste in the rural organisation and have become a *distinct community*."

This means that within seventy years of the establishment of British rule in India the bonds of Hindu-Moslem unity cemented through several centuries of efforts in the religious, social, literary and political spheres were undone. English historians have euphemistically described the fact as Moslem revival.

Though anti-British in its origin the Wahabi movement has nothing to do with the Indian nationalist struggle in its aims, character and methods. Though the primary object of the movement failed, the seed of separatism which it sowed was of great significance in the Indian political agitation.

Reference may be made next to the greatest event of the nineteenth century in India, namely, the mutiny of a large section of the Indian army. The great rebellion of 1857 was the third mutiny of the Sepoy army; the first broke out at Vellore during the regime of Sir John Shore and the second at Barrackpore under Lord Amherst.

Vir Savarkar has described the great mutiny of 1857 as the first war of Indian independence; but in this war, the religious and emotional aspects were more prominent than the political aspect. It was a remarkable phenomenon in the sense that it was a combined blow of the Hindus and Moslems against the alien rulers of the country, but they combined not for the same purpose. The Moslem sepoys joined the mutiny with the hope of re-establishing Moslem supremacy in the country while the Hindu sepoys rose in revolt deeply stirred by the fear of clandestine attack on their religion and suspicions about the motives of the educational and social reforms of the alien Government. They joined hands with the Moslems without any clear conception of the political effect of their action; probably they did not see anything objectionable in the prospect of re-establishment of Moslem supremacy. All those who joined the mutiny undoubtedly had in common the desire to drive away the hated alien usurpers but their political programme did not go beyond restoration of the *status quo*. The British had created large vested interests in the country and there were innumerable active and passive supporters of the English in every stratum of

society. They had under them plenty of loyal Hindusthani sepoys to fight and kill the mutinous Hindusthani sepoys.

There is little doubt, however, that if the sepoys had succeeded the united India which the British had built up through a century of efforts would have broken into pieces and the awakening of Indian nationalism would have been delayed, no one knows how long.

We come next to the Indigo rising (1860-61) in Bengal. The Indigo rising was the first example of organised non-co-operation or passive resistance in this country and the authors of the movement were the ryots of Bengal. The basis of this non-co-operation movement was purely economic, no lofty spiritual or emotional inspiration was needed to prop it up.

The Indigo Commission wrote in their report:

The ryots unitedly refused to sow indigo. "The circumstances were favourable to this revolt, and the ryots showed firmness and zeal for resistance and for combined action."

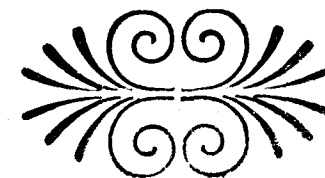
Referring to a few acts of violence committed by them the Commission wrote: "There was great excitement among the ryots. When an excitable but intelligent mass is roused up and prepares to think and act independently it is not unexpected that there would be some excesses." The Government of Sir Peter Grant, L. G. of Bengal, was all along sympathetic to the disaffected ryots.

When a few years later (1868-69) the indigo ryots of Champaran in North Bihar unitedly refused to sow indigo and sowed winter crops in indigo lands the planters grew furious. The Government rebuked them so severely that they lost heart.

The large-hearted sympathy and generosity which the Government showed in their dealings with the Santal rebels (1854-55) characterised also their dealings with the intransigent indigo ryots.

In the background of the new movement which the English-educated middle-class Bengalis started in the second half of the nineteenth century there were three different trends of the movements noted above, the trend of Moslem separatism arising out of the Wahabi movement, the trend of armed rebellion deeply tinged by religious zeal and racial hatred, but without a clear and politically conscious objective of the Sepoy Mutiny and lastly, the trend of organised non-co-operation or passive resistance of the Indigo rising.

The progress of the new movement will have to be studied against this historical and political background.



INDIA AND CHINA

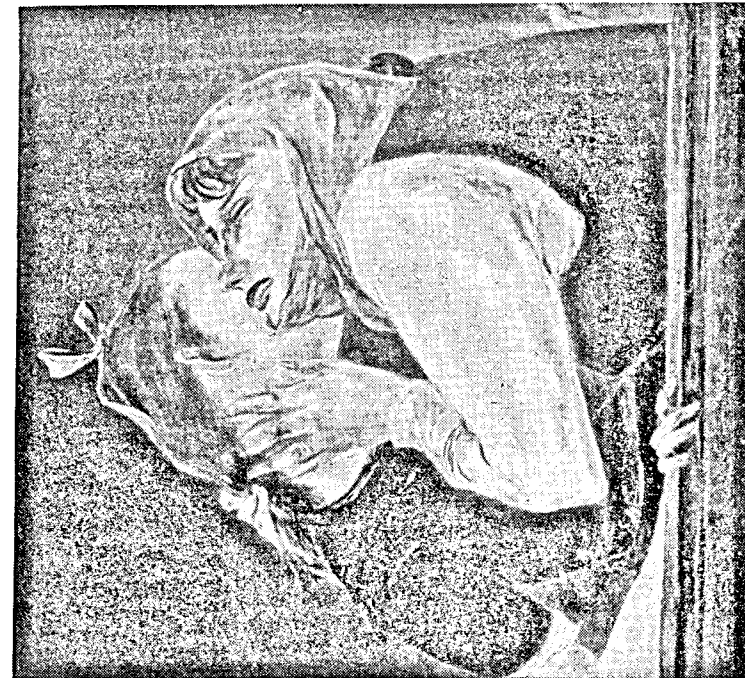
By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

EVERYBODY talks of China these days. There is no harm in talking about a neighbouring and friendly country which is bound to India by cultural ties through the ages. But it is certainly wrong to under-rate our own achievements and lull ourselves into the delusion that China has found a panacea for all the ills from which India suffers. We have full admiration for what China has been able to achieve during the last three years in various phases of national life. She has been able to fight successfully the twelve-year-old inflation; nation-wide agrarian reforms have liberated the peasants from feudal tyranny; vast river projects have been instituted to change the face of nature and supply power and irrigation; new factories have been built and new mines opened. The new Chinese Government has also succeeded considerably in checking corruption and inefficiency in administration and in increasing agricultural and industrial production to an appreciable degree. But we cannot afford to forget that China has adopted the path of dictatorship and totalitarianism. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has coined a new term for such a political organisation and calls it the "People's democratic dictatorship." It is, however, quite clear that this new administrative pattern will be almost the same as the well-known "dictatorship of the proletariat" which, while solving certain problems, has given rise to a host of other problems through the regimentation of mind, men and machines. While India won her political freedom against an alien rule through peaceful and non-violent methods and established a broad-based democratic state, China suffered a prolonged agony of Civil War and founded a 'one-party' dictatorship through blood and violence.

It is true that India's Independence was less spectacular; it was a smooth and peaceful transfer of political power with hardly any changes in the administrative machinery. We were surely spared from a number of hardships and agonies which come in the wake of a violent revolution. But India had also to inherit many ills and shortcomings of the British administrative set-up which still continue to be a source of hindrance in our path of quick progress. Nevertheless, it will be improper to undervalue our own achievements during the last six years of freedom. India had to face the stupendous task of rehabilitating about 75 lakhs of people uprooted from Pakistan. Thanks to our able leadership and administrative planning, our country has been able to solve the problem of displaced persons better than many other nations of the world. We have so far spent about 180 crores of rupees on relief and rehabilitation; about 200,000 refugees have been placed in jobs through the Employment Exchanges; over 80,000 have been absorbed in the Union and State Government offices. The Government has succeeded in settling about 16 lakh and 25 thousand people on land in

different parts of the country. Provision has been made for about 25 lakh displaced persons in evacuee houses or new tenements and there is a proposal to construct 30,000 new tenements during the current financial year. Besides solving the onerous and arduous task of rehabilitation, the Government of India integrated 600 and odd feudal States into the Union within a few months after Independence. Thanks to the wisdom and foresight of the late Sardar Patel, this process of consolidation without a fireshot was unprecedented in the history of the world. India was also able to frame and inaugurate a new Constitution within two and a half years of political freedom. This Constitution, based on democracy and adult franchise, is, surely, one of the best among the constitutions of the world. Within two years of the framing of the Constitution, the Government of India could prepare the electoral rolls of about 18 crore adult voters in the country and successfully hold the General Elections on an unprecedented scale in the annals of public administration. During the last six years, India has enjoyed political stability and civic peace which are rare commodities in Asia and even other parts of the globe. Besides political freedom, India has also prepared and launched her First Five-Year Plan for the attainment of social and economic freedom. Although our Plan is not very ambitious, it is the first Plan of its kind under a democratic set-up and occupies a unique place in the history of economic planning in the West as well as in the East. Community Projects covering about 20,000 villages in the country have already been started and the National Extension Service is expected to serve all the 5½ lakh villages within a period of 7 or 8 years. About 800 crores of rupees are being spent on giant Multi-purpose River Valley Projects which will irrigate about 17 million acres and generate 1.5 million KW of electric power. A chain of National Laboratories have been set up in India for conducting Research in different fields of modern science. Besides the expansion of Industries in the private sector, the Government has been able to start Key Industries like the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, Indian Telephone Factory, the Hindustan Shipyard, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., the Machine Tool Factory, the National Instruments Factory and the Oil Refineries. A Scheme for the erection of a 100-crore Iron and Steel Plant has also been finalised recently. Far-reaching Land Reforms, abolishing Zamindari and other feudal rights, have been enacted in almost all the States in India. More radical measures in the form of the fixation of ceilings on land holdings are being adopted by different State Governments. Acharya Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan* movement has shown a novel way of solving the problem of land redistribution through peaceful and non-violent means. The collection of about 21 lakh acres of land so far through voluntary donations is unique in the annals of

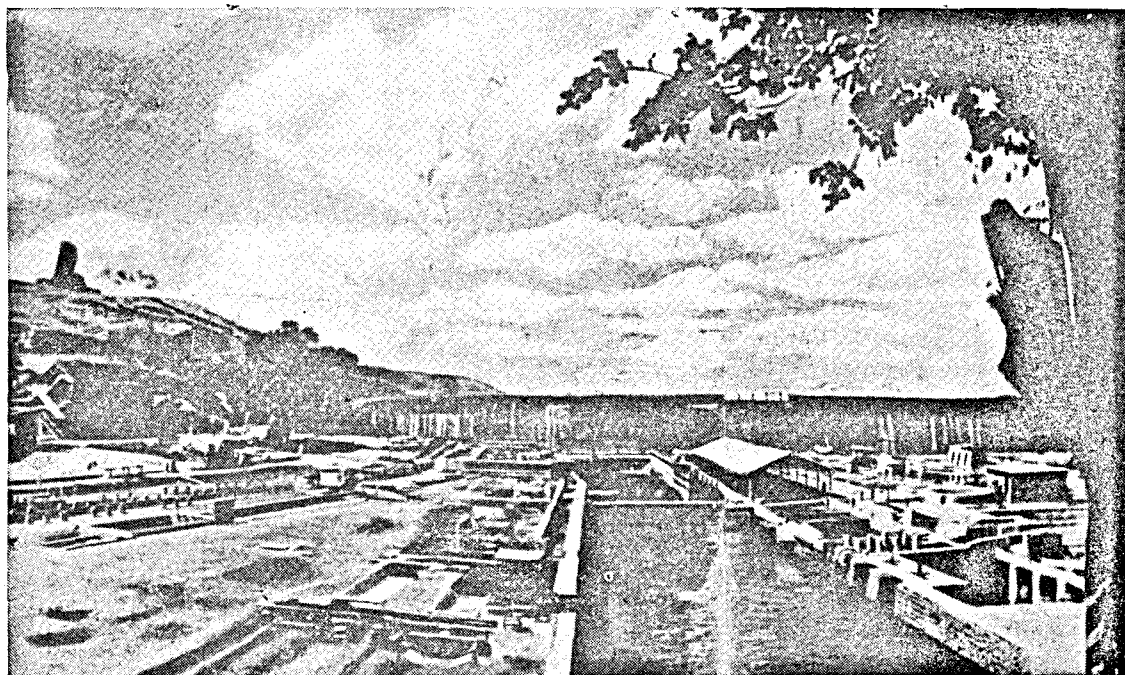
INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION, CALCUTTA



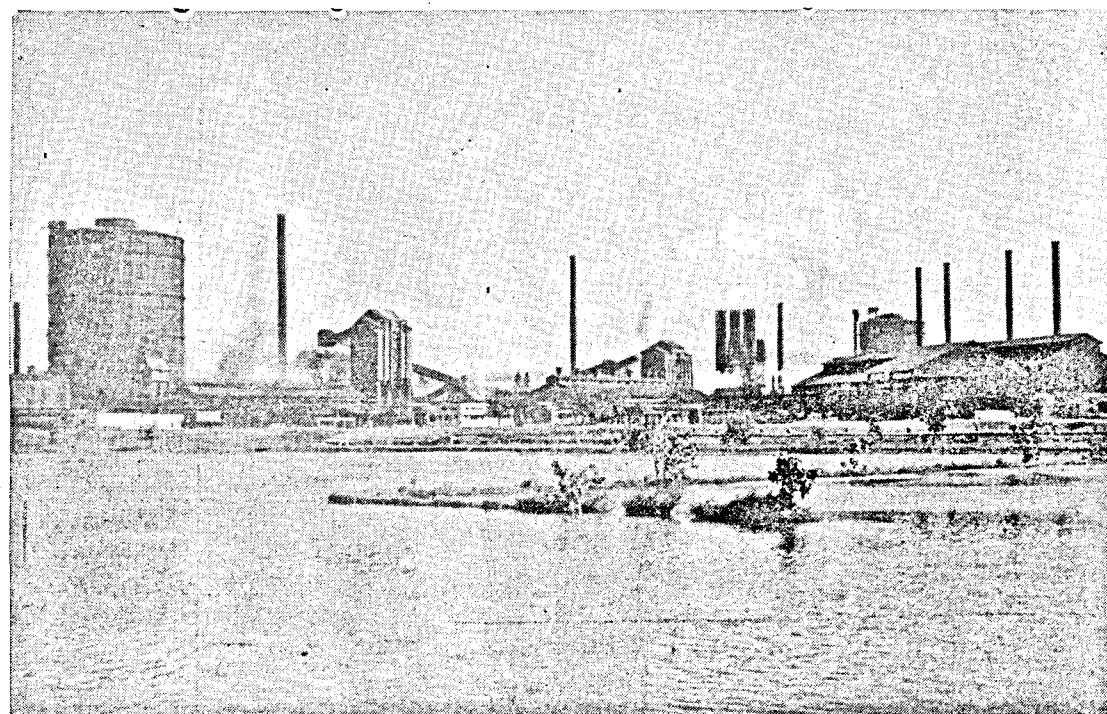
Mother and Daughter (oil)
By Issuo Kumiyosui, America



Newspaper Reading (water colour)
By Chiang Chao-ho, China



Poona Research Station



The Sindri Fertiliser Factory

human relationship in the world. All these are remarkable achievements of Free India for which we should all be legitimately proud. There is, however, no cause for complacency; we must not rest on our laurels and try to subsist on past achievements. We should constantly review our faults and shortcomings and quicken the pace of progress in the social and economic spheres.

We should look at China in a spirit of healthy emulation. We should admire her achievements but should not be blind to the other side of the picture. We hear very much about the land reforms in China. But do we know that there is still the system of individual proprietorship in land and that the new Chinese Government has not yet taken away land owned by "rich peasants" and cultivated by themselves or by "hired labour"? Portions of land rented out by rich peasants have also remained untouched. The *Agrarian Reform Law* provides that "land and other properties of the middle peasants (including well-to-do middle peasants) shall be protected from infringement." In certain respects, therefore, the land reforms in China are even less revolutionary than those of India. In the Industrial sphere, China is still following the system of "mixed economy" in which there is great scope for private enterprises; in fact about 80 per cent of the trade capital in China consists of "private capitalist enterprise." These capitalists in China are, of course, called by a high-sounding name, "national bourgeoisie." As Dr. Gyan Chand recently observed, private enterprise in China was "not merely tolerated, but was assigned an integral part in national development projects." Even enthusiastic Communist workers do not hope that China will be in a position to achieve full Socialism in less than 20 years. A study of Labour laws and regulations in China will indicate that they are not very much more progressive than those in India. So far as Law reforms are concerned, China has scrapped the old legal system and has evolved a new type of People's Courts in which there is not much room for professional lawyers. It cannot, however, be claimed that the Chinese Courts follow any codified laws yet; the personal factor counts for much in the administration of Justice. The Government of India has now announced the introduction of a legislation incorporating far-reaching Law reforms in the country. China and India can both learn from each other in this sphere. The Chinese schools, colleges and universities have, undoubtedly, changed a great deal. But well-known Indian educationists like Dr. Amarnatha Jha and Prof. Mujeeb have not been impressed by the new educational and cultural standards. The Chinese Universities have huge libraries but teach hardly anything except the writings of Lenin, Marx and Mao. There is not much "academic freedom" in these educational institutions; indoctrination and "brain-washing" of the young boys and girls is not very conducive to the growth of balanced and broad-based thinking. The freedom of Press and expression, whatever

may be said to the contrary, is also considerably curtailed. There is, perhaps, some freedom of self-criticism within the Party; but there is not much scope for the freedom of expression in general. Tall claims are made for a great increase of production in the agricultural and industrial sectors. We are told that the production has "doubled" or "trebled." But there are no reliable and scientific statistics yet to indicate the exact position. It is surprising to know that China is now preparing for its *First Census* on a nation-wide scale. The Communist countries have developed a special technique of world-wide publicity through which only the bright side of the picture is made known to the public. We must admit that India has yet to learn the art and science of proper publicity. We should not, of course, indulge in one-sided propaganda; but our achievements should be properly presented to the people to arouse their enthusiasm and to clear certain misconceptions. In India we are averse to the importing of foreign experts. But do we know that, according to figures given by Karanjia himself, there are 60,000 Russian experts in China at present? India has been able to evolve a positive policy of neutrality in International affairs. But has China been able to develop her own personality apart from that of the U.S.S.R.?

Let us, therefore, not lose our sense of proportion. China has, undoubtedly, been able to achieve much during the last three years. India also has many creditable achievements to her credit. In both countries, there is still much that remains to be done. We should, therefore, approach the task of improving the social and economic condition of the masses in a spirit of humility and service. It is no use extolling one country to the skies at the cost of the other. China has chosen the path of totalitarianism although it may be pleasantly termed as the "dictatorship of the masses." India is wedded to the method of democracy and peaceful revolution for the attainment of social and economic ends. It is wrong to think that the totalitarian method is always fast and that the democratic way is necessarily slow. Given the will and the clarity of vision, democracy can be as fast, if not faster, as dictatorship. Democratic functioning of a State is also more sure, steady and lasting. We should, therefore, try to learn the good points of China as also those of other countries of the world. But we should always bear in mind that each country has to pursue her path of salvation according to her own genius and culture and traditions. It is good to be critical of our own achievements. But to decry our own work and unduly praise the work of another country will be, to say the least, unpatriotic! We earnestly believe that India is a land of destiny and has a definite message to give to the world. That message is the message of Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba. It is our sacred duty to keep this message always in our thoughts and to try our utmost to implement that message with humility, faith and determination.

THE EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By BELA BOSE, M.A.,

Professor, Hoogly Women's College

THREE years after the introduction of the Five-Year Plan, the Planning Commission has become very much worried at the growing unemployment. Increase in unemployment with the progress of the plan indicates that there has been something radically wrong in the plan itself. The main purpose of the National Economic Plan should be an all-round economic development of the country. No plan will be worth its name unless it can assure full employment or something very near it and a fair standard of life. Our Five-Year Plan seems to have failed here. The primary reason for this failure is our lack of data on the degree and nature of unemployment, both actual and potential. The Chapter on Unemployment in the Five-Year Plan discusses the problem only from the standpoint of public works. This may be a temporary solution. A lasting solution may be found only through perennial sources of employment.

Any data about unemployment that we have in our country relates only to frictional unemployment. No attempt seems to have been made to ascertain the degree of the other two sectors of unemployment, namely, involuntary and disguised. Only people on the frictional sector of unemployment register their names at the Employment Exchange. We have yet no arrangement to record or ascertain the number on the other two sectors of unemployment. An attempt will be made here to determine the degree of unemployment in the second and third sectors.

A study of India's sources of livelihood since 1901 reveals that pressure on land has been steadily on the increase and livelihood from industrial occupation on the decline. For example :

Changes of Population in Livelihood Groups

	(In millions)		
	1901	1911	1921
Primary production	192	227	231
Industry	40	35	33
Commerce	4.2	18	18
Profession, etc.	10	11	10

In 1931, Census dependents are not shown. But the trend is the same. Later censuses are incomplete.

With the growth of population employment on agriculture is increasing. In the industrial field there has been a definite decline in the number of persons since 1901. Industrial advancement has not increased employment. The number of persons employed on industry before and after the first

World War was the same in spite of the fact that a rapid and substantial industrial development had in the meantime taken place. Employment on the secondary sector in 1921 is very much lower than it was in 1901. The only explanation that may be offered is that the lower employment was due to higher mechanisation and gradual elimination of smaller industries. This alone explains why employment fell when industrial production increased. The four-fold increase in the tertiary sector, that is, in commerce, confirms this view.

The following table showing a breakup in the industrial employment further confirms this view :

Total Workers and Dependents in Different Industries (Figures in 000)

	1901	1911	1921
Cotton textile	574	459	479
Silk	93	49	14
Earthen & stone wares	357	189	196
Brick and tile	14	35	81
Butter and ghee	1.2	15	57
Cane-work	162	139	137

Here it is found that with increasing mechanisation in textile production, namely, the introduction of spinning jenny and power loom, employment in this field fell from 574,000 in 1901 to 499,000 in 1921. With the appearance of artificial silk, employment on natural silk industry had a drastic fall from 93,000 to 14,000 during the same period. Taking Murshidabad, the home of silk industry we find that employment in it fell from 40,217 in 1901 to 21,338 in 1911 and to 2,912 in 1921. Similarly with the appearance of aluminium and enamel wares, earthen and stone wares declined. A large number of people in this essential industry were driven out of the field. The rise in the standard of living and the increase in the number of the middle class, specially during the war, registered a high increase in brick and tile, and butter and ghee industries. The demand for modern houses encouraged the brick and tile industry while the increase in the purchasing power of a particular section was the cause of expansion in the latter.

The serious condition of involuntary and disguised unemployment has been revealed in the General Report No. 1 on the First Round of the National Sample Survey issued by the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India. According to the 1941 Census Reports for the areas which are now included in the Republic of India, the

THE EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

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average size of household in the rural area was 4.99 persons. Since then population has increased. The Sample Survey Report gives the average size of household in 1951 as consisting of 5.21 persons out of which 1.46 persons or 28.1 per cent are earners, 0.87 persons or 16.6 per cent are earning dependents and 2.88 persons or 55.3 per cent are non-earning dependents.

TABLE A

Average number of persons per Household in Rural areas and their economic status in 1950

Economic status	Persons	Per cent
Earners	1.46	28.1
Earning dependents	0.87	16.6
Non-earning dependents	2.88	55.3
Total	5.21	100

Any employment plan will be unsuccessful unless we start from this base. The problem may be colossal but it is real.

The disguised nature of unemployment is seen even amongst the earners, whose average income is almost half of average expenditure. The following two tables from the N. S. S. Report are relevant :

TABLE B

Annual expenditure on consumption in the Rural Areas

Item	Rs. per household
Food	758
Fuel and light	37
House rent	7
Clothing, bedding, tailoring charges	121
Miscellaneous including pan, tobacco and intoxicants	221
Total	1144

The annual expenditure incurred per household is Rs. 1,144.

TABLE C

Value of production in Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Item	Rs. per household
Value of agricultural crops	403.32
Value of livestock products produced and consumed at home	47.89
Value of livestock products produced	14.56
Total	465.77

Cost of agriculture and animal husbandry has been assessed at Rs. 107.32. Therefore the real income from agricultural products comes to

Rs. 465.77—Rs. 107.32=Rs. 358.45.

The income from agriculture and animal husbandry comes to Rs. 358.45 per household.

The All-India averages of the value of production and costs per household in industrial production are given in the Table below :

TABLE D

Production and costs in household industrial establishments in Rural Areas

Item	Rs. per household
1. Value of production	80.07
2. Costs—	
1. Fuel and power	2.66)
2. Raw materials	52.09)
3. Maintenance and repair	1.25)
4. Other expenses	9.36)
	65.36
3. Value added gross of depreciation (1 & 2)	14.71
4. Income from industrial servicing	4.70
5. Total of items 3 & 4	19.41

Income from industry is therefore Rs. 19.41.

Of the household selected for completing the enterprise schedules in the Sample Survey, only about 7 per cent were found to have any handicrafts or trading activities.* Particulars on industry, crafts and trade, including fixed capital, machinery and tools, fuel, power, raw materials, quantity and value of production, types of labour used, source of finance and income from industrial servicings were included in the Household Schedules for detailed information on household enterprise.† The production from enterprises not owned by rural households (i.e., those owned by jointstock companies, local and provincial Governments, Co-operatives, households living in Urban areas, etc.) were excluded from the survey.

All-India averages of values of stocks and turnover per household in trading are given below :

TABLE E

Gross Trading income in Rural Areas (July 1949 to June 1950)

Items	Rs. per household
1. Value in cost price of opening stock and replenishment	158.99
2. Value in cost price of the closing stock	20.46
3. Cost price of merchandise sold=(1-2)	138.53
4. Value in selling price of merchandise sold	179.10
5. Gross trading income=(4-3)	40.57

The gross trading income per household is thus Rs. 40.57. Here again the trading operations done by non-household enterprises or by households living in Urban areas but operating in Rural areas have been excluded from the scope of this survey.‡

All-India averages of incomes from services of various types are given in the Table below. The particulars in this case were not restricted to employment in household enterprises only but covered employment in non-household enterprises also.

* National Sample Survey Report, p. 59.

† Ibid., p. 44.

‡ Ibid., p. 60.

TABLE F

Gross income from services in Rural Areas
(July 1949 to June 1950)

Items	Rs. per household
1. Agriculture and animal husbandry, forestry, fishing	94.18
2. Exploitation of minerals	2.58
3. Manufacture	14.30
4. Construction of building	13.00
5. Electricity, gas, water supply, and sanitary services	3.25
6. Trade, commerce, real estates, trading, etc.	11.01
7. Transport, storage and communication	30.43
8. Professional services	56.89
9. Others (including services not specified)	4.02
Total	229.66
The total income comes to	
Agriculture	Rs. 358.45
Industry	19.41
Trade	40.57
Services	229.66

Rs. 648.09

In the present study for the calculation of the income per household in rural areas, the income from all the sources of livelihood existing in the village have been taken to constitute the total income. But this is not the actual case. One household does not have all the sources of income. Generally most of the people pursue mainly one type of profession, i.e., they follow either agriculture or industry or trade and so on or at the most, they may have two together. In that case the matter would be all the more worse. The best case, i.e., where one household has all the four sources of income, has been taken as the basis of our calculation and even that reveals the staggering deficit mentioned above.

The extent of the gap is therefore—

Rs. 1144—Rs. 648.09=Rs. 495.91.

Here the income has been calculated on the basis of the income-data of the National Sample Survey Committee. The per capita average income has been assessed by the National Income Committee at Rs. 255. This should give an income of

Rs. 255 × 5.21 = Rs. 1328 per family.

But this figure is a composite average of the incomes of the rich and the poor, Urban and Rural population taken together. The disparity of income and opportunity of employment in Urban and Rural areas in this country are so widely different that any application of the National Income Committee's figure to

the Rural sector will be far from the real state of affairs. Therefore, the calculation of rural income and expenditure made in the National Sample Survey Report has been relied upon while assessing unemployment in Rural areas.

Thus, where income is Rs. 648.09 and expenditure Rs. 1144, the only way to fill up the gap is either reduction in standard of life or increase in rural debt. In India, we find both. If we believe that nobody wants to starve or to be in perpetual debt, we must assume that if employment is provided for these people, they will readily accept it, that is, although disguised it is one of involuntary type.

For the present let us make a rough calculation about the numerical extent of actual unemployment. In Table A above, it is found that 23.1 per cent are earners, 16.6 per cent earning dependents, and 55.3 per cent non-earning dependents. In terms of numbers this will be—

Earners—23.1 per cent of 36 crores=10.1 crores.

Earning dependents—16.6 per cent of 36 crores =6 crores.

Non-earning dependents—55.3 per cent of 36 crores =19.9 crores.

Therefore, 19.9 crores are totally unemployed while the earners, that is, 10.1 crores are under-employed because they cannot meet their family budgets. The exact number of involuntary unemployed persons would come to 10 crores if we deduct from it 9.9 crores as children, women unwilling to work, the old and invalid. These people wholly depend on others for their existence. But they are able-bodied men and women who are ready to work at any rate of remuneration if they are given the opportunity. Our society fails to employ them and therefore they are involuntarily unemployed.

The deficit budget of the family thus proves that though employed in some sort of work these people cannot maintain their family properly. Their true nature is however obscure. Apparently they appear to be engaged but in reality they are underemployed. They have, therefore, been rightly described by Mrs. Robinson as disguised unemployed. Ten crores of earners plus 6 crores of earning dependents constitute the total number of disguised unemployed who are definitely not frictional. Approximately the number of disguised and involuntary unemployed persons is, therefore, 10+10+6=26 crores.

The problem now is one of numerical extent and however colossal it may appear, it must be solved.

SUFFERING HUMANITY AND DECENTRALIZATION

By MANKUMAR SEN

If anything characterises the Gandhian way of life and distinguishes it from the various 'isms' of the world which are nothing but degenerated sectarianisms mostly, it is the ardent advocacy for utmost decentralization of our political and economic administration. In fact the very basis of 'Gandhism' is the conception of a decentralized democracy. Gandhiji adopted Truth as the End and Non-violence as the Means to that End. Naturally, therefore, centralization of power and production which for all practical purposes shields the use and spread of violence and thrive on irreligious behaviour, completely materialistic outlook and utmost machinization, is repulsive to Gandhism. To Gandhiji, villages were the real portrait of India, her culture and heritage, village republics the basic units of Democracy and village industries the life-blood of economic organisation. 'Industrialism is, I am afraid, going to be a curse for mankind'—this was the warning of that great seer to the machine-mad world.

INDUSTRIALISM AND INDIVIDUALITY

Those that can look ahead and look introspectively have no manner of doubt to-day, that the road to a 'quantitative civilization' that the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century opened up is the road to dehumanization and disaster of the civilized society. Through machine and mechanization a vicious force of de-personalization has been let loose. Man's unique personality has been trampled under giant machines. The 'Democracies' thriving on industrial economy, extremely centralized, have actually lost their balance and fighting one another in the competitive market which can hardly ever contribute to the cause of world peace. Scramble for profits in industries induces, for obvious reasons, the curtailment of the wage-structure to lessen the cost of production and make the marketable goods cheaper. Thus the wage-earners who constitute a large percentage of the consuming public are hit hard and slump shadows the market in absence of adequate purchasing power. In this way, the human beings in factories receive no better deal than other commodities with use-value. Money being the only criterion of valuation, specific human features, vocational trends of individuals are being blotted out conscientiously and there is 'robotism'—or movement of human machines all around. Vocations or pursuits of man are being made to conform to set patterns or standardized institutions and not the vice-versa. Raw materials are dumped on cities or industrial towns thus depriving the village industries their rightful share in the same and the villagers their natural occupations.

The emphasis has thus shifted on to the city-centres, and the villages, despite their natural resources and man-power, are starving and decaying rapidly.

ROLE OF MACHINE

Originally machine was conceived of as a willing slave of man, and now by virtue of its dominant role in factory civilization man is being made to serve the machine—his master. Sacredness of individuality is sacrificed for abundant material possessions, for more and varied production for bringing more money. This tragic devaluation of fundamental human values is noticeable on a vast scale today—in standardized production, in mendacious sale propaganda, and in so-called amenities of life. In every sector, it is the vague and viciously dangerous idea of 'average man,' not the very natural dissimilarities, peculiarities, mental make-up, hereditary habits or the nature of life's yearning, that holds the field. The result is that man himself has been made a mere abstraction. "Truth and beauty of human life bring only disdain for their un-realism or incompatibility with the modern age!" But is not the history of civilization the collective chronology of individual achievements? Teachers, poets, prophets, philosophers, architects, musicians, social workers and a host of others—have not they in their own way developed and enriched what we call civilization today? Is it acceptable even to the meanest intelligence that all such thought-currents can be standardized and made to obey a set pattern, a centralized behaviour, without wanton detriment to humanity or individual personality itself? Unfortunately, the world around provides only a contrary answer. We have so far probed into the deepening ills of centralized capitalist economy and its attendant administration—now, we turn to the land of communism.

COLLECTIVE EGO

Manifestations of a collective ego at the cost of individual enterprise and liberty of expression of one's self in the land of communism depict a still more disappointing picture of standardization and centralization. Here, of course, unlike the Democracies, the concentration of power both political and economic is by the State itself. As Rene Fullop-Miller, a noted pacifist, observes:

"In order to turn individual man into collective man it was imperative to exterminate his individual soul, that is the main spring of his unique personality. There was neither place nor need for individual thought, feeling or judgment. Man was called upon to give up his individuality so that he could more easily be turned into a spare part, an interchangeable



screw in the 'social machine.' The supreme goal was a mechanized and purely quantitative combination of human mass-particles that would obey the laws of collectivity and thus attain collective bliss. Gandhism discards outright this regimentation. Gandhiji believed in the essential oneness of man, yet according to him, 'The individual is the one supreme consideration.' To him goodness or badness of an individual was really a concern of the whole community, nay of the whole world."

A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history—that was Gandhiji's firm conviction. He was not prepared to submit the individual to the tyrannical bogey of collectivism and 'historical inevitability.'

LIFE AND LIVING

Confusion between 'life' and 'living' seems to explain these pitfalls of Industrialism otherwise strewn with many blessings too. Caught up in the whirlpool of material possessions resulting from revolutionary changes in the technique and scale of production we have confused 'living' with life,—have made a tragic equation of bountiful life and bountiful living. Thanks to machine, the standard of living has reached dazzling heights, at least in some countries,—but by no stretch of imagination they can be said to have evolved a proportionately high standard of life. Rather, the craving for material satisfactions has naturally belaboured the soul of man so much so that thoughts of sublimation and expression of the inner self, however respected in academic lessons, no longer determine the way of man's life. We have changed quite naturally, with the change of times; but rejection of the eternal human values and wholeness of man in the frantic search for a materialistic civilization has axed at the very root of human progress. Life's art and beauty are quickly drying up, nobility and nicety of the soul are decaying due to increasing aggressiveness of the outer world. Bereft of the charm of nature, the holy threads of community life, the standardized man of modern democracies makes no different reading from abstractions, statistical metaphors. The flight of the soul is being wrecked at every step and a vain attempt to substitute the emotional urge, the desire for real life with rotten, repulsive and exciting things and theories only precipitates the last days of this machine age.

CITIES AND SMALL COMMUNITIES

Man's love for cities, for superficial living in the centres of attractions away from the abundant blessings of Nature—the villages—has developed either from economic necessity or from a surrender to the necessity of the handful of persons that hold the reins. We now see that the civilization as transformed since the advent of the 'Machine Age' has no more than the remotest connection with good life. Concentration of wealth and power that constitute the attributes of this age have no regard for simple and noble life, no respect for the 'whole man.' In fact, this industrial and centralized

civilization cannot but discard 'man' as the highest creature on earth for its own sinister designs. But in this wild manifestation are revealed the values of small community where human relations, sense of social service and responsibility, and Nature's unbounded influence determine the way of individual and collective life. Nature being the finest teacher of man, individuality and greatness of mind is most pronounced in decentralized small communities. Neighbourliness and simple living instead of complex and utterly mechanistic life of the cities cannot develop in the soul-less, un-social ways that obtain in the din and bustle of the industrial towns. Once we can limit ourselves to the genuine wants, build up self-contained co-operative village units free from drudgery and complexity, exploitation and regimentation, scramble for power and profits, life will become purposive, vital and dynamic. Gandhiji has shown by his words and deeds, the number of institutions and organizations, the pattern of such a society based on village industries and village republics. Spiritual isolation and starvation of the mind that obtain in large populations have no scope whatsoever in decentralized societies where the influence of nature and willing co-operation alone count. Of all the ancient civilizations, India is most noted for her agro-industrial communities with real communism as the propelling force. To those that shout to the housetops in favour of the scientific civilization as an unmixed blessing the following quotation from Prof. A.V. Hill's (President, British Association for the Advancement of Science) speech delivered on 3-9-52 under the title "The Ethical Dilemma of Science" should be an eye-opener:

"Completeness and dignity are brought to man by three main channels, first, by the religious sentiment, and its embodiment in ethical principles, secondly, by the influence of what is beautiful in Nature, human personality or art and thirdly, by the pursuit of scientific truth and its resolute use in improving human life."

Gandhiji conceived of Absolute Truth as the End and Non-violence as the Means; means for individual as well as group practice. Village industries and village republics are the basic steps on this way. They opened up the way to what is called practical non-violence. Non-violent living is attainable only by self-imposed discipline, which alone can produce hardy, diligent, responsible and talented individuals, rich and powerful societies based on moral values. This disciplined behaviour coupled with an intimate knowledge of one's neighbour makes an impregnable defence against the infiltration of narrow ideas, sectarianism, and ignoble imitations. Too many pitfalls have tarnished the long road beginning from the Industrial Revolution. It is high time we take up the ways and means to a better life with much lesser possessions,—which is the Gandhian way. Modern civilization with a faulty edifice is bound to tumble down unless the decentralization of economic and political organization is taken up in all earnestness.

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI AND MAHATMA GANDHI

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITAM

In the history of nations, from time to time, there appear a few individuals who become the incarnate spirit of a nation and, at the same time, become the representative mouthpiece of the entire human family. In such men nationalism and internationalism, patriotism and humanity are not antithetical truths, but one integrative of the other. It is so remarkable that such prophetic minds, idealists to the core, appear in some most critical periods of history of a nation. Providence and fortune conjure up to rain down torrents of new light and life through them.

They finish the job which Heaven has assigned for them and, then, depart from the stage of historical man. But their ideals and influence continue to work far more powerfully after their death than during their life; for, being prophets beyond the common reach of the masses, it takes decades and even centuries to unfold the significance and mission of such men. It is long after they are dead and gone that generations, historians and thinkers begin to appraise them in their real perspective. As Kahlil Gibran says: "It is long since the cedar tree has fallen, but its fragrance endures, and will for ever seek the four corners of the earth."

II

If the history of the Italian *Risorgimento* has so many striking parallels with the Indian Independence movement, Giuseppe Mazzini is the Mahatma Gandhi of India and Gandhiji is the Mazzini of Italy. If, of the triumvirate of the Italian *Resorgimento*, Mazzini were the prophet, Cavour the diplomat and Garibaldi the soldier, then Mahatma Gandhi is the prophet, Jawaharlal Nehru is the statesman and Subhas Chandra Bose is the soldier of Indian Independence movement. These two men, viz., Gandhiji and Mazzini are seers, prophets, ethical revolutionaries, pioneers of freedom of body and soul, heralding the future still unborn.

Mazzini was not merely the representative prophet of Italy, but the image of the classical Latin civilization symbolised in Rome; Rome that ruled over the world for centuries under Caesars; Rome that rules over nations under Popes; Rome that still has the potential power to integrate both Caesar and Pope and spiritually and ethically be the mistress of the western world, not any more through domination, exploitation, imperialism and military prowess, but through the motherly warmth of Latin civilization, the invisible empire of imponderable values and ethical culture. Mazzini himself lived in a state of exultation, being for ever conscious of his vocation to uphold the banner of that Roman civilisation which makes the Eternal City, *caput mundi*, which made him bless with the same idealistic enthusiasm both *urbem et orbem*; Rome and the world. Says Mazzini:

"In me survives the faith in Rome. Within the walls of Rome life has twice unfolded as unity of the world. While other peoples vanished for ever after the completion of a fleeting destiny, and none came twice to the front, life there went on eternal and death was never known . . . Why should there not arise out of a third Rome an Italian people, whose emblem floats before me; why not arise a third and greater unity, which shall set in harmony earth and heaven, right and duty, which not to the individual but to the peoples, to the free and equal, shall speak a luminous, unifying word about their mission in this earthly vale?"

The mainspring of all activities of Gandhiji also was the ever-present consciousness in him that he was the inheritor, propounder and apostle of the faith that is India. India also has risen twice in history and there is no reason why she cannot be the Mother of many nations a third time. During the reign of the *Maurya* Emperors, notably under Asoka, India's borders extended beyond her geographical frontiers. Then came the Buddhist period when Greater India extended to almost all Asian countries. The second rule of India over other nations was not through swords and arms, but through moral force, religious truths and imponderable values, much in the same way Popes rule the world, through Roman Catholicism. Like Mazzini, Gandhiji also believed that political freedom, unity and cultural resurrection of India will prove to be an undeniable blessing to both East and West, because India still remains the classical land of philosophy and religion.

Like Mazzini, Gandhiji's religious psychology was all-inclusive and was opposed to all forms of sectarianism, going to the very rock-bottom of ethics, values and spirituality in religion. For this reason Mazzini had to encounter attacks from Christian orthodoxy and exclusivism and Gandhiji from Hindu orthodoxy and exclusivism. Says Gandhiji: "Just as God is one though His names are different, Religion also is one in spite of its different names; because all the religions have been derived from God."

Both Mazzini and Gandhiji lived by a living faith in the living God. To the Mazzinian maxim: *Dio e popolo*, "God and the people," Gandhiji's axiomatic truth was: "God and Humanity." Belief in God was the dominant feature of the two prophets, a faith so real, so powerful to mould their life and inspire action for the freedom and welfare of their countries and of mankind at large. Says Gandhiji: "I believe in God much more than I believe in the fact that you and I are alive and I am speaking to you."

Ethics of politics and sociology which both Mazzini and Gandhi deduced and expounded so masterly and vividly in their various writings were derived from their hold on God. Both these prophets were essentially and pre-eminently religious souls; all their politics and

fight were but the outward expression of their deep-seated religious quest and inner urge to reach God who is Truth, Truth that is God. Says Gandhiji:

"If I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics today encircles 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 in politics."

Mazzinian sociology, ethics and political philosophy, as mirrored in his life and writings, notably in his classical *Diritti e doveri dell Uomo* of 1840, are all derived from his intense religious psychology which hungered and thirsted after righteousness, which could not brook injustice, inhumanity and slavery anywhere.

Mazzini (1805-1872) was an elder brother to Gandhiji (1869-1948), and the latter has recognised his debts to the former. Mazzini's *Young Europe* of 1834 and his *Young Italy* inspired Gandhiji to start his *Young India* movement. Mazzini wrote in 1834 that his *La Giovane Europa* was an association of men believing in the future of liberty, equality and fraternity for all mankind. Similarly, Gandhiji proclaimed that his *Young India* movement went beyond the geographical frontiers of India and embraced the entire human family.

Mazzini and Gandhiji were eminently men of action, not arm-chair philosophers and touch-me-not saints. To those who compared Gandhiji to Francis of Assisi and advised him to retire to meditation and prayer in the solitude of the Himalayas, Gandhiji replied: "My Himalayas is right here; in the struggles of the poor, downtrodden and the lost." Mazzini also replied his critics in a similar vein when he wrote in his *Pensiero ed Azione* (Thought and Action) in the year 1859:

"I am but a voice crying action. But the State of Italy cries for it also. So do the best men and people of her cities. Do you wish to destroy my influence? Act."

The political dynamism of both Mazzini and Gandhiji were the overflow of a philosophy of life which they were deeply convinced of, and which they intensely lived. There was little or no gulf between their ideals and their practice, their faith and their life, their public and private life. This gave irresistible power and strength to both of them; and cowards, hypocrites and tyrants had to bow before their saintly, prophetic, dynamic and powerful personality. Both of them were one with the people, away from the plutocratic, bureaucratic and aristocratic snobbery and right in the midst of the poor, downtrodden and the lost. Mazzini, after seeing the miserable plight of the refugees from Genoa, was struck at heart, and ever since he wore the simple, austere, poor black mantle. Mahatma Gandhi saw the grinding poverty, social slavery and economic exploitation of the broad peasants and workers of the Indian subcontinent, and he dressed himself in a simple loin cloth and shawl, symbolizing thereby his identification with the broad masses of his country. This mass appeal of the two prophets, their unalloyed idealism and unflinching faith gave them a sway and

control over the masses which helped to fructify their dreams and ideals in no small measure.

Although both Mazzini and Gandhiji stood for the unity of their country, Mazzini, being more a practical political than Gandhiji, envisaged a strong centralised Italy, opposing decentralisation and federalism. Gandhiji, on the other hand, stood for more and more decentralised form of government, often to the point of anarchic liberalism. Mazzini, on the other hand, saw that times are changed and that strong rod was essential for the upkeep of Italian unity and power. Mazzini wrote:

"This young Italy is unitary; for without unity there is no real nation, because without unity there is no power, and Italy, surrounded by unitary nations, which are strong and jealous, must, above all, be powerful. Federalism would reduce it to the powerless condition of Switzerland, and under stress of necessity it would fall under the influence of one or another of the neighbouring nations. Federalism would give new life to the rivalries of different localities which today are quenched, and so lead Italy back to the Middle Ages. . . . Seeking the destruction of the unity of the great Italian family, federalism would render utterly vain the mission that Italy is called to fulfill for humanity."

As Proudhon opposed Mazzini's ideas of a centralised and strongly united Italy, so Subhas Bose opposed Gandhiji's religious mysticism and philosophical anarchism applied to the problem of Indian independence and Indian unity. As Mazzini's dream of a strong Italian Republic was thwarted with the advent of Italian monarchy under Victor Emmanuel II in 1870, so Gandhiji's dream of Indian Unity was defeated when the country was partitioned in 1947, thus giving birth to India and Pakistan. The broad parliamentary and liberal traditions of the Congress are today leading the country to further weakening through the creation of linguistic provinces, freedom of the capitalist class to exploit and for the broad masses to starve and die, which the saintly heart of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation, could not have allowed.

Mazzini, after the restoration of Italian Monarchy of Casa di Savoia, wrote:

"The Italian people are led astray by a delusion . . . but monarchy will never number me amongst its stalwarts or followers."

It is known that Gandhiji also had many disillusionments after Indian independence. Gandhiji deplored the lack of revolutionary spirit for sweeping changes, to bring about the much-needed socio-economic regeneration of India, which alone makes political *swaraj* meaningful. Gandhiji, the idealist, was sore wounded seeing the rising tides of self-interest among Congressmen and capitalist class. As Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan said, after the Mahatma was martyred in Delhi on 30th January, 1948 that the misdeeds of many of his erstwhile followers and countrymen had pierced his heart "long before bullet pierced his body." Mazzini died in Pisa on 10th March 1872 greatly disillusioned,

as Gandhiji died in Delhi frustrated, hit by the bullets of one of his own countrymen, crowning his long prophetic life with the blood of martyrdom, like the great Abraham Lincoln in the United States.

III

During the long exile of Mazzini in England, among the various glowing tributes by non-Italians to the prophet, there is one of Thomas Carlyle, who writing to *The Times*, said:

"I have had the honour to know Mr. Mazzini for a series of years, and, whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify that he, if I have ever seen such, is a man of genius and virtue, one of those rare men, numerable unfortunately but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called

martyr souls; who in silence, piously in their daily life, practise what is meant by that."

The above is an appreciation of an Englishman of high literary and cultural standing. But the appreciation coming from representative Indians on the life and ideals of Mazzini is of far greater significance. Gandhiji has borne momentous testimony to Mazzini. Giuseppe Tucci writes in the *East and West* Quarterly magazine that he found translations of the work of Mazzini into Indian vernaculars. The present writer has come across individuals and groups who consider Mazzini akin to Indian spirit. After all, India and Italy are the two great mothers of very similar civilizations, one in the East and the other in the West, easily recognizable through their representative prophets, notably through types like Mazzini and Gandhiji.

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Scenery (water colour) by Ho Tion-chien, China

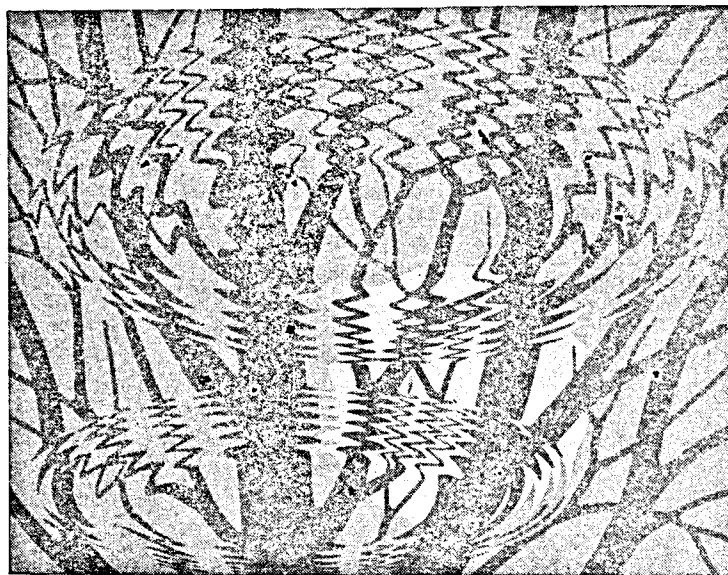
SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION, CALCUTTA

By KAUNDINYA

THIS Exhibition, organized by the All-India Art and Craft Society of New Delhi, was first inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, at New Delhi on 5th May, 1953. It has now been brought to Calcutta for a month and will travel to other cities, one after another.

To the ordinary man in the street, with no particular responses to the demands and blandishments of works of beauty, an International Exhibition may spell nothing more than a cheap journalistic stunt, to boost the work of the Delhi Society, which claims the monopoly of presenting and patronizing Indian Art and Indian artists in a continuous career of selfless labour. In Calcutta, we have a live and very much active Art Society, called the Academy of Fine Art supported by the citizens of Calcutta and of other cities and it is an "All-India" body with a rich programme of exhibitions and patronage of Indian Art. Last year the Calcutta Society was authorized by the Government of India to select and send a representative collection of Indian Art for exhibition in the cities of the United States. The collection has been exhibited already in Washington and a few other cities and will be shown in New York very soon, to be

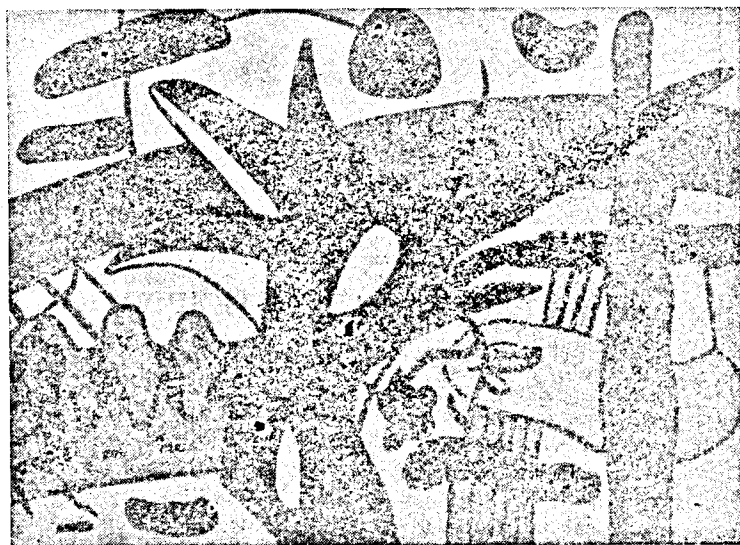
followed by exhibitions in other cities. The show has claim to be the earliest pioneer of an International already earned appreciation in the local press and Exhibition arranged in 1917, exhibiting a group of aroused interest of American citizens in the production of modernistic paintings representing the works of the tions of Indian contemporary artists. A year before, a world famous Russian artist, Wassily Kandinsky and



Rippling (lino-cut)
By M. C. Escher, Netherlands

collection of modern Indian paintings was shown at the Haward University in the States at which many pieces were sold. In previous years, other exhibitions had been sent out from Calcutta to travel through all the 52 cities of the States.

As regards Europe, Calcutta in 1914 sent out a remarkable collection of the masterpieces of Abanindranath Tagore and of his pupils, which, praised by all the best art-critics of Europe at Paris, the vortex of Art, created an international sensation placing India on the map of the world's culture. Other Indian exhibitions were sent out from Calcutta and won rich appreciations in Berlin, Leipzig, Munich and other European cities. The paintings that the art-connoisseurs of Calcutta sent out for appreciation in Europe and America were always carefully selected by the best connoisseurs and maintained a high level of standard, unattained by any other exhibitors. So that, as an art-centre, Calcutta can claim unique distinctions in presenting works of Art for international appreciation. Calcutta can also



Landscape (oil)
By Fernand Leger, France

As the specific gravity of art studies and art appreciation is gradually shifting to New York and Washington in the United States, following the model of the Venice "International," an analogous annual Forum to adjudge progress in Art has been built up

of his followers, who attempted to demonstrate the new doctrine of "Spiritual in Art" enunciated in the famous treatise, *Art of Spiritual Harmony* (Munich, 1912).

Speaking of "International" Exhibitions and their purpose and aims we are reminded of the world-famous International Exhibition held at Venice every alternative year, where the best productions of Art from all the countries are received and selected by a competent jury and then exhibited for open display to invite the criticism of the educated art-public. Venice at this time attracts art-connoisseurs and visitors from all parts of the world, the show being regarded as a great event and opportunity to examine and adjudge the progress of Contemporary Art. Learned reviews of this great event, written by the best art-experts, are published in all the art-journals of Europe and America.

in New York. They call it the "Multi-national Exhibition," a happier title than "International." The "Multi-national" is regarded as a valuable eye-opener to artists. For it is an exhibition in which one can make discoveries, in which one breathes the fresh atmosphere of freedom, youth and adventure. It helps to introduce new and original artists to the American public and develops the idea, that all art in the world cannot be seen and studied by traversing the beaten track which leads from Paris to New York. Above all, a Multi-national Exhibition is an active agent in promoting international friendship.

The Carnegie International Exhibition has somewhat similar aims and analogous ideals.

Now let us turn to the International Art Exhibition brought to Calcutta by the Delhi Society, accompanied by much fanfare and newspaper publicity. The huge expenses of this travelling show are being met by the Government in parading the show from city to city. The exhibits were not selected or gathered by the Delhi Society or by any expert Committee. They were received by the Society as Government agents through the different Foreign Embassies and it is obvious that the exhibits were not selected by any committee of experts. For many of the sections are filled with mediocre items collected haphazard to represent each country.

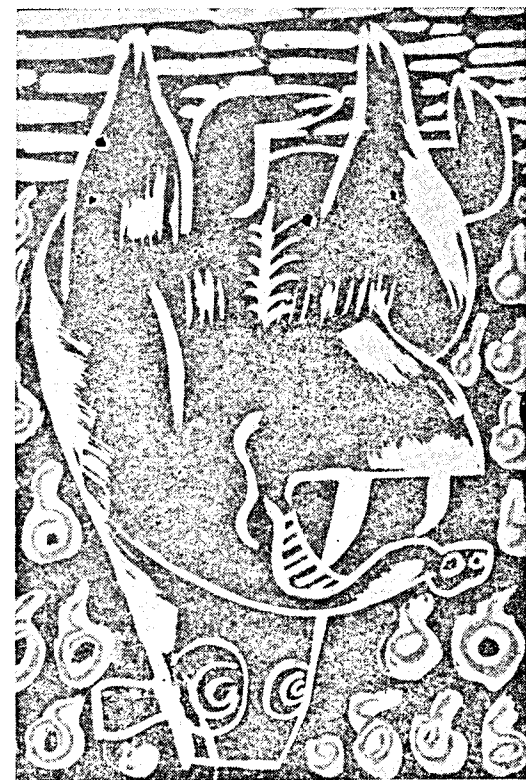
In the first place it is an exhibition of *paintings only*, with some specimens of copper-plates, aqua-tints and black and whites, with no specimens of sculpture. So that the proper designation should be that it is an International Exhibition of paintings and drawings.

But whatever may be the limitation or imperfection of the show, it is a creditable assembly of a large body of contemporary paintings from 29 different countries, which offer an opportunity to art-lovers in India, anxious to make intimate and direct contact with the present-day art-products of various countries of the world. When we realize how difficult it is for poor Indian artists and art-connoisseurs, with thirst for Art, to undertake expensive and arduous pilgrimages to all parts of the world to see, to know, and to study the latest expressions of other races and countries in the field of visual arts and to benefit by the new experiments which artists are undertaking for solving artistic and spiritual problems very similar to the problems confronting Indian artists in the new and depressing economic conditions of modern times, we realize, with gratitude, the valuable educational service rendered by the Government in sponsoring this exhibition of paintings brought from 29 different countries. The æsthetic map is extensive enough and those who cannot travel all over the world will gratefully appreciate these rich and varied gifts brought to their very door-steps for direct study and instructive intercourse.

But there is another side to this picture. Many

people think that it is placing the cart before the horse.

The Government has not yet done anything substantial to render the position of contemporary Indian artists on a sure, safe, and economical footing, not only by providing a large number of scholarships, prizes, and travelling bourses to deserving art-practioners, but also by active patronage by employing a large number of Indian artists, through important Commissions, to execute frescoes and decorations of public buildings and to raise monuments to

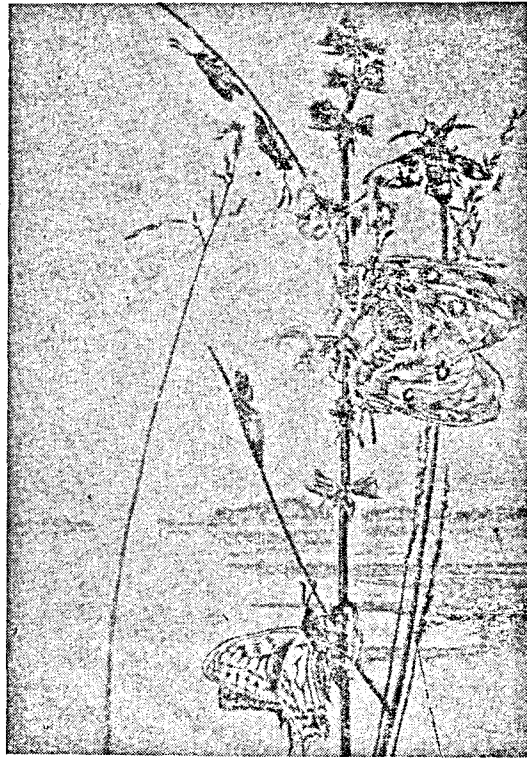


The Engine Room (dry point)
By Ture Jorgenson, Sweden

honour our great men and women. It is a mockery to bring International Exhibitions, before the status of practising Indian artists is placed on a sure, economic foundation to relieve the widespread unemployment prevalent amongst the qualified artists, who pour out from our many art-schools in India in large numbers, every year, seeking work and employment and finding none to their utter despair and frustration. If our artists cannot be employed in works of public and civic utilities to decorate our Town Halls, Assembly Buildings and Universities, it is better to close the doors of our Art Schools which are adding to the crowd of the educated unemployed.

Several lakhs have been spent and are being spent

to assemble, to transport and to parade this huge show through the principal cities of India. The money could have been better utilized by purchasing a few of the outstanding pieces for permanent exhibition in a wing of our National Galleries.



Love-making butterflies (etching)
By Stig Asberg, Sweden

Turning now to the contents of some of the sections, not all of equal merit, we find that the Chinese section is the most impressive and the most popular one, escaping the modernistic "frightfulness" which dominates most of the other sections. The outstanding piece in this section is a large landscape on paper, depicting weird rocks, clouds, mists and foaming rivers. It has the characteristically Chinese manner of depicting a Chinese landscape. But the more outstanding and vital works are the black and white study of birds, horses and lotuses, which reveal wonderful mastery of brush-work, and impressionistic vision. A very popular piece in this section is a *genre* study of a grandfather with his grandchild reading

newspaper. It is from the brush of Chiang Chao-lo. It has power and simple beauty even if it is cheaply realistic without any great vision.

In the French section, not very representative or strong, with poor examples of Matisse and Picasso, the high-lights are provided by two Abstractionist landscapes, one here reproduced, representing Fernand Leger, one of the great masters of modern painting. The American section is full of many powerful Cubistic essays, disconcerting in their bravura and in the daring distortion of form. In a sober academic

vein of sentimental interest is a study of "Mother and Daughter" by Y. Kuniyoshi, a Japanese, naturalized in America, which gives some relief to the ordinary visitor, unable to sympathize with post-Impressionistic and Cubistic frightfulness. In black and white works the most rich and inspiring sections are those contributed by Sweden and Norway. There are here many original and impressive pieces of an extensive range of vision and treatment. An etching by S. Asberg, representing "Love-making Butterflies," is a conscientious study executed with a wonderful minutiae of details. A very weird design by T. Jorgenson, cryptically labelled as "Engine Room," is a powerful piece of creative invention depicting a shape of pre-historic animal form, suggested perhaps, by the gigantic shapes of fantastic motor appliances. It looks more like a gigantic black bear fondling its young one. Less enigmatic and more pleasing is a clever piece of "Patterning" (made by Escher, an artist from Netherlands) out of the reflexions of trees on a sheet of water, happily labelled as "Rippling."

The different phases of modernistic painting in Europe and America have evoked loud protests and trenchant criticisms not only from laymen, but also from academic painters, committed to the doctrine of accepting the function of Art as a picturesque and accurate presentation of forms of Nature, and that these distortions, deformities and abstractions are not the products of sober, normal or healthy vision. Most of the interpreters of the modern movements claim a charter of freedom from the tiresome necessity of learning to draw and other such-like quixotic accessories to the art of painting.

In most of these quixotic creations with fantastic and frightful distortions of form, the spectator is "invited to a display of artistic fire-works which does not always come off, but unmistakably smokes and splitters."

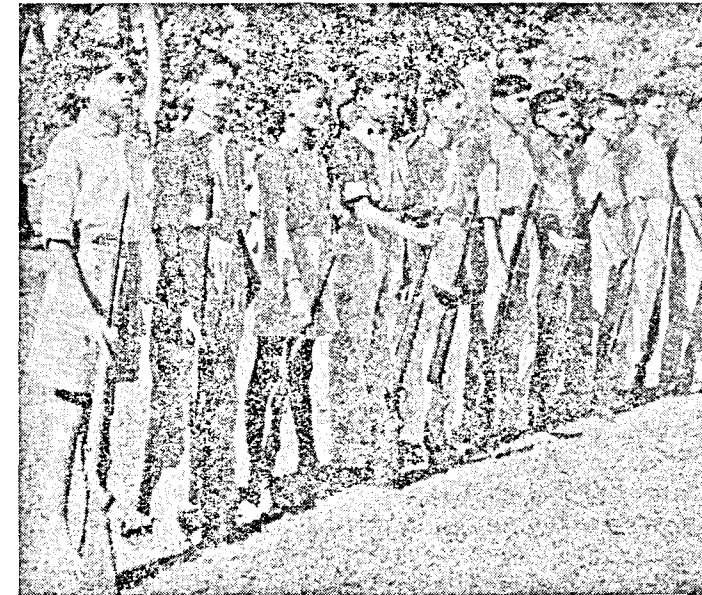
COORG, THE LAND OF THE KODAGAS

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

SITUATED on the eastern slopes of the Western Ghats, betraying monsoon, produces, besides coffee and pepper, surrounded by green-wooded mountains, is Coorg—the cardamom, oranges, and sugarcane. The Coorg forests Land of the Kodagas. This tiny state is noted for its supply all kinds of good wood and are the abodes of

big game-hunting. The climate, as prevalent in all other hill-stations, is delightfully convincing, though a little too cold in winters.

The inhabitants of Coorg, Kodagas as they are called, are noted for their personality, individuality and hospitality. Having been born and lived for centuries in mountain-homes amidst awful surroundings, the Coorgs, by their very nature, have become fearless, strong and aggressive. Rightly proud of their martial blood, thousands of Coorg youths today are serving in the Army with great skill and capacity. It is the Coorgs who have given us our first Indian Commander-in-Chief and Lieut. Gen. Thimmaya. They are seen holding today high posts in practically all walks of life. Their picturesque national dress certifies the fact that they are warriors by race though they are essentially "sons of the soil" and lovers of pastoral charms. Though Hindus by religion, the Coorgs have preserved their

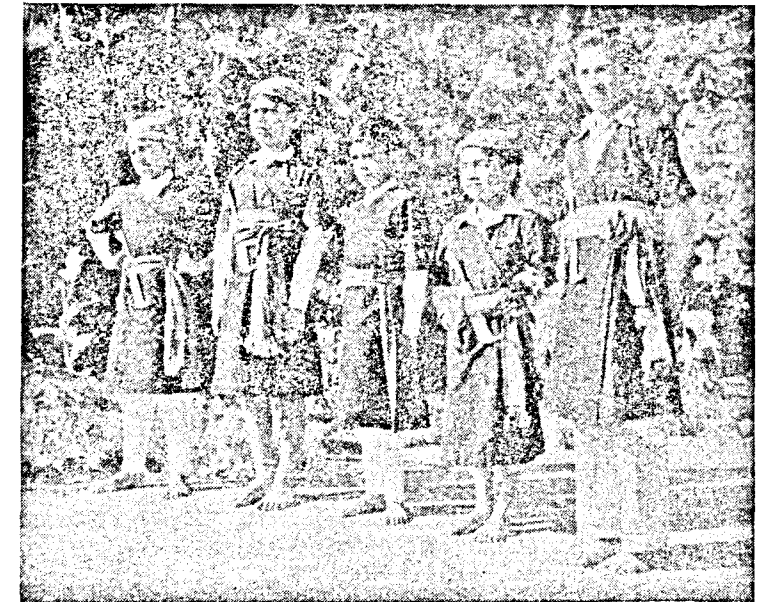


Coorg lads preparing for an Army career
Courtesy : Films Division

irresistible charms of Nature and has been hailed as the "Scotland of India." Its delightful climate and the hospitality of the people welcome the visitors from all corners of the globe.

The journey to Coorg is highly exhilarating. There are no railways so that one has to depend on buses and cars which, however, are easily available from Mysore, about 80 miles away. Throughout the journey it is a feast for eyes to behold the marvellous creation of Nature, thick forests and bamboo bushes, rich coffee estates, the swift-flowing Caverry river, tiny waterfalls overflowing right through the winding road, and the avenue of trees of all sorts.

Besides being a tourist paradise, Coorg has a right to feel proud of its unique prosperity from the economic point of view. With an average rainfall of over 60 inches a year, it is one of the largest producers of coffee and pepper, in the whole of India. Paddy is "scientifically" grown with the result that the output is almost double that of other states. The fertile soil, with un-



Kodaga boys in their national costume
Courtesy : Films Division

society from some grave evils of Hinduism and have scant respect for the ever-dominating Brahmins.

Child-marriages, widowhood, and dowry system are unknown; and the fair sex holds the dominating position in all their walks of life. It is all due to the triumph



Hunting in the forest of Coorg
Courtesy : Films Division

of education which is widespread in the entire state of Coorg. The latest census has revealed that Coorg stands third in the whole of India in literacy. Kodugu is their mother-tongue which is a mixture of almost all South Indian languages.

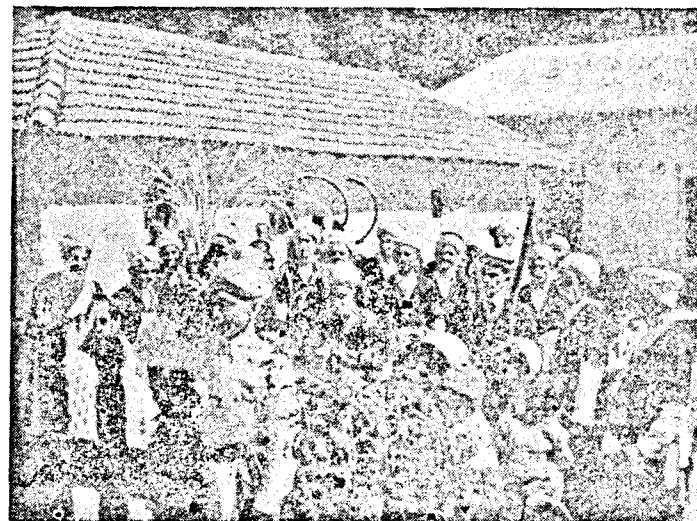
The women of Coorg are noted for their personal charm, complexion and beauty. They are fastidious in their love of finery and show a pleasing taste for jewels and dressing. They have their own Coorgi style of sarces which is at once unique and arresting. The women of Coorg have shown a great advancement in the fields of Art, Music and Literature and have shown a superiority over their sisters elsewhere in India. Society has granted equal rights and dignity to their sex, and they have always been honoured in and outside their domestic life.

Mercara, the capital of Coorg, being 3800 ft. above sea-level, enjoys a peculiar distinction and is the centre of all gaieties. This lovely hill-station provides endless

charms which the visitors can never resist. Most of the houses are single-storeyed and are built on the slopes of hills while the roads are zigzag and up and down. Mercara has today a college, schools, a convent for girls, a cosmopolitan club, parks and a grand old fort where the Government offices and the Legislative Council are located.

No one will be more welcome to Coorg than a Nature-lover who will be sweetly thrilled and exhilarated by the majesty of green-wooded mountains which enclose this wonderful Kodaga land blessed by the bounty of Nature. The "Raja Seat" and the "Stewart Hills" present the visitors magnificent and serene sights of Nature's majesty which bring solace and unknown joy to human hearts. The far-off light-green mountain rows, nearby paddy fields, swift-flowing Cavery and thick bunches of trees have made the "Raja Seat" the most charming spot in the whole of Coorg. Every one has paid one's humble homage to this charming piece of land. "Coorg has been compared to Meru among mountains, jasmine among flowers, and to a string of pearls around the neck of an enchanting girl." The birth of the Cavery, India's sacred river, in the hills of Coorg has added more prestige and prosperity to the land.

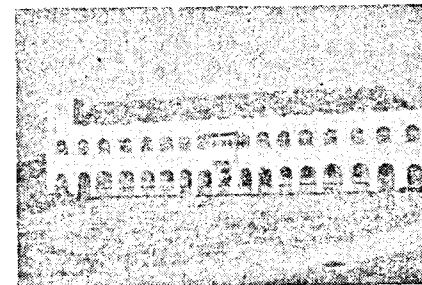
A brief description of the Coorg wedding seems highly desirable to appreciate the customs and novelty of the Coorgs. The celebrations start actually a couple of days before the wedding day and there is great feasting in the nights. On the day of marriage the bride, winsome in magnificent dress and ornaments, is seated at the "mandapam," surrounded by men in



Stalks of rice being distributed by the chieftain during the Huttari festival
Courtesy : Films Division

their national costume and by women in dazzling and colourful attire. In the absence of the priest, some elderly persons, Aruvus as they are called, sing and

bless the bride. And then follows the long row of visitors who offer milk and give away the presents to the bride. All through this time similar proceedings will be carried on in the groom's place. A grand dinner is ready by now after which the Kodagas enjoy dancing in the open courtyard. Later, in the dusky hours, with the approach of nightfall, comes the groom with all his people handsomely dressed, cuts the six plantain trunks with a naked sword at each stroke, and meets the expectant bride. Again there are ceremonies, dinner, drinks and dancing to the tune of music and band. Finally the bride leaves the place with her husband in a mingled atmosphere of deep sorrow and unknown pleasure.



Public Offices Building, Fort, Mercara

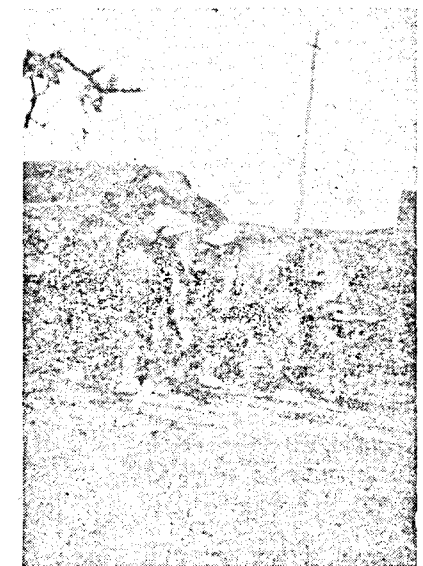
The Kodagas celebrate different festivals in their own delightful and convincing fashion. Among their more important festivals are the Thale-Cavery and the Huttari or the Harvest Feast, which comes off mostly in December. The Huttari dances are probably the most pleasing to behold. Kodagas, dressed in their picturesque national costume, with glittering "Odi Katti" and golden threads bordering their dress, amuse themselves and the encircled audience with their songs and dancing. And then one moonlit night, the chieftain of the town, followed by hundreds of men and women with lamps and plates of rice, slowly moves on to the nearby paddy-field and utters in a gentle voice—"Poli Poli Deva," while the others join him in their singsong tunes. In a solemn style he then cuts the first stalks and distributes among them. This new rice is proudly eaten with the first harvest meal.

Coorg thus presents the greatest holiday fun to its

visitors. It is always a great pleasure to meet these Coorgs who own this rich land, these peculiar customs

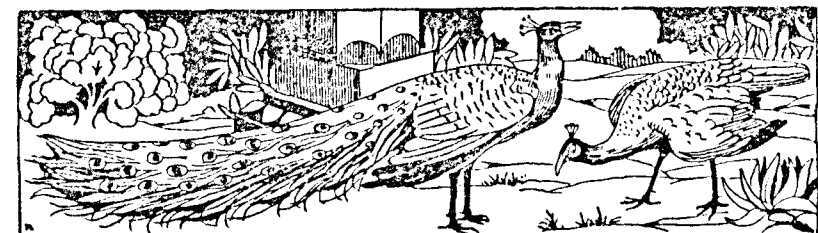


The Raja Seat, Coorg



The stone-elephants at Mercara, Coorg

and these glorious gifts of Nature. Coorg has almost everything that we want to see and enjoy.



MILE-STONES TO OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE

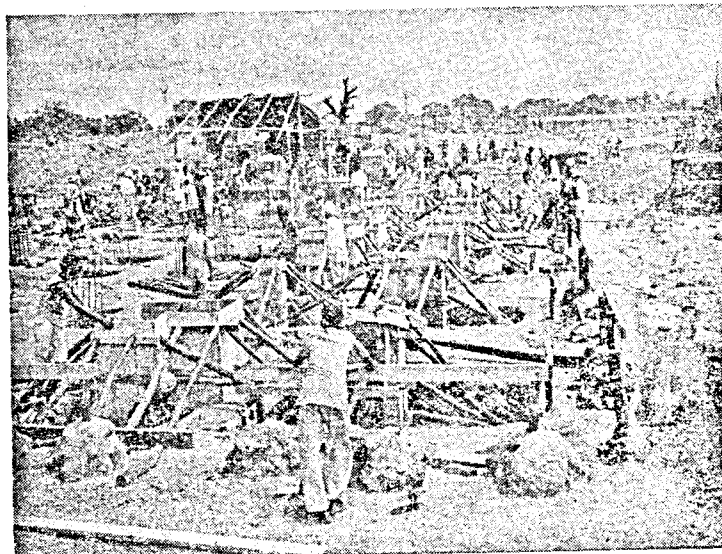
Patriotic Movements and Associations of Early Nineteenth Century

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

III

BURMAH SHELL REFINERY TO SAVE 6 CRORES IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE

INDIA'S largest oil refinery, now being built by Burmah-Shell and which is expected to come on stream in early 1955, will produce the principal petroleum products.



Foundation work for some of the larger units of the Refinery has already begun

ducts, Motor Spirit, Kerosene, High Speed Diesel Oil, Light Diesel Oil, and Bitumen required in Indian market.

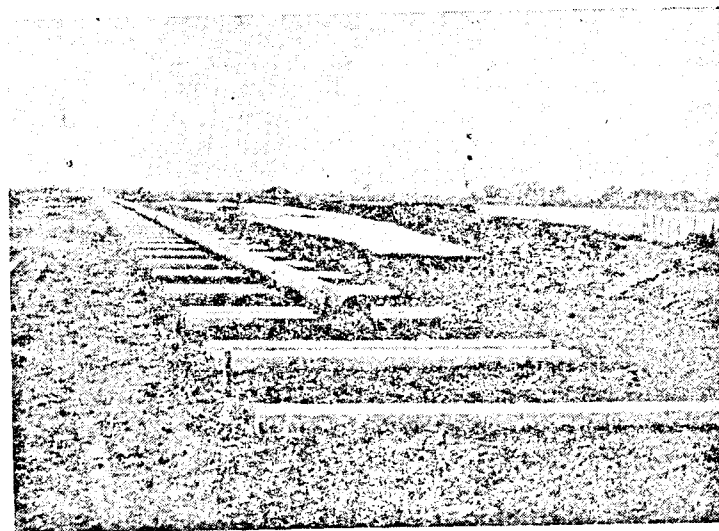
As a result of this the Government of India are expecting a saving in foreign exchange of between Rs. 4.3 to 6 crores per annum, due to the cheaper crude oil being imported, instead of the more expensive refined products.

The Rs. 25-crore Refinery, which will have a two-million ton refining capacity, is being designed by technical experts in the Royal Dutch Shell Group Offices in Holland and will incorporate the most modern features of refinery design, including a catalytic cracking unit which, apart from increasing the yield of Gasoline, also improves its quality.

Twelve miles of road will be constructed, 400,000 cubic yards of earth will be moved and tankage to hold about 450,000 tons of oil will be erected. The largest diameter plant steel column will be 27 feet and the highest plant column will be 130 feet.

The crude oil for the Burmah-Shell Refinery is expected to come from the Persian Gulf area and will be carried in tankers of up to 30,000 ton capacity. The tankers will use the new marine terminal at Butcher Island in Bombay Harbour.

A considerable portion of the 450-acre site at Trombay has now been cleared and levelled, roads built, storage sheds for sheltering materials and equipment from the monsoon erected and foundation work for some of the larger units of the refinery already begun.—BSIS.

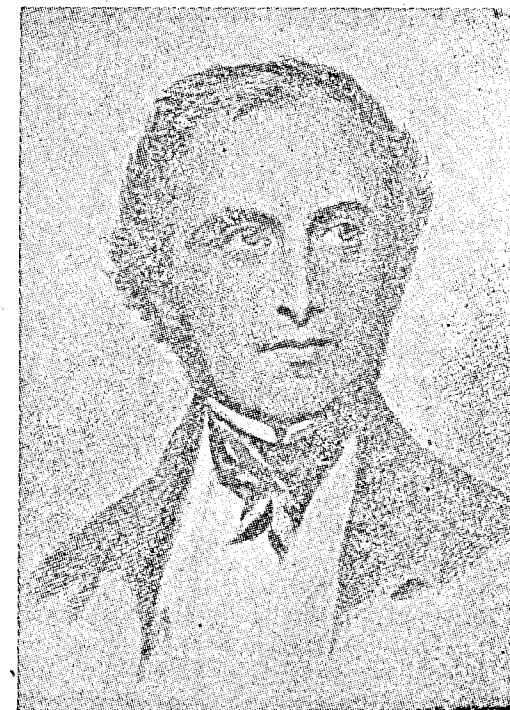


New bund showing pipetrack and service road

RACE-CONSCIOUSNESS AND RACE-ANTAGONISM
POLITICAL, social and cultural movements of the mid-forties were forging a change in the relations between the Indians and the Europeans, or at least their vocal sections. The Bengal British India Society and the Tattwabodhini Sabha instilled the spirit of self-help and self-assertion into our people, who would no longer tolerate European arrogance, or bow down to European leadership. A few instances may be cited. The elite of Calcutta, both Indian and European, assembled at a meeting on 24th December, 1847 to arrange for presenting an address to Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, on the eve of his departure from the country. It was due to the strenuous efforts of the Rev. K. M. Banerjea and Ramgopal Ghose that the resolution was so amended as to include a suitable reference to Lord Hardinge's services with regard to Indian education. In another amendment, Ramgopal moved for a statue of Lord Hardinge instead of a mere portrait to be hung in the Town Hall. The European leaders opposed both the amendments as a body, but it was due to the spirited and reasoned advocacy of Ramgopal Ghose that these were carried in full. The next morning *The Englishman* eulogised the speech of Ramgopal for flooring three eminent barristers of the Calcutta Bar and gave him the epithet of Indian Demosthenes after the famous Greek orator, Demosthenes. This incident may appear trivial today. But it was a great pointer to the fact that the Europeans and Indians were very rapidly being estranged from one another even in non-political spheres.

The cause of education also suffered for this European arrogance. The Indian members of the managing committee of the Hindu College came to clash with its European members on the question of the retention of the services of a teacher, Kailas Chandra Bose, who had embraced Christianity. The frivolous manner in which the subject was treated in the managing committee as well as in the Council of Education by the European members that such a sober person as Prasanna Kumar Tagore got exasperated and resigned his hereditary governorship of the College.* The European members of the Committee and the Council did not scruple to act against the fundamental rules of the College by allowing the fresh Christian converts to remain there. This action of theirs resulted in the withdrawal of Raja Radhakant Deb from the College Committee

after his unstinted and continuous services for the period of thirty-four years. The European section had at last to bow down to the popular demand in both the cases, but the bitterness engendered by the controversy between the parties remained for long and determined the course of their future actions.



John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune

DEFENSIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE MISSIONARIES

The Indian leaders grew more conscious of the anti-national activities of the Christian missionaries. But the latter were by then the *confidant* of the powers-that-be. Raja Radhakant drew the attention of Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, the great orientalist and a sincere friend and well-wisher of India, to this menacing factor in the following words:

"Missionary influence is now on the ascendant; every department from the fountainhead of Government to the lowest course of office is infected with it."

This influence culminated in the Government's passing the Lex Loci Act of 1850, which gave the

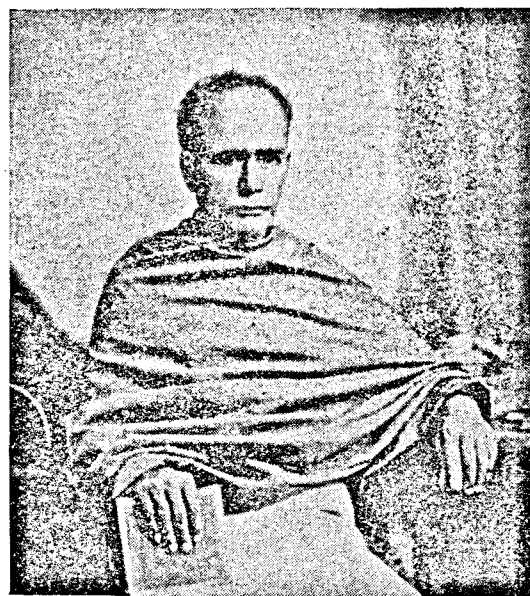
1. *Speeches of Ramgopal Ghose*, pp. 2-4.

* *Proceedings of the Hindoo College (1816-1850)*. Unpublished.

2. *Ibid*, *ibid*.

3. This and other letters of Radhakant were found copied in several MSS. volumes in his family library.

Christian converts the right of inheritance to the property of their Hindu parents. The Indian leaders protested against the measure to the Government here, and sent memorials to the Houses of Parliament in England. But every attempt of theirs proved abortive. This also goaded them to have recourse to self-help and self-assertion.



Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar

In a mammoth meeting held at the Oriental Seminary on 25th May, 1851, under the presidency of Raja Radhakant Deb, the Hindus resolved to accept the Christian or Mahomedan converts to their own fold even without any substantial penance on the latter's part. In its following issue on 5th June, 1851, *The Friend of India* editorially discussed the proceedings of the meeting and referred to the above resolution as "one of the most important events of the present (i.e., the nineteenth) century." In consequence mainly of this resolution, the "Patitoddhar Sabha," or the Society for the reclamation of the fallen, was formed with Raja Radhakant as president. A booklet was published in 1853-54 under the auspices of this Sabha. This pamphlet gave an account of the easy reclamation of the opulent Hindus who had gone astray and asked the people to help the poor converts whenever needed. It also referred to some services already rendered to the latter by some sections of the Hindus. The booklet contained an exhortation in Sanskrit for this purpose, styled as *Byabastha Patrika*, by one hundred Hindu Pundits of eminence belonging to different centres of Sanskrit studies all over Bengal. A periodical was published by Iswar Chandra Nandi, Principal of the Hindu Charitable Institution, in

August, 1852, for combating Christianity and the actions of the missionaries.

THE "BLACK ACTS"

Even towards the end of the 'forties the clash between the Indians and the Europeans grew more intense and vocal than could have been expected. And this was especially on the political plane. John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune came to India in April 1848 as 'Legal Member' to the Government of India. Within the first few months of his arrival he was able to make friends with Ramgopal Ghose, the most popular and active leader of the day. Both of them sat on the Council of Education, Bethune as President and Ramgopal as one of its members. It was, perhaps, here that they came to know each other's noble intentions closely. In his endeavours to found a female school, Bethune was largely assisted by Ramgopal and, through him, by his friends, Dakshinaraman Mukherjee and Pandit Madanmohan Tarkalankar. Bethune appreciated their services. He was bent to do his utmost for the good of the people.

Convinced of the legal anomaly of the treatment between the Indians and the Europeans, Drinkwater Bethune formulated four draft bills in late 1849 and early 1850, as Legal Member, and got them published in the *Calcutta Gazette*. These were meant for empowering the criminal courts in the mofussil to try cases in which Europeans were involved, and giving more power to the mofussil executive and judiciary for other purposes also. Since the Charter Act of 1833, and even after Macaulay's law of empowering the Civil Courts to try the civil suits of the Europeans, the latter had been moving in the mofussil districts as "free" Britons for the last fifteen years. They had developed a sense of racial arrogance and superiority over the weak and 'dependent' Indians. The Supreme Court of Calcutta only was eligible for trying the 'criminal' Europeans. Being far away in the mofussil, they could be hardly brought to book by that august tribunal. The menace of the "free" Britons was no less intense than that of the missionaries; it was eating into the vitals of both of our social and economic fabrics.

During the fifteen years after the passage of the Charter Act, the Europeans had been more numerous in the city and the mofussil, strong and organised. They had their spokesmen in the eminent Barristers of the Calcutta Bar, such as, Thomas Turton, Theodore Dickens and James Hume. Some of the influential newspapers of Calcutta also supported their cause. So, when the draft bills of Drinkwater Bethune appeared in the *Gazette*, the "free" Britons started a fierce agitation against them. They held meetings in the metropolis and spouted venom over their author. Like the previous Act of Macaulay, they nicknamed the bills as the "Black Acts."

THE INDIAN SUPPORT

The Indians also had by this time become conscious of the defective law and their untenable position. They gave their cordial support to the proposed laws, especially those which sought to remove the legal discrimination. Ramgopal Ghose gave vent to these feelings of his countrymen in a pamphlet, called *Remarks on the "Black Acts."* In this pamphlet Ramgopal narrated the history of the attempts at removing this anomaly during and after the passage of the Charter Act of 1833, refuted the arguments of the "free" Britons for retention of the defective law and referred to the glaring instances of tyranny and oppression by the Europeans in the districts, which was only possible for their exemption from the jurisdiction of the mofussil criminal courts. This pamphlet exposed the hollowness and unjustness of the European agitation against the proposed Acts.

The Europeans were so much incensed with the pamphlet that they voted the removal of its author Ramgopal from the Vice-Presidency of the Agri-Horticultural Society in January, 1850! It should be noted that Ramgopal was elected to the post in January, 1845, by the Europeans, who all along formed the majority in the Society.† It was also due to the liberal donation of Ramgopal that the Agri-Horticultural Society could be removed to the newly built Metcalfe Hall, where the Calcutta Public Library was housed. On this shabby treatment meted out to Ramgopal *The Friend of India* wrote a long editorial in its issue of 17th January, 1850, strongly condemning this action. Appreciative references were made in the editorial to the valuable services rendered to the Society for several years by Ramgopal. Amongst other things, the paper wrote that "A scientific institution like the Agri-Horticultural Society might, one would have thought, have been kept uncontaminated with political animosities." This insult of Ramgopal was too much for the people to go unchallenged.

The Government of the day could not, however, boldly face the European agitation. They were forced to withdraw the Bills. But 'good cometh out of evil.' This served as an eye-opener to the educated Indians. The virtue of united efforts, may-be for an unjust cause, manifested itself to them. The *Lex Loci* Act of 1850, to which I have referred already, showed the people which way the wind was blowing. Many attempts had hitherto been made for united action. The Landholders' Society and the Bengal British India Society which once did yeomen's service to the cause of our nationalism, did not last long due to popular indifference and party dissensions. Now these onslaughts on the educational, social and political spheres

once again roused the educated and opulent sections of the country to unite together and counter-act the activities of the interested parties and strengthen the hands of those who represented the good causes. The consequence was that the leaders this time resolved to found an association at least for three years for safeguarding our national interests. Moreover, the renewal of the Company's Charter was imminent, being due in 1853. They should present a united voice for the reform and reconstruction of the Government of India in such a way that the amelioration of the condition of the people might be assured.



Rajendra Lala Mitra

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Discussion continued for some time amongst the leaders. A political association was formed, and christened the National Association on 14th September, 1851, under influential auspices. The object of the Association was generally to adopt 'measures which may contribute to the welfare of the country.' The Association was "to be composed of members of all classes of the subjects of this empire, without any distinction of caste, creed or colour." The object of the Association was further explained as follows:

"That by the help of this Association we may be able to assert our legal rights by legitimate means, it is resolved to apply for any amendment or reform, as the case may be, either to the Local Government or to the authorities in England."

The Association was to continue for three years. The Charter would be renewed during this time, so it was deemed necessary to 'have an agent in that

† *The Friend of India* for January 16, 1845 : Weekly Ept. of News, Thursday, January 2.

4. *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, 26th September, 1851.

time in England to lay before the Imperial Parliament our wants and grievances when that question comes on for discussion before that body.' The promoters of the Association were conscious of their past failures, so this time they solemnly declared that 'we will do all that lies within the sphere of our respective means and abilities, for the furtherance of these objects.' Debendra Nath Tagore was appointed secretary to the National Association with an establishment to assist him. It should be noted here that the term 'National' has been applied to an association of this nature for the first time. Because the Association aimed



Rajendra Dutt

at fulfilling objects, which were 'national,' and not local or regional or of any particular class or community. On the formation of the National Association, *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette* (18th September, 1851) wrote :

"We have assurance, that such men as Baboos Prosunno Coomar Tagore and Debendernath Tagore will never associate their names with an undertaking which they do not hope to carry out . . . This time we have independent and honourable men for leaders and prime movers."

THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

To make the Association truly national, the leaders and prime movers of the Association widened its scope and included both the landed as well as the intellectual aristocracy in its fold. Rules were prepared for the reconstituted body. The National Association was transformed into the British Indian Association, just after a month and a half after its

foundation. For at least a quarter of a century, this Association served the whole country as its accredited spokesman. Really speaking, the British Indian Association was the first national political body in the whole of the British territories in India.

The establishment of the British Indian Association on 29th October, 1851, signalled a new era in the history of our political progress during the modern times. Leaders of the conservative and the progressive section veered round the Association for the first time, for the fulfilment of common political ends. It was placed on a sound footing, and its permanence was assured, though started at first for three years only. The objects were concisely and more clearly put in the following lines :

"That a society be formed for a period of not less than three years under the denomination of the British Indian Association, and that the object of this Association shall be to promote the improvement and efficiency of the British Indian Government by every legitimate means in its power, and thereby to advance the common interests of Great Britain and India and ameliorate the condition of the native inhabitants of the subject territory."⁵

It is not known to many that Raja Pratap Chandra Singh of Paikpara was the convener of the National Association. He was also instrumental in transforming this body into the British Indian Association. Pratap Chandra Singh should be honoured as the principal promoter of the British Indian Association. The Association had on its executive committee the flowers of the Indian community of the time, such as, Raja Radhakant Deb (President), Raja Kalikrishna and Raja Pratap Chandra Singh (Vice-Presidents), Raja Satya Charan Ghosal, Harakumar Tagore, Ramanath Tagore, Durga Charan Datta, Jay Krishna Mukherjee, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Asutosh Deb, Harimohan Sen, Ramgopal Ghose, Pearychand Mitra (Members), Debendra Nath Tagore (Secretary) and Digambar Mitra (Assistant Secretary). The committee was strengthened and reshuffled by the addition of such intellectuals as Harish Chandra Mukherjee of *The Hindoo Patriot*, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Kishory Chand Mitra, Dakshinaraman Mukherjee, Raja Iswar Chandra Singh (also of Paikpara), Chandra Sekhar Deb and several others.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The leaders of the Association appear to have followed the motto both in letter and in spirit since its foundation. The Association thrashed out each and every draft proposal of the Government and gave its views fearlessly and in a straightforward manner. But during the first two years of its start its leaders were preoccupied with the preparation and presentation of a petition to the Houses of Parliament on the

5. *The Citizen*, 13th November, 1851, as also *The Friend of India* for 27th November, 1851.

eve of the renewal of the Charter. In order to act unitedly, the Association's Secretary, Debendra Nath Tagore, issued a letter to the leaders of Bombay, Poona, Madras and of the Upper Provinces to present a single petition to the Parliament; because the object being the same, that is, reform and reconstruction of the Indian Government for the well-being of the people, a common petition would prove to the foreigners that we were one and indivisible, and could act unitedly for a common purpose. This memorable letter* of Debendra Nath roused the leaders of the other provinces to political action. A branch association of the Calcutta body was founded in Madras. The Deccan Association of Poona and the Bombay Association were started during 1852 on the model of the British Indian Association of Calcutta.⁶ For their provincial bias, they could not act unitedly with the Calcutta Association. But the petitions they separately sent to the Parliament were largely in conformity with the one of the British Indian Association.

The Association's petition, regarded as the charter of our constitutional agitation for political freedom, covered all the aspects of the Indian administration. It emphasised immediate introduction of two things at least, namely, (1) representative Government for India on the colonial lines, whereby majority of the members in the legislature would be Indians, and (2) the Civil Service examination simultaneously in India and England, so that the Rule 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 might be translated into action. It also stressed the reform of the judiciary and the police, spread of education, importance of agricultural and industrial improvement, and so on. The Association appointed a permanent agent in London to work on their behalf.

THE INDIAN REFORM SOCIETY

Even then India had several ardent friends and well-wishers abroad. John Bright and Richard Cobden, the two prominent liberal leaders, and members of Parliament, were on our side and did not hesitate to espouse our cause, whenever needed. On the occasion of the renewal of the Charter in 1853, these and other friends established the Indian Reform Society. The object of the Society was generally to look after the interests of the Indian people, and particularly to have important alterations made in the Charter Bill. The British Indian Association welcomed the formation of the Society. In its monthly general meeting, held on 6th May, 1853, the following resolution was passed :

"That this meeting has learnt with lively feelings of satisfaction of the formation of the Indian Reform Society, that the committee be

* Substantial portions of this letter have been quoted in *The Rise and Growth of the Congress* by C. F. Andrews and Girija Mukerji (1938), pp. 105-7.

6. *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, December 9, 1852.

requested to correspond with that Society, and keep it informed of the wants of the country; and as a proof of the great interest, the Association takes in the success of the Society, and in furtherance of its objects a contribution be forwarded by the committee by the first mail."⁷

The Indian Reform Society rendered valuable services during the discussion of the Charter Bill in the Houses of Parliament. At some stage of the discussion it sought to postpone legislation till sufficient information had been obtained. With the view to enlighten the public mind on the questions to be brought before Parliament, the Society published

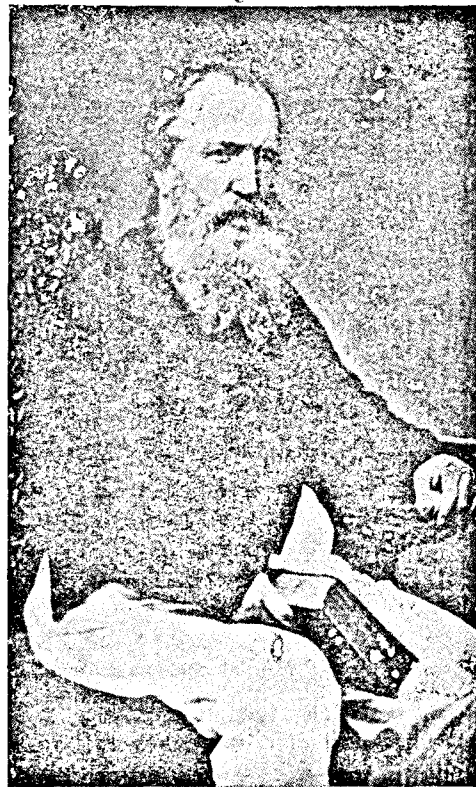


Motilal Seal

from time to time several important pamphlets, written by authors of extensive local knowledge and experience. The Society even went one step further. It deputed its President, Delby Sigmour, M.P., to India to collect first-hand information on the spot during 1853. He arrived at Madras and toured some places in Southern India for searching enquiries. He had to return to England from Bombay and could not come down to Calcutta. But the British Indian Association found in the Society its worthy prototype. Its committee kept on regular correspondence with the London Society, supplied important materials and sent occasional remittances, raised from amongst its members. The service of the Indian Reform Society did not go unnoticed even by the Indian public. A general meeting of the people was held on 26th June, 1853, at the Hindu Metropolitan College, at which

7. *The Hindu Intelligencer*, 30th May, 1853.

resolutions were passed acknowledging the services of the Society and for raising a subscription for contribution to its funds. On behalf of the meeting, the committee of the British Indian Association remitted a contribution of £500 to the Society out of the subscriptions raised for the purpose. After the renewal of the Charter, the Society continued for some years more. At the time of the transfer of the Indian Government to the Crown in 1858, John Bright kept watch on the Bill for Transference on behalf of non-official India, as president of the Indian Reform Society.



The Rev. James Long

THE NATIONAL PROTESTS : THE HINDOO METROPOLITAN INSTITUTION

The British Indian Association watched the proceedings in the Parliament from here, and took every opportunity to voice the popular feeling for or against any actions or utterances there. One such instance should be especially mentioned. Frederick Halliday (afterwards 'Sir' and first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) cast aspersions on Indian character in the course of his evidence before the Select Committee of the Parliament. As mouthpiece of the nation, the British Indian Association organised a huge public meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall on 29th July, 1853.

This meeting was said to be 'more numerous than any that ever assembled within those walls,' and 'it was composed of persons of all classes of the native community.' Ramgopal Ghose, the popular leader and one of the prominent members of the Association, made a vigorous speech, refuting the charges of Frederick. The proceedings of the meeting demonstrated to the British public what were really the sentiments of their Indian fellow subjects. The Association convened similar public meetings at different times for popular education as also for sanction to their proposals.

The spirit of protest and self-assertion was not confined to political matters only. The autocracy of the British officials had died hard, and followed a course quite unsuited to the growing self-consciousness of the community. The Hindu College was a hard nut for the official hierarchy to crack. The latter had, however, by this time, almost become its controlling authority. They admitted an undesirable into the College, which the Hindu community took strong exception to. Their sentiments were not respected. Their leaders rose equal to the occasion. Just like Debendranath Tagore in the former decade, Rajendra Dutt of the famous Dutt family of Wellington, took the initiative in giving practical shape to these sentiments, collected together the great leaders and formed an influential committee for the establishment of a national college under the sole management of the national leaders. The result was the Hindoo Metropolitan College, the inaugural meeting of which was held on 2nd May, 1853. The College opened on the day with David Lester Richardson, the famous educationist and ex-Principal of the Hindu College, Hugli College and Krishnagar College, and a galaxy of teachers on the instructing staff. The latter included Pandit Ramnarain Tarkaratna, the famous playwright and author of *Kulinkula-Sarbaswa*. The college was founded on the nucleus of the David Hare Academy and the Seal's Free College, thanks to the self-sacrificing spirit of Gurucharan Dutt and Motilal Seal, their respective founder-proprietors. Motilal Seal also made an endowment for the college by the gift of properties, the monthly income of which was Rs. 500. It should be stated here that many private institutions, of junior and senior standard, were established in the mofussil by private initiative and enterprise, along with the Government institutions, which were necessarily fewer in number. These institutions, whether political or educational, were purely national, because the initiative and resources of these institutions as also their founders, and personnel of their committees were all Indian.

THE CULTURAL SOCIETIES AND SABHAS

But this was not strictly the case with the cultural societies and Sabhas of the period. The prominent among

8. *Ibid*, 16th May, 1853.

them should be referred to here, however briefly, as their contribution to the building-up of our life and culture as well as to the growth of our sense of nationality was not negligible. The first of these was the 'Vernacular Literature Society.' This was a mixed body of Europeans and Indians where, at first, the Europeans predominated. The Society was founded in December, 1850, with Drinkwater Bethune as President. The members of the Society included such prominent figures as Raja Radhakant Deb, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and Joykrishna Mukherjee of Uttarpara, who first mooted the proposal. The Rev. James Long was a valuable addition to the Society later on. The object of the Society was to bring out Bengali publications through translation of the English books of general knowledge. The Society sometimes published original treatises also. *Bibidhartha Sangraha* was brought out by the Society in the middle of 1851 under the editorial management of Rajendra Lala Mitra, the great archaeologist and political thinker of the latter days. James Long devoted his life for the collection of Bengali books and propagation of Bengali through his writings. He later on became famous as publisher of the English translation of *Nil-Darpan*, for which he courted imprisonment during the early 'sixties. It was while he was searching for the Urdu manuscripts in Delhi in the mid-fifties that the Rev. Long witnessed the serious discontent and disaffection amongst the common people there against the British Government. This resulted in the outbreak of the Sepoy Revolt, misnamed the Sepoy Mutiny.

The Bethune Society was formed on 11th December 1851 in memory of Bethune who breathed his last in the previous August. Though Dr. F. J. Mouat was the principal promoter of the Society, yet it was mainly Indian in character, the majority of its members and sympathisers being sons of the soil. The first secretary was Pearychand Mitra, and, on the committee sat most of the influential and intellectual Indians of the day. Science, literature, arts, education, social and sanitary matters—everything pertaining to the improvement of our culture could be discussed in its monthly and special meetings. But politics were eschewed for all time. Many European and Indian worthies read discourses and delivered lectures before the Society. The first of the kind was delivered by Dr. Suryakumar Goodeve Chuckervertty on the sanitary improvement of Calcutta. The paper of Col. Goodwyn on the importance of Industrial Arts led to the formation of the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Arts. The Art School of Calcutta was founded by this Society in 1854 on a very sound footing, and it is now hundred years old. During the 'fifties, discussions in the Bethune Society were responsible for many movements of national importance.

The Society for Social Improvement (or, *Samajonnatibidhayini Suhrid Samity*) of Kishory

Chand Mitra, founded on 15th December, 1854, conducted regular discussion on social improvement. Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore was its president and Kishory Chand Mitra and Akshoy Kumar Datta, Editor of *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, secretaries. Among its members were such notable figures as Harischandra Mukherjee, Pearychand Mitra, Gourdas Bysak, and others. The Society directed their attention to the improvement of the condition of the females. A girl school was started. It also mooted for the re-marriage of the Hindu widows. And when Pandit



Kaliprasanna Singh

Iswarchandra Vidyasagar was agitating for this purpose, the Society assisted him materially. A largely signed memorial was forwarded to the Government at a time when there was strong opposition against the Widow Re-marriage Bill of the Government.

The Bidyotsahini Sabha of Kaliprasanna Sinha, though mainly a literary body, supported the cause of the widow-remarriage by more ways than one. The Sabha not only sent petition to the Government in support of the Widow-Remarriage Bill, but its founder-secretary, Kaliprasanna Sinha offered a reward of thousand rupees to each and every person marrying a widow. Other questions of social improvement also received its attention. On its literary side, special lectures and dissertations were arranged and discussed. It also encouraged the composition of dramas for play on its own stage. The Sabha gave an

address to Michael Madhusudan Dutt on the completion of his *Meghnadbadh Kavya*. It should be said here to the credit of Kaliprasanna Singha that he at once deposited to the Court one thousand rupees of fine, the part of the punishment of the Rev. Long given him for his publication of the translation of *Nil-Darpan*.

The Family Literary Club of Burrabazar, Calcutta, was another cultural institution of long standing, where the intellectual Indians and Europeans met, and the best that was in the Eastern and Western culture was discussed. It was founded on 27th April, 1857, just a few days before the outbreak of the 'Mutiny,' but the ascerbicities of the 'Mutiny' and the ill-born legacy that it left for many decades to come, never touched the members of the Family Literary Club. It was from the third year that the Rev. Long presided over its deliberations for long seven years. It was here through a speech of Long, on 27th April, 1866, that the Social Science Association of much unity was first germinated.

RACIAL ANIMOSITY: THE "BLACK ACT" AGAIN

By 1857, English education had spread through Government and private institutions. The Indians, at least their educated section, had imbibed the Western thought and culture. The current of national upheavals in the States of Europe was also reaching the shores of India with all their social and political implications. The British Indian Association agitated for our political rights and privileges, sometimes in the shape of petitions and memorials to the higher authorities here or in England and sometimes by holding public meetings in order to focus public opinion on different political matters. The Universities were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras almost simultaneously in the first half of 1857. Higher education, both in its cultural and literary aspects, came to be regulated and controlled by them. Different cultural and literary societies systematically disseminated knowledge and education of a higher as well as a popular sort to the people. A sense of self-consciousness amongst our educated sections had grown to a degree, and there was no way going back. In the face of such an attitude, the arrogance and self-styled superiority of the Britishers were simply intolerable. Racial antagonism between the Indians and the Europeans was the inevitable result. An event soon happened when this antagonism manifested itself in naked colours.

The so-called "Black Act" was again placed on the Legislative anvil in early January by Sir J. P. Grant, the Legal Member and the future Lt.-Governor of Bengal. It was just like throwing a stone at a hornet's nest. The Europeans assembled at a meeting in the Town Hall in early February. They had now

been thoroughly organised. They had their spokesmen in the Calcutta newspapers. They were moving heaven and earth and would on no account give respite to the Government for calm consideration of the matter. The Indians too had been vocal. They would not take things lying down. The British Indian Association gave the lead. A public meeting was organised under its auspices on 6th April, 1857, in support of the proposed Act. In the absence of Raja Radhakant Deb, permanent President of the Association, Raja Kalikrishna, presided over the meeting. The speakers included Raja Pratap Chandra Singha, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Joykrishna Mukherjee, Digumbar Mitra and Ramanath Tagore. George Thompson, who had come to India again, was present in the meeting and lent his wholehearted support to the proposed Act. In a letter to the President, Dr. Alexander Duff gave his full support to the objects of the meeting and wanted the legal discrimination to be removed as early as possible. Several resolutions were passed. The main resolution speaks for itself and runs thus:

"That in the deliberate judgment of the meeting, justice and sound policy as well as the altered circumstances of the country require that all classes of Her Majesty's subjects within Her Majesty's Indian Dominions should, in all cases of criminal prosecution for whatsoever description of offence, be amenable to the same laws and be tried by the same tribunals, and no sections of the community should, by reason of place of birth, or religion, or official position, possess any exclusive privilege or supposed advantage, distinguishing them in the eye of the law from the rest of their fellow subjects. This meeting, therefore, earnestly hopes that the principle that no class of Her Majesty's subjects should be exempted from the criminal jurisdiction of any of the mofussil courts will be fully tried out in the scheme of criminal procedure now under the consideration of the Legislative Council."

Race-antagonism prevailed for some time on this account. One interesting incident happened. In his speech, Rajendra Lala Mitra, spoke of some of the Englishmen here as 'sweepings of the British Society,'⁹ This enraged the Europeans so much that, like Ramgopal Ghose in the early 'fifties, he was removed from the committee of the Photographic Society of India, of which he was the first Secretary and Treasurer! For the outbreak of the Mutiny in early May, the Government of India could not proceed with the Bill further. The race-antagonism of the Britishers found a suitable outlet in the 'Mutiny' to wreak vengeance upon the Bengalis with redoubled force. But that is another story.

9. Detailed proceedings of the "Native Meeting" were published in *The Hindu Intelligencer* for 13th and 27th April and 4th May, 1857.
10. *The Hindoo Patriot* for 27th August, 1857.

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

Article Three

MAKING THE MOST OF MAKE-BELIEVE

By St. NIHAL SINGH

VI*

THE room in which I found myself on a winter's afternoon in 1942 bore witness to the refined taste of its owner-occupant. This in a quiet, unostentatious but nevertheless unmistakable way. It bespoke of his affluence, too. Self-acquired affluence, it suggested, for wealth that descends through the paternal pipe-line flows fast and floods. Superfluity had been barred from this room with a high hand. The furnishings reflected likewise taste—restrained taste. There were no gaudy effects that jar my sensitive and (I fear) somewhat finicking soul in many a home that I, in my never-ending perigrinations, visit in all parts of the Motherland. What ornaments there were bore the stamp of a collector who had travelled widely and had bought with care a piece at a time, carrying in his mind the earlier acquisitions with which the new one or ones would have to be associated.

While I was wondering if the owner-occupant, who was one of the busiest men in any profession or in politics in Calcutta, could make the time even to dip into the volumes ranged tier upon tier on yellowy-grey metal shelves, he noiselessly sauntered into the withdrawing room (as Thackeray, in his day in that very metropolis would have said). Genial by nature, at sight of one he had known since his student days abroad, he beamed at me and shook my hand in his hearty, vigorous way. We had not met for many a moon. His first words were in the nature of an anxious inquiry about the accident that had befallen me a little earlier while coming down holy Kamakhya hill on a dark night without lantern or torch. I took a step or two to show him that Dame Nature, coaxed and courted by the medical attendants, had been gracious and I could walk on my own power without limping. Having thus relieved him of any anxiety he felt about me, I remarked:

"Now I am here so that you may enlighten me as to what has been happening in this Presidency while I perforce have been unable to pay my periodical visits to it. I spoke of this to you over the telephone."

"That I shall," he promised.

Just that split second there was a noise as of a door opening at some distance—of shuffling of

feet and of steps becoming more and more audible. At the approach of a well-fed figure, we all (for Mrs. St. Nihal Singh had, as usual, accompanied me) got up. My host advanced, shook by the hand the caller, who, as I thought, had dropped in at an hour when the busiest of persons can make time for a chat over a cup of tea. Presuming that I was meeting him for the first time my host said: "Our Chief Minister, Hon'ble Moulvi Fazlul Haq."

I expressed pleasure at meeting Fazlul, as half the world called him, and asked:

"Where is your kinsman, my young friend Syud Hussain? I have not set eyes on him since he, years ago, left us in London and scampered off to my old stamping ground (the United States of America)."

I forget what reply he made. Perhaps that he did not know precisely where that gypsy was at the moment. Evidently my mind was too much occupied comparing the newly made acquaintance with an old, old friend to take in the reply, even if it had not been a polite nothing.

For the sake of the generation that is now growing up unacquainted with the old-stagers, let me add, *en passant* that Syud's whole frame thrilled at merely the mention of the Motherland. I remember he, early in the nineteen-tens, rolled up his shirt sleeves and doubled up his fist to settle an account with a Briton (or was he a colour-conscious Colonial?) who had, in a stage-whisper, spoken disparagingly to his companion of these "niggers" crowding the sidewalks of the Empire's capital. He was incapable of herding Muslims in a separate political corridor and spoke to me, with no little heat, of the imperialistic machinations that were keeping them at loggerheads with the Hindus.

And here was Fazlul. By the separatist ladder he had climbed into the highest seat in the Presidency save that occupied by his mightiness stationed as the supreme imperialist agent there. What of his allegiance to the Mother?

While I was complimenting myself on the opportunity furnished by the God of Chance for me to try to probe the depths of the first minister's heart there was again noise of a door opening at some distance, of shuffling of feet and of steps becoming more and more audible as they proceeded us-wards. At approach of a heavier-set figure than Fazlul's we all stood up once again and

* The section numbers are continuous with those in articles 1 and 2 in the September and October, 1953, issues of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.

shook hands with the fresh arrival and expressed joy at his coming.

VII

At least upon my part the joy was genuine. I had not come upon Syama even on our side of India since some weeks earlier he (on December 11, 1941, to be exact) had chosen to associate himself with the man alongside whom he now sat facing us three. What had induced him to do so? That thought had crossed my mind time and again. It was scarcely of a kind that could be asked on paper, so I had waited till our next meeting, which I expected to occur any day.

Ambition? That potent impulsion could not be ruled out, despite all the credit I gave him for his devotion to the Mother's cause (of this I wrote in the previous article).

That the Finance Portfolio had been placed in his capable hands seemed to argue that he might be feeding the flame of self-aggrandizement. But I was sure, without entering into any pact that might adversely affect any patriotic interest. I had the completest confidence in his integrity.

There was, however, something more to be said and considered. What mortal man would resist the opportunity to jump into the penultimate step on the presidential government ladder and that at a single bound?

Could Fazlul offer less to the head of the Hindu Sabha of that province, or could that head accept less with any sense of values—with self-dignity?

I thought of his father. Some one had suggested Asutosh in connection with the post on the Governor-General's Council—verily a steel ring thrown round the Mother's neck—that John (later the Viscount) Morley who, after the coming of the Liberals into power in 1905, had been sent to the India Office, was so keen on giving an Indian that he threatened to resign to overcome King-Emperor Edward's unwillingness. Lord Minto, who had fought and bled for the Empire and governed the original Dominion, (as Canada, not yet fully out of Britain's leading strings, was called by the romancers), and was playing the *divide et impera* game more furiously than it had ever been done before, would not hear of it. The High Court Judge was of too independent a nature tamely to toe any line that might have been laid for him. The job had gone to "S.P." Sinha (afterwards created at Edwin Samuel Montagu's instance, a Baron of the British realm), who had a remarkable gift for adjusting himself to any position so long as it was far removed from radicalism.

What on earth had induced Asutosh's second son to cohort with Fazlul?

At that moment Syama was, in fact, the head

of the All-India Hindu Sabha. "Working President" was, I seem to recall, the title he bore.

The moment was dismal. Following the outbreak of hostilities the British had rushed India headlong into the conflagration that in time was to spread to eastern India and beyond. They did not have the decency to seek the consent of the Legislative Assembly that they themselves had haltingly created. They doubtless funked such a reference.

They had packed the Assembly with all the yes-men they could contrive to run into it. There were, in addition, the Muslim Leaguers, acting in a solid block as Mohamed Ali Jinnah (whom I first met in 1910 with an introduction given me at Lord Morley's behest) willed. At so crucial a juncture as this he was sure to calculate as to how he could place the Indian National Congress at a disadvantage and thereby further the separatist designs from which the Mahatma Gandhi had tried again and again to wean him but had only succeeded in making him the more intransigent.

Even then the Tory British agent in India (Lord Linlithgow) would not take the risk of the legislature refusing him support. That support, he knew, was undeniably vital to the successful prosecution of the war that, at least in its initial stage, was almost to overwhelm his people and those who had cared or dared to join them. So he bulldozed the people in his iron grip.

No individual or organization in India had the power to prevent the aliens in the Indian saddle from using our armed might and our raw materials in any way or to any extent they chose to employ them. The Congress, however, decided to make them suffer the consequences of the affront they had offered us. Under orders from the High Command Ministers answerable to it were withdrawn and the onus of running those particular provinces was thrown upon the imperialists.

The high-mindedness of this action was not doubted by any devotee of Mother India. Its expediency was, however, questioned by many a politician. By none more than by Syama and his associates of the Hindu Mahasabha. He was of the view, as he put it to me, that the withdrawal of Congress Governments from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (now Uttar Pradesh), Bombay and Madras would place the people inhabiting those vast areas wholly at the mercy of the bureaucracy, always unscrupulous when imperialist interests were in jeopardy and now frenzied and desperate. Jinnah's legionaries would, in the meantime, function as merrily as ever. With the junta in office in the Punjab—the principal recruiting ground—the British would be enabled to replenish the wastage in the Indian armed forces as it occurred and also to raise fresh battalions.

He was apprehensive, moreover, that the disorders that were sure to result from the Congress-Government clash would intensify repression to an extent so far unheard of. Nothing, in his opinion, could throw the British into Jinnah's arms—arms always eagerly extended towards them—as this move would do.

The event threw upon the Sabha, he felt, a responsibility almost too onerous to shoulder. To evade it, however, was fraught with the direst consequences. The unholy concert of the imperialists and the Leaguers would, he feared, work havoc to the Hindus. The weal of the majority community was in jeopardy.

I nevertheless felt that all the nationalist forces in the country must cohere. At core all were one. Whatever differences existed between them were in respect of the *modus operandi* and not about the goal. If conjoint action was ever needed, this was the moment for it.

The separatists would, I was convinced, go their way. They might feign to go independently. In so doing they would not deceive any one save, perhaps, themselves. This for a simple reason. The way of the separatists might run parallel to that of the bureaucrats: but only for a while. The two would, in course of time, meet and become one. The sham would be exposed and exposed soon enough.

Given goodwill and plenty of patience, the anti-imperialist front could have been organized, since the objective of the Hindu Sabha did not vary, even by a hair's breadth, from that of the Congress. Both were desirous of shattering the shackles.

The Liberals—or the "Moderates," as they by their political opponents were called,—felt the fetters as keenly as did the others. Temperamentally they might be opposed to shattering them. Filing them was more in their line.

In the atmosphere heated by the war and the contentions roused by the high-handed manner in which Britain had joined India in the conflict differences existing between one school of Indian nationalist thought and another were not ironed out (as Americans say). While I could see just exactly how each of them, for lack of what the scientists call a catalytic agent, they failed to combine, I could not but deplore our inability to take concerted action. A heave at that fateful hour—a heave conjointly upon the part of all nationalists—and the imperialists would have had to come to terms with us or be thrown out.

VIII

Syama had not only disapproved of the resignation tendered by the Congress Ministers, but had, as I remarked before, got into Bengal's government. And now on that winter afternoon he sat

side by side with his chief in the parlour of one who was on terms of friendship with them and us and who, out of the kindness of his heart, contrived that meeting had, I perceived more and more clearly as we got to talking while munching the delicious looches* and Singharas† that were being served piping hot. He had brought us together so that we could, in complete privacy, informally discuss matters. Syama and Fazlul had not casually dropped in.

If the drawing room offers advantages for the exchange of views, conventions cramp conversation. It must be confined in channels approved by the social code, which sets bounds to the pursuit of enquiries. Proprieties have to be observed, particularly when a pair of sharp feminine ears are listening to every word that is being uttered and a pair of sharp eyes are measuring the heightening or blanching of colour in the countenances of the persons with whom her spouse is having a word that might easily degenerate into squabble.

During my lengthy experience I have angled in many mental waters. Never, however, have I paid out line so liberally or at such speed or with such patience, or certainly been so extravagant in putting into it every milligramme of skill I had acquired, as I did that afternoon. And the catch?

I blessed my stars that I had not been on an assignment. Had I to empty the net on an editorial table the sight of the minnows unloaded would have shocked my compeers of the diurnal journalistic conference and I would have been abased in my own eyes.

Strange to relate, therein lay the reward for my lengthy angling. I had pursued salmon. I had landed a gauge.

It was a gauge for measuring the difficulties that Syama was encountering every split second of his administrative life—difficulties that must have chased him in the house and even the bed-chamber. That was a gain that would be cheap at any price.

The gauge not only was for Syama, but also for the man who, subject only to Providence's junior partner (the supreme British agent in Calcutta), dominated that huge, multi-millioned Presidency. I hardly needed to be reminded that Fazlul had climbed one ladder—the ladder of Number Two Service in the State (as we now call it)—had gone up several rungs when it ceased to interest him. Like a master-gymnast he had let go of it and jumped on to the trapeze that, for the moment, he fancied. For a time he could be seen pleading, mostly in courts of no exalted status, the cause of some confounded

* Thin, pancake-like bread fried in deep fat.

† A kind of rissole also fried in deep fat.

person for the fee in which the client held him for an hour or a day. Suddenly he felt that he had had "bliful" (to borrow a phrase from Fielding). Another somersault and he was on the political hobby horse. He sickened of the goal towards which his hobby horse's face was set—nationhood, one and indivisible. Off he vaulted. A sprint—a jump—and he was astride the parallel bars of separatism.

The crack of the whip irritated him not long afterwards. Or was it that he shied at the lank, tall figure that wielded it? It may have been that he could no longer brook being No. 2 to any one who sprang from the same soil as he did, though the whipster first saw the light of day in India's far west (Karachi) and the aspirant for Chief Ministership first opened his eyes upon East Bengal. I wonder if my old acquaintance Jinnah was not happy in his heart at Fazlul's quitting the circus (to continue the figure of speech I have borrowed from showdom), and setting up his *Krishak* (Cultivators') Party. A little later the rebel called it "Progressive".

This, then, was the man who Syama must perforce carry with him, if he were to succeed in keeping open the course through which finance flowed into fields that supported nutriment to the "minority community" as well as the "majority community" (to employ the jargon of the day, instead of plain English speech as it is written in the Queen's realm). In addition to finance—minding the rupees, annas and pices—which constituted, his special concern as the Finance Minister, he had, in virtue of his joint responsibility as a member of the Cabinet, to use his wit to prevent the erection of dams in certain channels. The design for these was hatched in the incubator of Bias. In changing the pattern of patronage, they were consequently causing much anguish to a considerable number of persons who, in one way another, were adversely affected. At the time Syama entered office there was a loud outcry, not only from these victims of malevolence but also from men and women of vision who saw that, as the inevitable effect of favouritism, inefficiency and corruption were becoming rampant.

Policies, too, were being hatched in the incubator of prejudice. These, when applied particularly to the premier University in Calcutta, would alter the current of life—dry up some of the springs of life. This caused no little concern to public workers sincerely interested in the well-ordered, all-round progress of society in general.

Much was expected of Syama. With his intimate experience of University administration he, it was hoped, would exercise financial control in a way that would prevent glaring injustice to

persons, who, through desperate increase in population, had recently been placed in the "minority community" category, and to the institutions that they had established or were establishing.

Faith was reposed in his nationalist outlook, broad intellectual horizon and his all-embracing sympathy. These would help his colleagues of the Cabinet to put an end to the narrow policies conceived to promote the interests of a particular section of the people that had become the order of the day. The Ministry would, instead, calmly though quickly survey the needs and aspirations of all sections and particularly those who, through lack of economic stability or intellectual quickening or through the operation of age-old racial injustice, were least able to take care of them. They would formulate measures that would be as large-hearted as they would be practical.

When I saw him privately (more than once, I recall), subsequent to the little quiet tea party of which I have written, we discussed these matters. He was neither elated at his preferment nor did he cherish my illusion about his ability to reshape affairs. He, it seemed to me, had taken a shrewd measure of the forces to whom he would have to give battle day in and day out if he were to be able to do anything at all.

Fight was in his blood. He never courted it. Never did he run away from it either.

Just because he had unhurriedly taken on the job that a man lacking his leonine courage might well have evaded, he now refused to be daunted by the difficulties he was encountering, tremendous though these difficulties were. With calmness that, in the circumstance, impressed me as remarkable, he seemed determined to deal with each issue as it arose—resolve whatever complexity presented itself to him. His was a sanguine, positive nature and a singularly agile, resourceful mind.

Was he, however, even dimly conscious that at that stage it was not Fazlul or any other colleague whom he would have to tackle, quite so much as Providence's junior partner stationed by Mother Britannia at Calcutta to mind her imperialist interests? The multifarious functions assigned to him and the powers and privileges given him for the discharge of those functions reduced representative government to a farce. In making the most of a constitutional make-believe, solemnly set up in Bengal as in other provinces of India under the Parliamentary Statute of 1935, he, in less than twelve months of assuming office, came to the dead end and regained freedom. This I shall discuss in the article that follows.

[Article 4 of this series will appear in *The Modern Review* for December, 1953.—Editor].

TOYNBEE

His Philosophy of History and Treatment of Modern Civilization

By BUDDHA PRAKASH

Of all attempts at formulating a philosophy of history and explaining the trends of modern civilization in its light, Toynbee's has been the most successful in firing the imagination of the West with a brilliant and roseate possibility of incessant progress towards perfection and betterment. In the feverish and hectic quest for an adequate response, on which the overwhelming and flabbergasting challenge of the Eastern world under the impact of Communism has launched the minds of the present frustrated generation of the West, Toynbee has kindled the beaconlight of the coming Christian *denouement* of the theodician drama of damned civilizations, towards which it is hurrying with a hopeful air. This *denouement* is the second coming of Christ which a spiritual renaissance caused by the strengthening of faith in the Christian teachings embodies and symbolises. In order to prepare our minds to accept the certainty of this epiphany he has made us watch the twenty-one-act-drama of the rise and fall of civilizations and imbibe the philosophy of history that runs through it as the central theme.

Toynbee's philosophy of history centres round the concept of civilization which is defined as "the smallest unit of historical study at which one arrives when one tries to understand the history of one's own country." (*Civilization on Trial*, p. 222). The genesis of a civilization lies in the process of evolving "responses" to the "challenges" of circumstances. The adequacy of the "challenge" determines the effectiveness of the "response." The stimulus of hard countries, new grounds, blows, pressures and penalizations provokes the faculty of breaking forth from a state of inertia (*yin*) into a phase of creative action (*yang*). The response not only meets the challenge for which it is devised but also presents another challenge that calls for another response. This process of continuing to respond successfully to recurring challenges is called "growth." Its characteristic is an inner adjustment called "self-determination" and a spiritual development called "etherialization". The "growth" of a civilization is the work of "creative personalities and minorities" which rally the rank and file of the people around them by the magic of their genius. The *modus operandi* of the "creative personalities and minorities" is the "creative movement of withdrawal and return," that is to say, a retirement from the field of action and the accumulation of creative force and after that a reappearance on the stage and the performance of constructive work. No sooner do the people refuse to fall in with the "creative leaders in response to the magic of their appeal, than the civilization enters on a phase of decline. The process of "self-determination" stops, the tendency of "differentiation" or the development of the individuals in a variety of ways in accordance

with the diversity of their geniuses is replaced by a pattern of "standardization" in which the individuals lose their originality and submit to a procrustean social integration. In other words, the behaviour of the people becomes "mechanical," social system splits up into "dominant minority" and "internal proletariat." Their conflicts allure the "external proletariat" to invade and enslave their society. The "schism in the body social" is paralleled by a "schism in the soul." The spirit of the "dominant minority" expresses itself in "higher philosophy," the genius of the "internal proletariat" produces a "higher religion" and the ethos of the "external proletariat" gives birth to "heroic epics." These elements form the matrix of a new civilization. The "breakdown and disintegration" of a civilization exhibits the alternation of respites and relapses which is explained by the formula of "rally-and-rout." In broad tendencies, the "rally" characterising the "age of growth" is followed by a "rout" expressed in "a time of troubles," which, in turn, is succeeded by a "rally," namely, the "universal state," that is finally overtaken by another "rout" marking an "interregnum". Within each of these periods the rhythm of rally-and-rout continues to beat. Usually there is found to be one rally followed by one rout in the course of a "time of troubles" and one rout followed by one rally in the course of a "universal state." Thus the normal rhythm seems to be "rout-rally-rout-rally-rout-rally-rout": three-and-a-half beats. In the process of breakdown, a "civilization" gives birth to a "higher religion" and it is through these religions that the progress of humanity is kept up. "Encounters" between civilizations in time and space result in the amalgamation of these religions and the consequent and gradual unification of the world. The "periodic downfalls of civilizations are the wheels on which the chariot of religion mounts towards heaven." The cyclic movement of the wheels, symbolic of the periodic growth and decline of civilizations means also the linear advance of the vehicle, they carry, that stands for religion, in which the spirit of progress is enshrined.

Basing himself on the philosophy of history outlined above, Toynbee has "almost ventured to cast the horoscope of the one civilization that is still alive and on the move." (*A Study of History*, Vol. VI, p. 321). He fixed the time of troubles for the Western Christian Civilization between 1378 A.D. and 1797 A.D. for the Western half and between 1126 A.D. and 1528 A.D. for the Eastern half. The two universal states following these times of troubles are the Napoleonic empire (1797-1814) and the Danubian monarchy (1528-1918). (*A Study of History*, Vol. VI, pp. 327ff., table I). According to him, the wars of religion of the sixteenth century are clear indications of the breakdown of the Western civilization. While

dealing with these wars he is struck not only by the rifts that tore Christendom apart but also by the terrible paradox that from the highest good and the belief in one God the suicidal poison of intolerance was distilled; and he is confirmed in his opinion by the fact that the appeasement of the third quarter of the seventeenth century that followed these wars of religion was based not on the abiding foundations of faith but on the sandy terrain of a cynical temper born of indifference and weariness. Hence this period of peace was followed by a worse relapse—the wars of nationalism reinforced by the combined drive of energies generated by the forces of democracy and industrialism that started from the French Revolution. Here Toynbee suggests that the universal state of the Western civilization is yet to come. If it comes through a knock-out blow, as in the case of the earlier civilizations, this civilization is doomed to perish but if it comes through the willing co-operation of its component parts, it will live on. ("The Next Step in History" in *Look*, November 18, 1952). In his opinion the cold war between Russia and the West provides the necessary challenge to keep the Western civilization on its toes and devise a pattern of co-operative unity. Here it would be observed that Toynbee relinquishes his former position according to which the universal states of the Western civilization were the Napoleonic empire and the Danubian monarchy.

Besides these features, he sees in the Western civilization the social schism manifesting itself in a dominant minority and an internal proletariat which is the culminating point in the disintegration of a civilization. The loss of style and the tendency to ape alien fashions and barbaric forms of art have also attracted his notice. The most tragic features of Western civilization, scepticism, neo-paganism and spiritual slackness have made a morose impression on his mind. (*A Study of History*, Vol. V, annexe). He has called this period of European history starting from the seventeenth century, "post-Christian" ["The World and the West" (Reith Lectures, 1952) in *Listener*, Nov. 20, 1952] and has likened it to the Hellenistic age in which the vast region from the Ganges to the Tyne felt the impact of a soulless Graeco-Roman culture. [*The World and the West* (Reith Lectures, 1952) in *Listener*, December 25, 1952]. We know that as a result of the Hellenistic impact on the East and as a consequence of the travail of the breakdown of this civilization a large number of new religions arose and spread over the whole realm of this disintegrating civilization and gave birth in its place to a new civilization. "Christianity and Islam arose as alternative responses of the Syrian world to Graeco-Roman penetration: Christianity a non-violent response, Islam a violent one; Mahayanian Buddhism and Hinduism are the gentle and the violent responses of the Hindu world to the same Graeco-Roman challenge. ("Encounters between Civilizations" in *Civilization on Trial*, p. 219). On this showing the dissemination of modern Western civilization over the face of the globe is also fraught with the possibility of

the rise of new systems of thought and belief which are likely to overshadow and eclipse this very civilization. We know that Western civilization meaning thereby science, democracy, industrialism, secular attitude, common law and rational outlook, has caused a great upsurge in the East. These forces have coalesced with the deep-rooted patterns of integrated and co-ordinated conduct that constitute the architectonics of Asian culture. The concept of *Rita* in India, the idea of *Asha* in Iran, the system of *Tao* in China, the discipline of *Yassag* among the nomadic peoples of Central Asia and the tradition of *Millat* and *Tamait* in Islam are symbolic of the universal co-ordination and social adjustment to which the life of the individuals must of necessity conform. In such an environment the Western technique of democracy has naturally become qualified by the epithets "new" and "planned." Qualitatively viewed it has become quite different from what it connotes to the European mind. If in Asia it is the religion of uplift and progress whether in the form of Mao-Tse-Tung's "new democracy" or in that of Jawaharlal Nehru's "planned democracy," it is surely antithetical to the civilization of the West just as the religions mentioned above once were.

There is another aspect of this possibility. We have seen that according to Toynbee in the breakdown of a civilization and the splitting up of the body social in the "dominant minority" and "internal proletariat," the latter produces a higher religion which becomes the chrysalis of a new civilization. We have also noted that the Western civilization has reached the stage in which the Hellenic civilization was after the fourth century B.C., in other words, it has broken up into a "dominant minority" and an "internal proletariat." This "internal proletariat" of the Western civilization has produced communism, which, according to such a keen observer as J. M. Keynes, "represents the first confused stirrings of a great religion," (J. M. Keynes: *Laissez Faire and Communism*, pp. 134-135), precisely as the internal proletariat of the Hellenic civilization became the spearheads of the Oriental religions including Christianity. We know that Christianity led to the growth of modern Western civilization which was different from the Hellenic civilization, though it was affiliated to it and borrowed much from it, similarly Communism is going to produce a civilization which has no place for the Christian Church and its ethics and the laissez faire economy and democratic institutions as understood in the West. On this showing the days of the Western civilization are numbered and the communist civilization, the twenty-second in the list of Toynbee, is proceeding to swallow it up. If the historic role of a civilization is to rear up a religion in its womb and to break up and give it birth, can we not see that the Western civilization is passing through the throes of the birth of Communism and by breaking down in this process is fulfilling the historic mission which is its *raison d'être*.

Toynbee fights shy of these logical results of his philosophy of history in its application to the modern

Western civilization. He still hopes that there is much scope for the Christian Church and the English Constitution, characterized by the faculty of steering a middle course between the extreme forms of conduct. ("A Study of History in the Light of Current Developments" in *International Affairs*, October, 1948, p. 504). He sees a great field for Christianity even in Communist China and India and finds in the conversion of the Negroes to Christianity the shimmering of a Christian spiritual renaissance. In the organization of the Roman Catholic Church with its hierarchy and its institution of Mass he envisages the system of world unity in which political authority and spiritual leadership would be consolidated and co-ordinated. This civilization of "Church Militant" would mark the spiritual awakening of mankind in a kingdom of God and would thus inherit all philosophies from Akhnaton's to Hegel's and all religions from primitive cults to those practised in our day. ("Christianity and Civilization" in *Civilization on Trial*, pp. 240ff.)

Is this view of the future of the Christian Church warranted by what we know of history? The answer to this question has perforce to be returned in the negative on the following grounds. Toynbee himself holds that in the expansion of Western civilization the religious factor acted as a retarding force while the technological factor proved as the expansive element. [*The World and the West* (Reith Lectures 1952), *Listener*, December 18, 1952]. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese harbinger of Western civilization in the Far East were repelled by Japanese statesmen simply because they presented this civilization as a rival religion whereas in the nineteenth century the representatives of the self-same Western civilization were welcomed because they offered it as a new technology. Likewise, in India and the Middle East the success of Western civilization is primarily due to its dissociation from religious motives. In Russia, the adoption of some of its features would

have been unthinkable had it been necessary to import with them the Christian doctrine of the western type. As a matter of fact, history has made the Mohammadan and Orthodox Christian averse to Western Christianity. How can we therefore think that this religion and Church would be acceptable to these Easterners in the very form in which they have been hating it from a fairly early time.

Besides this, Christianity, particularly in its Protestant form has given birth to modern capitalism as Max-Weber has very ably shown. The vocational ethics, the rational and utilitarian scale of values, the sanctity of private property, the consideration of material prosperity as a sign of divine grace constituted the *Wirtschaftsethik* of Protestantism which has produced the modern capitalist system. (Max Weber: *Religionssoziologie*, Vol. I, pp. 238 ff, recapitulated in R. H. Tauney: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*). Max Weber's aforesaid thesis has been accepted with some modifications by the famous German Sociologist Ernst Troeltsch. While he accepted the formative influence of Protestantism on the growth of Capitalism he also emphasized the contribution of the latter to its fruition and expansion. (*Protestantism and Progress*, Eng. tr., p. 138). Thus the Christian religion, which has such intimate association with Capitalism, that, according to Marx and Somhart, has widened the gulf between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and thus provoked a social schism in Western civilization, can never be adaptable to the new needs of an economic reconstruction through which this civilization is going to be transformed into a new entity.

Thus we observe that Toynbee's treatment of modern Western Civilization negatives his philosophy of history. It illustrates the serious flaws in his reasoning and elucidates the tragic fate of the Western civilization which he tries to veil in a religious cover by turning his back on the realities of historical development.

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TRENDS IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH VERSE

By MICHAEL HAMBURGER

CRITICS and reviewers of poetry whose taste was formed during the 'thirties, when "political consciousness" and social comment were the programme of the leading school, have recently been complaining about the poverty of contemporary verse. There can be no doubt that the poetic climate in England has changed considerably in the last 20 years; it is also true that much of the work produced in the present decade is less experimental, less topical and, superficially at least, less "modern" than the verse produced in the 'thirties by Auden, Spender, Day, Lewis and MacNeice.

The average competent poem written in the last few years may well be less exciting to readers whose chief concern is with novelty; but the average competent poem is of little importance, except in so far as it testifies to the spirit of the time. What matters now, and has always mattered, is whether the spirit of the time is such that it permits the creation of major work which is likely to outlast the fashions and passions of an age.

Before going on to comment on some books of poetry which I believe to be in that class, I should

like to draw the reader's attention to a number of recent anthologies, for these are a better introduction to general trends than the necessarily brief remarks of a reviewer. *New Poems* (Michael Joseph), an annual anthology sponsored by the P.E.N. Club, is the most representative, since its editors attempt to select the best work produced in the course of a year by poets of every school and of every generation. The oldest contributor to the current volume, Walter de la Mare, has just celebrated his 80th birthday; the youngest, Terence Hards, was born in 1929.

Springtime (Peter Owen), edited by G.S. Fraser and Iain Fletcher, is less representative, being confined to the work of poets either very young or not yet well established; it is more consistent and more idiosyncratic than *New Poems*, for the editors were able to indulge their marked preference for certain types of verse. Lastly, there is *Images of Tomorrow* (S.C.M. Press), a selection by John Heath-Stubbs of work by poets who were not widely known before 1939; the poems in this volume were chosen with a view to their relevance to the Christian theme, and are therefore mainly philosophical, though without conforming to any sectarian orthodoxy.

NO LACK OF VARIETY

I have mentioned these anthologies because I believe that, in spite of complaints to the contrary, even the minor verse produced in recent years is well worth the attention of readers interested in English life and literature. If, on the whole, such verse is close to the formal conventions and traditional themes of past centuries, the fact in itself is significant; nor is there any lack of variety or of innovation, though the differences may be more subtle and the innovation more tentative than in ages of great revolutionary zest.

Compared with Dylan Thomas, who has recently published his *Collected Poems* (Dent), the youngest generation certainly seems somewhat lacking in zest. Born in 1914, he became famous before he was 20; the impact of his early verse was such that it may be said to have broken the domination of the sociological school. Himself the initiator of a school known as the New Apocalypse, he is, above all, a highly subjective lyrical poet with an inimitable command of music and metaphor.

On the rational plane, much of his verse is difficult, not to say incoherent and obscure; but, as its popularity shows, this difficulty is resolved on the plane of feeling, by the appeal of its potent imagery and an eloquence

unequalled in contemporary verse. Unlike that of the Auden school, his imagery is more often derived from nature than from the urban scene; his symbolism, partly sexual and partly religious in his early work, has now become more accessible to traditional ways of thought.

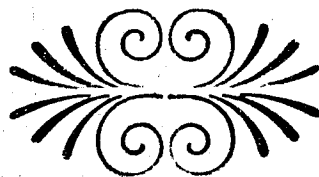
A considerably older poet whose *Collected Poems* (Faber and Faber) have recently appeared is Edwin Muir (born 1887), who has long been known as a poet, novelist, critic and English translator of Kafka's works; but for many years his poetry was eclipsed by the fame of younger men, the founders of movements and creators of fashions.

A SINGLE THEME

Also, like most of the best poets of our time—Dylan Thomas' precocity is an exception, for, by the very nature of his talent, he is less dependent on experience—Edwin Muir has developed slowly; unlike Dylan Thomas, he is a philosophical poet whose forms, metres and diction are not violently original. Indeed, his work has a certain austerity which was too often mistaken for monotony; but its lack of surface brilliance conceals a gentle and unassuming strength, a nobility no longer disputed now that he has reached his maturity. Slowly, with admirable persistence, he has pursued a single theme, exploring the labyrinth of our time until, in his latest work, the exit was revealed to him. His world has always been that of the eternal values, moral and spiritual, and these he has embodied in the true language of poetry, in symbol and myth.

I have left myself little space to discuss the poetry of Kathleen Raine (born 1908), who has something in common with Edwin Muir; like him, she is concerned not with appearances, but with archetypes. Her development, too, has been gradual, but her latest collection, *The Year One* (Hamish Hamilton) establishes her as one of the purest poets of our time. Edwin Muir was born in the Orkney Islands; Kathleen Raine, though born in London, owes her formative experiences to the landscape of Northumberland. She is not a nature poet in any romantic sense of the word; she neither describes nor sentimentalises nature, but uses its images to evoke an intense vision of her own, sometimes mystical—as in the longest and greatest poem in her new collection, *Northumbrian Sequence*.

I should like to mention several other poets who have reached their full stature in recent years; but the work of these three poets alone may bear out my belief that English poetry is as rich and as vital as ever.



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 LIFE OF MAHATMA GANDHI (Parts I and II): By Louis Fischer. Published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty, Bombay. Pp. vii+321 and vii+327. Price Rs. 1-12 each.

The best single volume biography of Mahatma Gandhi was produced by Louis Fischer in 1951. There was an English and an American edition, and we are now presented here with a very cheap, and well-produced Indian edition under the auspices of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

It is perhaps unnecessary to enter into the merits of Fischer's well-known biography. One may, however, be permitted to point out that the book sometimes fails to carry one to the great depths of Gandhi's innermost philosophies as it helped in moulding the course of his life. That does not, of course, matter where the purpose is to present a factual picture of a great life, and where the author had constantly to keep in view the Western reader for whom the book was primarily being written. Indeed, such an objective study may help even an Indian reader in correcting his preoccupation with the thoughts and aspirations of a great man rather than with the actualities of his life. We hope the book will be widely appreciated by Indian readers as it has been by readers outside.

N. K. BOSE

A PHASE OF THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT (National Education), 1905-1910: By Haridas Mookerjee and Uma Mookerjee. Published by Chatterjee and Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1953. Pp. 84. Price Rs. 2.

This is an excellent monograph dealing with the most important aspect of the liberation movement which swept over Bengal in the second half of the first decade of this century and which marked if not "the beginning" (p. 10), at least an intensification of our struggle against the then alien ruling power in our land. The history of the national education movement in Bengal during the years 1905-1910, though immediately inspired by Lord Curzon's Indian Universities Act of 1904 and its aftermath in the shape of the Carlyle Circular, is the history of release of the pent-up forces of discontent among our intellectuals against the tendencies of the educational system imposed upon us by our British rulers in the past. Combining in rare perfection the highest qualities of idealism and practical constructive effort, it drew into itself almost all the mature talents and the youthful energies of the Bengali people at the time. It found its tangible expression in the remarkable experiment of new educational institutions (Bengal National College and School in Calcutta and the affiliated National Schools in the mofussil) with their

original and highly successful scheme of studies. In the work before us, the joint authors have done full justice to the story of the genesis and the maturity, as well as the subsequent collapse (in spite of its brilliant promise) of this movement. Their treatment of the subject shows on every page the handwork of trained students of history. With great industry they have gathered their material from the study of old files of newspapers and the evidence of eye witnesses and have corrected at some points the errors of previous writers in the field. Likewise they have carefully analysed throughout the forces at work behind the movement. We have no hesitation in wishing this work the widest publicity for it deals very successfully with a phase of our independence movement which fills a glorious chapter in the recent history of our State and our country.

U. N. GHOSHAL

(1) **ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL NEPAL**: By D. R. Regmi. 1952. Pp. vii+178. Price Rs. 4.

(2) **WHITHER NEPAL**: By D. R. Regmi. Printed at the Prem Printing Press, Lucknow. 1952. Pp. ii+181. Price Rs. 3-8.

These two important publications, (1) on the history mainly of ancient Nepal, (2) on present-day Nepal, would be offered ready welcome by the educated public, as being the version of Nepalese ancient and contemporary history by its own historian. Nepal, Mithila and Kashmir have the unique distinction among the many States of this sub-continent of possessing dynastic chronicles (*vamsavalis*) which form one of the principal sources for the reconstruction of history. All that we know about the history of this land is primarily the work of European scholars like Wright, Kirkpatrick and Sylvain Levi. But in the books under review, a Nepalese college teacher, D. R. Regmi, now the President of the Nepalese National Congress, offers an account of the ancient and contemporary Nepal.

In the first book under review the author makes a laudable effort to present a sketch of the history of his country by a critical study of the sources literary, epigraphic and numismatic and revision of the chronology of the early period. He rejects Bhagwanlal Indraji and R. G. Basak's views on the date of Manadeva and differs from Levi as to the starting-point of the Newari Era. He similarly refutes K. P. Jayaswal's opinion as to the dyarchical executive in Nepal, being derived from the Lichhavi constitution and traces out this peculiar feature to the times of Amsuvarman and Jisnu Gupta. Of special interest is the account offered here of (i) King Amsuvarman—his rise to kingship, extent of his kingdom, his administration and patronage of Sanskrit studies, and (ii) of the Lichhavi restoration, (8th Century A.D.) which was marked by the

military triumph of the king named Aramudi (unidentified) over the Kashmiri King, Jayapida and increase in the social status of the rulers, so that Sivadeva and Jayadeva married respectively a Maukhari and a Gauda princess.

Nepal is a land abounding in temples where cow-killing, according to law, is a capital offence. Kirkpatrick hardly errs in exaggeration when he says that there are as many temples in the valley as there are houses, and as many idols as there are men. The author enters into a discussion of the Nepali style of architecture and is perhaps the first scholar to offer us in the English language an account of the contribution of the Nepalese master-architect, Ar-ni-Ko who entered Kubilai Khan's service in 1263 and left an indelible impress of his work in the Celestial Kingdom. But some of the author's contentions, e.g., the identity of the Kiratas with the Newars, the invention of the so-called pagoda style and the modelling by the Newars of the Tibetan script of the Gupta style, lack sufficient proof.

In the second book under review, the author attempts to give us a sketch of the contemporary history of Nepal, with an analysis of the political forces that are at work and their possible repercussions on the destiny of a comparatively backward people. Here unwillingly perhaps the author takes up what is reckoned as the most baffling of all the historian's arts, viz., writing the history of one's own times, and fails lamentably, for one misses here a clear and consistent narrative of the dramatic circumstances that ended the Ranadom in Nepal and also an account of the various political parties that play upon the kaleidoscopic political stage of the country.

D. R. Regmi is an ardent patriot and the pages in this book are vibrant with this sentiment. But the reviewer regrets that some of the chapters here, e.g., "Nepal in retrospect," read like the harangue of a professional politician rather than the sage discourse of a reflective college teacher. Much that has been incorporated in this treatise, e.g., the Chapters IV, V, VI and VII are of a polemical nature and hence of ephemeral interest. The chapter, "India and Nepal" is well worth a perusal, for here the author, by describing the strategic position of Nepal, points out its importance to India's security in view of the imposition of the Communist hegemony over Tibet, and the great hazards to which the anti-Communist front of the present administration exposes Nepal.

We would recommend a thorough recasting of the pair of useful books, when they go into print for the second time. The obscurities in the pages should be cleared up, prolixity in narration avoided and errors of syntax and print which are plentiful be corrected.

N. B. Roy

1. POPULAR ESSAYS IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: Pp. 122. Price Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d.

2. THE QUEST AFTER PERFECTION: Pp. 120. Price Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d.

Both the books are from the pen of Prof. M. Hiriyanna and published by Kavyalaya, Mysore.

Sri M. Hiriyanna was the distinguished professor of Sanskrit in the Mysore University. As the author of the *Outline of Indian Philosophy* he has been widely known in India and abroad. Full of years and honours he passed away in 1950 as an octogenarian. He was a very profound scholar and renowned professor of modern India. Though he was not a prolific writer yet his writings bear the distinct stamp of deep erudition and uncommon insight.

The first book under review contains seventeen learned essays on Indian philosophy and Sanskrit

culture contributed to various journals and publications. The fourteen papers among them were already published in different places and the remaining three on Maya and Indian Philosophy are brought out here for the first time. The paper on Indian Philosophy was contributed to Tamil *Encyclopaedia* where it will soon appear rendered into Tamil. Other essays are written on Karma, Reincarnation, Purusartha, Sankhya system, Upanisads, Sanskrit learning and similar cultural subjects.

The second book contains eight thoughtful articles on the ethics of the Upanisads, Philosophy of Value, Quest after Perfection and other philosophical subjects. The paper on the message of Indian philosophy was the address as the General President of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Hyderabad (Deccan) in December 1939. The two papers on Quest after Perfection are two Miller lectures delivered in December, 1940, under the auspices of the Madras University.

Prof. Hiriyanna aptly observes that practical interest has ever been the distinguishing feature of Indian philosophy, and the main aim of Indian philosophy as a whole is to determine the ideal of practical life rather than merely to formulate a set of theoretical views of the universe. Philosophy has always been inseparable from life in India. The goal of Indian ideal of life, according to the author, is *sannyas* of self, or self-renunciation and not world-renunciation. The learned author who was himself an ideal philosopher in the Indian sense pertinently remarks that self-renunciation must be practised through loving service. He asserts that not a particular section of people but all men and women irrespective of caste, colour, or creed can be *sannyasins* in the real sense; because all have their places in society and respective duties pertaining to them which they can practise selflessly. In the opinion of the wise author this is the central message of Indian philosophy.

The writings of the learned author are not only thoughtful but also original, and readable. Clarity of conception and simplicity of style characterise his masterly essays. All students of Indian philosophy have got much to learn from these two books under review. A perusal of these handy volumes is sure to reorient our outlook and reform our views about Indian philosophy. A biographical sketch of the late lamented author should have been added in these two books.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN INDIA: By R. L. Mehta, M.A. (Oxon). Orient Longmans Ltd., 17, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. First published in 1950. Pages 326. Price Rs. 6.

English occupies an important and useful place in our educational system. Apart from its wealth and beauty it has a utilitarian value in the international world and in this respect it cannot be suitably replaced by any other single language. In our pre-independence days English held the place of honour and took up much of the time and energy of the educators. Emphasis on the subject has been lessened in the post-independence period and a general tendency is noticeable among the school and college population to take the subject with some amount of indifference, the inner working of their mind being that with the quitting of the English this language also has fallen from grace. The zeal and propaganda for the new *lingua franca* for India has also contributed to this mentality to a great extent. But if we consider the matter with a serene and dispassionate

mind we are forced to the conclusion that English cannot be minimised without detriment to our national culture and international importance.

The present volume deals with the problem connected with the teaching of English in India and the suggestions and observations of the author based on his deep knowledge and practical experience in the class-room are sure to be of immense help to the teachers of the subject. Unlike ordinary books of dry pedagogy Shri Mehta's book is enlivened with illuminating personal touches. Representing the correct attitude from the Indian point of view towards English and the teaching thereof, the volume under review is written in a racy style and is eminently readable.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

YUGOSLAVIA: THE LAND OF NEW HORIZONS: By Prabhakar Padhye. Published by the author from 774, Tilak Road, Bombay 14. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author, the Editor of the *Nava-Shakhi* of Bombay, visited Yugoslavia as a delegate to the Zagreb Peace Congress in 1951. He describes his experience in Yugoslavia in the slender volume under review. He contends that Tito's Yugoslavia with its 'democratic communism' as distinct from the 'Statism' and 'totalitarian communism' of Stalin's Russia, is the true standard-bearer of Marxism. Moscow and her partisans do not however agree.

Mr. Padhye however has succeeded in giving to his readers a more or less clear idea of the experiment in the Balkans.

The volume seems to have been rather highly priced for its size—112 pages of reading matter including a Preface and two Appendices.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

SANSKRIT

THE VAJRASUCHI OF ASVAGHOSA: By Sujit-kumar Mukhopadhyaya, Lecturer in Sanskrit and Tibetan, Visva-Bharati Cheena-Bhavana. The Sino-Indian Cultural Society, Santiniketan, India. Price Rs. 3.

We have here a nice critical edition of the *Vajrasuchi*, an interesting Sanskrit work attributed to the great Buddhist polymath, Asvaghosa, which seeks to demonstrate the hollowness of the Brahmanical system of caste. The edition is accompanied by an English translation and an appendix containing the text of the *Vajrasuchyupanisad*. Besides, there are the word-index and the valuable notes of the learned editor, which trace, as far as possible, the sources of the quotations in the text and occasionally cite parallel passages from different Brahmanical works echoing views similar to those expressed in the text of the *Vajrasuchi*. The edition is based on six manuscripts and the edition of Weber published in 1859. The extent and nature of help received from the latter, however, are not quite clear. An earlier edition made by Wilkinson and the translation of Hodgson published respectively in 1839 and 1829 have not been utilised or mentioned. As regards the antiquity and authorship of the work there seems to be legitimate room for doubt though the learned editor is of a different opinion. The style of the work, in particular, scarcely appears to be as old as the time of Asvaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist writer of the beginning of the Christian era.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA-MANASA: By Jyotirindra Chaudhuri. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 8.

In nine chapters the book deals with Rabindranath's Philosophy of Life, the influence exerted on his mind by the Upanishads, Vaishnava poetry and Western literature and science, his treatment of Nature and Woman, nationalism, attitude towards children and materials for literature. The author deserves praise for his power of appreciation and independent personal approach. We expect from him more comprehensive studies in the works of Tagore.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

RUP AUR SWARUP: By Ghanshyamdas Birla. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 46. Price ten annas.

The author, an adept in the canons of the counter and the cash-box, appears to be also an adept in the art of autocracy. For, in the four essays, contained in the present booklet,—Their Themes being Form and Spirit; This World and the World Beyond; The Subtle and the Gross; Movement and Progress,—he reveals himself as a philosopher of the common road, who knows how to shake off the claims of the counter and flying into the empyrean of the invisible, descend on the earth with a smile on his lips saying, "Now I shall tell you interestingly something of the wisdom which lies behind and beneath the visible." He wields his pen with the effortlessness of an experienced essayist.

GANDHI-GATHA: By Bhupnarayan Dikshit. Pp. 202. Price 2-8.

KRISHNA-DUTA: By Bhupnarayan Dikshit. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1.

Both available from Sharada Mandir, Katra Shamsheri, Etawah, U.P.

The first is a long narrative poem on the life of Gandhiji, while the latter is a poem in four cantos, composed in Sanskrit *chhanda*, centring round the story of Sri Krishna. Both are in Sanskritized Hindi which makes it, therefore, rather difficult for an average Hindi or Hindustani reader or student to enjoy the author's verse without somewhat of a strain, thus distracting not a little from his delight in them. But both lend themselves commendably to congregational *katha*-recitation among lovers of Hindi poetry.

GALPA-MALA: By Prabhat Kumar Banerji. Shivanand-Dham Prakashan, Nagpur, Ajani, M.P. Pp. 63. Price Re. 1.

A sheaf of nine short stories by an amateur who, however, knows that a story must be, above everything else, "a pass-timer," and, therefore, stands on the threshold of promise. There is still, however, not a little of "laboured" imagination, incident and art in his style and plot.

G. M.

TAMIL-ENGLISH

KAMBA RAMAYANAM—A STUDY: By V. S. Aiyar. Published by the Delhi Tamil Sangam, MC. 1/3028, Parliament Street, New Delhi. 1950. Price Rs. 7.

To non-Tamilians who have merely heard that Tamil literature is very old and that in point of culture it is second to none this will come as a refreshing storehouse of information and it is quite possible that they will get so much information from the brief survey of Tamil language and literature appended to the work by way of preface that they may not be able to proceed further into the book itself. But those who will proceed into the book are sure to find an exhilarating course of reading about Kamban, V. V. S. Aiyar and the story of the Ramayana as told by Kamban. Even the Tamil readers, one feels sure, will be grateful to the Delhi Tamil Sangam not older than six or seven years by now for having undertaken this venture and executed it so well. Here one meets the author Kamban who composed the Ramayana in Tamil and who belonged to the 9th Century A.D. and the Ramayana which was actually recited by the poet before a selected audience of scholars, and the poet received for his recompense rightly enough the title Kavichakravarty.

V. V. S. Aiyar belonged to our times and had been a non-compromising fighter for freedom and after a stormy life spent from London to Amsterdam—from Paris to Pondichery, was at last reckoned as one of the conquests of Gandhiji, who transformed him from a violent revolutionary to a champion of *ahimsa*. This stormy life—a firebrand revolutionary, a scholar, a journalist, a teacher of the new type, an organiser of Ashrams—this heroic life full of vicissitudes was cut off in 1925 by the cruel waters of the Tambrabaraparani into which he jumped to rescue his drowning daughter to be both whirled into eternity.

It was during his nine months of prison life between 1921-22 that he wrote his critical study of Kamba Ramayana. He had written in those nine months a little over 140,000 words, surely a performance which does credit to his industry and intellect. The great hold which the story of Ramayana has on the bulk of the people of India and specially those living in the South is but too well-known and this should make us aware of its scope for wide use among Indians of all classes for character training.

V. V. S. Aiyar, after emphasising the place of Kamba as a popular teacher who will hold his own with the greatest, gives the story of the Ramayana after Kamba and compares it with the epics of Europe (though he just touches the fringe of the subject) and passes on to examine the build and structure of Kamba's work and its development. The development is, however, indicative of the great individuality of the writer Kamba. The conventional supernatural of the Ramayana may require a special note to the modern reader and Aiyar has supplied it. He has then taken up the great characters of the Ramayana—Rama, Lakshmana, Indrajit, Vibhishana and Kumbhakarna, Vali and Sugriva, Hanuman, Ravana, Bharata and there he stopped short, snatched away from our world by death. A member of the Delhi Tamil Sangam, however, has appended on his own responsibility and that of the publishers, a note on Sita, which would otherwise have been missed very much. Aiyar's verse translation, spread throughout the book will show his knowledge and mastery of the languages—English and Tamil.

Aiyar was one of the interpreters of Tamil literature to the non-Tamil world and the reviewer would be glad to admit with approval the sentiments expressed by Shri K. Santanam, who had written a foreword to the book: "The Delhi Tamil Sangam had done a great service to all lovers of literature by undertaking the publication of this study."

The reader who has been introduced to Kamba Ramayana by Aiyar will surely look forward to the Delhi Tamil Sangam for such publication of other works by V. V. S. Aiyar.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

(1) AROGYANI CHAVI. (2) SATYAGRAHA ASHRAMNO ITIHAS: By Kaka Kalelkar. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 68 : 96. Price As. 10 : Re. 1.

Both these books from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi were written while in jail (1942). The first is an exposition of principles, according to his belief, on which the human body can preserve its health, and so he calls it "A Key to Health." These are not theories. These beliefs he has put into practice. The history of the foundation of the Ashram at Ahmedabad in 1915, and its progressive development, its activities, its functions, its prayer meetings, all these have been recounted by its founder, Gandhiji. There could not be a more valuable contribution to the history and genesis of this Satyagraha Ashram than this record in his own hand. Kaka Kalelkar has arranged in book-form what was at time loose material and fragments.

(1) SANSAR ANE DHARMA. (2) SAMULI KRANTI: By Kishorlal G. Mashruwala. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 257 : 164. Price Rs. 2. Re. 1-8.

Shreejutt Mashruwala, on whom had fallen the mantle of Gandhiji in editing the *Harivan* was a quiet, earnest, unobtrusive, religiously minded thinker, student and writer who had adopted "plain speaking as his motto in life." Pandit Sukhlalji has written a Preface, and Shrijutt Kedar Nathji has contributed an epilogue to the first book which sets out in a scholarly, rather saintly way, the duties and responsibilities of one in the world and non-world (Dharma). It is philosophical, but free from the technicalities thereof, which scare off ordinary readers. The title of the second book means Complete Revolution and Shreejutt Mashruwala explains what he means by treating the topic in four sections, (1) Religion and Society, (2) Economics, (3) Political and (4) Educational. He advocates change everywhere, till what he calls, Bhadra Sanskriti and Sant Sanskriti are established in the world. This book is the result of much thought and serious study.

KHADIVIDYA PRAVESHKA: By M. P. Desai. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 186. Price Re. 1-4.

This is the third edition of that excellent handbook which introduces and guides the reader to the methods by which he can become a student of Khadi Vidya. The technique of the subject is well set out, and suitable additions made to the text, in the light of experience gained after the publication of the second edition in 1945.

K. M. J.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA THE HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The PRABUDDHA BHARATA, started by Swami Vivekananda in 1896, enters the fifty-ninth year of its publication from January 1954. We are glad to inform our readers that the January, 1954 issue will be a Special Number to commemorate the Birth Centenary of Sri Saradamani Devi (which comes off on 27th December, 1953), the worthy consort of Sri Ramakrishna, well-known as the Holy Mother on account of her immaculate purity and great spiritual attainments.

This bumper Number, which will be printed fully on art paper and will be profusely illustrated, will contain a good number of interesting articles on the several aspects of the Holy Mother and on the role and achievements of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

CONTENTS

1. Sri Sarada Devi—By Hon'ble Sri Justice P. B. Mukharji
2. Devi Saradamani—By Dr. Mahendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.
3. The Characteristics of Indian Womanhood—By Hon'ble Sri Justice N. Chandrasekhara Aiyer
4. Women in the Vedas—By Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
5. The Holy Mother—By Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi, Reddi, M.L.C.
6. Womanhood as a Spiritualizing and Unifying Force in Indian Tradition—By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A. Ph.D.
7. Indian Women through the Ages—By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Woman in the Upanishads—By Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar
9. The Role of the Mother—By Srimati Lila Majumdar
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Mau Mau and S.S.

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Roy Bridger considers the aspects of the problem caused by man's alienation from the land. He starts with two symptomatic disturbances—the Mau Mau in Kenya and the S.S. in Germany—and carries his enquiry to root causes:

The Kikuyu have been described as politically the most developed tribe in East Africa. They are also the most overcrowded. Their two main reserves have population densities between 1,000 and 1,500 per square mile. At the present rate of increase the population would be doubled in 40 years.

Germany, a country in which political consciousness has for long been deeply rooted, is also one with a marked interest in *lebensraum* problems. Saxony, where the proportion of urban population is higher than in most of the country, has a population density only slightly less than 1,000 per square mile. Deep in this congested interior the Nazi denunciations of Versailles fanned the smouldering feelings of oppression into volcanic activity. Again a world war raged. Millions died. There followed an irresolute period of Allied Occupation, during which several old grievances were recalled and some new ones formed. Eventually a day arrived which bore a curious resemblance to a great many days of 20 years previous: 5,000 men of the former Waffen S. S. (Hitler's elite troops), many wearing jack-boots, gathered to hear a one-time German general launch a bitter tirade against the Western Allies. "Who are the real war criminals?" he asked. "Those who made the Versailles Treaty." (Cheers) They had dropped bombs on non-military objectives. They were now busy making new weapons. He concluded with a condemnation of Allied treatment of S.S. war prisoners which drew shouts of "Filthy swine!" from his audience.

A high density of population is not in itself a danger sign. The two largest Channel Islands have very high figures. Jersey is about equal to Saxony in population density, while Guernsey, with 1,600 per square mile exceeds even the Kikuyu reserve.

Only one and a quarter per cent of Rhodesia's "black north" are Europeans. They tend to turn towards the Union of South Africa and towards Pass Laws and *apartheid*, rather than towards the humane toleration of pre-Mau-Mau Kenya. "The truth is that in his inmost soul the white South African despises the African," a press correspondent concluded in a recent dispatch from Capetown. "I have one great fear in my heart," said Msimangu in *Cry, the Beloved Country*, "that one day when they turn to loving they will find we are turned to hating." South Africa, with its seemingly irreconcilable human divisions, its mounting soil erosion problems and its inhuman industrialization, is one of the unhappiest countries in the world.

That all the Africans in Kenya should turn to hating would be most disastrous. "If we fail in Kenya we are finished in Africa," wrote Negley Farson in *Last Chance in Africa*. The Kikuyu Central Association, a

representative society formed about 20 years ago, was suppressed during the war.

The nationalist aspirations found expression in the Kenya African Union led by Jomo Kenyatta, while the extremists went underground as Mau Mau.

To a certain extent the campaign to drive out the British is an unfortunate irony of timing. It is clear that the fundamental cause of unrest is land hunger, and it is also clear that until this is removed there is little hope of peaceful development. Yet within the last ten years a revolution has been taking place in the attitude of the Africans to their land which makes the political approach seem old-fashioned. The tribal system of land ownership is breaking up. Agricultural productivity, hampered in the past by a communal system of land-holding which forbade individual initiative, has been suddenly and dramatically stepped up by enclosure.

It would be as wrong to assume that all modern farming methods are inferior to those practised in some previous period of faultless husbandry as to accept the view that the changes which have taken place have been all improvements. Many previous peoples have failed to maintain themselves on the land at their disposal. The alarming present-day state of affairs—according to Jacks and Whyte (in *The Rape of the Earth*) more soil was lost to the world between 1914 and 1938 than in the whole previous history of mankind—has been occasioned largely by the use of power-driven machinery. The old systems of communal ownership of land had grave defects, and there can be little doubt that the gradually emerging idea of enclosure has been a stabilizing factor.

But enclosure not only makes better farming possible: it gives rise to a landless class who, in the absence of any alternative, look for employment in the towns, which become increasingly industrialized. The acreage enclosed is often considerably more than sufficient to support a man and his family. In North Nyanza, for instance, large-scale farms of several hundred acres are developing.

Running through the Mau Mau disturbances and the S.S. outbursts, and linking them with similar manifestations in other parts of the world, are certain fundamental issues.

One is the question whether food should be grown locally and under either the control or the surveillance of the consumer, or whether it should be grown by a special class called *farmers*, the consumer neither possessing nor desiring information about the way in which his food is produced. Another is whether the guiding principle is to be individual enterprise or whether a system of paid employment is to be preferred.

The modern choice has of course been to relegate food production to paid labourers under the direction of a class of men who had originally been self-supporting peasants but were now in the process of becoming out-

door factory overseers. Remnants of the old peasant system survived in spite of every discouragement, however, and in the teeth of an almost world-wide swing towards cash-cropping and paid employment.

Year after year, century after century, the peasant ploughs his patient furrow across the world. But the men without land are swept to and fro like seaweed wrenched from its moorings by a storm. Their heads spin giddily under the pressure of a thousand fears and fancies. "Greece and Turkey would march against Bulgaria, Yugoslavia against Hungary," proclaims a current analysis of the international scene. It reads like a Phillips Oppenheim novel. Geographical grouping was serviceable enough in the days when Wessex marched against Mercia, but its usefulness as a rallying agent is now outworn. Other links between people fill the place once occupied by patriotism. Finance has for long snapped its fingers at frontiers. Intellectuals and scientific workers have formed their own international groups. Sport is making great efforts to get clear of tiresome political encumbrances. Even the United Nations, painfully steering between complexity and chaos, seems to be able to secure results only when groupings other than nations are at work. But the supremely international figure, the quiet man behind the plough, is overlooked—as yet.

The resistance movements, it is true, are growing increasingly formidable. In the anti-Communist bloc, for instance, a chronic witch-hunt is in progress, intended to root out those of its citizens who are obviously disinclined to march against a partly geographical, partly ideological, enemy.

But the ideological struggle itself is becoming out-of-date. The massing of workers against bosses presupposed an attractive share-out when at last the bosses had been overthrown. Today, thanks to the exploitative economy of the Industrial Revolution, the earth is no longer a perpetual cornucopia. The big prizes have already been won.

In the meantime the technique of destruction has made unprecedented advances.

Man removed from his land is cut off from his full nourishment. Without the responsibilities of guardianship he cannot appreciate the continuity of life. He strives desperately to find a compensatory purpose. The hunger of the body for adequate nourishment, of the soul for self-assertion—these are the unseen forces behind the malignance of the ambush, the frenzied surge of demonstrators and the fateful tramp of marching men.

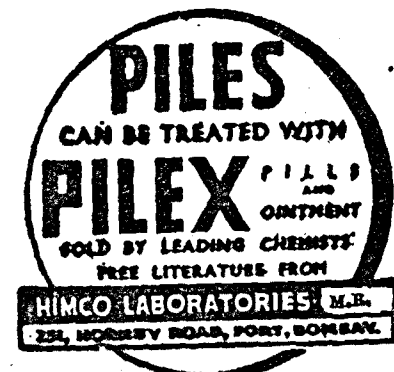
The Land Problem

In the course of an article in *The National Christian Council Review* dealing with national issues C. Arangaden discusses the land problem:

The most insistent demand for justice in a predominantly agricultural country like ours is in respect of land. Land has been one of the most abused things in India. It was made to function and still has not ceased from functioning as a component of a feudal-capitalist system of power. Such systems have claimed sanctity based upon the fact of historical possession. Possession bases itself upon factors like conquest, robbery, grants from rulers, acquisition by purchase, inheritance and so on. The alienation of vast tracts of rich tribal land to cunning and unscrupulous intruders in these areas was nothing but day-light robbery. British conquest and the economic policy it imposed upon India was largely responsible for the destruction of indigenous industry and the abnormal and disastrous increase of the agricultural population. Speculation in agricultural land by Indian industrialists and leaders of commerce, the concentration of land in the hands of certain castes in many areas have led to the destruction of the free agricultural class and the swelling of the number of the landless labourer sold into 'wage slavery.'

The land question, then, is to be understood in terms of the conflict between the historical and the real aspect of possession. The Christian is guided in this area of concern by two principles. The first is, 'the earth is the Lord's,' that is, absolute ownership belongs to God alone. The second is, our own ownership is in His behalf. Such ownership is not a private affair; it is a concern of the community and nation. It does not carry with it an absolute right to use, or abuse it. In other words, every man has the right to the land from which he is to draw a subsistence. This is rooted in the order of creation. Land to the tiller is a clear enough Biblical principle, that is, in so far as he is willing and capable of tilling it. It follows from this that the individualistic conception of property with its claim to absolute right of use or disposal, speculation in agricultural land, unqualified rights of inheritance and the like have no sanction in Christianity. The Biblical ideal is of a free peasantry and it remains a postulate of justice in Christianity.

This leads us to a rejection of the communist solution, namely, nationalization and collectivization of land. The official approach has been the abolition of land-lordism with compensation wherever necessary. There are others who oppose compensation altogether. Official land reforms are limited to improving conditions of existing tenure and are heedless of the claims of the vast army of landless labourers. Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan Yagna*, on the other hand, focuses attention upon these forgotten men and their needs. This movement, so long as it proclaims the supremacy of the spiritual over the material and does not lead to problems like further fragmentation of holdings, merits our support. However, it cannot be considered as a substitute for the agrarian reforms promised and deferred so far. Such reforms wait upon comprehensive legislation by the Centre. Such legislation could provoke serious internal strife, and the attitude of high-ranking civil servants, army officers, police and intelligence service men is of crucial importance in any such venture.



Crime and its Cure in India

Crime is on the increase in India as are its population and problems arising out of it. J. K. Soumitri Sharma observes in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

As every one knows every anti-social act is a crime. But it is the result of a series of causes and not of a single one. The four basic needs of man as enunciated by Manu—Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha—can be fulfilled only when man lives as a social being, as a member of a civilised society. Otherwise a jungle man would be an articulate animal at the most. Whenever any of these human urges are interfered with, there is friction and man indulges in the committal of crime. But before anyone is adjudged as a criminal it is the duty of society to understand the situation thoroughly, analyse the effects of climate, food, heredity, education and neighbourhood, economic and political influences and so on, and then devise appropriate means of reclaiming him instead of condemning him and losing him for ever. Quite often, a criminal is forced to become an adjudged professional, as though all the malevolent planets conspire together to make him so.

CRIME AND CLIME

Crime varies with the seasonal and topographical conditions of the place and the environments of the person. Even the types of crime vary with the climatic conditions. Crime in hot countries is usually against an individual, whereas in cold countries, it is against property. In hot countries, the act is mostly impulsive, whereas in cold countries, it is a cold-blooded design, well laid out and executed, and even on organisational magnitude. In warm countries, we find a slight provocation causing exchange of fists and burning of tram cars and juktas. In cold countries even a pistol is aimed with a calm hand, a steady nerve and a pre-plan. In tropical countries such as ours, the climate exhausts the man, lessens his food consumption and makes him docile and thus minimises the incidence of crime. Whereas in cold countries, heavy alcoholic drinking, meat eating and sex indulgence contribute much and prompt the man for thrills and adventures and thus cause an enormity of crime.

CRIME AND HUMAN ELEMENT

Is criminality a hereditary trait? Biologists hold strongly that tendencies are transmitted from parents to children. A child born of a drunkard certainly craves for alcohol, and can be offset only by cautious up-bring-

ing. Weak children born of weak parents are known to possess more criminal tendencies than normal ones. It is said that deficiency of pineal gland produces sub-human mentality; and excess of adrenals causes aggressiveness; and a disproportionate prostate gland results in sexual abnormalities. That is how some persons are said to be a prey to theftomania even in their later years of responsible status in society.

CRIME AND ENVIRONMENTS

More than the man or the climate, it is the social environments that contribute to crime most. It is the family, the school, the associates and the playground that affect a boy's set-up and his future career. Grinding poverty and distress in family, many a time give room for prostitution, theft, and fraud which are necessarily the worst crimes. Many a time boys and girls are trained for it. Once a boy succeeds in picking pockets and goes unsuspected, he gets emboldened and dares for bigger crimes. For grown-ups there are any number of incentives for crime, especially in big cities. Large cities throughout the world are the ant-hills of crime. It is the cities that give shelter to the perpetrators, whose identity can be easily camouflaged in the surging crowd.

PROMOTERS OF CRIME

Many a modern Indian film glorifies six immoralities, provokes carnal appetites, encourages vagabondism and lawlessness and somehow grudgingly shows virtue all along fighting hard and quite often ending in a losing battle. Young minds are allured by the daredevil stunts staged on the screen. Many such movie-makers in our land, who manufacture box office hits and bloat their purses are not only passed off as great artists and directors but are claimed as the choicest citizens of our land of culture. In reality they are the parents for the propagation and multiplication of crime. Another agency is the cheap literature that is being voraciously swallowed by our present educated young men and women in the shape of night-reading booklets and journals. There are hundreds of magazines distributing immorality in the garb of catering sex education; and our young generation must specially beware of them, because they are responsible for vitiating the mind beyond repair, if not beyond repentance, and thus destroying the very roots of our great culture.

CRIME VERSUS DETECTION

Crime varies with time, purpose and circumstances. For, after all, it is the society that determines the crime. Ordinarily robbery is a crime. But if a Shivaji does it to build up his armies and to liberate his motherland, or a Stalin does it for the sake of building up his Party, they are deemed as meritorious acts. Normally murder

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এতদিন পর্যন্ত ভারতীয় কোনো ভাষায় ক্যানসার রোগের
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সম্পর্কে ভারতবর্ষে ইহাই সর্বপ্রথম নিবান ও চিকিৎসা সম্বলিত পুঁজি
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প্রাপ্তিস্থান :—রাজবৈদ্য আয়ুর্বেদ ভবন।

১৭২নং বহুবাজার স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা—১২

is the worst crime. But if the same person commits good many murders in an enemy camp, it is a heroic feat. One would even bless one's own country's bombers to shower hell and fire over the enemy territories. In some countries prostitution is a crime and in some it is not. In olden days hand would be cut off for a simple theft. But under the present judicial set up-up, even a murderer is set at large for want of evidence.

As are the variations in crime, so are its detection too. In days past, large footprints were necessary clues. Sherlock Holmes was a hypnotic word for detectives. But in this scientific age, precision and surety of detection have reached astounding proportions. The methods are such that even if a top rank gangster like Bhupat has crossed the continents, spanned the seas and is hiding in a cave in a remote corner of the globe, still he can be surely caught beyond scope of escape. But the criminals also being contemporary products of the same stock of society, resort to more ingenious ways of perpetrating the crime. Iron safes and safety rooms are left out safe. And open day light hold-ups at Bank doors and streets have come into play. Science and intelligence are no monopoly of the police alone. Criminals also have easy access to them.

REPRISAL THE BASIS OF PUNISHMENT

Since the day man has started living as a social being, crime has existed and punishment also is being given in a variety of ways. No small amount of human genius has been spent to find novel and unique ways of torture. Slow death on the oil-mill, boiling alive in water or oil, tearing the body by elephants, peeling off the skin, sewing up in animal skin, nailing on the cross, these and many other forms have been tried to get rid of not only the criminal but the crime itself for ever. But crime has persisted. Retaliation for wrong still prevails. Vengeance still forms the foundation of Penal Law. Reprisal is still its guiding principle.

MODERN REFORMS

But now rapid changes have been taking place to reclaim an offender into society and to prevent crime. The aim of punishment now is to recondition the prisoner's personality. Especially in the West and even in Japan, the prisoner is being trained in regular habits with a view to establishing harmony in his life. He is given good comforts of life and put under proper systematic daily routine. Bathing, exercise, regular times for food, hard but interesting vocational work and adequate rest and plenty of literature to improve himself will certainly put him on right lines. There are a lot of incentives for self-improvement and character-building. In fact, he is so well reconditioned that he returns to the world fully equipped for a new and reformed mode of living. Even the word 'prison' is discarded and is called penitentiary and reformatory. Prisoners are called inmates. Cells and barracks no more give the impression of cages and dungeons. Juvenile delinquents are even better treated with care and compassion. For, a juvenile delinquent of today, if left uncared, will be the confirmed criminal of to-morrow. In case an offender sins against a society or vice versa, both are losers. In most of the cases of young delinquents, the causes that lead to crime are beyond their control. As such, a little attention on the part of society is enough to put them on the right track. So in the West, most of these potential criminals are being reclaimed into society with success.

IT IS NEVER TOO LATE TO MEND

The subject of juvenile delinquency is so vast and developed that for want of space, I shall confine only to this much that it still requires greater attention of our society and the Government to locate them and recondition them so that they will be useful citizens. Hundreds of vagabonds are being still manufactured in theatres and by-lanes of our big cities. Jails have got but only a flavour touch of reformatories. High stone walls, enclosed corridors, dingy cells, steel-bars and locks, bug vermin and company unlimited, hard and moist floor, coarse mat, smelling bed covering, most nauseating uniform, wooden badge and the buffoon's cap, insufficient and non-nutritious food, long queue even for latrines, rod beating, hanging by arms, and a hundred and one variety of tortures at the hands of the hard-boiled warders, absence of magazines, books or any literature or intelligent pastime are still the horrid marks of ordinary prisons in India to-day. They are still a hell on earth, where those who enter should leave hope behind.

Knowing full well that any amount of penal laws and jails cannot mitigate the incidence of crime, let our people try to train themselves and their children on the basis of our great culture and most of the causes of crime will be certainly eradicated from our glorious land.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

How Jews Built the Movie Industry

II

During the twenties Warner Brothers found itself on the down-grade, for with no controlled exhibition outlets of its own, even a superior producing company could not live. At that time the Western Electric Company had just developed its first motion picture sound equipment, and of all the leading companies only Warners was willing to try it. Sound had an amazing restorative effect. Warner Brothers became the only movie company, with the exception of Loew's, that was able to survive the depression without financial reorganization.

Mr. Warner, Sr., was a Polish-Jewish farmer who had come to America in 1883 and settled in Ohio. Harry, the oldest son, had started his business career as a shoemaker. Several years later he went to work for the Armour Meat Packing Company. His brothers Abe and Sam had other ideas, however; they toured the country exhibiting their single print of "The Great Train Robbery." Barnstorming was profitable enough to enable them to buy a nickelodeon in Newcastle, Pennsylvania, where Harry joined them. By 1917 the Warners had developed a successful movie exchange.

That year James Gerard published his *My Four Years in Germany*. With characteristic enterprise Harry Warner secured the screen rights and the sensational film of Gerard's experiences, grossing nearly one million dollars, made the Warners tonight producers. This picture also established the Warner Brothers pattern. Their products, generally based upon the events of the day, became what were called topic-snatchers.

Hollywood's financial terrain was exceedingly rough, and it needed Waddill Catchings, the ever-optimistic partner of Goldman Sachs, to take the Warners in hand and teach them how to become important movie magnates. But for the advent of sound, Warner Brothers would never have reached the top of a brawling competitive industry.

It was Sam Warner who insisted that the company gamble on the Western Electric's sound device. Most of the motion picture firms had refused to have anything to do with the new gadget. Warners obtained an exclusive license to the device, in return for which they agreed to sell 2,400 complete theatre sound-equipment systems for Electrical Research Products, Inc., the Telephone company's subsidiary. Then came the remarkable "Jazz Singer" and all the film companies and theatres clamored for equipment. ERPI promptly cancelled its exclusive contract with Warner and sold equipment to all comers. Today, one of Harry Warner's pet antipathies is the telephone.

The Warner boys quickly realized that they would have to control their own outlets if they were to stay in business. From 1928 to 1930 they bought as many theatres as they could and with the acquisition of the powerful Stanley circuit reached their goal. Selling debentures and common stock, they built up a chain of over 500 theatres. Music publishing firms, a radio factory and a lithographing plant were among some of their more curious purchases.

Becoming adept in high finance, Warners' stock manipulations were brilliant enough to dazzle the most jaded of Wall Street operators. During the twenties, stock was sold to an investment-mad public through Renraw, the Warner Brothers' personal holding company. Renraw (the family name written backwards) then lent the proceeds, interest free, to Warner Brothers, thus circumventing the bankers. But the Warners always held on to the voting stock—no one was going to tell them how to run their own business.

Radio Corporation of America also tried to market sound equipment for movies, but the field had already been quickly gobbled up by Western Electric. Within a year after Warners proved the practicability of sound pictures, Western Electric had exclusive contracts with 90 per cent of the movie firms. The only alternative for RCA was to create its own movie empire. A holding company, the RKO Corporation, was formed, with control

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divided between RCA, the Atlas Corporation and Rockefeller Center, Inc. RKO Pictures was organized as the producing subsidiary and the Keith-Orpheum theatre chain became the exhibiting outlet. Here was a motion picture giant built exclusively by financiers whose sole motive was to exploit a new technological device.

Between 1927 and 1935 the industry was rocked by a struggle to control the patents for sound equipment. ERPI signed long term contracts with Loew's, Paramount, United Artists and Universal. Only 95 theatres in the country had other than Western Electric reproducing apparatus, while 1,946 theatres had Western Electric equipment. RCA seemed to have been virtually eliminated from the field; only the large RKO chain used its sound devices.

RCA finally filed an anti-trust suit against the Telephone company interests and in 1935 a peaceful agreement was signed to give RCA new rights in the sound-equipment business. This legal battle was in the last analysis fought by the two financial giants of American industry—the Morgan and the Rockefeller empires—who now control motion pictures, sound equipment and monetary sponsorship having assured them a monopoly beyond the wildest dreams of the old Motion Pictures Patents Company of 1909.

The famous case of William Fox well illustrates the power of finance in the motion picture industry. Fox held the American rights to Tri-Ergon, a European sound system; this was dangerous competition for Western Electric. Patent-infringement suits and anti-trust charges, however, did not trouble the Fox Corporation. Fox continued to expand and at one time he virtually dominated the motion picture industry in America. But even he could not withstand the determined onslaught of the Telephone interests.

Fox was born of Jewish immigrants from Hungary. His father earned a meager livelihood selling home-made shoe polish on New York's East Side. Young Fox started out in a cleaning and dyeing establishment at \$17 a week. One day in 1904 he took the \$1,600 he had saved and bought a movie house in Brooklyn. From then on he went ahead steadily in the budding industry, became one of the first to defy the old patent pool, launched into production, and gradually expanded his theatre holdings.

In 1927 Fox began to gobble up theatre chains; in 1929 he secured control of Lowe's and Baumont British. But these operations required financing, whereupon Halsey, Stuart and Co., an investment banking firm with Western Electric connections, extended the necessary assistance in the form of short-term loans. Then came the 1929 crash. When Fox tried to renew his loans the bankers insisted that he relinquish control of his company. Fox sought aid from other sources, but no other banker seemed willing to oppose the house of Morgan.

In the end Fox was forced to sell his holdings to H. L. Clarke, an L. S. J. associate, for \$18 million. Until a few years ago the Chase National Bank was the largest stockholder in the Fox films.

The motion picture industry, dominated by the "Big Five"—Paramount, Loew's, Twentieth Century Fox, Warner Brothers and RKO—is now very much concerned with the competition of television and the resultant impact on the box office. The lush days of 1946, when any strip of film made money, are over. The movie makers, more than ever, insist that only "high value" entertainment will draw people away from their comfortable parlors into the motion picture houses: high value here means box office appeal.

The most profitable pictures are those that successfully transfer the soap opera to the screen: Universal's *Pa and Ma Kettle* series, which go on as interminably as the Hardy pictures, bring a fantastically high return to its maker. On the other hand, the prestige film becomes the tail end of a double feature. While cutting overhead costs as drastically as possible, Hollywood makes more pictures in an effort to recapture an audience that is now seeking entertainment elsewhere. This in turn reinforces the sure fire cycle formula and strengthens the hold of "business men" on the industry.

Of the old timers, there are few still in control. Only in Loew's, where Nicholas Schneek still rules, and in Warner Brothers, do the original Jewish interests still predominate. Of ten Paramount directors, only two are Jewish as compared with 12 out of 19 in 1927. Twentieth Century Fox is now controlled by non-Jewish personnel and even in Loew's the number of non-Jewish officers and directors is greater today than in 1927.

As in most modern corporations, stock ownership is widely dispersed in the movie concerns. There are about 15,000 stockholders in Loew's and of the twenty largest holders, four are officers. Their ownership, however, is but four per cent of the stock. Stock ownership in Warner Brothers is also dispersed, as it is in Paramount. The significant element in the financial structure of the movie companies is the large proportion of borrowed capital.

The history of the movies exemplifies what happens in a now successful one time disreputable industry. Jewish entrepreneurs, after demonstrating the hard headed practicality of their dreams, are compelled to surrender their leadership to financiers. Patent control, debt financing and a huge investment in fixed capital demand steady returns. Business conservatism dictates stereotyped products that will assure that income; experimentation is too risky. In motion pictures, the one industry that affects educational and cultural values more than any other, this compels the immaturity to which we have become accustomed. *Jewish Frontier*, July, 1953.

New Zealand's Place in World Trade

D. P. Taylor, M.Com., delivers the Henry Morley Lecture, as published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 7th August, 1953:

Nearly 120 years ago, from this very street where we are now meeting, a man of some stature in New Zealand's history published a book entitled *The British Colonization of New Zealand*. The man, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was the founder of the New Zealand Company and was largely responsible for the decision of the British Government, in 1840, to annex New Zealand as a British Colony. The New Zealand Company and the somewhat similar associations which settled Canterbury and Otago were not commercial enterprises designed to show a profit for their organizers, but nevertheless behind the formulation of these schemes lay the prospect that the new country would export products of use to the old and would grow to play an important part in the pattern of British world trade.

Wakefield's book was designed to persuade government and public opinion in favour of the early annexation of New Zealand, and it is significant that he laid great stress on the possibility of developing trade with the proposed colony. In the course of our survey of New Zealand's trading position, we shall have occasion to look at Wakefield's ideas and see how they have worked out in the passage of time; but it is sufficient at this point to take note of the fact that New Zealand's present very close association with the United Kingdom began, to some extent, through the possibilities of trade and, as will be seen as we go on, the trading link has brought our two countries closer and closer together as the years have gone by.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF NEW ZEALAND'S TRADE

The title of this lecture—"New Zealand's Place in World Trade"—may raise doubts in some minds and some might say that so small a country has such a minor share of world trade that it is rather grandiloquent to speak of her as having a place in world trade at all. Indeed, when comparison is made with the massive trade figures of the United Kingdom, it must be admitted that New Zealand's total overseas trade is small. Nevertheless, there are some unique features about New Zealand trade which are of interest not only to professional economists but also to the merchants, manufacturers and the general public of this country. The British people, indeed, are vitally concerned with New Zealand, for we supply such a large proportion of their rations of butter, meat and cheese.

The outstanding feature is that New Zealand has the greatest value of trade per head of population, of any

country in the world. In 1951 our total visible trade, imports and exports, amounted to \$454 million, or £233 10s. od. per head. The comparative United Kingdom figures were \$6,620 million, or £131 10s. od. per head; so it will be seen that even if our total trade volume is relatively small we do have a more vital interest in international trade than most countries. The second feature is that, for its overseas income, New Zealand depends upon the export of a few agricultural commodities directed largely to a single market. The United Kingdom market is so important that scarcely any aspect of our trade can be discussed without reference to the trade relationship between the two countries. We have been linked contractually by preferential tariffs and by bulk purchase agreements for three of our chief exports—butter, cheese and meat—for a number of years. These agreements have aimed at producing stability, but in a period of severe fluctuations, such as we have experienced since the last war, bulk purchase agreements bring problem for both

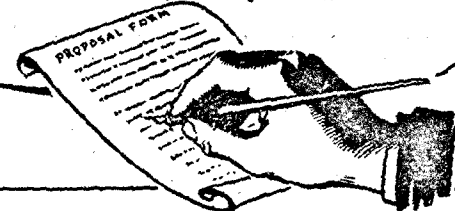
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buyer and seller. These problems will be touched on later.

A remarkable illustration of the closeness of the economic ties between New Zealand and this country was provided a few months ago when the New Zealand Arbitration Court decided against a general increase in wages, stating in its judgment that while the economic and financial position of the United Kingdom was so perilous a substantial increase in wages was undesirable. Surely few countries have ever consciously conducted their own internal financial policies so positively to avoid placing strain on a trading partner's economy.

A third unique feature arises from the fact that there has been practically no change in our main source of income from the same products for the past fifty years. This does not mean, however, that the economy is static. Agricultural output and secondary industries show continuous development. Finally, New Zealand provides a very interesting economic illustration of a country entirely dependent on the export of primary products for its earnings of overseas exchanges, whose internal financial position is consequently vulnerable to fluctuations in the prices of these products, but one which is making a real effort to ensure some stability in the face of these difficulties. Nevertheless, it has been well said that the export market is the determining factor of New Zealand's economic life. Before studying this economic life in greater detail, it might be helpful to consider briefly New Zealand's geographical position.

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE

New Zealand consists of two main islands with a total area a little greater than the United Kingdom. Situated in the South West Pacific, in temperate latitudes, it has a climate well suited to agriculture on the European pattern. Its distance from other land masses, its narrow size, high mountain ranges and long coastlines lend themselves to plentiful rainfall but, nevertheless, there is generous sunshine giving suitable soil temperatures as well and the combination of the two leads to the provision of New Zealand's chief asset which is just plain, but believe me, very important, grass. Of the country's 66 million acres, 43 million are farmland, of which three quarters are in grass. New Zealand's dependence on good growth of grass is shown in the fact that we export well over £200 million of grass each year in the form of butter, meat and cheese. New Zealand farmers have been described as the best grass farmers in the world and certainly the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Agricultural University Colleges have done much to ensure that this description remains true. New Zealanders have pioneered in the practice of extensive application of phosphatic fertilizers and the development of grasses and clovers for the efficient use of these fertilizers. We were one of the first countries to use the aeroplane to distribute fertilizers, particularly in the back hill country, and it may be that we are as far ahead as any other country in the application of this new development. Our Chairman, as a distinguished leader of New Zealand scientific thought, knows well that research is still going on with the principal motive of ensuring that New Zealand's main asset—its agricultural and pastoral industry—continues to progress.

Wakefield and his contemporaries, as his book shows, considered that New Zealand would be an excellent farming country and would also provide abundant timber and flax. They anticipated that it would have a rich fishing industry and be the centre of an important whaling and sealing industry. They were quite confident that New Zealand would provide a plentiful supply of minerals and they even went so far as to imagine that it might in future become not only a Britain of the south in social patterns but, a highly developed manufacturing and

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trading country occupying the place of Britain with Europe in the South Pacific and directing its trade to Australia and the Far East. New Zealand history is yet too short to write off this destiny completely but it seems unlikely, for Wakefield and many of his contemporaries miscalculated the country's resources. They were confident that the country had great mineral wealth which would provide the foundations for thriving manufacturing industries, whereas, in fact, New Zealand lacks supplies of most useful metals. The early forecasts were, of course, correct about New Zealand's future as a farming country, although flax and timber have proved secondary products compared with the huge exports of wool, meat, butter and cheese. But then Wakefield could not foresee the immense contribution which refrigeration was to make to New Zealand's economy in making possible the transport of perishable foodstuffs. Time does not permit a description of the development of refrigeration, which is a story all on its own—nor of the gold rushes which brought wealth and a vigorous population to the country.

GROWING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

From what has been said so far you may have gained the impression, one that is found to be widely held, that New Zealand is simply one great farm. That is, however, far from true, for the internal economy is much more complex. Secondary industries designed to provide many of our demands for consumer goods and light capital equipment have of recent years made rapid progress.

In 1881 the only industries with a total capital above £200,000 were those connected with saw-milling, gas-works, grain milling, brewing, printing and coal mining, but others worth noting and which have subsequently grown in importance are the woollen footwear and colthing industries, and the manufacture of agricultural implements. By 1890 frozen meat production had become the largest of our secondary industries, but apart from this change there had not been much alteration in the pattern of secondary development, although there had been substantial increases in the capital of established concerns. During the Second World War, when United Kingdom factories were turned over almost entirely to war production and New Zealand herself was facing possible invasion from the North Pacific, it was necessary to transform and expand our factories to produce large quantities of Service equipment, including cloth, small arms, Bren gun carriers, mortars and bombs. The small ship-building industry was also enlarged to turn out numbers of small naval craft; and thus, at the war's end New Zealand had a greatly extended manufacturing capacity available for peace-time production, and, moreover, precision engineering had been established.

A stimulus of a different kind was given in the depression years of the early 1930s. New Zealand suffered almost as badly as any other country, for we are, as has been pointed out, heavily dependent on exports of farm products for our overseas income and internal prosperity. In the depression, prices paid for New Zealand primary products were so low that the whole financial structure of the country was in danger of collapse. Unemployment was heavy and many believed that the only way to ensure that New Zealand was never again subjected to such dire social distress was to provide work in secondary industries so that we should never again be so entirely at the mercy of fluctuations in world prices for our primary products. Consequently Parliament sought means of stimulating new industries, but before much had been done New Zealand began to face a severe shortage of overseas exchange, and at end of 1938 it was considered necessary to introduce import

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control to ensure that what overseas funds we had were spent on buying essential goods and equipment. The protective effects of import controls are well known and there is no doubt that they did shelter New Zealand manufacturers and assisted the expansion which took place in the war and post-war years.

To-day New Zealand industries not only consist of woollen mills, saw-mills, clothing factories and footwear factories but include the manufacture of tyres, plastics, paints, radios, refrigerators, electrical equipment, car assembly and kraft paper manufacture; indeed, most types of light engineering are now undertaken in New Zealand. The shortage of base metals and the limited domestic market provided by a population of two million people have so far precluded the establishment of heavier industries.

The trend toward greater self-sufficiency for many consumer goods will undoubtedly continue but it is not anticipated that this trend will affect the volume of imports, although these will consist more and more of the heavier types of goods and equipment we cannot yet make ourselves. We do not export many manufactured goods, other than processed foodstuffs and for decades to come the bulk of our exports will remain primary products, although an important contribution may come from industries, such as electro-chemical industries, based upon supplies of cheap electric power.

The U. S. National Labor Relations Board in 1952

In the United States, the National Labor Relations Board, a 5-member commission operating under the Management-Labor Relations Act, has two major responsibilities: to hear and render decisions on charges of unfair labor practices brought to its attention by management or labor; to conduct elections to determine who (if any) union workers wish to designate as their representative for collective bargaining purposes.

Operating under new streamlined procedures, the Board conducted the largest number of representation elections in its 17-year history, according to the NLRB's Annual Report covering fiscal year 1952. The 6,866 elections which the board held represented a 5 percent increase over fiscal year 1951. Nearly 800,000 employees were eligible to vote in these secret ballot elections which determined whether or not and by which union they wished to be represented in bargaining with their employers.

This stepped-up activity stemmed, in part, from a board decision to give representation cases precedence over cases involving unfair labor practices. At the same time, the board expedited processing of representation cases by simplifying some procedures.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations unions competed for recognition in 722 elections; AFL unions won 337 of these elections, CIO unions 298, and unaffiliated unions 12. The workers voted against union representation in 75 elections. Statistics such as these recently prompted the AFL and the CIO to propose a 2-year pact, effective January 1, 1954, which forbids the raiding of employees in an established local which has a contract with an employer or certification by the NLRB. The no-raid pact, however, does not cover the subject of rival claims to units of unorganized workers.

AFL unions won 3,089 of the 4,711 representation elections in which they participated. Unions affiliated with the CIO won 1,404 of the 2,502 elections in which they were involved. Unaffiliated unions won 60 per cent of the 776 elections in which they sought representation.

The board, acting on petitions filed by employees seeking to have their bargaining agent decertified, conducted 101 such polls. In 74 of these elections, the representatives involved were decertified; unions won the remaining 27 elections. The provision for decertification elections did not appear in the earlier Wagner Act which was amended in 1947 by the Labor-Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley law.).

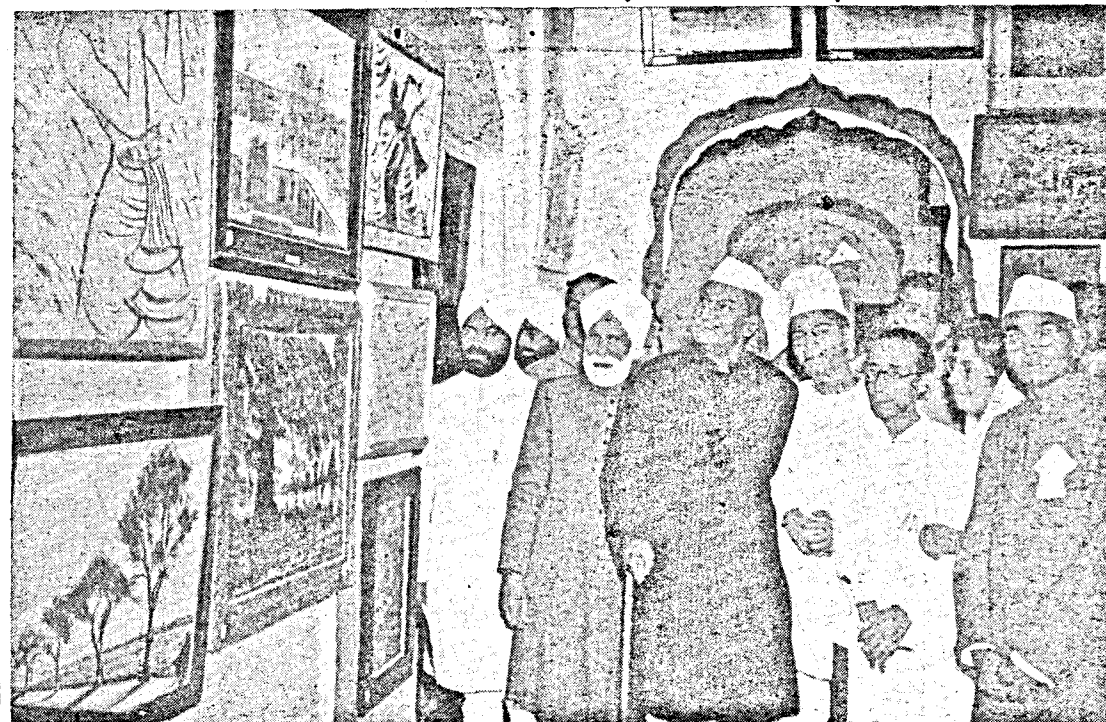
The number of charges of unfair labor practices filed with the board in fiscal year 1952, increased slightly (4 percent) over last year. Seventy-nine percent of the 5,454 unfair labor charges were made against employers; the remaining 21 percent against unions. Only 13 percent of the cases required a trial before the board members.

Employers were most often charged with having discriminated against employees for participating in union activities; next in importance were charges against employers for refusal to bargain in good faith. Unions were most commonly charged with having caused or attempted to cause employers to discriminate against employees for failing to become union members; illegal restraint or coercion of employees in the exercise of their right to engage in union activity or to refrain from it was the next most common charge against unions.

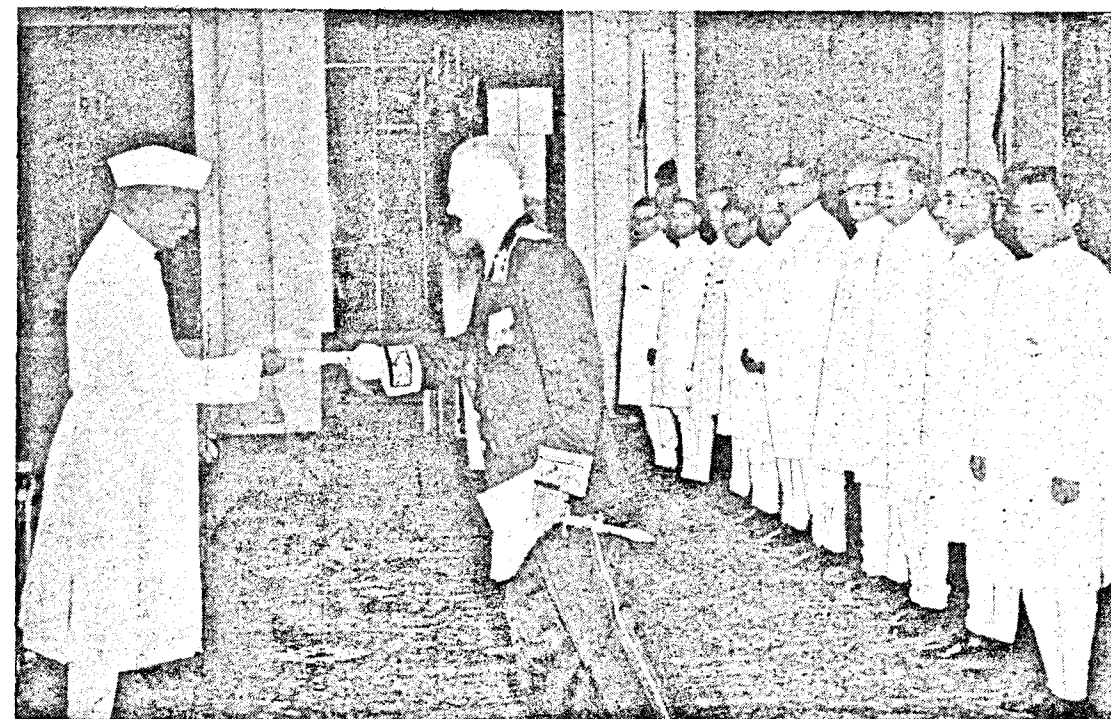
Employers charged with unfair labor practices took remedial action in 1,263 cases during fiscal year 1952; in the vast majority of these cases the employer took this action by agreement rather than by NLRB or court order. In most cases the employer posted a notice within 60 days on the employee bulletin board stating that he would no longer continue the unfair labor practice with which he had been charged. Other employer remedial action included withdrawing recognition or assistance from a company-dominated union; disestablishing such unions; placing workers on a preferential hiring list; and bargaining collectively with employees. In addition, employers offered 1,801 workers reinstatement to their jobs and paid back-pay awards of over \$1.3 million to 2,734 employees.

Unions undertook remedial action in 297 unfair labor practices cases; in more than half these cases the action was taken by agreement of all parties and not NLRB or court order. As was the case with employers, unions most often posted notices on employee bulletin boards indicating they would cease the unfair labor practice. Unions also agreed to cease requiring employers to give them assistance and, in 14 instances, agreed to bargain collectively with employers. Back-pay awards of \$23,910 were made by unions to 87 workers.

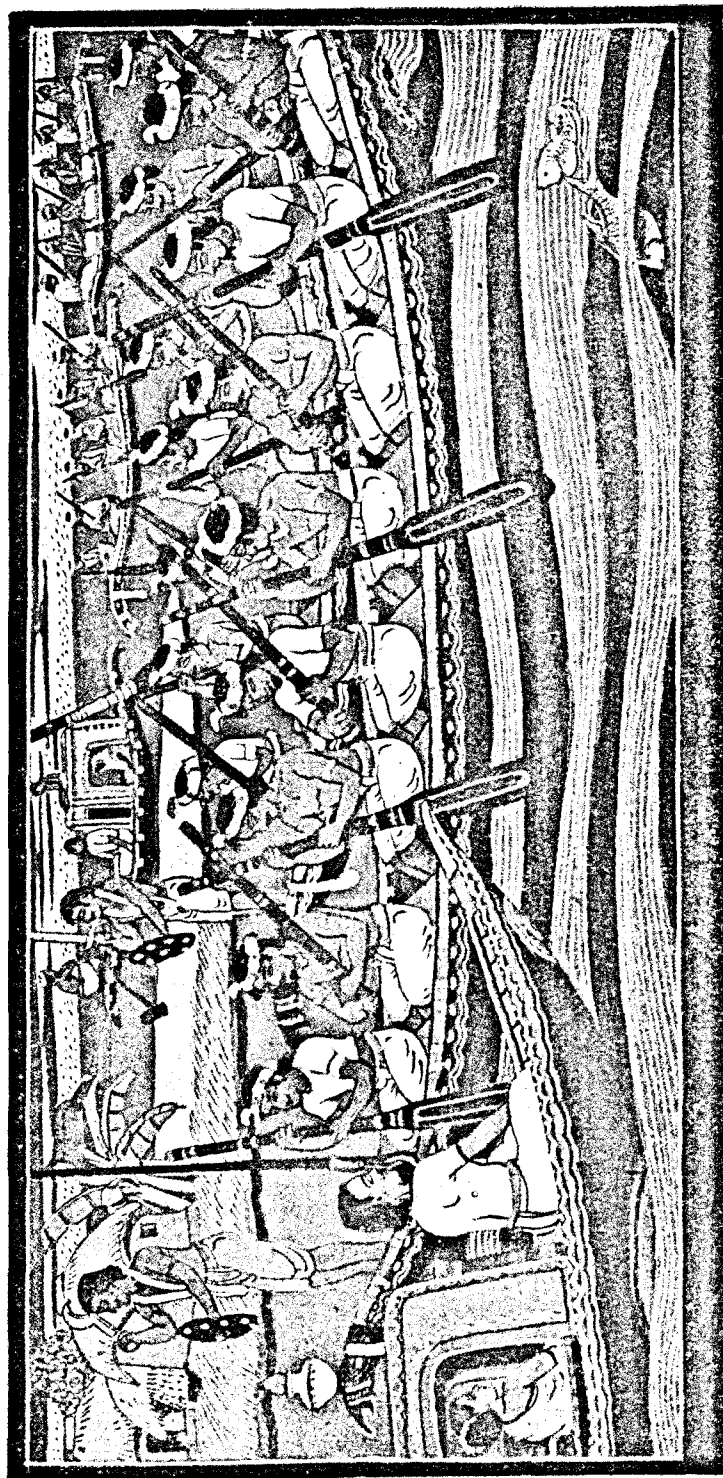
The *New York Times*, commenting editorially on the NLRB's 17th Annual Report, noted: "Apparently the election process is becoming more and more acceptable to employers and employees as an integral part of peaceful industrial relations. Its acceptability is no doubt enhanced by the increasing tempo with which such elections are being processed. . . . The NLRB is to be commended for speeding up its procedure and, to a measurable extent, reducing the incidence of industrial conflict."—*American Labor Review*.



President Rajendra Prasad performed the opening ceremony of the Silver Jubilee Exhibition of the Indian Academy of Fine Arts at Amritsar, on October 30, 1953



Mr. M. A. Menshikov, Ambassador-designate of the USSR to India, presenting his credentials to President Rajendra Prasad, at a ceremony held at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on Nov. 2



BOAT RACE
By Niharanjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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NOTES

The Congress in West Bengal

The next All-India session of the Congress is going to be held in West Bengal. To be exact, it is going to be "celebrated" at the site of the satellite township of Kalyani, at a distance of approximately 40 miles from Calcutta.

We have no doubt that the session will be held with the glitter and pomp of a durbar, in line with what was done at Jaipur and Hyderabad. And further the plans for Kalyani will receive some minor fillip in the way of advertisement and very partial completion, free of charge, of certain conveniences, such as drainage, water supply and electricity connections. But what would it achieve in the way of rehabilitating the Congress in the hearts of the people? That is the vital question, though it seems to have been lost sight of by our Gods That are Failing.

The W.B.P.C.C. issued a few posters during the bye-elections, stating that the Congress was born in Bengal. This is undoubtedly a fact, undeniable by even those of the ilk of Pattabhi Sitaramayya. But today the Congress stands a good chance of being regarded as a stranger and an impostor in the province and city of its nativity. Why should it be thus, is the question we ask with all the emphasis at our command.

It cannot be denied that the Congress is being looked upon with open hostility by quite a considerable section of our younger generation. And that its acts of omission and commission are viewed with deep disappointment tinged with strong resentment by the vast majority of the older and more thoughtful portion of the public. This is particularly true of Calcutta, and, if timely consideration be not given, this will be true of all West Bengal.

That the Congress Government is out-of-contact with the people, was amply demonstrated during the July disturbances. Matters have improved somewhat since then, but no substantial progress has been registered, as was fully evident during the South-East Calcutta Parliamentary bye-election, of which the result came out on November 27. In that the Communist candidate Mr. Sadhan Gupta was elected, having secured 58,211 votes, the Congress candidate Dr. Radhabinod Pal securing 36,319 votes. The other candidates, Dr. Bhupal Bose of the Forward Bloc and Mr. J. P. Mitter of the Jan Sangh, forfeited their deposits having got only 5,415 and 5,431 votes respectively. The Congress thus was defeated by a majority of nearly 22,000 votes, in the city of its birth.

That Communism *per se* is not a fighting force all over West Bengal yet, was demonstrated, however, in the other bye-election held simultaneously in Nawadwip-Krishnagore Parliamentary Constituency. In this the Congress candidate Srimati Ila Pal Chowdhury defeated her Communist rival Mr. Sushil Chatterji by over 42,000 votes having secured 69,636 votes to the 27,455 votes of her Communist rival. The P.S.P. candidate, Sri Mihir Lal Chatterjee, came a bad third with 19,802 votes, as was expected.

Srimati Ila Pal Chowdhury is an absolute newcomer in the public life of West Bengal, despite all that has been published in the daily press. She has not had any contact with any phase of public activities until very recently. All the more praise is due to her for her successful election campaign. Most probably she fought the campaign with the enthusiasm of a new-comer, unfettered by the shortcomings and blemishes that have accrued to most Congressmen. Praise is also due to the Congressmen who carried on

the campaign over the scattered and difficult terrain of a countryside constituency.

Dr. Radhabinod Pal is a man of high standing in public esteem, being a jurist of international standing and unsullied reputation. The constituency is compact and easy of approach and within easy reach of the headquarters of the W.B.P.C.C. And yet he suffered a miserable defeat!

It is unanimously agreed amongst all trained observers that the Congress lost by sheer default. There was no campaign in evidence anywhere. Indeed a veteran journalist with a great deal of experience of electioneering in Calcutta said he had never seen a Congress candidate being let down like this.

Now that the expectations and excitement in the South-East Calcutta election have died down, a dispassionate view should be taken as to where the parties stand. Those who voted against the Congress are not all anti-Congress. They say thus:

"We are not anti-Congress, but we do not see eye to eye with some of the policies of the premier party. We know that the Congress enjoys the majority in the Union Parliament, and one more member will not in any way alter its position. But we want to register our protest on this occasion against its present policies. The Communists are a minority in the Legislature and one more member will not make it a majority party. Still we must vote for its candidate and this is just a protest and warning too that if the Congress does not make amends, it will have to lose many more seats in the next election."

But what about the leftist parties (other than the Communists)? This election may be taken as a pointer that in no distant future they are destined to die a natural death unless they awaken to realities. In the last general election some of these leftist parties formed an entente with the Communists under the name of the USO. At that time the Communists were still to a certain extent handicapped with their war-memories. Naturally they welcomed the entente. But they knew full well that it was just a patchwork pact to be broken as soon as their purpose was served. And they broke the entente soon after the general election.

The position is now altered. The so-called leftist parties are today practically without organisation, without strong, clear-cut policies and ideologies, and lastly, without resources. These splinter groups and organisations are now compelled to play a second fiddle to the Communist party, seemingly only to delay their elimination from the political arena of India. During the last tram strike they tried to make capital out of the agitation and to lay the foundation for this election thereby. They are now disillusioned, but they should have foreseen this at that time. At their cost the Communists have won, because they are a strongly organised party. Sri Silbhadrā Yajee is now alarmed at the future prospect of his party. He says that the Forward Bloc did not hold many meetings in support

of their candidate. But that is poor consolation and a paltry defence too. The Forward Bloc did its best and their defeat was just inevitable under the circumstances.

The next general election will be fought between the two major parties—Congress and the Communists. The other leftist parties will have to join either of these parties or will go the way of political extinction, unless they see reason. The P.S.P. which is by no means a splinter group has lost not only both the elections, but a very considerable amount of prestige. And for that they have to thank their Calcutta executives, who thought they could win the elections as fellow-travellers. If the P.S.P. wants to survive in West Bengal, it should start with a searching enquiry into the workings of its party-organisation here.

Congress Reverses in U.P. Civic Elections

The Congress has suffered a surprising defeat in the recently held civic elections in Uttar Pradesh. As the *People* writes, the civic elections had been described as 'miniature' general elections. Though the Congress still topped the list in numbers of seats secured "the fact remains that the Congress has suffered heavy and unexpected reverses," writes the special correspondent of the *People* in Lucknow. The correspondent adds: "The *People* prognosticated a resounding victory for the Congress—anything between 75 per cent and 90 per cent. It seems we must eat our words now. We have proved to be bad prophets."

The Correspondent lists the inability of the Congress Parliamentary Board to mobilise its forces to the full as one of the causes of the defeat of the Congress. Growing popular resentment towards the Congress Government was also a contributing factor. The cost of living was rising higher and higher and unemployment was on the upgrade. Added to this was much factionalism inside the Congress itself. Casteism and Communism also had a hand in the Congress defeats, the correspondent writes.

Next to Congress the most successful has been the Citizens' Democratic Front, consisting of Communists and fellow-travellers. Out of 31 seats contested the Front has secured 26 while the Congress could secure only 39 seats by contesting for 106 seats.

According to the statement of Sri Govind Sahai, General Secretary of the Citizens' Democratic Front, on November 9 the party position on that date was as follows:

Party	Seats contested	Seats won	Percentages of seats won to seats contested
Congress	106	39	36.7
C.D.F.	31	26	84
P.S.P.	34	12	35
Hindu Maha Sabha	30	12	40
Independents	112	23	20.5

In the Four bye-elections to the State Assembly, however, the Congress has fared much better by secur-

ing three seats. The Communists failed to gain any seat and the fourth one was annexed by the P.S.P. Two bye-elections were still pending.

Devanagari Script Reform

Two distinct points of view seemed to dominate the deliberations of the Devanagari Script Reform Conferences which sat at Lucknow on November 28, under the chairmanship of Sri S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India.

Dr. Radhakrishnan stressed the need to have a uniform script for Devanagari for the whole country. "Our aim should be simplicity and speed. We should not, of course, make changes simply to suit typing and printing," he said.

The need for simplifying the Nagri Script was recognised by the spokesmen of both sides, Dr. Sampuranand and Kaka Kalelkar, but the former, while initiating the general discussion on the subject, emphasised that the richness and beauty of the language should not be sacrificed for the demands of "mechanisation" of the script. Kaka Kalelkar, however, pointed out that the question was not of retaining or sacrificing the beauty of the language but was that the script should be so simplified as to take the language to the widest section of illiterate masses and further so that the unifying heritage of different languages of India, all of whom were derived from Sanskrit, should emerge.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, in his presidential address, expressed yet another point of view. He said that there should be a uniform script for the whole country but suggested the use of both Roman and Nagri scripts and added that "such co-operative usage (of two scripts) will bring us into intimate relations with our Sanskrit heritage and also European culture." He also warned that displacement of regional scripts by Nagri was not a practical proposition at present.

"We have the same alphabet in many Indian languages but different scripts. We may also arrange the Roman letters in the Sanskrit order. This will help to popularise Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking areas and spread the knowledge of Indian literature, philosophy and religion outside India more easily and effectively.

"It is sometimes suggested that both the Nagari and the Roman scripts may be used for the expression of Sanskrit. Such a co-operative usage will bring us into intimate relations with our Sanskrit heritage from which almost all the languages of India are derived, and European culture. The Roman script adapts itself to expansion by the use of diacritical marks. The Roman script, it is contended, is not European in its origin but is really derived from Asia and is well suited for the expression of Sanskrit. I realise that this suggestion is beyond the scope of the conference

which is convened for the specific purpose of effecting the necessary improvements in the Nagari script to suit the needs of the modern printing press, typewriting and those of the growing politically conscious population.

"The suggestion that one uniform Nagari script should be employed for all the languages of India will have to be considered with great care and caution. The use of the Nagari script for Sanskrit in many parts of the country is not very old. We owe it to the work of the European Sanskritists and the unifying tendencies of the different Universities from 1957 onwards. The first volume of Max Muller's edition of Rig Veda Samhita was published from Oxford in 1854 and the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras which were founded in 1857 started prescribing Sanskrit texts in Nagari script. Till then Sanskrit works were written in Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili, Newari in Nepal, Sarada in Kashmir, Telugu, Kannada, Grantha in the Tamil country and Malayalam. The Nagari script was used for Sanskrit works in the Hindi area, Rajasthan, Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra. To suggest the displacement of native scripts by Nagari is not at the present time a practicable proposition. All these local scripts as well as Nagari are derived from the old Bramhi script. When Hindi in Nagari script is more generally accepted in non-Hindi areas, the people who speak other languages will also become familiar with the Nagari script and perhaps may adopt it as an alternative to their own. In these matters, natural growth should be the method and not official imposition.

"The punctuation marks which are in use in English may be adopted.

"As for the international numerals or the Devanagari numerals, there are arguments for each. The Nagari script and the Nagari numerals, it is said, should go together. They form an organic whole. When it is decided to use the Nagari script, consistency demands that the Nagari numerals should also be used. On the other side, it is said that international numerals are used the world over. Even countries like the Soviet Union which insists on the general use of the Russian language by all its people, use the international numerals and not their national ones. These numerals, it is argued, were originally Indian and spread to Europe through the Arabs. If the international numerals are used, accounting, book-keeping, etc., are greatly facilitated when trade and commerce are becoming international. It is suggested that in Hindi correspondence the Hindi numerals may be used and in all other cases international numerals."

Pandit Nehru sent the following message:

"It is not quite clear to me what exactly is going to be discussed at the Devanagari Script Conference, which is going to be held soon in Lucknow. Problems of language and script are normally dealt with by a

small body of scholars or experts and then considered by large gatherings or organisations. I do not know if this preliminary stage has been passed already and there are specific proposals to be considered.

"Not knowing this, I am at a disadvantage.

"If the conference is going to consider the problem of script only, I imagine that this falls into two parts:

(1) The adoption of the Nagari script by the other Indian languages, or by as many of them as possible.

(2) The improvement of the Nagari script so as to make it more suitable for printing, typing and other forms of modern usage.

"It is obviously desirable that we should bring about some uniformity in India in the matter of script.

"This applies more especially to the scripts of the languages derived from Sanskrit and secondarily to the other languages of India. If we have a uniform script, this in itself would remove a major barrier in the learning and understanding of other languages in India. It would be a unifying force and far more people than today will know more than one Indian language.

"This is so obvious that it needs no argument.

"The result of having one script would actually lead to a much wider acquaintance of those languages which at present have another script. Our decision to make Hindi in the Nagari script, the national language of India gives undoubtedly a big pull to people living in the Hindi-speaking areas. Others will no doubt learn Hindi, as they are doing now. But, normally speaking, they will not know it as well as a person whose mother-tongue it is.

"I think it is important that every Indian should know at least one Indian language other than his mother-tongue. In the case of people living in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, that other language will necessarily be Hindi. For the Hindi-speaking areas, the other language will have to be a different one, Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Oriya, Assamese, etc.

"In Europe there are many great languages, but all of them except in the Slav regions, are written in the Roman script. That is a great advantage and many literate persons can at least read every other language even though he might not understand much of it. That advantage will come to India if we have one script.

"I remember the complaint of a young Khasi boy in Assam. He told me that he had to learn his own language, that is, Khasi, which was written in the Roman script. (This was introduced by the Christian missionaries many years ago and still continues, Khasi books and Grammar being in that script). Then he had to learn Hindi in the Nagari script and Assamese in its own script. Also he was keen on learning English. Thus the poor boy had to learn four languages and three scripts.

"This did appear to me a bit too much. This would

apply to all the Tribal areas. That boy suggested, of his own accord, that Assamese might be written in the Nagari script. That would simplify, to some extent, his work, as obviously it would.

"Thus no argument is needed for having one script for the whole of India if possible. This will create difficulties to begin with, but, once done, it would make things easy for all of us. We, in Northern India, would learn the Southern languages with far greater ease. People in the South of India would learn Hindi easily as well as any other language. The real difficulty, of course, is a practical one and how far people would willingly accept such a change in the script. Language in all its forms, including script, is something which is a very intimate part of an individual, a group or a nation. It is not easy to change it and passions are frequently aroused in such controversies. Therefore, one has to proceed with the greatest caution and goodwill. Attempts to impose a language or a script create difficulties, and usually can only be done successfully by some authoritarian regime. The change-over should have a considerable measure of support from the people most concerned.

"Two scripts are to remain, or rather should remain, in India, namely, Urdu or the Persian script and the Roman script, in which English or the European languages are written. There is no sense of conflict between them and Hindi. These are completely different and cannot be absorbed in Hindi. The Roman script keeps us in touch with the world generally and we must know it. The Persian script is still used by a large number of persons and is a link between us and Western Asia. It has been used in India for many hundreds of years and is part and parcel of our life. Naturally it will be dominated by Hindi and Nagari more and more. But it should be preserved and encouraged in its own sphere as something which adds to the richness of our life and thought, just as the Roman script does over a wider field.

"The second question is the reference to the possibility of the present Nagari script being simplified or improved for purposes of printing, typing, etc. While the script is scientific, it is slightly cumbersome for these purposes and therefore efficiency suffers considerably by its use in its present form. This is a matter for experts to consider, some proposals have already been made for such an improvement."

Forced Labour

An international committee has laboured for two years to establish the fact that many countries use political prisoners as slaves. The man in the street has little doubt that slave labour is a fact. Yet he has equally little idea of its scale, and its very existence is hotly denied by the governments concerned. Such denials inevitably carry some weight when the accusations are levelled by refugees or by governments politically opposed to the accused regime.

Real value, therefore, must be attached to the carefully objective and restrained report compiled by a United Nations committee composed of three eminent individuals representing three continents. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India, Mr. Paal Berg, former president of the Norwegian Supreme Court, and Sr. Sayan, former Foreign Minister of Peru, issued their 620-page report on June 24th, almost two years after their appointment. They were instructed by the UN Economic and Social Council to study the extent to which forced labour is used not only for political repression but also as an economic weapon of governments.

These three men were faced at the start by the fact that during public sessions of the Council no less than 23 nations had been accused of practising forced labour. The 23 included Britain, Australia, France, South Africa, the United States, Eastern Germany, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Communist China. But the committee was required to consider other countries too. In fact, it sent a brief questionnaire to all governments, whether members of UNO or not, asking for information about their relevant laws. Forty-eight governments replied; those that did not include the Soviet group, thirteen of the Latin Americans, Persia, Egypt, Portugal and Pakistan. As to the 23 accused, each was supplied with copies of the allegations and of supporting documentary evidence where it existed, and asked to comment. The Soviet group and some of the Latin Americans declined to comment.

While the committee was being denounced by Moscow and Prague as a tool employed solely to calumniate the Communist nations, it was painstakingly probing the truth of a long series of sweeping accusations which those nations themselves had made, in almost every case without any supporting evidence. For example, a Soviet spokesman declared that the British Control of Engagement Order of 1917 had "deprived the British workers of all their rights." The committee, however, found that only 15 directions to work were issued under this order in 1947, 14 in 1948, and none in 1949, while the order itself was revoked in 1950. The Polish allegation that 20,000 Africans had been subjected to forced labour in one year in the colony of Gambia and the Byelorussian accusation that Tanganyika groundnut scheme was based entirely on forced labour, were proved false.

But the committee in no way set itself to whitewash the non-Communist world. A scrutiny of Portuguese law revealed that Africans who went to work on the island of San Tome, although voluntarily, were liable to find themselves in a position akin to one of forced labour. In Spain, the committee found that very broadly defined political offences were liable to severe punishment involving forced labour. A system of forced labour of significance to the national economy

was judged to exist in South Africa, in the indirect sense that most of the population was channelled, by discriminatory laws, into agricultural and manual occupations in which many of the Africans were strictly supervised by the authorities.

The committee went further and examined the position in Malaya, Kenya, the Belgian Congo, Bolivia and Nauru. Its conclusion is that in each case existing regulations might, if extensively applied and broadly interpreted, lead to the creation of a system of forced labour. The evidence did not suggest that such a system existed in these territories, but the possibility could not be ruled out. The same warning was given as regards vagrancy laws in some States in the United States.

All this, however, was overshadowed by the committee's findings with regard to the Soviet bloc. When studying these countries, the committee carefully refrained from accepting any estimates of the size of the slave labour population, reports on the location of the Soviet prison camps, or evidence of mass deportations. It applied itself essentially to a study of existing Soviet and satellite laws and administrative practices. As to the Soviet Union itself, official publications clearly established the fact that persons suspected of political errors are sentenced to forced labour often without any right of appeal or of representation by a defending counsel, and sometimes by an administrative organ instead of a court. They further established that most of those sentenced are sent to labour camps or colonies in remote and undeveloped areas or at the sites of big mining and construction projects. As one Soviet publication puts it, "The stupendous work done by corrective labour camps is of enormous importance to the national economy."

The committee's findings that in the Soviet Union forced labour is used not only for political coercion, but also as an important element in the national economy, is applicable also to Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. As to Poland and Hungary, the committee did not find the evidence conclusive, but it held that the laws of these countries gave their governments power to employ forced labour as both a political and an economic weapon. In Rumania, it was found that forced labour was, in fact, used for political repression, and could also be made to serve economic purposes. The committee was unable to study the situation in Albania and Communist China since it could not obtain copies of the relevant laws and regulations. Further information was also needed about Eastern Germany, but the committee noted official Communist admissions of the existence of labour camps, documents establishing the fact that Germans were directed to work in the uranium mines, and extracts from the East German Criminal Code, which empowers courts to inflict forced labour "without conducting a full hearing."

It is strange that the Indian delegation to the United Nations dissociated itself from the views of the committee on forced labour. The preface to the Report on forced labour states that the members of the committee "had acted in a purely individual capacity and that they did not represent any government or party and that the opinion they had expressed in their report did not and could not commit their respective countries." The Soviet delegate, M. G. F. Saskin, denounced the report as it disclosed the inside story of the labour situation in the Soviet bloc. He vehemently attacked both the Chairmen, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Mr. Paal Berg, the former as a "servant of the colonial imperialists" and the latter as a "Quisling renowned for toadying to the Fascists." The Norwegian delegate resented this remark against an eminent personality of his country. But the Indian delegate said no word which is exceedingly strange.

Peace Prize

The conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize on General George Marshall, the former Chief of Staff of the American Army, makes one wonder whether the terms *peace* and *war* have become synonymous with the Nobel Prize Committee. The man who played a leading role in the second world war, the man who is in no mean way responsible for deciding the Allied Policy that ultimately led to the subjugation of the defeated nations of Europe is now recognised to be an upholder of peace. It may be that peace having been annihilated in the second world war, peace is now non-existent and has yielded place to war, hot or cold. War now being the sole survivor of the two, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee probably thought that henceforth the best upholder of war should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

If one sees the matter from this point of view, the puzzle may be cleared why Mahatma Gandhi was not awarded the peace Nobel Prize. It is simply because to the Committee peace is now non-existent.

Trade Unions in India

Prof. Van Dusen Kennedy, Berkley University, California, in the course of his address to the Mysore State branch of the Textile Association of India in Bangalore in the first week of November, stated that the striking difference between the Indian Trade Union Movement and the American was that the unions in the United States were led by men who had come up from the ranks of the working classes, while in India, they were led by persons who had nothing to do with the concerned industry but belonged to some political party. Secondly, he said that labour-management differences in the US were thrashed out between the parties concerned, whereas in India the Government and the tribunals often come in, and very largely, into the picture. In America, there are provisions for written agreements and their

proper execution. Thirdly, in the United States, there is a national union for each industry exercising full powers over its branches; but there is no such centralisation in India, the units being knit together only very loosely in the form of a federation.

These observations by Prof. Kennedy bring out the essential difference between the American and the Indian labour movements and the weakness of the latter. The Trade Union Movement in this country is neither centralised nor is controlled by the workers themselves. The movement is disrupted by a number of rival central associations dominated by one political party or the other. The All-India Trade Union Congress was founded in 1920 and affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions. It is now fully controlled by the Communists. The Indian National Trade Union Congress, founded in May 1947, and affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, is run by the Congress Party. The Socialist Party founded in 1948 the Hind Mazdur Sabha. There is again the United Trade Union Congress, which broke away in December 1949 from the AITUC. The Trade Union Movement in this country is thus controlled by India's political parties. The result is that the economic and social interests of labour are sacrificed at the altar of political rivalry and personal jealousy. Small wonder that where political consideration predominates, economic welfare of the labour goes at a discount. This factor explains the absence of machinery for mutual settlement of disputes and the consequent interference of the Government in labour disputes. Unless such outside political control goes, there is little prospect of ensuring harmonious labour management relations.

The number of affiliated unions and their membership during 1951 was as follows:

Organizations	Number of affiliated unions	Membership
Indian National Trade Union Congress	1,220	15,68,668
All-India Trade Union Congress	736	7,58,314
Hind Mazdoor Sabha	517	7,74,263
United Trade Union Congress	332	3,84,962

India's Mineral Production in 1951

The total volume of minerals and ores excluding petroleum produced in India during the year 1951 has been estimated at over Rs. 105 crores as compared with Rs. 83 crores in 1950.

The reserves of Gondwana coals in seams of workable thickness, that is, four feet and above, of a quality which can be used for most purposes, not exceeding 25 per cent ash content and occurring within one thousand feet of the surface, have been estimated at 20,000,000,000 tons. Of this, the good quality coal would amount to about 5,000 million tons, or 25 per cent of the total reserves. India's known reserves of chromite are of the order of 200,000 tons of high grade ore, while the reserves of lower

grade ore are estimated at several times as much. The total estimated reserves of copper ore at the close of the year 1950 stood at 3,087,195 short tons and the total reserves of gypsum are roughly of the order of 67 million tons. Major iron ore reserves total up to 10,200 million tons. The Lapsa Buru deposit of Kharsawan is the largest kyanite deposit of its kind in the world and the reserves have been estimated at 200,000 tons within a depth of a few feet. India has large reserves of high grade manganese ore. There are many other strategic minerals of which India possesses fair reserves.

Iron Ores of India

India is one of the few countries of the world containing large and abundant reserves of iron ores, according to an article contributed by Dr. M. S. Krishnan, Director, Geological Survey of India to the latest issue of the *Indian Minerals* (Vol. VI, No. 3).

The ores are distributed widely in various parts of India and are of four general types. Of these the more important are hematite and quartz-magnetite rock. The former type of ores occurs in large deposits in Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces and the latter is seen in the Salem and Trichinopoly districts of Madras.

Iron ore has been smelted in India for perhaps 3,000 years, for it is known that articles made of iron and steel of Indian origin used to be marketed in the Levant some centuries before Christ. The famous Damascus blades for swords, were made from Indian steel. The smelting was done in very numerous but small furnaces scattered over the country wherever some kind of iron ore and charcoal were available. The famous iron pillar near the Kutab Minar at New Delhi has won the admiration of many. Analyses of the iron were made by Dr. Percy, late of the School of Mines, and Dr. Murray Thompson of Roorkee College, who found that it consisted of pure malleable iron without any alloy. The pillar which shows no sign of rust is a testimony to the skill and art of Indian iron-makers 1,500 years ago.

It was known that in the 18th century steel taken to Britain from India was of two kinds. One was in the form of conical ingots and the other in the form of flat round cakes. The former was *wootz* steel made in crucibles in the Trichinopoly district of Madras and in certain places in Hyderabad. The word *wootz* belongs to the Telangana language of the south-eastern parts of Hyderabad State. It was produced by the carburisation of wrought iron in crucibles, using a principle which was unknown in England until the year 1800. The latter, i.e., steel in the form of flat iron cakes, was made by the partial removal of carbon by oxidation from cast iron.

Five-Year Plan and Agriculture

Agricultural development has been given a high place in the Five-Year Plan, and the success or failure of

the Plan is therefore naturally going to depend very largely on what the agriculture is able to achieve. Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, addressing the Conference of State Ministers of Agriculture and Co-operation, held recently in New Delhi, said, "Thanks to the good rains and seasonable weather last year, the overall acreage under cereals are the highest even in 1952-53, being 200 million, and the total production of cereals during that period was 5 million better than the previous year. In rice, maize and barley, we have had an all-time record production in 1952-53."

He further said that the usual grow-more-food efforts have been supplemented this year with a drive for the new method of rice cultivation. The seventeen States that have reported so far estimate that over 3.4 million acres of land has been put under this method. It may be that all the items of the new method may not have been followed uniformly everywhere. But the addition to rice production will not be inconsiderable. The south-west monsoon has on the whole been satisfactory in most parts of the country, although extensive damage by floods has been reported. In spite of this widespread calamity, it is being hoped that India's overall production will not suffer.

Referring to land reform policies, including imposition of ceilings on holdings, Dr. Deshmukh said, "The general lines of land policy have already been laid down by the Planning Commission. One important question on which there seems to be difference of opinion is the question of ceilings on holdings. The idea of ceilings has already been given effect to in a number of States as the limit for future acquisition and as the limit of resumption of lands. The question of imposing a ceiling on the existing holdings has recently been taken up by certain States and this has undoubtedly a direct bearing on agricultural efficiency and output."

Apart from better production, the question of marketing of the agricultural produce is very important. It is axiomatic to say that unless there is an adequate return to the farmer, it is idle to speak of enticing him or entertaining the ambition of greater production. Moreover, the agricultural industries, big or small, are all almost everywhere in the hands of non-agriculturists, with the result that there is a perpetual conflict of interests between the two. In this conflict, the cultivator, being the weaker, always and consistently loses. Steps should therefore be taken to enable the agriculturist to establish his own industries.

Census of India

The All-India Census Report, 1951, (just published), has been prepared at a cost of Rs. 1.49 crores (or Rs. 41½ per 1,000 persons enumerated as against Rs. 15½ per 1,000 enumerated in the 1931 census). The Report of the 1951 census is presented in 17 volumes which are divided into 63 parts. The Report reveals that India is more densely populated than Europe which is itself

the most densely populated region in the world. In relation to the natural resources available for the production of food, India is even more heavily populated than Europe. But while Europe has brought only 30 per cent of his land under the plough on the average, India has brought 43 per cent of her land under cultivation. The pressure of population on land in India will be evident from the fact that, although the land area of the USA and Soviet Union put together is nine-times as large as India's, these two countries have together a smaller population than India.

The total area of land is 812 million acres and the population of the Indian Union between 26th January and 1st March, 1951, was 356, 879, 394. The land area *per capita* comes to 2.25 acres (including Jammu and Kashmir). Out of India's 812.6 million acres, 86.9 million (or 10 per cent) acres lie in mountains. The word "mountain" in this connection means steep land at a very high elevation and excludes all land below a limit of 7,000 feet above sea-level. Nearly two-thirds of such mountain tracts (54.8 million acres) are found in Jammu and Kashmir. The remaining one-third is distributed among three zones: 14.1 million acres in East India, 9.7 million acres in North-West India, and 7.9 million acres in North India. Less than 500,000 acres are in South India. In West India and Central India there are no mountains in the strict sense of the term.

Next to "mountain" tracts come hilly tracts. The term "hill" is used to cover all kinds of weathered highlands (except mountains) without reference to the level at which the hills are situated. It also covers the entire area of all ranges other than the Himalayas, as also the foothills of the Himalayan range up to 7,000 feet above sea-level. Hilly tracts thus defined covers 150.9 million acres of all land in India (18.6 per cent). This area is divided among four zones: East India 52.5 millions, Central India 33.3 millions, South India 27.8 millions, and West India 19.8 millions.

There are 8.8 million acres of hill tracts in North-West India outside Jammu and Kashmir and 2.7 million acres in Jammu and Kashmir. There are 4.1 million acres of hilly area in Northern India and 2.1 million acres in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Plateaus are the third kind of tracts. They comprise all types of flat tracts of land which lie between 1,000 feet and 3,000 feet above sea-level. Such tracts measure 224.8 million or 27.7 per cent of all the land in India. Almost exactly one-half of all plateaus (112.5 million acres) is found in Central India including Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh. The remaining half is distributed as follows: North-West India—30 million acres; South India 28.6 million acres, West India 28.4 million acres and East India 2.4 million acres. A fringe of North India measuring 3.4 million acres is also plateau land.

Lastly, come the plains. India has 349.9 million acres of plains or 43 per cent of all land in India. They

are distributed thus: East India 80.5 million, North-West India 74.2 million, North India 57.2 million, South India 50.6 million, West India 47.6 million and Central India 39.5 million. Plains are generally the best for purposes of cultivation and settlement of people.

But all the 350 million acres of plain land are not fertile or even cultivable. Some parts of the country have vast stretches of land which can be called land only in a technical sense. The "Rann of Kutch" is an instance in point. It measures 5.9 million acres and is not cultivable. So also is 25.4 million acres of Rajasthan dry area. The capacity of this area to support life is negligible. Then come the sandy wastes and marshy lands which occur in many tracts. Such lands account for 33 million acres in North-West India and 7.5 million acres in West India.

Thus, out of a total land area of 812.6 million acres, unusable area accounts for 308.2 million acres. Topographically usable area therefore is of the order of 504.4 million acres. All the usable area, however, is not cultivable. Even within this area, there lie large patches of land which are little better than barren rock, and have no soil or cover. Information regarding the nature and extent of soil cover available for land in different parts of the country is mostly descriptive. There are four main groups of soils in this country, namely, alluvial, black, red and lateritic. A brief description of these soils is given below:

(1) Four main groups of soils are found extensively all over India. Among them, the alluvial groups is by far the most productive. They are distributed over practically the whole of the Gangetic plains in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and extend to the Punjab and parts of Assam and Orissa. The coastal tracts of Southern India are also alluvial, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where they are known as deltaic alluvium. The soils are deficient in phosphoric acid, nitrogen and humus, but not generally in potash and lime.

(2) The black soils of India are loamy to clayey in texture, vary in depth, and contain lime *kankar* in varying percentages, and free calcium carbonate. These soils are generally suitable for cultivation of cotton and are known in many places as "black cotton soils" or *regur*. Resembling tropical black earth, they are very well defined soils which occupy the greater part of Bombay and Saurashtra, western parts of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Hyderabad and some parts of Madras including the districts of Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram. The soils are fairly fertile and very useful for commercial crops.

(3) Another fairly well-defined and extensive group consists of red soils. They differ widely in depth and fertility in different parts of India and are generally of medium to low fertility. They cover very large tracts of Madras, Mysore, south-east Bombay, east Hyderabad and a strip of tract running along the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh to Chhota Nagpur and Orissa. In the

north, the red soil area extends into and includes the greater part of the Santhal Parganas in Bihar, the Birbhum district of West Bengal, the Mirzapur, Jhansi and Hamirpur districts of Uttar Pradesh, northern portion of Madhya Bharat, the Aravallics and the eastern half of Rajasthan.

(4) The last of the four main groups consists of laterite and lateritic soils. Soils of this group are derived by the atmospheric weathering of several types of rocks under monsoon conditions of alternating dry and wet periods. Well-developed laterite and lateritic soils are found on the summits of hills of the Deccan, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, and of the Rajmahal and Eastern Ghats, and certain parts of Orissa, Bombay, Malabar and Assam. The soils are deficient in potash, phosphoric acid and lime.

(5) Other miscellaneous types of soils include desert or arid soils occurring in the regions having low rainfall, e.g., Ajmer, Eastern Rajasthan, etc. Marshy or peaty soils occur over small areas in Travancore, and in parts of West Bengal, Orissa and Madras. Hill soils, which are generally sandy or red loam, occur in the hilly regions of West Bengal, Punjab and Assam.

As regards the sex ratio, the census figures have revealed that not only males and females are unequal in numbers, but also that the magnitude of this inequality is also different in different parts of the country. In the country as a whole, the sex ratio is 947, that is, there are 947 females per 1,000 males. It varies widely among the zones. The lowest value is 883 in North-West India and the highest is 999 in South India where practically equality of the sexes is attained. The other four zones vary thus: 910 in North India, 938 in West India, 945 in East India and 973 in Central India. Regarding the marital status pattern, the Census Report states that in the country as a whole roughly every other male person is unmarried; while rather less than two out of five females are unmarried.

Births have occurred during the ten years 1941-50 at an average rate of 40 per thousand per year; and deaths have occurred during the same period at an average rate of 27 per thousand per annum. The natural increase of the population is therefore taking place at an average rate of 13 per thousand per year.

As regards livelihood pattern, the Report states that the pattern varies from one zone to another. There are 402 landless agriculturists for every one thousand agricultural landholders. There are enormous differences in this respect from State to State. This number of landless agriculturists per thousand agricultural landholders is the smallest in UP (161) and the highest in Travancore-Cochin (782). The numbers for other major States are: Mysore 190, Assam 235, Orissa 271, Bombay 383, Madhya Bharat 397, Madhya Pradesh 413, Hyderabad 507, Bihar 510, Rajasthan 544, West Bengal 609 and Madras 714.

Economic Condition of the Indian People

The economic data analysis of the 1951 Census reveals that agricultural classes account for 249,074,901 persons and non-agricultural classes 107,553,411. Of the agricultural classes 71,049,356 persons are self-supporting; 146,956,640 are non-earning dependents; and 31,068,905 are earning dependents. Among the non-agricultural classes 33,350,447 are self-supporting; 67,334,634 are non-earning dependents; and 6,868,330 are earning dependents.

Among the agricultural classes, 58,514,694 males and 12,534,662 females are self-supporting; 45,193,466 males and 89,763,174 females are non-earning dependents; and 10,479,295 males and 20,589,610 females are earning dependents. Among the non-agricultural classes, 28,662,536 males and 4,687,911 females are self-supporting; 25,407,927 males and 41,926,707 females are non-earning dependents; and 2,937,036 males and 3,931,294 females are earning dependents.

Among the agricultural classes, 167,326,578 persons and their dependents are cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned; 31,618,073 persons are cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned; 44,309,019 persons and their dependents are cultivating labourers; and 5,321,231 persons and their dependents are cultivating owners of land and agricultural rent receivers. There are 402 landless agriculturists for every one thousand landholders.

Among the non-agricultural classes, 37,671,902 persons (including dependents) are engaged for their livelihood in production other than cultivation; 21,311,898 persons are engaged in commerce; 5,620,717 persons are engaged in transport; and 42,948,894 persons in other services and miscellaneous sources.

On an average every house in India is occupied by 5.5 persons. Of the total of 64,361,676 occupied houses in the country; 54,056,388 are rural houses occupied by 295,004,271 persons, and 10,305,288 are urban houses occupied by 61,875,123 persons. This gives an average of 5.4 persons per house in the rural area, and six persons per house in the urban area.

India has an area of 1,176,864 square miles, 558,089 villages, and 3,018 towns with a total population of 356,879,304 persons. This excludes the population of Kashmir State and the population of the Part B tribal areas of Assam, but includes the population of Chandernagore.

Regarding the marital status pattern, the report states that in the country as a whole roughly every other male persons is unmarried (total 88,147,296); while rather less than two out of five females are unmarried (total 65,950,673).

Despite the Sarda (Child Marriage Restraint) Act, 1929, nearly 14.5 per cent of females and 6.3 per cent of males aged between 5 and 14 years are married.

Prevalence of polygamy is revealed for the fact

that married females exceed married males by 124,911 persons.

During the period 1941-51, births have occurred at an average rate of 40 per thousand per annum; and deaths have occurred during the same period at an average rate of 27 per thousand per annum. The natural increase of population has been at the rate of 13 per thousand per annum.

Abor Hills

Commenting on the sad and unfortunate events in the Abor Hills where a number of officials of the Assam Frontier Agency had been killed by tribesmen the *Chronicle* points out that it served as an eye-opener as to the situation prevailing in the region. Characterising the incident as "nothing short of an insurrection," the paper commends the steps the Government proposed to take.

But the paper urges "utmost care and caution," keeping in view the geographical position of the area, activities and developments in the neighbouring areas beyond Indian borders and the nature and temperament of the tribal people. The Government of India should give closer attention and assume direct responsibility of the affairs of the region. All endeavours should be made to win the hearts of the people and the evil forces, who, the paper suspects, were being worked up by the foreign agencies, alienated from the rest of the people. And to achieve this objective specially trained officers would have to be deputed to this region. Otherwise, writes the paper, "situation may take, we reasonably apprehend particularly from the happenings in the Naga Hills as well, a very serious turn when Government of India will have only to repent and regret."

The latest information, as revealed by Shri Bishnuram Medhi, Minister in the Assam Government, goes to show that the Abor would listen to nothing but force. That force will have to be applied was evident from the very first, because these tribals are primitive people totally ignorant of outside affairs. There is no alternative therefore before the Government of India.

The Abors of Assam

Sri Satyen Sen writes in the *Hindu*: "Under the North-eastern Frontier Agency, the tribes who live in the mountains, east of Bhutan are the Akas, the Daflas, the Miris, the Abors and the Mismis. The hills inhabited by the Akas lie to the north of the Darrang district in Assam between the Dhansiri and Dikrai rivers. The Daflas live in the ridges that lie north of Darrang and Sibsagar districts between the Bharabi river and the Ranganadi. Miris live in the area lying to the north of Dibrugarh intersected by the river Subarnasiri. The hills wherein live the Abors are to the north of Lakhimpur district between the Siom river on the west and the Dihong river on the east. The Mismi

area is spread over the hills to the north-east of the Lakhimpur district. These hills sweep round the head of the Brahmaputra valley. The administrative districts of the Se La or Dafla inhabited area, the Subarnasiri or Miri area and the Abor Hills of N.E.F.A. have a co-terminal border with Tibet. The Mismi Hills district which lies to the east of Abor Hills adjoins both Tibet and Burma."

The Abor region is perhaps the wettest part of the earth. The Abors are a fast dwindling race. The population was 10,761 in 1951 compared with 17,646 in 1941. There were only 695 females for every thousand males. The word 'Abor' was derived from *a-bari*, meaning "untamed." British official contact with these tribesmen began in 1847. Since then periodical expeditions had been sent by the British Government in India designed to subdue the Abors, but with partial success only. In peace time, the Abors were truthful and honest, but in times of war they would not hesitate to bluff and trick the enemy into their clutch. The Abors were very conservative by habit and did not favour the idea of going away from their villages and suspected strangers. The chief weapon of the Abors was bamboo-made long-bow shod with iron, and fitted with a cane string. Almost everyone of them carried a sword. They were expert craftsmen and the womenfolk were expert weavers.

There were easily accessible roads to Tibet in the Abor Hills but those had hardly been used for direct communication between India and Tibet because the Simong Abors and the Bono-Janbo tribesmen inhabiting the area did not let anybody through and share in their profits of monopolistic middlemen's trading on Tibetan goods in their own hands.

Referring to the recent unfortunate happenings Sri Sen urges upon the Government to initiate a scientific study as a long-term measure to transform the turbulent nature of some of the Abor clans and to encourage and support philanthropic organisations to open centres there with a view to establishing closer links between the tribesmen and the people of the rest of India.

A Great Omission

The All-Bengal Medical Conference, recently held at Midnapur, adopted several good resolutions. But one thing is missed and that is a great omission as it relates to the medical practitioners themselves—it is their fees. In recent years fees of the medical practitioners are being increased, particularly in Calcutta, to almost prohibitory levels—prohibitory in the sense that such exorbitant fees have made many medical men out of bounds to the majority of the people. Plainly speaking, fees are now so high that they are nothing but prohibitive. Perhaps in no other States of India fees of the medical practitioners are so high as in West Bengal. Even in a great city like Bombay, fees are much lower. Then why the medical fees are so exorbitant in Bengal?

In Britain the Labour Government had to nationalise the medical service to check the profiteering fees of the medical men. In that country also doctors' fees became exorbitant and just to break up the rising pace of their charges, medical practitioners' services were statutorily nationalised and private practice was regulated. Most medical men are now under services of the State and they are paid for by the State. But their services are in a way, free to the public—they cannot charge fees directly.

It is time that the Government of West Bengal and the medical profession as a body, considered the desirability of devising some measure whereby to check the ever-rising fees.

Demand For A Punjabi State

The *Bombay Chronicle* of November 10 reports that presiding over the Punjabi-speaking State Conference held in Bombay at Shivaji Park on the 8th November, Sardar Gian Singh Rarewalla, former Chief Minister of Pepsu and President of the Pepsu National Front had reiterated the demand for a Punjabi State.

The demand for the creation of a Punjabi State had been going on for a long time, Mr. Rarewalla said. But because the Sikhs had vigorously voiced the demand, some narrow-minded opportunists had tried to discredit it as a communal move and thereby create suspicion and mistrust in the minds of the people. Mr. Rarewalla had no doubt that the creation of the Punjabi State "would end the party frictions and bickerings in north India and would usher in a new era of peace and prosperity," the paper reports.

"The greatest justification," for the formation of a Punjabi State, "was the development of the Punjabi language and the Punjabi culture," he had said. Though Punjabi had been recognised as one of the fourteen regional languages, in the Punjab, Punjabi had not been accorded the encouragement it deserved. Mr. Rarewalla had pointed out the unsatisfactory demarcation of boundaries and had pleaded for a readjustment. He had expressed the view that only in a linguistic State could the people contribute their best for the progress of the country. In this connection he had referred to the high praise bestowed by Sri Nehru on the system of linguistic States in Russia.

According to the *Bombay Chronicle*, he had complained "that a section of the Punjab press had been dubbing this demand as a demand for a separate Sikh State or even Khalistan. He felt that they were trying to create this misunderstanding by raising false and misleading slogans and appealing to the communal sentiments of the people."

Mr. Rarewalla had also urged the Government to announce the personnel of the Boundary Commission without delay and had put forward the demand that not only should the Commission have wide powers but that the Government should be bound by its decisions.

A Vicious Convention

Recently a Conference of the Muslims was held in Aligarh, where much anti-Indian, Muslim communal propaganda had been indulged into. Fantastic charges were made of massacre "of Muslims in Free India uprooting of lakhs of them, colossal devastation of their properties, desecration of their mosques, mausoleums and graveyards, which had created a sense of horror, insecurity and frustration in the minds of Muslims." The conference brought into existence an All-India Muslim Jamiat with headquarters at Aligarh.

The proceedings of the Conference did not find much publicity in the Indian press but was much publicised in the Pakistan press. Referring to this conference the *People's* special correspondent in Lucknow writes: "Between the genuine ignorance of the public and the amused indifference of the Government, certain lessons may be drawn from the recent Muslim gathering at Aligarh."

"Following the typical Muslim League tactics," the correspondent continues, "the cry was raised for reservation of seats in the legislatures and for proportions in the services. There was also talk of a minorities convention to meet the growing menace."

He concludes with the remark that history has showed that "Aligarh has played a vicious part in Indian politics. At any rate a good many of its alumni are still finding that their best prospect is the high road to Pakistan. The passports office in Aligarh is the most overworked in India."

Asked to give his comments on the proceeding of the Conference, Mr. Nehru said at his Press Conference in Delhi on November 15 that he had seen the reports of the proceedings of the conference in the Pakistan press and in a section of the Urdu Press in India. He added: "I have other reports too. The Convention itself was a small affair and not important from the view of the numbers or influence. But I do think that the line adopted by that small convention was, if I may use a strong word, vicious."

An "Islamic Republic" for Pakistan

Mr. Aziz Beg, editor of the Lahore weekly *Star*, writes under the heading "Must We Have An Islamic State?":

"The situation created by the demand for an 'Islamic State' and an 'Islamic Constitution' is so confusing and amusing that any attempt to clarify the issue should be welcome to the votaries of modern, progressive Pakistan."

Referring to the proposition for the institution of a Board of Ulemas to whom the legislators would look for guidance Mr. Beg writes:

"To bestow on this class the status they demand would be to kill democracy before it is born and destroy the foundations of Parliamentary form of Government."

Regarding the provision that the head of the State

must be a Muslim he opposingly quotes the remarks of Mr. P. D. Bhandara, a Minority Member. Mr. Bhandara had said in his speech before the Constituent Assembly that the provision in the Constitution was unnecessary because even without the legislation this exalted position was more likely to be filled by a Muslim, due to their overwhelming majority, than by any other.

"Mr. Bhandara has aptly summed up the position," writes Mr. Beg, "and it will be a pity if his plea for sanity is misconstrued as a plea for minority rights."

Some Turkish papers have criticised the "Islamic State" resolution. They point out that this chosen path is the one Turkey had to discard after half-a-century of bitter experiences.

Indo-Ceylon Talks

Commenting on the Ceylon Premier, Sir John Kotelawala's rejection of Premier Nehru's invitation to come to New Delhi to straighten out the issues which had tended to strain the friendly relations between India and Ceylon, the *Hitavada* writes that even if a broadminded view were taken of the affair and the Ceylon Premier excused for having commented on the invitation before dispatching an official reply to New Delhi, none could fail to note the heavy underlining of the problem of illicit immigration. "By stating that he would accept the invitation only after he had investigated this problem, the Ceylon Premier has left the unfortunate impression that the future of some 8 lakhs of Indians in Ceylon is a matter of small importance when compared with that of illicit immigration," India's anxiety to stop which had never been doubted, the paper writes.

The paper continues: "The indefinite postponement of the Indo-Ceylon talks and his (Sir John's) reply to Peter Kenneman's questions in the House of Representatives combine to show that the Ceylon Indians have a long time ahead of them for a final settlement of the citizenship question. Asked to give an indication of the progress made in registration of applicants under the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act, the Ceylon Premier stated that out of a total of 2,37,034 citizenship applications received—and these cover nearly 8 lakhs of residents—only 56,669 have so far been investigated. This means that barely a fifth of the Ceylon Indian population know their future. The rest are still at the tender mercy of the officials in charge of the work of registration."

Lack of staff was the lame excuse, offered for this deplorable delay. Of the 56,669 applications considered, 6,903 had been approved—granting citizenship to 23,751 persons—8,298 applications had been rejected—involving perhaps the claims of over 20,000 persons—while 5,468 applicants had been asked to show cause why their applications should not be rejected.

Referring to these facts the *Hitavada* writes: "Can any fair-minded observer of this Indo-Ceylon problem any longer believe that the Ceylon Government is keen on a final and a satisfactory settlement of the claims of some 8 lakhs of Indians to citizenship? Would not such an observer be justified in concluding that all this emphasis on illicit immigration is but a device for further procrastination in dealing with the main issue."

It is superfluous to attempt an answer.

U.S. Bases in Pakistan

Recently the Press in the USA paid much attention to the proposition of a military pact between the USA and Pakistan. A few days before Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor-General of Pakistan, reached the U.S.A. the *New York Times* wrote editorially on November 5, that major part of the talks between the Pakistan's Governor-General and the President of the United States would "centre about exploring possibilities of a military alliance between Pakistan and the United States." A regional arrangement for Middle East Defence having failed, a bilateral arrangement with a single potentially strong country, such as Pakistan was very much in Pentagon's favour, the paper believed. "Eventually," wrote the paper, "a regional defence pattern may be evoked but a start can be made in the case of Pakistan, such as has already been made in the case of Turkey."

The Pakistan Government formally released this editorial to the Press on November 6. Diplomatic quarters attached much importance to this release by the Pakistan Government since the Government normally released only those Foreign Press editorials which were in keeping with the Pakistan Government's point of view.

Stating that the USA had first become "interested in the strategic possibilities of Pakistan more than a year ago when Admiral Radford, now Chairman of the United States Chiefs of Staff, visited Pakistan as Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet," Mr. Homer Bigart, *New York Herald Tribune* Washington correspondent wrote that formal discussions between the USA and Pakistan might start at the White House luncheon to Ghulam Mohammed; which "could lead to a military alliance and establishment in South East Asia of American air bases within easy striking distance of Russia's great new industrial centres behind the Urals." He also wrote that informal discussions had been under way for weeks both at Washington and Karachi and that Pakistan had announced her willingness to negotiate an air base deal provided the United States would supply arms for Pakistan's quarter million man army.

The State Department continued to deny reports of any such talk, but informed sources stressed that such talks had indeed been taking place informally.

The *Times* reported that while the State Department had denied any negotiations going on, a departmental spokesman had said that there had been "continuous conversations and considerations" on Middle East Defence and those talks could be linked with the visit recently of Gen. Ayub Khan, the Pakistan C-in-C to the U.S.A. (*Statesman*, 15th Nov.)

On November 17, Mr. Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, declared that no negotiations had been under way with Pakistan for establishing American bases in that country; but he added that he did not rule out the possibility of such a Pact with Pakistan in future. However on November 18, President Eisenhower, addressing a Press Conference at Washington, stated that the question of military aid and bases had not been discussed in detail when he had met the Pakistani Governor-General. This means that some such discussion had definitely taken place, Mr. Dulles' denial notwithstanding.

Meanwhile *Reuter* reported from Washington that high Pakistani sources in New York had informed U.N. delegates and others that Pakistan had indicated her willingness to grant America bases, if the U.S.A. armed her. The report said: "According to Pakistan and U.S. estimates, it would cost \$250 million to re-equip the Pakistan army on modern lines, especially since it was the aim to block potential land invasions at passes such as Khyber Pass."

On enquiry from the Government of India the U.S. State Department had made it clear that while India would be kept informed about the developments and her views would be taken into account, any decision might not necessarily require her compliance.

At a Press Conference in New Delhi on November 15, Pandit Nehru referred to the reports of negotiations of a military pact between Pakistan and the U.S.A. and said that it was a "matter of the most intense concern to us and something which will have far-reaching consequences on the whole structure of things in South Asia and especially on India and Pakistan." He said that from all accounts it appeared that matters had advanced quite far. The way "this major development" was taking place surprised him, said Mr. Nehru.

Asked if Pakistan could give bases to the U.S.A. in Gilgit, the Prime Minister said: "So far as we are concerned, it is not open to them to do anything in Kashmir."

Commenting on Mr. Nehru's statement, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor-General of Pakistan, said: "I was extremely surprised to see that Mr. Nehru has commented on these reports without first thinking to verify their veracity."

"I wish to make it absolutely clear that Pakistan will never be a camp follower of anyone." He characterised as "absolutely baseless and unfounded," reports of military talks between the U.S.A. and Pakistan.

Meanwhile, the East Pakistan Awami League had

strongly opposed Pakistan's making any "military alliance" with any country and had wanted the country to remain in the peace camp. The Pakistan Student Federation had also made known its disapproval of granting bases to foreign powers.

Characterising the U.S. move for military bases in Pakistan as a "challenge to India," the *Vigil* writes: "The U.S.A. had made this move with the full knowledge that it would be intensely resented by India for its disturbing effects both on the entire regional strategic situation and on the relative military strength of India and Pakistan." The consolation that India would be kept informed of the developments was hardly worth anything. India's verbal protest also was not likely to be an appreciable deterrent to U.S.A.'s moves, which indicated that "Apparently, the Pentagon and the State Department calculated that the advantages of a military pact with Pakistan would be greater than the disadvantages of any possible consequences of India's resentment at it." In this context the paper urges the Government of India to take the initiative for organising a South Asian resistance to it. And for that India should not mind giving up American aid, if necessary.

Commenting on these developments the *Hitavada* writes: "It does not require much acumen to foresee the effect that a U.S.-Pak Defence Pact will have on the Indian sub-continent in relation to the 'cold' war between the Communists and the West. Thus far the process of containment of Communism was confined to NATO, its eastern extension up to Turkey and to an arc running from South Korea and Japan, through Formosa and the Philippines to Indo-China. There was thus a big gap in this chain of defences, which the U.S. in particular were keen on closing. With the displacement of Dr. Mossadeq, Iran has now formed yet another link—weak though it be in comparison with those of Turkey and Greece. If the White House talks bear fruit, Pakistan will form the southern end of a defence arc, which starts in the North Sea and ends in the Arabian Sea. Allied air forces based in Greece, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan would thus be able to strike effectively at Russia's atomic and industrial plants sheltered by the Urals. From the Russian point of view these bases would naturally constitute the first targets to be destroyed in the event of hostilities breaking out. Should U.S. bases be sited in both West and East Pakistan, it would place India in considerable danger of being dragged in willy-nilly into the struggle. Apart from this consideration, a Pakistan Army armed to the teeth with American help would make for increased truculence on the part of Pakistan in her dealings with her neighbours—India and Afghanistan. Looked at from every angle the ceding of bases to the U.S. in return for equipment for Pakistan's army will be a step fraught with danger to India and the other Asian nations that have so far managed to keep out of the 'cold' war."

United States and Colonialism

Outlining the principles guiding the United States in dealing with colonialism, Mr. Henry Alfred Byroad, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, said in a speech delivered on October 31 before the World Affairs Council of Northern California that turning to international relations the "principal concern" of the U.S.A. was "the threat of Soviet aggression," to which only "secondary emphasis" was given by the dependent peoples of Africa, the Near East, South Asia and the Far East. In many of those areas the principal motivating force was the desire of dependent peoples to end foreign domination and achieve political and economic self-determination.

Mr. Byroad said: "This movement toward self-determination is one of the most powerful forces in twentieth century affairs," but there was "a paradox" in that fact. The Western nations, after a prolonged experience of sovereign independence were coming to recognise that self-sufficiency was a myth and several of the older nations were "now engaged in creating new forms of association in which portions of national sovereignty are voluntarily surrendered."

The movement towards self-determination had recently encountered an "even more strange and potentially more tragic paradox." While old-type colonialism was disappearing, a new type of imperialism—Soviet imperialism—was raising its head. But the dependent nations did not appear to be quite aware of this danger.

He agreed that the colonial policy of the U.S.A. had not been clear to many. He defined the basic policy of the U.S.A. to be the belief "in eventual self-determination for all peoples" and an "evolutionary development to this end."

"We recognise that self-determination will not always be exercised in the form of national independence. Some people may choose voluntarily to unite or associate themselves, on a free and equal basis, with the nations which have governed them in the past. The British Commonwealth of Nations and more recently the French Union, are outstanding examples of the kind of association which now nations may undertake without impairment of their powers to determine their own destinies."

Explaining why the U.S.A. insisted on a policy of "evolution" and not of granting dependent peoples "immediate sovereignty," Mr. Byroad said that it was a "hard, inescapable fact that premature independence can be dangerous, retrogressive and destructive." In his view, unless it was recognised "that there is such a thing as premature independence, we cannot think intelligently or constructively about the status of the dependent peoples."

If independence were granted to a country, unable to maintain it, it would only invite internal chaos and

external aggression. Moreover, "national independence is by no means a cure-all for the perplexing problems of Asia and Africa."

The U.S.A. frankly recognised her "stake in the strength and stability of certain European nations which exercise influence in the dependent areas." These European nations were the allies of the U.S.A. and shared many common interests with her. The U.S.A. was much interested in the role of these powers in the context of the international balance of powers and could not "disregard their side of the colonial question" without injury to her own security. To quote Mr. Byroad: "In particular we cannot ignore the legitimate economic interests which European nations possess in certain dependent territories. Nor can we forget the importance of these interests to the European economy which we have contributed so much to support."

These considerations led the U.S.A. to advocate a policy of "evolutionary development" for the independence of the colonial peoples.

Mr. Byroad wanted to make one point very clear that, "Despite our interest in European economic health, we most certainly do not propose that the rights of dependent peoples should be subordinated to this interest. What we propose is that all parties concerned carefully consider their own interests. This is not a question of preserving Europe's strength at the expense of dependent peoples. It is rather a question of finding ways to increase strength of both. An evolutionary approach to self-determination can help to preserve legitimate European interests in foreign territories—while at the same time giving these territories economic opportunities and benefits which would be lost by a complete severance of relations."

U.S. Investments in Asia and Africa

Direct American investments in the Near East, Africa, Asia and Oceania totalled \$1,300 million in 1950, compared with \$500 million in 1943, according to a survey released at the end of October by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

The survey, the fifth of its kind since 1929, covers only substantial private investments. These include investments amounting to 25 percent or more of the equity.

The "survey does not include the China area. The investment figure has swelled through investments in Near Eastern Oil, the survey notes.

Investments in the area, exclusive of China, jumped from 6.5 percent of the world total in 1929 to over 11 percent of the total in 1950.

Total American investments in all areas of the world was \$11,788 million in 1950, the census reveals.

Investments in the Arab countries, most of it in oil, rose from about \$60 million to some \$680 million in the seven year period up to 1950. Oil investments absorbed \$844.1 million of the total \$1300 million invested in the Near Eastern, Asian, African and Oceania area

in 1950; manufacturing received \$213.6 million; trade, \$81.4 million; transportation, communication and public utilities, \$53.6 million; mining and selling, \$56.5 million; and agriculture, \$38.7 million.

Countries specified in the 1950 census include India, \$37.7 million; Egypt, \$39.3 million; Siberia, \$82 million; Israel, \$14.8 million, and Pakistan \$7.8 million.

Quadruple Emissaries for U.N.

We have always held that children are the best emissaries of International amity. Here is an instance:

Gainesville, Florida, Nov. 24—The quadruplets born prematurely to a Palestine Arab student couple here neared the close of their first week of life today with a good chance for survival and a definite hold on the heart-strings of Gainesville citizens.

The outpouring of concern and affection for the tiny new neighbours has somewhat overwhelmed 34-year-old Wasfe Ahmad Hijab and his 33-year-old wife Abila, already the mother of a three-year-old daughter Nadia.

Classmates of the Hijabs at the University of Florida have set a \$5,000 goal for the cash fund they are raising under "Hijab Point Four Programme."

A group of local civic organisations have started another cash fund.

Local merchants are furnishing layettes, shoes and clothing. A laundry will give free diaper service for a year. Two milk companies are planning to contribute free milk. The hospital which is caring for the mother and quadruplets is giving free use of all medical equipment needed to help the babies live. Nor need the Hijabs worry about doctor bills.

British Guiana and the U.S.A.

The October 23 issue of the *Worldover Press* carries the following comments by Devere Allen on the part played by the U.S. authorities in the British Guiana affairs:

Fast-moving events in various parts of the globe are sufficiently alike in some respects to raise a fundamental question: how much, when, and for what reasons are great powers justified in any intervention in the affairs of smaller countries?

Did the United States, for example, have to be quite as speedy and unquestioning in backing the dispatch of troops and warships by the British to their Crown Colony, British Guiana? It may have aided U.S.-British relations, but it will damage Washington in many a Latin American land, no matter how ardently anti-Communist. It tended, too, to make it look as though the sole issue in British Guiana were Communism.

There seems little doubt that the people's Progressive Party led in British Guiana by Cheddi Jagan and his American wife has come under strong Communist influence. But could the Jagans, and their friends, have gained such power if the British, long ago, had intervened to see that sugar and mine workers were decently paid, and given the right to organize into truly

independent trade unions for collective bargaining? After nearly a century and a half of British rule, the Franchise Commission set up in 1944 reported that the colony was not ready for universal adult suffrage. The new constitution still maintained property qualifications for the vote, and required a minimum income of \$1,200 a year. Why has education so lagged?

In the case of British Guiana, there is at least one significant factor. There was no big local army, no appreciable armament, to create a problem for the British landing forces. Whether or not the elements struggling for independence from Britain wanted to be peaceful, they jolly well had to be.

There are many ticklish situations elsewhere, however, some involving the United States directly, where this is not so. Suppose the quarrel between Yugoslavia and Italy over Trieste, for example, should actually burst into combat. American inability to intervene on behalf of peace would be due very largely to the armament it has given away to both sides, and given, ironically enough, to safeguard the free world. If Tito let loose his troops, and U.S.-British forces took the side of Italy to back up the granting of Trieste to the Italians, it would be another instance of American soldiers killed with American guns and military equipment. And if Italians began the use of force, they also would be using U.S. arms.

In an unprecedented criticism of Guatemala, the State Department has castigated the Guatemalan government for allowing Communists to win too great an influence. But if the Communists should take complete power in that country, they would be capable of holding it for a strange reason—the armament given by the U.S. to the reactionary, cruel dictator, Jorge Ubico, during World War II. It is worth remembering that Ubico got more arms by far than comparatively democratic Mexico, though the latter had a population more than seven times as great.

For the Western world, this is no easy question. It believes it must arm the free nations, so-called, against the Communist menace. But the free world has a way of turning against freedom, place by place. No better illustration could be found than South Korea under Syngman Rhee. Rhee's virtual dictatorship threatens the peace. His agents have tried to disrupt the armistice, with Rhee's blessing. Rhee puts the U.S. in the unhappy position of supporting the very things we abhor in the tactics of Communism. But the stronger Rhee gets with U.S. arms, the more vital to us is his co-operation, the less we can control him.

British Action in Guiana

Though the British Conservative and Labour statesmen have been unanimous in denouncing the People's Progressive Party and its leaders, that by no means indicates that the British actions there were justified or that there was any Communist plot. As the *London Economist* writes: "The White Paper (pub-

lished by the British Government on British Guiana) contains nothing approaching 'proof' that a definite plan was being hatched, in order to overthrow the constitution and set up a Communist Government. This may simply reflect the nature of Communist plots, they are not easy things to track down. But since the Government's early pronouncements rested the case on the existence of a plot, the White Paper has not cleared up many people's doubts." (Quoted by *Vigil*, Oct. 31).

Indeed, "British Guiana has been a gigantic advertisement of the New Colonialism of Britain, supported by the United States of America. Dr. Jagan may go home—and perhaps to jail—a sadder man, but the world is deeply indebted to him for the wisdom that has been forced on it by the British action in Guiana, in response to the nationalist activities of the P.P.P.," writes the *People* editorially.

Continuing the paper writes, "Nationalist, we would emphasise, because not all the blatant lying and contemptible propaganda of the British masters can convince the world that either there has been a Red plot in Guiana or that there was the least little of evidence of potential and contemplated violence. The methods adopted by the P.P.P. have been quite peaceful. The world has admitted it."

"... Anti-Communism is providing a convenient mask for a super-colonialism, which would doom the Asian and the African races to perpetual slavery. Britain would not have dared to take the action she did in British Guiana if she had not been supported, in fact, instigated, by Wall Street and the State Department."

Concluding the *People* writes: "Dr. Jagan has done a great service to the world by proving the greatest danger which confronts it today—the unyielding European domination of Asia and Africa for the good of the holding powers, and for the material benefit of the Almighty Dollar, the over-all patron of the 'Free World'."

In reply to a question in the Council of States by Sri Satyendranarayan Mazumdar, a Communist member from West Bengal, Pandit Nehru told that India did not propose to take the Guiana issue to the U.N. In reply to another question by P.S.P. member, Pandit Nehru described the labour conditions in British Guiana as appalling. The Government of India is reported to be considering an early representation to the British Government about labour conditions in British Guiana, which affect a large number of workers of Indian origin.

Apartheid

The *Worldover Press* for October 23, gives a very clear survey of the position regarding race-antagonism in South Africa, by Clive Gray:

Johannesburg, South Africa: It is worth remembering that *apartheid*, or extreme race segregation, is not new. Even the word has been a part of Nationalist

vocabulary for a long time, and the policy is almost ages old. Before the Nationalists came to power in 1948, what is now called *apartheid* was so taken for granted that it needed no name at all. But it steadily built up resentment.

Thus it is untenable to say, as the United Party does, that it is only Nationalist extremism in carrying out *apartheid* which has antagonized the non-Europeans and caused the present racial conflict in South Africa. The awakening of Africans and other non-Europeans would have taken place just as inevitably under a United Party regime, though perhaps a few years later. The Nationalists have brought the question to a head, however, and not until recently were people on both sides of the color line inclined to regard segregation as a burning and dynamic issue.

As far as Johannesburg is concerned, the chief new factor is segregation in the main railway station. Previously, non-Europeans were allowed to go down the front steps into the main station area, and could watch the gold-fish in the tile-lined pools on both sides of the hall. Now, they can't go down the front steps at all, but after entering through the front doors, must veer sharply to the right and go around the balcony down to the trains on the other side.

In the public conveyances and conveniences, however, and in the residential areas, the schools, etc., segregation has existed ever since the city was founded in 1885. In this respect, Johannesburg was conforming to the laws and customs of the old Transvaal Republic.

In one vital particular, nevertheless, *apartheid* in Johannesburg is proceeding toward a definite goal, a step which is arousing great concern. The policy, which goes by the name of "Western Areas Removal Scheme," involves the transfer of 58,000 African residents of Sophiatown, Martindale, and Newclare townships in Western Johannesburg to a now barren veld area six to seven miles away, known as Meadowlands. The United Party drew up this scheme around 1937, at the instigation of European residents in newly developed European sections around the three African townships. Little action was taken on it until 1949, shortly after the Nationalist government came to power, when impatient European residents prodded the Minister of Native Affairs.

The Minister, sensing an opportunity to throw the United Party city council into turmoil, and to implement his *apartheid* ideology, asked the council what it intended to do. The council then swung into action, and by 1950 a Western Areas Ad Hoc Commission had prepared a report outlining the scheme. The Minister now has a commission of his own surveying details of the plan.

While the affair is complex, it is possible to summarize the motives and rationalizations behind the government's scheme. The Europeans think along these lines:

1. The presence of a native area near a thriving European community breeds racial friction and constitutes a danger to the community's welfare.
2. This nearness produces a rise in crime and lowers property values.
3. Slum conditions in African quarters have reached such an appalling state that the native community can be rehabilitated only by moving all 58,000 inhabitants to a newly built, scientifically planned township near the other native "locations" around Orlando.
4. And finally, according to the Europeans, freehold tenure, now existent in the three townships (natives in Sophiatown, etc., may own land as well as housing improvements) inevitably leads to slum conditions and rent exploitation.

It is pointed out by Europeans that of more than 13,000 families living in the area, only 350 own the land they live on, while two-thirds of the area is classified as a slum. Thus freehold rights must be taken away from natives who have them, and all must henceforth reside in municipal locations, where tenure is on a lease-hold basis, or where at best the native may build and own his own house, but can be forced to sell out and leave if he loses his employment in the city.

That African property ownership is the real issue is indicated by the fact that a "location," the "Western Native Township," was founded in 1918 before any Europeans were within several miles of it, and no one suggests moving its inhabitants out. Here, however, they are not permitted to own property. Yet the Western Areas townships whose residents are to be moved were established even earlier, in 1905 and 1912.

The Nationalists, ironically, argue that there is only minor opposition among the natives, yet in the next breath they say they will not listen to opposition spokesmen, on the ground that white left-wing agitators have put all these ridiculous ideas into the natives' heads.

If they go ahead with the plan to move the natives, the whites will be guilty of a breach of contract. They will heap up fuel for racial conflicts, for it is doubtful whether they can expel the Africans without provoking violence both from those who own their homes and the others who, not owning anything, still like to be near their jobs.

Housing is already a problem in the city, yet the removal scheme will require the construction of 13,000 houses for the Western Areas residents alone, even if some of the Africans do their own building. And of the 80,000 Africans now living in the municipally controlled slums of Orlando ("temporary shelters") and other shanty towns, not one will be re-housed, as it is, for several months, although the city promised in 1946 to have them all rehoused by 1951.

If the white authorities had not contented themselves for 15 years with dreaming of the removal project, the slum conditions might have been greatly alleviated. Health regulations could have been more

strictly applied. Many poor houses could be repaired, and the sound houses from which natives are to be moved are estimated to be now worth a million dollars.

In any case, the government has already bought the Meadowlands region, while with characteristic bull-headedness it has rejected all other programs for the Western Areas. The Transvaal Nationalist newspaper has even contended editorially that no counter-proposals exist! Meanwhile, before long, the Western Areas of Johannesburg seem destined to become a crucial sore spot before the public opinion of the world.

White "Democracy" in Kenya

Even after a year of brutal repression the British imperialists have been unsuccessful in their efforts to curb the urge for independence of the Kenya people. They have burnt large numbers of villages, bombed Kikuyu reserves, arrested thousands of Kenya patriots and have gaoled the leaders of the Kenyan African Union. Now the European community in Kenya has demanded the reservation of 'White highlands' for Whites only. In a political testament Kenya's European political leaders have demanded the continuance of British rule and the strictest control of immigration from the East for preserving "the Western character of the new civilisation of Kenya and the English language and culture, and protect its people from successive economic competition from abroad."

All-Korean Elections

Washington, Nov. 24—In an editorial entitled "An All-Korean Election" the *New York Times* said yesterday:

"President Syngman Rhee has sharply reversed his position on the question of an election under which Korea might be unified, and in so doing has greatly strengthened the negotiating position of the United Nations. He had previously held that, since his government was the legally constituted and recognised one for Korea, all that was necessary was for the North Koreans to fill the vacant assembly seats that had been reserved for them. He says now that he will not oppose a plan for a new nationwide election, north and south, that might choose himself or any other person for the presidency, provided only the choice is free.

"The statement does not alter some of the hard facts in the case. It is still to be determined if the Communists—Russian, Chinese and Korean—have any intention of permitting the unification of Korea on any terms whatever. The cynical, therefore, may say that President Rhee is on safe ground. Most persons familiar with the Korean scene would say also that he is personally on safe ground in any case, since there is little doubt that in a free election he would be returned overwhelmingly. To his countrymen he remains the first Korean.

"But when these discounts are fully recognised, the fact remains that President Rhee has made, not a

personal concession, but a great contribution to the cause we have espoused. The United Nations has repeatedly affirmed that its objective is a free, united and democratic Korea. The opponents of the United Nations—and of Dr. Rhee—have repeatedly asserted that what was ahead was a sinister movement to perpetuate a 'dictatorship' with the military support of the United States and to extend it to an unwilling North Korea. That this allegation was demonstrably false has not made it less effective in some quarters in vilifying the United States, Dr. Rhee and the United Nations' aims for Korea.

"Dr. Rhee's statement should clear out some of this underbrush and broaden the path to settlement, at least, as far as the United Nations is concerned. If unification proposals, including that of an all-Korean election, are made, the United Nations will not be obliged to face the retort that Dr. Rhee and his government would not permit such a course. There does not, therefore, need to be the insidious suggestion that the United Nations would be obliged to negotiate with the Communists on the one hand and with Dr. Rhee on the other.

"This should not imply that the United Nations has a moral right to make decisions for the Koreans without even the courtesy of consulting them. It does imply that it will be far easier to reach a ground of full agreement with the Korean Republic than has sometimes been supposed, and even declared.

"More than that, Dr. Rhee has put the emphasis precisely where it should be placed. A unified Korea is important and it is Dr. Rhee's constant goal. But it is no less imperative that this united Korea be free and democratic also. In stressing the criterion of free choice and his complete willingness to abide by it, the Korean president has strongly reaffirmed the philosophy and ideals of the free world."

Let us hope that the South Korean President continues in the same lucid frame of mind in all other matters germane.

A Lurking Danger

Sri Nehru is reported to have said at his Press Conference in New Delhi on November 15 that, in case, the Korean Political Conference was not held, the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, of which India is the Chairman, would probably have to place the differences before the two Commands and let the U.N. and Communist Commands in Korea decide for themselves what to do with unrepatriated prisoners.

Under the provision of the agreement on armistice the prisoners are to be released after January 22, 1954, even if no political conference is held.

Senator Knowland, leader of the Republican Party in the U.S. Senate, has criticized this statement as presenting the "free world" with "a grave and critical crisis." He has accused India of following the basic line of the Communists in Korea and has advised keeping India out of the Korean Peace Conference.

"In effect," said the Senator, "Mr. Nehru is proposing that these people be held in bondage indefinitely. There is no moral or legal justification for any such action."

He has urged President Eisenhower and the State Department to reject Mr. Nehru's statement.

The *Bombay Chronicle* in an editorial on November 20 writes that Mr. Knowland was almost aggressively outdoing Mr. Dulles himself in his policy and activities. His war-mongering remarks might have been ignored but for his influence in the U.S. ruling circles. Refuting Mr. Knowland's criticism of Mr. Nehru's remarks, the paper writes:

"It, because of mutually conflicting attitudes stubbornly insisted upon by both sides, the terms of the armistice agreement fail of fulfilment, what else can the Indian command do than to refer back the whole thing to those who imposed its difficult responsibilities on India. How does it follow that Mr. Nehru, as Senator Knowland charges, proposes in effect, that the prisoners should be kept in bondage indefinitely, or that it is Mr. Nehru, who is presenting the 'free world' with a 'grave and critical crisis'?"

The Senator's statement signalled a greater international danger inasmuch as he had also laid down an Asian strategy for the United States, based on the exclusion of India, Burma and Indonesia, which were "neutralist" States. This plan was bound to fail; and the American Government could be wise to "induce Senator Knowland to learn the facts of geography and to open his eyes to the realities of the situation in Asia," the paper says.

These are trying times, we know, and passions are likely to run high amongst those who were directly concerned with the struggle in Korea. But people like Senator Knowland should know better than to further aggravate the situation. Here in India there were many well-wishers of Pandit Nehru who wanted him to keep well out of the Korean Affair. These were the people who knew the mentality of people like Knowland.

Bermuda Conference

It has been announced that the leaders of the three Western Powers, the U.S.A., U.K. and France will meet in Bermuda from December 4 to 8 for a discussion of "various matters of common concern to the three Powers." This meeting is being convened at the initiative of Prime Minister Churchill whereas the previous one, scheduled to have been held early in July but which had to be postponed on account of the ill health of the British Prime Minister, had been announced at the request of President Eisenhower. During the interval of six months between these two announcements, the international situation has assumed a somewhat different appearance. At the time of Sir Winston Churchill's announcement in May, the situation was pregnant with the expectation of a East-West meet and some hopes of success were also expressed in

view of the liberal gestures of the Malenkov Government in U.S.S.R. But now after several exchanges of notes between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Union's finally turning down an invitation for a Four-Power meeting at Lugarno, hopes of an early East-West accord have dampened.

There will be no formal agenda of the Bermuda Conference. But it is understood the problem of Germany will be the chief item. The representatives of the Big Three will try to co-ordinate their attitude to the German question as well as for a reconciliation of their diverging attitude to the Far Eastern situation. Continued stationing of American troops in Europe and the growth of Communism in Indonesia will also presumably be discussed in the Conference.

There has been little enthusiasm in Britain and France over the announcement of the Conference. The British diplomatic sources are sceptical of the outcome of such a meeting in any genuine bridging of Anglo-American differences of views and policies. The diplomatic correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* went so far as to suggest that the only reason why the British Prime Minister was journeying to Bermuda was because it was the only way he could try to see Mr. Eisenhower now that he had become President of the United States, reports the *Statesman*.

Reuter's correspondent in Paris reports that the French Premier, M. Laniel, had accepted the invitation with great misgiving. French diplomatic quarters were unanimous in their belief that the meeting of the Big Three would be used by the American and British statesmen to force from the French a promise to ratify the European Army Treaty in the near future or, failing that, to get them to agree to grant German sovereignty under the Bonn Convention, independently of what happened to the Treaty. The French Premier could hardly agree to the proposal of granting sovereignty to Western Germany before the terms of her rearmament had been agreed upon without risking the fall of his government. Moreover, both M. Laniel and M. Bidault are potential candidates for the French Presidential elections scheduled on December 17. Any commitment on the Treaty would amount to losing the anti-Treaty votes in the Assembly.

But, as the *Times'* Washington correspondent reports, the U.S. Congress "will be in an impatient mood by February, and is unlikely to accept any programme of military aid until it knows what is going to happen in France. As things look at present, the date of possible ratification seems to be approaching uncomfortably close to the date when Congress will want to go home to start campaigning. This will presumably be explained in detail to M. Laniel and M. Bidault in Bermuda." (*Statesman*, 12.11.53)

The French Prime Minister is likely to point out the fact how the Indo-China campaign was sapping French military and economic strength. He will pro-

bably advocate talks with Russia on all-Asian problems as the proper way to settle the Indo-China problem and end the costly campaign there.

French diplomatic quarters expressed the view that an outstanding feature of the Bermuda Conference would be an attempt by Sir Winston Churchill to secure to the approval of President Eisenhower and Premier Laniel for a lone visit to Moscow and an informal talk with Premier Malenkov.

Opening a debate in the Political Committee of the General Assembly on the Soviet proposal for measures to avert the threat of a new world war and to reduce tension in international relations, M. Vyshinsky, the Soviet delegate, said that the Bermuda Conference could only serve to intensify international tension instead of reducing it.

Replying to M. Vyshinsky Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, British Minister of State, told the U.N. Political Committee that the Bermuda Conference was a "normal and friendly meeting" between the leaders of friendly States and was not directed against anybody. The British did not object to Malenkov meeting Mao Tse-tung. Therefore he did not see how could the Soviet Union object to the Western Powers meeting to discuss their common problems.

Kuomintang Troops in Burma

M. O. Orestov writes that though the seventh session of the General Assembly had denounced the hostile acts of the Kuomintang troops against Burma and had called for the disarmament and subsequent internment, or withdrawal, of the Kuomintang gangs from Burma, it was learnt from the report of the Burmese delegation to the current session of the General Assembly that the Assembly's resolution had not been carried out, that not a Kuomintang soldier had been withdrawn from Burma, and that the tension in that area was even greater than before.

M. Orestov writes: "The Kuomintangists behave so impudently only because they feel that they have the support of the aggressive forces of the United States of America which are deliberately creating complications in South-East Asia and the Far East."

As a result of Burma's complaint to the UNO in March this year and following the recommendations of the General Assembly of the UN, negotiations had opened in Bangkok between the representatives of Burma, Taiwan (Formosa), Thailand and the U.S.A. But no solution could be possible as to quote M. Orestov, "Encouraged by the American diplomats, Chiang Kai-shek's delegates demanded at first that the Government of Burma should terminate hostilities against the interventionists on Burmese territory. Then they requested Burma to withdraw her troops in order to allow the Kuomintangists a 'safe passage' to Thailand. Not content with these impudent demands, they declared that the question of withdrawing the Kuomintangist troops could be settled only if Burma

would release about 1,000 Kuomintangists taken prisoner. Chiang Kai-shek's 'delegates' cynically alleged that the 'government' of Taiwan was not responsible for the conduct of the Kuomintang troops in Burma, in general, and could not issue orders to them."

The "representatives of the Command of the KMT troops in Burma had declared from Bangkok that the UN resolution was 'unlawful' and senseless," and that their troops had no intention of leaving Burma.

Convinced that the negotiations could no longer be fruitfully conducted, the Burmese delegate had left Bangkok on September 17. And from September 20 Burmese Air Force began bombing KMT strong points in Burma.

Commenting on the threats of relation by the Taiwan authorities U Pe Kin, Burmese Ambassador to Thailand, had declared on October 3: "Let it be known to those who still doubt that these men (KMT bandits) have been and are receiving supplies by air from the authorities on Formosa, and it should be clear to everybody that Formosa is not only an accomplice in the encroachment upon Burma's sovereignty, but that it exercises full control over the so called foreign troops."

As late as on November 27, the chief Burmese delegate to the UN expressed his disappointment at the manner in which the question of the withdrawal of the KMT troops was being considered.

Philippine Elections

The recently held Presidential elections in the Philippines have come in for some comment in the Press of the world. Even as early as July the foreign press had been showing keen interest about the outcome of the electoral contest.

The victory of Senor Ramon Magsaysay of the Nationalist Party over his rival President Quirino of the Liberal Party does not signify any substantial change in the realities of the Philippines, as they exist today. The country is seething with discontent and President Quirino's defeat only brings that in bold relief. Even after about half a century of American rule and seven years of independence the Philippines still remains a peasant economy of low productivity. The peasants are in dire poverty and virtual slaves of the landlords. Modern industry is very small accounting for only 5 per cent of the national income. Before the war a quarter of the national wealth of the country was in the hands of the foreigners. Americans controlled about half the public utilities and most of the mines of gold, iron and manganese. And foreigners handled 80 per cent of the exports and imports. To quote Maurice Zinkin the income of a Filipino "even in real terms was no higher than that of the poorest American class, the Negro share-croppers of the South." As a result there has been widespread peasant revolt in Central Luzon under the Hukbalahap (People's Anti-

Japanese Army), recently renamed Hukbong (People's Liberation Army). All the efforts of the Quirino Government to suppress the Huks have so far been unsuccessful.

Both the Nationalist Party and the Liberal Party represent landlord and comprador groups, contending with one another for power. As the *Statesman* writes, commenting on the Nationalist victory, the Nationalist Party "almost certainly still includes elements whose main desire is a change in the beneficiaries of, rather than an end to, the spoils of political office." These parties have strong American links. Until March, Senor Magsaysay had been President Quirino's Minister of War, "to which post," writes G. Levinson, "we have it on the authority of *Current Biography* (U.S.A.) he was appointed on direct orders from Washington."

The American influence in the political life of the Philippines has been sharply demonstrated by President Quirino's charge of their direct interference in the elections. *France Presse* reported that American dollars had been pouring into Magsaysay's election fund. President Quirino and Senor Eugenio Pereg, Speaker of the Lower House, accused American Government representatives of interference and President Quirino cited several instances, reports the *UPI*. He named Major-Gen. Robert Cannon of the U.S. military advisory group. The *Times*' Washington correspondent reports that President Quirino had "also found in his possession a 'secret circular' issued supposedly by Maj.-Gen. Cannon to his officers in which, it is alleged, plans were set forth to ensure the election of Senor Magsaysay." (*Statesman* 22.11.53).

The correspondent of the *Times* adds that "Admiral Spruance, American Ambassador, said what Maj.-Gen. Cannon did was 'to ensure, so far as he could, that the elections would be held in a free and honest manner and without intimidation,' and what was done was 'with my knowledge and approval.'" (*Ibid*).

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MODERN REVIEW

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MANAGER, "THE MODERN REVIEW."

HISTORY'S WARNING TO INDIA

By DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S.

MANY years ago, at the annual Congress session in Calcutta, when feelings were running high between the old Moderate leaders and the younger school of Extremists,—Pandit Motilal Nehru as an "Elder Statesman" was trying to apply persuasion by reading from a history book how a European nation had acted in similar circumstances. Bipin Pal bellowed forth, "Motilal, don't read history. Make history!" It was an idiotic interruption. But what of that? The audience cheered it to the echo. Pandit Motilal shut his book and sat down, feeling that it was useless to cast the pearls of human wisdom before the callow youths of Calcutta.

INDIA AND ITALY AFTER LIBERATION

I have been refused admission to Bipin Pal's school for being over age (70 years too old). There is no help for me but to join the followers of Pandit Motilal and recite a page from history here, because history has preserved the story of the past experiences of our race to serve as a guide or a warning to us. India in 1947 was just like Italy in 1862,—or rather worse off, because unlike Free India, the newly united Italy had no alien State within its natural borders, the sea and the mountain. But the ministers of New Italy brought ruin upon their country within twenty years of the death of Cavour.

Here is an inside view of Italy's government after liberation:

"A great cause had evoked great leaders, but the goal once reached, the tension slackened. No statesman of first-rate ability was brought to the front, and men of second rank were confronted with . . . problems which would have taxed the genius of a Cavour. . . . Some of the ministers (in 1876) were moved by personal ambition. They had little cohesion and less willingness to sacrifice personal aims to the common weal. . . . Face to face with the party of order [the Ministry] stood a body which was not so much an Opposition in the true sense, as a confused chaotic crowd, . . . ambitious youngmen struggling to rise, . . . without any political principle. Around these were grouped the derelicts of the shipwreck of old dogmas and lost causes,—[Ramrajya Parisad and Hindu Mahasabha even in Italy!]

"The finances of the State had been reduced to something very near ruin . . . by the great political changes between 1859 and 1863 and the wastefulness of the various provincial governments. . . . The story of Italian finance since 1870 is that of a grievous and increasing burden of expenditure patiently borne by a country poor in natural resources and young in the practice of industry.

"The people were losing faith in their rulers and, amidst the widespread disorder, the teachings of the extreme democrats [what are now called

Communists] fell on willing ears."—*Cambridge Modern History*, Vols. XI, Ch. 19 and XII, Ch. 8.

The maladies of that newly enfranchised nation have an ominous likeness to those of Free India today. First, Parliamentary Government could not work among a people accustomed to autocratic rule for six centuries; ministries broke up every now and then because there was no union on political principles but only groups or factions formed by selfish politicians greedy of power and gain. Look at our Pepsu and East Punjab—and at many other provinces, where the sin of selfishness has been merely covered up with a cane basket for a time. Secondly, in the frantic attempt to secure votes, large numbers of posts were unnecessarily created. The administration's pay bill was doubled or trebled, by giving posts to an army of political underlings. West Bengal though now reduced by Partition to one-third of its old area under British rule, has added 30 deputy ministers to its bloated ministry, and every now and then some of these are being pushed up to higher pay as "ministers without Cabinet rank." Dr. B. C. Roy is the greatest political physician of India, and his discovery—this infallible Vigour Pill for anæmic ministries has been taken with success also by New Delhi, the Delhi State, and Madras, not to speak of the lesser territorial fry.

From this followed the third evil,—administrative slackness and inefficiency, even corruption. Like the New Italy we seem to have gone back to the middle ages and the reign of our Nawabs have come back, so far as the quick transaction of public business goes.

The fourth striking parallel with Italy is afforded by the rupture between the domineering North and the neglected South of the peninsula. There was widespread rebellion (concealed under the name of Mafia or brigandage) in the Naples province, against the insolent, selfish, and negligent rule of the Federal Government in power at Florence (afterwards Rome). The evil has been intensified in India, because the Italians had the same religion, language, and social system (i.e., freedom from caste) all over that great peninsula. But what can the Dravida Kazagam find to its taste in what Nehru has aptly called "the imperialism of the Hindi language?"

The fifth point of the parallel is the megalomania that has seized our supreme rulers. New power like new wine is heady. On being suddenly raised to the supreme government of 350 millions of men and a revenue of 400 crores of rupees every year, they are trying to do everything in the grand style and to rub shoulders with the first-rate Powers of the world. The

ambition of the new Italian Cabinet to found a colonial empire like those of England and France led to the waste of money and lives in Abyssinia and the Adowa disaster. We have as yet escaped such a disgrace, but we are opening diplomatic agencies in every country of the world, and frequently raising our representatives in small countries of no close concern to us, to the ambassadorial rank, which means the highest grade of expenditure. We are being told by the Government Publicity Department that this Project of our Government is the biggest in Asia, that Dam is the highest in the world. A great American engineering authority who visited India a year ago, declared that it would be better if we undertook moderate-sized projects involving expenditure within our means, and that after these schemes had succeeded and we had gained experience in work and trained personnel, we should later embark on grander projects.

But this advice has been ignored as worthy of *banias*! And the natural consequence is being seen now. Finance is exerting its relentless pressure on our rulers' swollen heads. The grand Kosi Project has had to be dropped, but nothing has been done to save 6,000 square miles in Bihar from annual destruction. The Nemesis of all this in Italy has been State insolvency, and the currency (the *lira*) has sunk to the level of the German *mark*. For the collapse of the *franc*, the French Government can legitimately plead two World Wars which made the soil of France the theatre of their devastations. India's rulers have no such excuse to offer for their monstrous currency inflation.

ITALY AND INDIA TO-DAY

Away with the dead Past; even the Present has its lesson for us. The post-war condition of Italy supplies an exact parallel to that of Republican India, except in two respects. In consequence of the enormous resources of our vast continent-like country, state bankruptcy is not so near us, as it is to the sterile war-ravaged Italy; and secondly, only one party has been able to manage our Government during the last six years in contrast with the kaleidoscopic changes of Ministry in Italy. A profound and dispassionate analysis of the present Italian Government and the condition of the people under her new democracy is given in a book by an Italian Professor, of which the *London Times* has published a summary. No thoughtful Indian can read it without alarm verging on despair, because the parallel with our Government is so close that it looks like a faithful photograph of the Republic of India.

First, the Government of India like that of new Italy has created an immense number of new public posts to feed the mouths of its political supporters and election agents, because a democracy must be run by votes, and votes must be bought from a people

who do not possess the public spirit and political honesty which marked ancient Rome and modern England.

This doubling or trebling the number of State employees has not increased the speed or efficiency of the day-to-day administration, but has had exactly the reverse effect. The new officers have been selected for the purpose of extending party patronage or what is more properly known as nepotism, and not by any efficiency test, and hence, all work has gone slack, and files lie buried for months without being attended to amidst the confusion caused by countless departments and divided responsibility. The officials do little work, and yet they are discontented, because it is beyond the power of any State to pay adequate salary to such an inflated army of officers. The natural consequence is the offering of bribes by people who cannot wait indefinitely in getting their work done and the taking of bribes by State employees who must make hay while the sun shines.

Parties are forming and breaking up daily in the legislature among the Opposition and also among "rebel Congressmen," because there is no real fundamental difference of political principle among our Deputies, but only personal vanity and sectional interest. The Ministry itself issues a pompous communique or project of a plan one year and eats its own words next year—even next month, as in the cases of the sugar purchase, export duty on jute fabrics, food self-sufficiency and procurement policy, and so on. It is a revolving inconstant world, judging by New Delhi's antics.

Secondly, administrative inefficiency with its natural consequences of slackness and bribes offered and accepted, increases the cost of administration and most Government-sponsored undertakings are therefore running at a loss. In both these countries, Italy and India, the currency has not recovered stability after six years of peace, and their paper money has only a fictitious value in the international money market which has to be buttressed up by the control of imports and exports.

Thirdly, labour unrest has become chronic. Empty stomachs cannot be filled with leaders' speeches and promises of "wonderful good things" next season under the latest plan. Most consumer goods are beyond the reach of even middle class men. Every strike, every go slow movement, every forced lock-out, is economic waste; the country's resources in manpower and materials thus remain unproductive and this will inevitably increase the national poverty.

In Italy, owing to ever-changing ministries, all matters are left to drift and to take care of themselves, and no leader takes a strong, far-sighted action to prevent the drift. In the Indian Republic we have had one stable ministry for six years. But is there any difference in the result?

STATE BANKRUPTCY LOOMING AHEAD

Megalomania in the heads, inefficiency in the administration, and the triumph of the separatist spirit in every limb of the country, will have the inevitable consequence of reducing the income of the State, swelling its expenditure and thus bringing on public bankruptcy, and the insolvent State will break up or be sold up—to whom?

This is no imaginary danger. It is the interest of every sober Indian to read the signs of the time. The solvency of a person is measured by the credit he enjoys in the money market, or in other words, the rate of interest he has to pay in borrowing money. In July last, the Government of India raised a loan at 3½ per cent interest, a part of which was needed for paying off an older debt of 3 per cent only. The old 3 per cent public loan has been selling at 20 per cent depreciation, that is to say those who trusted Government with Rs. 100 ten years ago, can now get only Rs. 80 by cashing their paper. This is an exact measuring rod of our present rulers' standing in the money market.

Most significant and sinister is the conduct of the Madras Government. It advertised for a loan of 5½ crores at 4 per cent, about 1½ crores of which was required for repaying an older debt bearing 3 per cent interest; that is to say, the Madras Government will henceforth have to pay every year six lakhs as interest where it was paying only 4½ lakhs before. Thus, the debtor's credit has suddenly slumped by 33½ per cent.

The cost of living today is four times of what it was in 1939, but has every one's income increased four times during these 13 years? Government is trying to make its own both ends meet by raising the court fees, railway fares, postal charges, and taxes. A journey from Howrah to Bombay now costs double of what it did in 1939; the registration of a letter costs threefold, and the book-post rate is double of the old. But has our Government on its part raised the limit of exemption from Income Tax to four times the old amount of Rs. 2,000? No. Then how can we balance our domestic budgets?

An over-inflated bogus currency (of paper and nickel) and deficit budgeting are the danger signals on the economic line. Is it safe to disregard them? As Burke truly said, "The revenue of the State is the State."

UPLIFT OF THE MASSES, OUR SUPREME QUESTION

But apart from the all-overriding question of finance, the supreme problem before Free India is not political but social, in the widest sense of that term. I mean, the problem of problems for us is,—how to raise the poor ignorant backward people of the former Native States to the economic and educational level of the citizens of the advanced provinces of British India? How to give the Kashmiri or Rajput peasant, goatherd or craftsman, the school, hospital and economic oppor-

tunities which we enjoy in our older provinces? So long as this equalisation is not effected (not merely preached from the platform), democracy or representative Government for India as one unit will remain a cruel mockery.

Let me illustrate the point by means of a scene which has remained printed on my memory for nearly fifty years. I was then travelling through Malwa, and looking out of the railway carriage window saw a Rajput tilling his field. He was poor and had only one cattle; so he had tied his bullock to one end of the yoke and his wife to the other, and himself drove the plough. Is not this an exact picture of the political equality between the voter of Comrade Gopalan in Madras and the ever-starving God-forsaken, Kashmiri workman or the semi-servile Rajput tiller of the soil?

THE BRIGHT SIDE

Such a survey must not, however, fill us with despair, if only we could be assured of wisdom and strength in our leaders in the years ahead. Their past achievements can inspire us with hope. Our nation's gains during the last six years are obvious, in some respects actual achievement, in others only a beginning, the fruits of which time alone can show: (1) The political unification of India has been secured by the integration of seven hundred and odd Native States and small independent authorities. (2) Peace, within and outside, has been maintained, leaving our leaders free to work for the people's good and the people free to pursue their own interests. (3) Social reform has been actively undertaken, feudalism is being everywhere abolished by law, the land is being assured to the tiller, the equality of all the people under the law has been proclaimed in the constitution, and it has been openly declared that the avowed policy of our leaders is to make India a Welfare State in every respect. All this is in theory, however, and the full carrying out of such a vast and ambitious programme will take many years—probably many generations. But an earnest, almost breathless attempt is being made for the uplift of the depressed castes and the labouring classes oppressed for centuries.

All these are to the good. Also credit must be given to our rulers when we remember the suddenness and severity of two tasks thrown upon them at the very outset. The first is the Refugee problem. More than forty lakhs of uprooted humanity have been pouring into India from the east and the west, and our Government has generously accepted the task of settling them regardless of expense. It is an event far more harmful and sad than the mass migrations of tribes (*Volk-wanderung*) in the early ages of the world's history, which ended in the formation of new States and new cultures in virgin or thinly peopled lands. West Bengal's density of population is 880 per square mile and 25 lakhs of Hindus have fled to it from Eastern Pakistan since Independence Day.

Secondly, the stress generated in dissolving the feudal social and administrative system, a thousand years old, over fully one-third of India's land area,—is so immense that even the best governments may be convulsed by it. But this reform cannot be brought about by a mere vote of the legislature or a proclamation in the Government *Gazette*. Feudalism could be abolished in France only after the streets of Paris had been deluged with blood, and a long and murderous Civil War had raged in La Vendée. Free Italy had to wage a long war with the superstitious poor, ignorant, and neglected southern provinces, while its governing party was the enlightened progressive men of Milan and Rome.

THREATS TO OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Let me now turn to the dark side of the picture. Here the dangers threatening us are: (1) The separatist spirit of every province, linguistic group and even caste. Can federal India successfully fight this tendency to Balkanisation? (2) Financial collapse. Free India has made no attempt to check the inflation (prices raised four-fold in 12 years—1939-1951); hence follow popular suffering through hunger, unemployment and the inevitable decrease of private charity. This is at the root of the labour unrest raging throughout the country year after year. Half-fed labourers cannot fill their stomachs with political speeches. The mischief works in a vicious circle. Labour trouble diminishes production and in the same proportion increases the average cost. Thus Indian goods are less and less able to stand in the competitive markets of the world, and finally losses force factories and plantations to close and capital to be scared away from founding any new business in such a country. This aggravates unemployment and poverty of the masses. (3) Democratic government through the elected representatives of all the adult population of the country, is impossible in India today. Its pre-requisite is the existence of two parties each ready and strong enough to undertake the administration if called upon, by turns. But here we have only one vast party held together by a junta at the top, and ninety-nine splinter groups with only a fractional support in the country, who unite and dissolve their coalition every day. In fact, our electorate—that is the whole nation (male and female) has not yet passed through the centuries of political education and experience necessary for working democracy of the modern type. (4) The life of our political leaders depends on their securing votes. This has led to the creation of needless new posts, nepotism, administrative inefficiency—the combined result of which is corruption and delay in office work.

No sober thinker can fail to notice that the Congress Government has alienated the intelligentsia,

who held sullenly, almost contemptuously, aloof from it, though they do not oppose it. A few examples are significant: life-long patriots like Sarat Bose, Acharya Narendra Dev, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Dr. M. N. Shah (Fellow of the Royal Society of England) were opposed by the Congress Caucus when they stood for election to the House of the People.

THE REMEDY?

The remedy lies in a bold stroke of statesmanly imagination, relentlessly pursued. Let our Federal Government follow a policy of strict retrenchment and austerity, and immediately start creating small self-contained ever-ready and expert units of welfare workers on the plan of the Commando Corps during the last War. At short notice, one such unit (with its leaders, workers, escort and stores for two months) will be quickly transported and dumped down among a people still living in mediæval darkness and feudal misgovernment. The new-comers, fully financed by the Central Government will immediately open schools, hospitals, cheap roads and training work shops among the local people and put them on the way to increasing their earning capacity and their sons on the path of leading a richer and higher life in the next generation. Voluntary social uplift workers (like the Ramakrishna Mission and similar devoted monks, or the laity of the Arya Samaj) will supplement the necessarily limited State-agency if they are subsidised and helped. Thus only can the plan be implemented within one generation at the earliest.

Historians have not failed to notice that "the political emancipation of the South (of Italy) was achieved in a few months; forty years have passed, and its economic emancipation is still to seek." (C.M.H.). Therefore, the true integration of India is not the changing of the colour-patches on the map of our country; it must be a cultural and economic integration. This task is a challenge to our statesmanship. The coming years will show how far the challenge has been met and the various parts of India have been assimilated into one organic whole. Only after this great feat has been actually performed, it will be legitimate for us to shout *Jai Hind*!

Pandit Jawaharlal proclaimed at Patna that the Congress Government would abolish poverty and unemployment, and nearly a quarter million of people cheered him. What a charming promise this! It looks like the twin-brother of a promise to extinguish poverty in France made by another ex-political detainee (from the fortress of Ham, a century before our political detainee from Ahmadnagar fort). His pamphlet *L'Extinction du Paupérisme* proved a best-seller and brought all France to his feet.

The promise was realised twenty-three years later—at SEDAN.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: ON THE ANVIL

By IQBAL NARAIN, M.A.,

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"The government of a people by itself as a government of one people by another does another for its own use, a place to make its own inhabitants."—JOHN STUART MILL.

has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing not, and cannot exist. One people may keep money in a human cattle farm, for the profits of

PEOPLE all the world over have loved self-government and struggled to achieve it. Philosophers have eulogised 'Home Rule', and poets glorified it in song and verse. Naturally, therefore, citizens in every country feel devoted towards their self-made constitution for it affirms and shields their right to be gods of democracy. And so, if on the one hand the English constitution has got its philosophers and poets, the American constitution too has its votaries and champions. Yet the Republican constitution of India—the hall-mark of our triumph in the struggle for freedom—has courted more criticism than praise. Many of our own countrymen honestly feel that the new constitution is 'no good' and that the earlier it is done away with, the better for India. For example, Sri Jaya Prakash Narain, the Socialist leader, wrote on January 26, 1950:

"Let us not forget that the constitution that comes into force to-day and brings republic into being, is in itself a source of the greatest danger to both individual freedom and social justice. Therefore, at the earliest opportunity, a really representative constituent assembly must be convened to frame a new constitution that may become a fit instrument for social democracy."

Appraisal of the Indian Constitution thus is an issue of crucial importance. For it would mean a judgment on the toil of three hundred of our fellow Indians who sat for two years, eleven months and seventeen days to hammer out a Constitution for mother India. Has it all been a huge waste and does it deserve to be discarded? To find an answer to this question, an attempt has been made at an impartial analysis of the main attacks levelled against the Republican Constitution of India.

1. AN UNDULY LONG CONSTITUTION

At the outset we find that the bulk of our Constitution has been put to searching criticism. Critics hold that our Constitution is unduly long and it, therefore, deprives the body politic of that flexibility of limbs which is a pre-requisite of its healthy working.

Indeed what strikes one in the Indian Constitution as a document is its comprehensiveness. It is embodied in 395 articles, nine schedules and the First Amendment Act. Dr. Ambedkar did not draw a long bow when he

described it as the bulkiest in the world. If the French Constitution under the Third Republic was remarkable for "its brevity, its incompleteness, its lack of sonorous phrases and challenging principles," the Republican Constitution of India is a type by itself for its vividness, its exhaustive details and rich ideology which is imbued with a liberal, democratic and pacific spirit. If the god-fathers of the American polity left the Constitution, as Russell Lowell puts it, to be "woven on the roaring loom of time" through a process of trial, error and correction, consensually-gods in India have attempted to weave the entire fabric themselves and are now proud of its completeness and rich pattern.

On the score of length and comprehensiveness our Constitution does differ from the other constitutions of the world. Most of the other constitutions of the world only embody the general principles and broad rules for the working of governmental machinery. They leave the details about the procedure of administration to be filled in by the legislature as and when circumstances require. But in the Indian Constitution many such details have also been incorporated. The Indian Constitution does not merely define the organisation and functions of the three main organs of government both at the centre and in the units and lays down provisions about citizenship and fundamental rights; it also deals with such minor details of administration as provisions about finance, property, contracts and suits, trade and intercourse within the territory of India, the services, the elections, minorities, official language, etc., etc. And hence the bulk of the constitution.

The bulk and comprehensiveness of our constitution has been explained and defended on the following grounds:

(a) The vastness of the country, the diversities of its population and the varieties of its interests account for and justify this elaboration. India's 340 millions of people, their different religions, their varied languages, the presence of many minorities in the country necessitated detailed specifications.

(b) The bulk of our constitution is inherent in its very nature. Explaining this Sri Joshi has ably stated:

"Another reason is the nature of the Indian Union, which conforms to no accepted theory of federalism and which adopts the ingredients of

1. The Republic Number of Janta, dated January 26, 1950.

different systems of government (Parliamentary and Presidential) to meet India's peculiar needs and conditions and whose avowed objective is to achieve the Welfare State."²

Our constitution has been assigned a double role. It has to be federal in normal times and unitary in the days of emergency. To enable the Constitution to play this double role, a set of emergency provisions had also to be incorporated and these in turn naturally added to the bulk of the constitution. Not only this. The framers of our constitution have embodied in one political structure States with varied political development both in point of consciousness and governmental structure. British Indian Provinces, the Native States and the Chief Commissions' Provinces differed so much from each other that different sets of conditions had to be incorporated in the constitution. Thus the bulk of the constitution increased still further because it "contains not only the constitution of the union, but also the constitutions of the States which are of different categories."³

(c) The plant of democracy has become foreign to the Indian soil due to the age-long political serfdom of the country. India was thus not fit to develop healthy democratic conventions particularly because of its illiteracy, poverty, political backwardness and lack of national character. Detailed provisions had, therefore, to be made to pursue the hard-won democratic ideal. The fathers of the constitution did not want to take any risk in the game of self-government. They did not want that the new constitution too, like the Morely-Minto and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, should be deprived of its spirit and made soulless by the rules which may be framed by the civil service of the country. Dr. Ambedkar has well expressed this viewpoint in the words:

"It was only where people were saturated with constitutional morality that one could take the risk of omitting from the constitution details of administration and leaving to the legislature to prescribe them. Democracy in India is only a top dressing on the Indian soil which is essentially undemocratic. In these circumstances it is wiser not to trust the legislatures to prescribe forms of administration."

(d) It is also true that the detailed provisions have enriched our constitution as these embody the experience of the great democracies of the world where similar provisions have been tested and found to have survived the wear and tear of politics. As Sri B. N. Rau has stated:

"It is undoubtedly true that the Draft has borrowed from other constitutions and notably from the Act of 1935 To profit from the experience of other countries or from the past experience of one's own is the part of wisdom. There is another advantage in borrowing not only the substance but even the language of established Constitutions; for, we obtain in this way the benefit of interpretation put

upon the borrowed provisions by the Courts of the countries of their origin and we thus avoid ambiguity or doubt."⁴

Yet the comprehensiveness of the Indian Constitution remains only a qualified blessing. At some places our Constitution, as seen above, goes into very minute details. This is uncalled-for by considerations of practical political wisdom. It is likely to hamper the hands and puzzle the heads of those who shall have to work the constitution in keeping with the needs of time and place. Life is not all theory; it has to be supplemented with practical wisdom. And so it is justly feared that the Constitution may become less responsive to the growing aspirations of the people and practical exigencies of time and place. It might render our constitution too rigid and consequently too remote from the run of life. True there is provision for amendment in the Constitution to adjust it to the march of progress. But alas man by his very nature takes things as they are and seldom bothers to change or improve upon them unless categorically warranted. Thus it has to be admitted that our constitution, though it embodies the concentrated political wisdom of the ages, ignores the basic truth that a real constitution is a living body of general and growing prescriptions carried into effect by living persons. Our Constitution in a word is not likely to be a living organism in its working and growth.

2. A BAG OF BORROWINGS

Another severe charge against our constitution is that it is nothing more and nothing less than a bag of borrowings—a fantastic and incoherent amalgam of the varied provisions of the different constitutions of the world.

It cannot be denied that the god-fathers of our constitution freely borrowed from other constitutions of the world. A few examples would illustrate this. The very democratic basis of the Indian Constitution with adult franchise as its cornerstone is a western conception.⁵ The parliamentary pattern of our Constitution is again all British. The chapter on Fundamental Rights corresponds to the American Bill of Rights. In the Directive Principles of State Policy one can trace a parallel to the Irish model. The President of the Indian Union is an enlarged copy of the French President. Our federal fabric has been designed after the American model. It is also true that our Constitution resembles the Act of 1935 to a great extent, and so it is claimed that our Constitution-makers have only aped the Act.

But it has to be noted that though India's constitution-makers copiously borrowed, they have well adjusted the borrowings to Indian conditions. Our Constitution is

4. Quoted by D. R. Gadgil in *Some Observations on the Draft Constitution*, Preface, p. ii.

5. This is a disputed point. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity* (pages 23 to 186) has shown that election was a general feature of the Republics in ancient India.

not a wild jumble of the borrowed provisions of the Constitutions of the world. They have been knit together to evolve a coherence of their own. The framers of our Constitution did not borrow blindly but with their eyes open to the utility of the provisions for our country. "In other words, the wisdom of the members of the Constituent Assembly, lay in their realization that more was to be gained from selective borrowings than from blind originality."⁶ They did not feel shy in making departures in the interest of India and the Indian people. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, declared in a trumpet tone:

"We are not bound to have a constitution which completely and fully falls in line with known categories of Constitutions in the world."

A few examples will illustrate the truth of the aforesaid statement. Single citizenship and a single integrated judiciary are prominent deviations from the American Constitution. Again the principle of judicial review has grown as a convention in the U.S.A.,⁷ but it has been expressly made a part and parcel of our Constitution by defining the structure and powers of the Courts in the Constitution itself. Not only this. If the framers of the American Constitution "were animated by a sleepless jealousy of Government power"⁸ in their desire to secure the rights and liberties of the citizens against State interference, our constitution-makers have aimed to harmonise the concept of individual liberty with the ideal of State security by insisting upon the individual that no rights are absolute and the best guarantee to the exercise of a right is its proper use in the larger interests of the community. Our Constitution thus safeguards the rights of the individual on the one hand and guards the State against the arbitrary play of these rights on the other. Moreover, our Fundamental Rights are not mere ideals. But these are ideals cast in a realistic mould suited to India. For example, the abstract ideal of liberty has been employed in our Constitution to give a sense of security to our brethren, particularly Muslims, who form a minority in our country. Similarly, the abstract dogma of equality has been used to better the lot of untouchables, the miserable outcasts of our society. Such examples may be multiplied to show that our Constitution is not a second copy of the American Constitution. Likewise, the chapter on the Directive Principles in our Constitution differs from its Irish model in so far as it incorporates the needs of India and does not repeat parrot-like the substance of the Irish Directives. In the same way our Constitution differs from the Act of 1935 in many ways. One significant deviation may be noted here. The Simon Commission Report, the Bible of the Act of 1935, held:

"Many of those who came before us have urged that the Indian Constitution should contain definite guarantees for the rights of individuals in respect of the exercise of their religion and a declaration of the equal rights of all citizens. We are aware that such provisions have been inserted in many Constitutions, not only in those of the European States formed after the War. Experience, however, has not shown them to be of any great practical value. Abstract declarations are useless unless there exists the will and the means to make them effective."⁹

And accordingly the Act of 1935 did not provide for any Bill of Rights. But the authors of our Constitution felt the incorporation of the Fundamental Rights necessary to awaken and enthuse people about the glorious vision of their liberty. And they did incorporate them. It is also interesting in this context to note that our Constitution is unique in so far as it provides for a flexible federal structure which can be stretched or bent so as to meet emergencies without breaking its framework and when the emergency has passed, it can slip back into its fold like a tree whose outer branches have been pulled aside to let a vehicle pass.

It has also to be mentioned in this connection that the critics who hold this view have perhaps a wrong notion about the goal that our constitution-makers had set before them. They perhaps think that they were attempting an original Constitution. But the fact is that their objective was only to frame a good and workable system, whether original or otherwise. Besides, today, when constitutions of all kinds have so much developed, to attempt an original constitution would have, at worst, been an attempt to churn the sea and at best, an utopian flight reminiscent of Plato's Republic which is too good for this world.

3. NOT A PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTION

It is also contended that our Constitution is the product of the labours of a Consensus which was in no sense representative of the people. The members of this body were indirectly elected on a communal basis by members of provincial legislatures to which election had been held in 1946. The voters who elected these representatives comprised only eleven to fourteen per cent of the total adult voters. The Constituent Assembly became a statutory body after the Independence Act of 1947. After partition this body became a rump consisting of 307 members, of whom 235 came from the provinces and 72 from the States. The Socialist party declared that the Constituent Assembly was not the real political representative of the people as it was not elected on the basis of universal adult franchise and so the constitution that it framed could not be regarded as an embodiment of the will of the people.

This argument loses its force when one realises that the political circumstances at that moment in India were such that even if a new constitution-making body were

6. H. Dicken Cherry: "The Constitutional Philosophy of India," *India Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, page 402.

7. Ferguson and McHenry: *The American System of Government*, pp. 62-63.

8. James Beck: *The Constitution of the United States*, p. 213.

9. *Simon Commission Report*, Vol. II, paragraph 36, pp. 22-23.

2. Joshi: *The Constitution of India*, page viii.

3. *Ibid.*

to be elected on the basis of adult franchise, the Congress party would have come to power and the Constituent Assembly would have had similar character, shade of opinion and ideals. Consequently our constitution would have also been similar to what it is at present. Even Sri N. M. Joshi, the veteran Labour leader, subscribed to this viewpoint when he stated:

"It has to be admitted that organizing elections on adult franchise basis would have taken some substantial time and perhaps even if elections on adult suffrage basis had been held, the Congress party would have secured a definite majority in the Constitution-making body."¹⁰

Besides, what makes a Constitution that "of the people" is the location of sovereignty in the people. Recognising the principle of popular sovereignty, the Preamble states:

"We the people having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic . . . hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution."

The New Constitution of India does not only provide for people's Sovereignty but also for people's rule. The Constitution envisages a democratic government in which the average citizen has direct access to the seat of authority. He now enjoys the right to political power—the right to elect and to be elected. All discriminations based on birth, wealth, colour, race or sex have been set aside. The introduction of universal adult franchise, the abolition of separate communal electorates and untouchability, the grant of justiciable Fundamental Rights and the institution of an independent judiciary—all these go to make our constitution essentially "of the people." In fact our constitution re-affirms with a refreshing boldness the democratic ideal laid down by Lincoln:

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

It has also to be noted in the context of the aforesaid criticism that the constitution of the U.S.A. too was not representative of the people in the sense in which the critics use the term. And yet it is a people's constitution. As Munro writes:

"Of course it can be argued and quite rightly, that the men who framed it (the American Constitution) were not chosen by the people, nor was their work ratified by a popular vote. But the fact remains that the document asserts itself to be an ordinance of the people and has been accepted as such for nearly five generations. Without the acquiescence of the people it could never have been continued in force during all these years."¹¹

4. EXPERIMENT OF DEMOCRACY—A HASTY STEP

Under the Indian Constitution to-day every one above 21 years of age votes and votes alike. Critics hold that India is not yet fit for an experiment of democracy

on such a vast scale. In the vein of an undiluted pessimist they are honestly afraid of enfranchising all adult citizens of India who are as yet not literate and who have no experience of democratic government. Here again the critics err. They forget that democracy is its own school and it teaches through a process of trial, error and correction. To quote Carlyle:

"Democracy will itself accomplish the salutary universal change from the delusive to the real and make a new blessed world of us bye and bye."

5. THE DANGERS OF A SECULAR POLITY

Critics hold that on account of the secularism of our Constitution people might develop a gross materialistic outlook and great treasure-houses of spiritual knowledge, such as the Ramayana, the Bhagwat Gita, etc., might be ignored or treated with contempt by the Government and the people alike. As Sri J. P. Suda observes:

"There is, however, one danger lurking in the idea of a secular Indian State. The genius of our race has been spiritual. Whereas ancient Greece struck the note of intellectual greatness and contributed to humanity priceless intellectual treasures; whereas ancient Rome struck the note of civic greatness and gave to mankind a wonderful system of law and administration; ancient India struck the note of spiritual greatness and placed before mankind deep and eternal spiritual truths. These truths are preserved in the great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the Bhagwat Gita. If the secular Indian Republic ignores these great treasure-houses of spiritual knowledge, it would do itself great and irreparable injury."¹²

But one need not harbour this fear. A secular polity, as Venkataraman writes in his famous book *A Treatise on Secular State*, is "neither religious nor irreligious nor anti-religious but is wholly detached from religious dogmas and activities and is thus neutral in religious matters." The secular State in India does not in any way imply the idea of irreligiousness. Moreover, religion and faith are matters of individual conscience over which the State has little control. The Gita and the Mahabharata which have survived the days of religious persecution can hardly suffer eclipse in the era of universal religious toleration which is the mainspring of secularism. They have an enduring grace of their own which neither the scissors of time nor the tide of human passion can effect.

6. A POLITICAL DEMOCRACY WITH CAPITALISTIC FOUNDATIONS

Lastly, it is urged that like England, India too enjoys a political democracy with capitalistic foundations. An Indian Laski may well say that the Indian Constitution "is the expression of a politically democratic government, it is not the expression of a democratic Society."¹³ We have no economic democracy which is

the backbone of a democratic society. Our society is still divided between 'the haves' and 'the have-nots'. We do not have in actual life equal opportunities for self-development. Poverty is our greatest curse. Wealth and not merit is often a passport for individual progress and social esteem. India in these respects is hardly better than England and here also one has to say like Laski:

"It is, no doubt, true that wealth in Great Britain can purchase for itself access to the highest social place. But it is also true, that save for a favoured few, any serious approach to equality of opportunity does not exist."¹⁴

Critics go further and say that our Constitution is likely to perpetuate this state of affairs. It recognises people's right to property. It lays down that "no person shall be deprived of his property save by law." It also stipulates that "such laws must provide for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired."

There is much substance in this argument. Yet it has to be noted that in India we have gone one step ahead of England in the evolution of social democracy. The Zamindari and the Jagirdari systems, the outworn ramparts of the feudal age in India, are being demolished,

14. *Ibid.*

while the Lords still hold sway in England. Moreover in our Constitution itself the gradual evolution of socialism has not been completely ruled out. Instead in the "Directive Principles of State Policy" directives have been issued to the newly born infant polity of free India to approach this ideal. Our fundamental rights to equality are also steps on the road to socialism. The very fact that our Constitution-makers have provided for compensation in case private property is acquired shows that they are eager to abolish it. As Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar said:

"The Constitution is intended to usher in a Social Democratic Republic. This is the essence of the two conflicting ideologies prevailing in the world—the capitalistic democracy of the west and the Socialist dictatorship of Russia."

It cannot be denied, however, that the march to the El Dorado of social democracy in India will be long and weary due to the 'compensation clause.' Yet the compensation clause itself is not immutable and our political democracy, like every other, must some day grow into a social democracy. This change is in the very logic of 'evolutionism.' But the time spirit alone can determine whether social democracy will emerge as a 'child of evolution' or as a 'piece of revolution.'

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PLANNING FROM THE BOTTOM

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

ONE of the Directives of the Indian Constitution is that "the State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats as units of self-government." Gandhiji also laid great stress on the desirability of decentralising economic and political power in India through the revival of gram panchayats. His dream of true Swaraj consisted in the creation of "self-sufficient and self-governing village republics" throughout the country. Fortunately, almost all the State Governments have already enacted the necessary legislation for instituting Village Panchayats in their respective areas. Their constitutions and powers differ considerably from State to State. But they do contain potential seeds of rebuilding our new democracy from the bottom upwards on the basis of well-organised rural communities.

Village communities in India have formed an integral part of our national life from time immemorial. Gramini or the leader of the village is mentioned in the Vedas: reference to Gram Sabhas is found in the Jatakas as well. The Dharma Sutras contain frequent references to Gana and Puga which denoted village and town corporations in Ancient India. The Indian rural republics continued to

flourish during the Hindu, Muslim and Peshwa Governments till the advent of the East India Company. They survived the wreck of dynasties and downfall of Empires. As Sir Charles Metcalfe observed, the village communities "seemed to last where nothing else lasts." In the words of Sir Charles Trevellyn, the Village Municipalities "have stuck to the soil like their own Kusha grass." It was mainly during the British regime that these Village Panchayats gradually died down owing to excessive centralisation of administration and economic organisation.

It is being recognised by all the leading political and social thinkers of the West that modern democracy in order to succeed as a practical measure of socio-economic organisation, must be decentralised. "If men's faith in social action is to be revived," states Prof. Joad, "the State must be cut up and its functions distributed." Dr. Boodin also regards "small, closely-knit republics to be the true moral units of civilisation." Modern Sociology upholds the principle that "man is happiest when living in small communities." Analysing the drawbacks of modern States, Prof. Adams wants us "to go to the root

10. *Ibid.*, dated January 25, 1950.

11. W. B. Munro: *The Government of the United States*, (Fourth Edition), Chapter V, p. 62.

12. J. P. Suda: *Indian Constitutional Development and National Movement*, pp. 521-522.

13. Laski: *Parliamentary Government in England*, p. 38.

of the trouble and pursue a bold policy of devolution, of decentralization." Lewis Mumford, the well-known American Sociologist, recommends the building up of "small balanced communities in the open country." In modern America the small communities are yet playing a very important role in the revival of rural life and co-operative effort. *Kentucky on the March* is a romantic story of men and women working together for the common good of all in a small locality. Prof. Richard Peston, in his book entitled *Small Town Renaissance* emphatically asserts that "vigorous small communities provide the only atmosphere in which democracy can thrive and remain a powerful force." Dr. Borsodi has been trying the experiment of decentralised small-scale community in his School of Living near New York. Dr. Morgan's work at Yellow Springs, Ohio for the organisation of community life is also a heroic attempt to preserve and stabilise the democratic way of life.

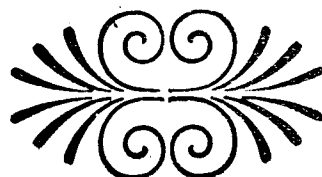
The idea of Village Panchayats is, thus, not a medieval conception: nor is it a relic of tribalism. As Dr. Radhakrishnan remarks: "Going back to villages is not to become primitive: it is the only way to keep up a mode of existence that is instinctive to India." Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee in his *Democracies of the East* points out how the village communities "will furnish the basis of a new type of polity which in its co-ordination of diverse local and functional groups will be more satisfying in the State constructions of the future than the centralise structure of the parliamentary pattern." Instead of being old-fashioned and out-of-date, this pattern of rural panchayats as the basic units of administration, and economic organisation is in accordance with the spirit of this age of scientific progress. Science, with all its modern technological achievements, should make for decentralisation rather than for centralisation. It is also not right to think that village panchayats will lead to isolationism. Even in ancient times there was well-organised co-ordination at all levels. In fact, the progress of science and democracy must inevitably promote devolution of economic and political power in modern times.

National Planning under democracy can succeed only if we try to build and plan from the bottom and not attempt to force plans down the throats of people from the top. The essence of sound economic planning is, therefore, decentralisation in the form of well-knit rural and even town communities. We are glad to find that the First Five-Year Plan in our own country is aware of this need for decentralisation in the economic sphere. The scheme of Community Projects and the National Extension Service

is a step in the right direction, although there may be honest differences of opinion regarding the details. The plans for Local Projects are, in our opinion, the very heart of our National Plan. But these Local Projects can succeed on a lasting basis only if there are well-organised small communities in the form of Panchayats throughout the length and breadth of India. Our civil and judicial administration also can visibly improve if we seriously attempt to build the edifice of our *Swaraj* from the very bottom, i.e., the village community.

The ancient traditions of Village Panchayats in India have been in the direction of "composite" democracy as against the present type of "party" democracy. The voice of the *Panchas* was always considered to be the voice of God. "Panch Parmeshwar" was the ideal of these rural republics. Elections to the Panchayats were mostly unanimous: whenever it was not possible to achieve unanimity election was completed by means of lots drawn by the youngest child in the village. If we desire to rebuild the country from the bottom on sound foundations of democracy, we must resuscitate our Panchayats on the traditions of composite democracy. It is but proper that the Congress Working Committee has instructed the Pradesh Congress Committees, that, as far as possible Congress should not try to contest the Panchayat elections on a party basis. The Praja Socialist Party is also of the same view. It is hoped that other political parties in the country will consider this matter seriously and solemnly decide not to make the Village Panchayats an arena for party politics. We must all co-operate whole-heartedly in revivifying our ancient Panchayat traditions on the model of a broad-based, non-party, non-communal and enlightened democracy. Only then can we hope to reconstruct India according to the real genius of the nation.

Before we plan for a more systematic and well-organised establishment of Village Panchayats in the country it is very essential to collect all relevant data regarding the existing condition of the rural communities in different States. We must make a comparative study of the Panchayat Acts in various parts of India. The A.-I.C.C. is planning to collect the necessary information and statistics in this connection and publish it as early as possible for the guidance and benefit of all those who are vitally interested in this problem. This publication will serve as the basis for future reforms in the working of Village Panchayats in India. We earnestly appeal to all concerned to help us in this important national task of planning the welfare of our toiling millions from the bottom upwards.



THE HISTORICAL RECORDS IN KOTAH

By DR. GOVIND S. SARDESAI, Hon. D.Litt.

A Saraswat Brahman from Maharashtra, bearing the surname of Pandit Gulgule, settled in Kotah and rose to be a jagirdar of that Rajput Kingdom. In the mansion of this family in Kotah city, known as Sarola House, a very large collection of old historical papers in the Marathi language (with a hundred or so in Persian) has been preserved, carefully arranged in bundles according to their writers. These are materials of first-rate importance to students of Maratha history and of North Indian history in general during the eighteenth century. Two members of this family,—Balaji Yashwant (in office 1724-1759) and his son Lalaji Ballal (1760-1821), successively held the important position of revenue collectors in Hindusthan under the Sindhias of Gwalior. As Kotah occupies a central place in the line of communication between Delhi and Poona, the Gulgules were naturally led into various activities, as bankers and agents for many other Maratha chiefs as well; they had to secure permits and supply escorts to travelling Maratha officers and pilgrims, purchase military stores and supplies, recover loans, trace offenders, and transact all kinds of financial operations in general. The correspondence naturally rising out of the discharge of these duties during so many decades, grew in the end into a huge mass of documents which have survived till now, with remarkably little loss.

The late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara was the first to draw public attention to this *daftar*, through his monthly magazine, named *Itihas Sangraha* (c. 1915), but none else cared to study them till 1927 when I paid my first visit to Kotah with my friend V. S. Wakaskar, and together we spent some ten days in studying these old papers. My preliminary note on them was published soon afterwards. In 1929, I paid a second visit to Kotah, this time with Sir Jadunath Sarkar (who explored the Persian papers and transcribed them). We jointly wrote to the Gwalior Government and drew its attention to the primary importance of these records for the history of the Sindhia dynasty. Next Sardar Anand Rao Phalke of the Gwalior Service took an interest in them and published three volumes of Selections, namely,

- Vol. I containing 296 letters (published in 1929)
- Vol. II containing 198 letters (published in 1930)
- Vol. III containing 466 letters (printed in 1937 but published in 1946).

These made a total of 960 letters available in print, roughly one-six of the mass. Sardar Phalke touched only the fringe of the collection, and covered its beginning, while the main body of the papers remained unexamined. During the Second World War, Maharaj-kumar Dr. Raghuvir Singh (of Sitamau) at his own expense got all the Marathi papers, written in the old

Modi script, transcribed in Devanagari characters and typed in triplicate. He supplied me with a complete set of these typescripts during 1946-48, and I have now finished my intensive study of the whole mass. As research-workers in this field know, most of these old letters are without dates and sometimes the name of the writer as well is wanting. Patiently working through these large bundles, I supplied the dates through the circumstantial clues furnished by the subject-matter, except in the case of a hundred or so letters (mostly too short or fragmentary) which have baffled me. I have added a short English summary and description at the end of every letter, and in many places inserted explanatory notes and critical estimates in the margin in pencil. Thus the copy edited by me can at once serve as a press-copy if it is decided to print it; but before that event, my annotations will serve as a chart guiding earnest students most quickly to the topics that are of concern to them.

THE UNIQUE VALUE OF THESE RECORDS

My exhaustive study revealed many important features of this collection; facts and episodes previously unknown were here discovered for the first time, and numerous shrewd reflections on men and events by very keen-witted contemporary observers were found, which will prove of inestimable value to our future historians; linguistic, social, and economic peculiarities, the shape of trade and banking, of prices and rates of exchange, are correctly noted, so that this collection will stand as a mine of indispensable information to every one who wants to draw a correct and full-picture of how our predecessors lived and thought and worked in the 18th century. Not merely the historian of dynasties and battles will be benefited. I enumerate below some of the important things which are brought to light in this collection only and some others which cannot be fully or correctly known except with the help of the information given here. This will serve as a helpful chart guiding future research-workers through this hitherto unknown continent.

1. Mahadji Sindhia's early career, up to 1767, is known from a few dim traditions only, but it can be reconstructed on the authentic basis of facts from the Kotah papers.

2. Many details of his later career are given here by eyewitnesses, which supplement and correct the current accounts.

3. On the last two years of Mahadji's life spent in Poona (1792-1794), and his patriotic but futile efforts to set the Peshwa's government in order, these records supply many additional and luminous details, which will correct the partisan writings of Nana Fadnis's followers.

4. The entire career of Yashwant Rao Holkar and his relations with other States can be traced step by step here.

5. There are almost day-to-day records of the doings of Peshwa Baji Rao II and Daulat Rao Sindhia and their evil satellites. We also see, how many wise soldiers and ministers and patriots without office made a last effort to avert the ruin of the Maratha State, but were frustrated by such masters.

6. Many worthy persons,—Brahmans (particularly Saraswats), Marates and even humbler castes,—can be rescued from the semi-darkness or even oblivion with which history has shrouded them up to now. I draw particular attention to Ambaji Ingle, Lakhwa Dada Lad, Jagannath Ram Kerkar, Jivba Dada Bakhshi, Zalim Singh, etc.

7. Among the writers of these despatches nearly a dozen clerks stand out for thier extraordinary ability in observing and reporting, and their mastery of style. The historian of the evolution of Marathi prose will find here indispensable material of precise date. A biographical dictionary can be compiled of our agents, diplomats, soldiers and business managers who appear on the crowded stage of these sixty eventful years, and most of whom were not hitherto known even by name. The two notable members of the Gulgule family from whom this historical store-house originated, lived in stirring times and were often at the pivot of affairs, they also rendered services to the Maratha State which

deserve to be permanently recorded in a full-length biography. This would be no unworthy subject for a thesis of original research.

HOW I HAVE ARRANGED THESE RECORDS

The Kotah Daftar does not deserve printing in its entirety. After rigorously excluding all commonplace business papers and formal letters and despatches of third-rate importance, I have selected for publication nearly 1800 documents or a little over one-third of the papers placed before me. On the transcripts themselves I have put the letter V in red and blue pencil at the head of every letter selected for printing and two zeroes at the head of those to be rejected. On the outer cover of each bundle I have noted the important features of its contents.

The documents that came to me numbered 4415, but Dr. Raghuvir Sinh's list gives the number as 4750, evidently because he counted the sheets, while I counted the documents, some of the despatches running to more than one sheet.

In conclusion, I must state my great fear that if this valuable Daftar cannot be made available for study, it may eventually be lost to history. No private owner or literary society can bear the cost of printing the selection I have made. The State alone can do it, and the State unquestionably owes some gratitude to the memory of those who had kept it alive in the past.

KOTAH RECORDS, CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Serial No. of bundles	Year	No. of letters read.	No. of letters selected for printing	No. of letters rejected by me
1	1733-60	121	117	4
2	1761-70	233	184	39
3	1771-75	396	236	160
4	1776-80	592	374	218
5	1781-85	310	114	196
6	1786-90	250	138	112
7	1791	108	73	35
8	1792	142	89	53
9	1793	146	82	64
10	1794	179	65	114
11	1795	117	37	80
12	1796	147	25	122
13	1797	61	19	42
14	1798	80	10	70
15	1799	129	24	105
16	1800	124	8	116
17	1801	96	8	88
18	1802	278	34	244
19	1803	110	34	76
20	1804	155	71	84
21	1805	100	21	79
22	1806-57	234	10	224
23	Undated	317	0	317
Total		4415	1773	2642

Noticeable points.

Phalke has printed 54 of these.
Useful for Mahadji's early career.
British intervention in Poona politics.
First Anglo-Maratha War.
Mahadji and the British.
Wars in Rajputana.
Mahadji restores Udaipur Rana.
Sindhia-Holkar rivalry.
Mahadji attempts to reform Poona administration.
Mahadji's death and its sequel.
Madhav Narayan Peshwa's death and its consequences.
Search for a new Peshwa.
Baji Rao II comes to power.
Daulat Rao Sindhia losing ground in South.
Sindhia widows' war (3 years).
Rise of Yashwant Rao Holkar.
Daulat Rao losing ground in North.
Peshwa defeated, flees from Poona.
Details of war with the English.
Yashwant Rao Holkar blazes up.
Vanish Maratha glory.
Daulat Rao humiliated by his subordinates.
Requires further examination.

INCENTIVE IN AN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY

By BIPIN BEHARI, M.A., B.Sc. (Lond.) X

EVIDENCE is not wanting to show that the nations which did not work sufficiently hard to raise their production perished in the struggle for survival. A similar situation has arisen in India. India has the most fertile lands in the world, but the average yield is tragically low: U.S.A. yields—1,480 lbs., Japan 2,307 lbs., Egypt and Italy 3,000 lbs. while India produces only 731 lbs. per acre. India is the main source of the world's supply of ilmenite, manganese, monazite, zircon, and mica. Her iron ores have the highest metal content. India has enormous amount of untapped resources which are very useful for any civilised nation of the world; but the National Income of the country is as low as Rs. 255 per year. In order to exploit the natural resources of any country efficient organization and enthusiastic co-operation of the people are necessary. The first Five-Year Plan of India is an effort in that direction, but the problem of proper and adequate incentive to the worker still remains to be resolved.

Twentieth Century has weakened the capitalistic philosophy and there is socialist upsurge all over the world. Social consciousness has increased. People who continuously toil on fields and sweat with machines are acquiring control over the government. Right to work is accepted and everybody expects free health services. At present monetary incentives are of doubtful efficacy, and the failure of bonuses and Payments by Results (PBR) is evident. Influence of both the whip and the carrot has declined; the problem of human motivation requires a fresh analysis.

Mr. Balchin writing in the *Occupational Psychology* of July, 1947 started a very lively series of discussions regarding incentive to work under the caption "Satisfaction at Work." This discussion attracted the attention of psychologists, sociologists, industrialists, anthropologists, and economists.¹ In this article Mr. Balchin analyses three phases in the history of incentives and finds three main drives of human activities. In the society prior to Industrial Revolution the individual often for long hours did

exhaustive work. During this period beneath all complaints of the hardness of a ploughman's lot there was odd pride and satisfaction in the direct struggle between man and nature, and in using certain skill and knowledge to produce something of obvious tangible value. In the second phase of mechanization industrial workers had to work in complicated large-scale organisations and there was a very great gap between the effort and its tangible result. During this period though the satisfaction derived in the earlier period is lost yet the masochistic pleasure especially enforced by the religious dogma was a source of satisfaction. With the advent of industrial civilisation with decay in the religious faith the source of satisfaction altered. Labour and management together set out coolly and rationally to destroy the old sadistic-masochistic pleasure in effort and discomfort for their own sake and to make the point that there was no virtue in hard work for its own sake. Incentive was not satisfaction but the radio set was. Under the present conditions some of the old resistances are removed but no positive incentive is provided.

Mr. Balchin further goes on to analyse the factors of motivation for the individual. He states three conditions under which the individual works: either he must or he should or that he wants to. The first is very powerful in a community where the struggle for survival is very hard. 'He who does not work shall not eat' is much more emphatic under subsistence economy than 'He who does not work shall not have a radio.' In the second case, work is just a duty. When the National Income is concentrated among a very limited section of the population, then the teeming millions of the industrial world will not have the ethical inspiration of unattached effort, especially under industrial discipline. Men might work for themselves, for their family members or for their friends or for the person whom they love. There is truth in the statement that nobody works for abstract society. In the third instance, it is assumed that the individual is an artist. But the assumption is of doubtful value.

Mr. Balchin concludes that if work and pleasure are much more integrated there will be greater enthusiasm for work. According to him, there is no harm in introducing the technique of the professional entertainer. "Why should the Devil have all the tunes?"—asked Martin Luther, when they accused him of setting hymns to the music of drinking songs; but the same can be the answer of the industrialists to the musicians. We should arrange for work to merge into human activities, so that it ceases to be a separate concept and yields at least as much satisfaction as any other part of life. A time may come

1. Prof. C. A. Mace: "Satisfaction in Work." *Occupational Psychology*, October, 1948
- Adam Curle: "The Sociological Background of Incentives," *Occupational Psychology*, January, 1949
- W. J. Goode and I. Fowler: "Incentive Factors in a Low Morale Plant," *American Sociological Review*, 1949
- Raymond Firth: "Anthropological Background to Work," *Occupational Psychology*, April, 1948
- A. Curle: "Incentives to Work: An Anthropological Appraisal," *Human Relations*, 1949
- Charles Madge: "Payments and Incentives," (paper read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science on September 2, 1947). Reprint *Occupational Psychology*, January, 1948

when nobody could be demanding any labour from anybody if the work is not pleasant and enjoyable.

A statistical investigation was carried on in England just after the war to find out the popularity of different incentives.² A sample of 300 men aged 18-19 years, of various levels of intelligence ranked eight 'incentives' and also expressed their attitudes towards the same items by means of paired comparisons. The items ranked were Pay, Hours, Variety, Leave, Prospects, Security, Efficient Organization, and Good Workmates. These items were classified under two sections: Group A consisted of Prospects, Security, Variety and Efficient Organization; Group B consisted of Workmates, Hours, Pay, and Leave. The persons under observation were classified according to their level of intelligence. The survey indicated that (i) the incentive for one person might be disincentive for the next group. Generalisations about incentives without prior measurement of intelligence might lead to dangerous conclusions. (ii) Intelligence, occupation and occupational preferences are conditions which influence the incentives most. Social conditions, age, marriage have important influence, but they were not considered in this investigation. (iii) Intelligent workers are more interested in long-term incentives associated with the job itself, and the lower intelligent groups seek short-term incentives and compensations for doing a job. They prefer social incentives rather than satisfaction in work. Group A (Prospects, Security, Variety, and Efficient Organization) is preferred by the intelligent group whereas the other group preferred Group B, (viz., Workmates, Hours, Pay, and Leave). (iv) Making the work more interesting for lower grade intelligence may spoil the whole work situation from his standpoint.

Mr. Balchin and Professor Mace both emphasise the importance of social factors for human motivation whilst the statistical investigations bring into relief the significance of individual characteristics. As a matter of fact, the problem of motivation can be properly analysed only in relation to the society. Under the present industrial system the relationship between the individual and the society is disrupted. Even the social consequences of Industrial Revolution is noted with disappointment.³ As early as 1829 Frederic Le Play, a French engineer (who toured from the steppes of the Eastern Europe to the Atlantic shores of France, and whose observations are recorded in six volumes published between 1855 and 1879) doubted whether technical and industrial develop-

ments were at all beneficial to the various European communities.⁴ Le Play stated that in simpler communities there is social stability and there is willing participation of every member of the community in social activities. With respect to the modern and characteristically industrial community the situation is entirely contrary: there is extensive social disorganisation, social code is ignored, peace and stability has definitely waned. Remarkably similar observations were made towards the end of the nineteenth century in France by Durkheim in his *Study of Suicide* published in 1857. He showed that the difference between a modern and technically developed and the simple ordered community is that in the simple community the interests of the individual are subordinated to the interests of the group. The individual number of this primitive society can clearly anticipate during infancy and adolescence the functions that he will fulfil for the group when adult. The anticipation regulated his activity and thinking in the adolescence and culminates in a communal function and a sense of satisfaction when he is fully grown. In a technically improved community there is a tendency of disruption between the individual and the group collaboration. In extreme instances, Durkheim goes on saying that "we may find individuals who have lost all sense of social relationship or obligation—the melancholic, the suicidal, the 'lone wolf' or the criminal." In modern industrial society we find two symptoms of social disruption, viz., the number of unhappy individuals increases and, secondly, there is disruption of the relationship between the individual and the society. In a civilised world with industrial, mechanical, and physiochemical advance there has been destruction of all the historic and personal relationship.

The effect of industrial development was primarily to take the individual out of his social and family setting and to place him all alone confronting the gigantic mechanized organization where the individual pales into insignificance. What was important in the industrial revolution was the beginning of an industrial discipline which was impersonal and inhuman. The workman was summoned by factory bells; his daily life was arranged by factory hours; he worked under an overseer imposing a method and precision for which the overseer had in turn to answer to some higher authority; if he broke one of a long series of minute regulations he was fined, and behind all this scheme of supervision and control there loomed a great impersonal system. The individual had no initiative. He had no satisfaction of seeing his own tangible product going to the consumer, and there was no security of his employment. He had to work hard because he had to. Unless he worked harder than his fellows he would be the first to be eliminated in the

economy drive. The whip was the most powerful incentive.

Agricultural workers have a different life to live. The rhythmical seasonal fluctuations have enabled agricultural workers to live very near to nature. The influence of nature in the diurnal life is considerable in reducing the fatigue of hard work. Life moves in rhythm, and the monotony of repetitive jobs is not soul-destroying. Peasants work hard when there is need for it. He has complete leisure when his labour is not required. Life is philosophic and influence of religion is great. Agriculturists start their sowing and their harvesting on auspicious days, and they believe in the sanctity of tradition and of religion. Promise of future heaven had been a greater inspiration than the rivalry or the competition of his fellow workers. In spite of hardness of a ploughman's fate, there was pride and satisfaction in the direct struggle between Man and Nature and in using a certain skill and knowledge to produce something of obvious tangible value. He worked according to tradition and any deviation from that would bring stigma to the individual. Harder work could be possible because the harder the work the greater the respect among his compatriots and the greater the reward in life after death.

In a simple society where mechanisation has not proceeded very far and where money does not play a very significant role, the relationship between the members of the group is regulated according to basic human impulses. In such a society advantages of the idyllic life are present but there are certain incentives for the individuals. These incentives are based on the understanding of human emotions and their feelings. The inherent desire in mankind to excel his compatriots has played an important role in such a community to encourage and to induce people to hard work. A typical situation exists for example in Tikopia, a remote island community on the fringe of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.⁴ The people some 1,300 tall, fair-skinned Polynesians live on a diet of fish, fruit and vegetables. They wear a rough cloth made from bark of the paper mulberry, and they use steel tools obtained from occasional exchange with the few European vessels that call. Of internal exchange of the ordinary kind there is very little. Goods do exchange hands frequently but nearly always by process of ceremonial gifts and counter gifts. In such a community fishing of bonito is a very trying task, it can be taken only with very strong rods and line and by a very expert hand. When the day's fishing is over any fisherman who has obtained a good catch—of ten or more—is entitled to stand his rod up in the stern of the canoe as he comes inshore. Such a man is known as "man of bonito"—a label

with some prestige to it. He can get poems composed in his praise and get that sung in the community. The symbol of putting rod up against one's canoe or making a song about one's own self so highly prized, is simple, yet it is precisely in these non-material ways that the human beings in a society finds some of his most cherished goals. It is the opinion of his fellows that gives value to these simple tokens, which helps to spur him on.

The pattern and the values of the present Indian Society are changing. In less than a century the economic structure of our country has changed so fundamentally that the leaders of the Sepoy Mutiny would not recognise the final texture of our present society. India is undergoing transformation. Mechanical developments and agriculture, both have sway over the Indian economy at present. India has one of the most fertile lands in the world; food crops occupy 80 per cent of the cultivated area and one-third of the rice production of the world is grown in India. She is one of the largest producers of sugar, in tea-production and export she ranks first. India's rich forests grow nearly 4,000 varieties of fine timber useful for almost every use. India has the largest monopoly of lac production. It is the second largest producer and exporter of raw cotton. Agriculture supports about 70 per cent of the entire population. Though India had been primarily an agricultural country and though agriculture still remains the premier source of national wealth, yet the speed of industrialisation and the scale of industrial expansion have been colossal. Cotton Textile is by far the largest industry of the country. As a cotton-producing country India occupies the second place in the world. Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur are now the largest steel works in the East. The leather industry of the country is eating into the European markets. Rubber, cement, match, glass, soap, automobile, electrical equipments, drugs, and pharmaceutical industries and chemical industries are gaining favourable grounds in the national economy. India's tea, sugar, match and vegetable oil industry are among the biggest in the world. India ranks fifth in the world in volume of trade and is one of the largest industrial countries of the world.

Because India has a highly capitalised industrial growth and because agriculture still holds a greater sway over the Indian population, the pattern of Indian life can neither be a true replica of the Western life, nor of the old agricultural community. We are in a changing society: the advantages of old social groupings are vanishing. Now a child born in a Vaisya family is not necessarily expected to perform the duties of a businessman. Under the old caste-system (or social groupings) the society expected a certain type of performance and efficiency from the individual and the individual equipped himself to come up to

2. L. T. Wilkins: "Incentives and the Young Workers," *Occupational Psychology*, October, 1949.

3. Elton Mayo: *Social Consequences of an Industrial Civilisation*. (Though the books of Durkheim and Le Play are not translated into English, yet those who cannot read the original may find a good description of their account in the chapter: "The Seamy Side of Progress" of this book)

4. Professor R. Firth: "Anthropological Background to Work," *Occupational Psychology*, April, 1948

social expectations. When the new society is taking its shape, the old social groups are breaking away and the individual is left all alone to take his own care. He gropes in darkness for his settlement in life. His vocational selection is mainly guided by glamour of the profession and parental wealth at his disposal for the requisite training. Furthermore, there is not much co-ordination between education and vocation. Unless the man and his training are suited for the job, it would be impossible to think of happiness at work.

Agriculture, even today, is mainly an inherited profession. Peasants have neither adequate training nor sufficient money for mobility to the industrial centres. Their lives are guided by social regulations. Any deviation from the beaten track might lead to social ostracism. The same rotation of crops and the method of cultivation persists in the same region. Sowing and harvesting are guided by heavenly phenomena—either the nautical almanac of the village priest is consulted for the beginning of sowing and harvesting or the advent of the monsoon rains regulates the course of events. Gods, priests, stigma, social ostracism and communal relations still regulate the agricultural community of India.

Industrial labourers are drawn from villages and their course of action is mainly guided by agricultural requirements. Demand for agricultural labour is seasonal which influence the mobility of labour from agriculture to the industrial centres. There is horizontal mobility among the agricultural and the industrial labourers. There are two principal cropping seasons: *kharif*, the summer rain cultivation and *rabi*, the winter rain cultivation crops. *Kharif* crops are sown at the outbreak of monsoon and is harvested in September or October. *Rabi* crops are sown in October or November and is harvested in April or May. At the approach of Dashara holidays the industrial workers leave their factories and move homewards to help agriculture. The same principle applies during the period of Holi holidays. There is a swing of workers from industries to agriculture when agriculture needs help and when the pressure of work has subsided they swing back to industries. This explains seasonal growth of absenteeism among the industrial workers. In India, there is no watertight division between the agricultural and the industrial labour.

Any incentive scheme in India must depend upon (a) a co-ordinated growth of the individual and the society, (b) education of the masses, (c) industrial organization, (d) morale boosting, and (e) the philosophy of work. Le Play and Durkheim both had very strongly emphasised the disruption in a mechanical society. A secured membership of the group is necessary for the healthy growth of the individual.⁵ The

individual is judged healthiest by psychiatric standard if he is capable of establishing the most secure and reciprocal relationships with others. Such relationships in the modern society is lacking. In Western civilisation lack of security has caused rampant neurotic anxiety; whilst in India insecure individuals seek relief in religious superstitions regarding life after death. It is one of the problems of the modern society to find freedom from neurotic anxiety. Neither virtues of poverty nor the terror whips can, nor should, goad the workers for hard work. An understanding of one's responsibility for psychologically adult persons is a sufficient stimulus for harder work. In a truly democratic State personal needs are subordinated to a reasoned appreciation of the needs of other individuals to whom one is knit by ties of associations. When the individual can discriminate between personal wants and the social requirements, restrictionism in work which was present even at the Hawthorne works in the year when the company had reached its peak of activity⁶ would be greatly diminished.

It devolves upon the State to arrange for security and for the provision of opportunities for the expression of inherent potentialities of the individuals. Free Health Service and Full Employment are the basis for any happy society, but the State has also to encourage the establishment of institutions which would facilitate the expression of creative faculties of its members. Only when the members lead a fuller life then frustration and monotony in one direction may be compensated by relief and happiness felt in another direction. Under such a situation work is not a separate function, it becomes the spontaneous expression of creative instincts of the person.

Lest these ideals do not appear Utopian education of the masses must be directed towards liberal and technical aspect of the training.⁷ Lessons in fundamental civics are imperative for the understanding of social obligations. Neither the religious teachers nor political leaders need such training but the 'swinish multitude' who controls seats of the government requires lessons in fundamental human rights. When individuals are aware of their status in the compli-

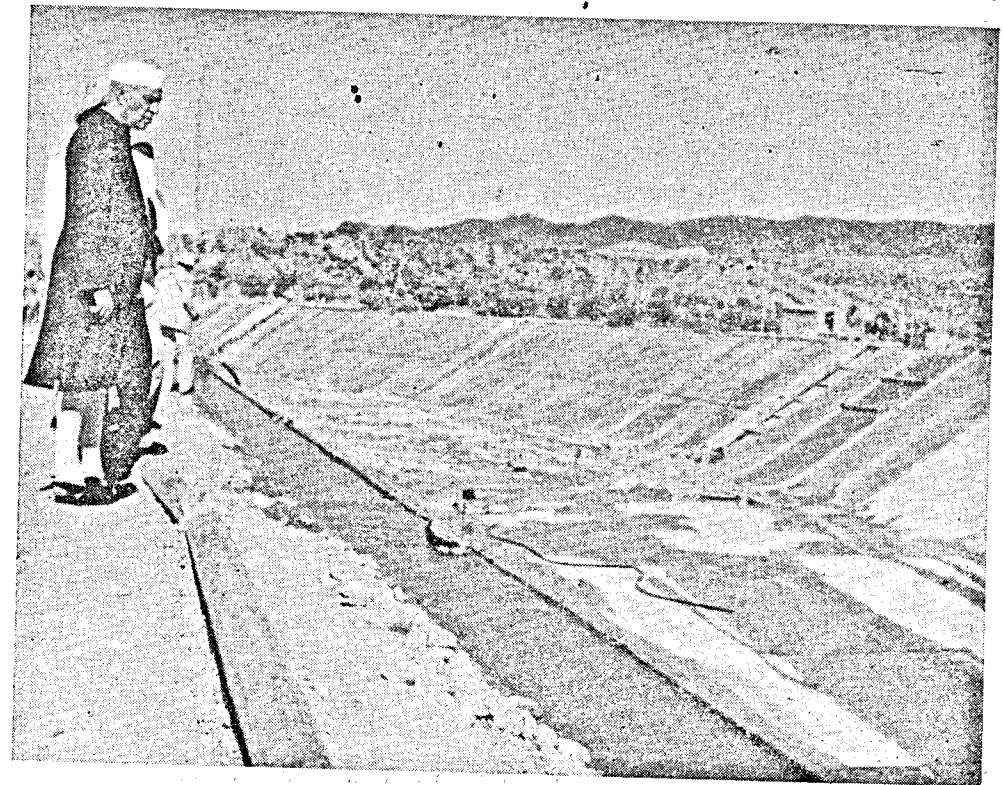
Harold J. Laski: *Grammar of Politics*, Chapter I, "The Purpose of Social Organisation"

Ian D. Suttie: *The Origins of Love and Hate*, Chapter VIII "Origin and Nature of Society"

(The last two books may be consulted for the economic and psychological description)

6. F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson: *Management and the Worker*. (Reference is made to the classical Hawthorne experiment to test effects of changes in rest periods and hours of work under controlled conditions. Year 1929 was the year of maximum production, but tendency of restricting output under the pressure of informal organisations were detected there as well)

7. Prof. Ronald S. Edwards: "Industrial Technologists and the Social Sciences," *Economica*, November, 1951. (Need for social sciences is stressed for technologists).



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inspected the Nangal Hydel Canal during his visit to the Bhakra-Nangal Project on November 8



Sri Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Communications, inaugurated the Indian Telegraph Centenary Convention of Engineers at the Open Air Theatre, Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, on November 2, 1953

5. Adam Curle: "The Sociological Background to Incentives," *Occupational Psychology*, January, 1949



Two well-known social workers from India, Sm. Kuppaswamy (centre) of Mysore and Dr. Krishnabai Nimbkar of Poona visit an American farm-women's market in Bethesda, Maryland



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cated social pattern, the sense of responsibility may propel them to enthusiastic performances of their duties. Moreover, technical training is very necessary for the technicians. A blending of social sciences and technical training is very necessary. Those technicians who expect to be in charge of workers must have a good training in human psychology, technical know-how of the job and theoretical grounding in the fundamental principles of the trade. A planned education and direction of individuals to various vocations may be of great advantage in the long period. Bertrand Russell in his *Scientific Outlook* prophesied a situation when even births will be regulated according to requirements of the society and the persons from their birth would be kept under conditions best suited for the especial jobs for which they were born. Whether this is just a dream of a visionary or a thing to come is not right for us to predict but it is true that the attitude of the entire life depends upon early days of schooling. So the attitude we want to foster to our children should be decided a long period ahead. This will greatly smoothen the relationship between the employer and the employed.

The educational system must be co-ordinated with the planned industrialisation. It would not be very convenient to find jobs and technicians at distant places. Work and the worker must be close at hand. A decision about the location of industries is another assumption for co-ordination of the work and the workers. Mahatma Gandhi while emphasising the need for cottage industry looked as a prophet to the future of the national economy. India is an agricultural country and its social structure revolves round seasonal agricultural fluctuations. During slack periods there are workers who are not usefully employed. If they get some work to look forward to after the end of their agricultural work, they could work enthusiastically for both. The principle that "there must be something in the tray, if you want the worker to work harder" can be successfully adopted in Indian community if agriculture and cottage industries are synchronised. The cost of production will be much lower than in many other countries.⁸ The workers who are migratory in nature will be stabilised and this will give a firm basis for social reconstruction. The relationship between the individual and the society will be closer and the individual will be expected to discharge their share of obligation in producing the quota. If the individual does not come up to the expectation there may be apprehension of social stigma which the individual would like to escape. He would work harder to come up to social expectation.

There are certain industries where large-scale establishments are very economical, their concentration at one place might be beneficial. Where the scale of industries is to be large in order to gain economies of scale it is necessary that the State should regulate the localisation of firms. It has been found that sometimes it is harmful to keep all eggs in the same basket. Different types of firms should be encouraged to settle in the industrial estates. Localisation of different firms in the same region would produce external economies. An industrial community may grow in that locality. Technical skill and working habits will be imbibed among the younger member of the community. Moreover, external economies and various other advantages would cheapen the cost of production. The community and the country would gain from it. Workers of the region could watch the tangible result of their efforts and they could even know the importance of that region in the entire national economy. This may satisfy their ego and they may feel secure in their industrial community.

A harmonious relation between the workers and the managers is always a very great asset for the country. Selection of workers is as important for the industry as the training as how to order the subordinates. A harmonious relationship between the workers and the managers should be effective to break the factory walls: if within the four walls of the factory, the workers do not feel imprisoned, then the social adjustment of the workers and of the factory is perfect. Factory becomes just another place where the individual experiences the fulfilment of his personality. The worker who frankly frets and frowns at his job and sweats feverishly in his garden will take greater delight in working even for the soul-destroying repetitive works, if the barrier between the work and the life without is destroyed. Under such a situation there may be physical fatigue, psychological fatigue which is more annoying than the first will be completely absent. If the attitude to work can change, half the battle will be won.

There are various devices for boosting morale in an industry.⁹ The use and control of emotions could greatly aid to increase the co-operative tendencies of the individual. The efficacy of these devices is great in an agricultural community. A lower standard of intelligence and the lack of proper schooling provide very suitable opportunity for the success of morale-building factors. Use of the morale-building technique is accentuated for certain other reasons too. Agricultural industry is not very compact, it is very loosely orga-

9. Ordway Tead : *Human Nature and Management*, McGraw Hill Book Co.

8. B. Behari : "Bilayati Bazar aur Bharatiya Arthik Unnati ke Upaya," *Sahitya*, October, 1951.

B. Behari : "Technique of Morale-building in a British Industry," *The Modern Review*, June, 1952

nised. Mechanisation has not proceeded very far in agriculture. Poor peasants are ignorant of the improved techniques of cultivation. If these persons are taught their importance in the national economy and if they are taught better methods of cultivation, they are bound to react very favourably. A casual visitor to any cultivated field is aware of the carelessness of the peasants in sowing the crop. If the crop is sown at regular distances and economy in seed is made, the increase in yield is bound to be more than 15 per cent. We have been trying hard in this country to raise our production but do we consider that the yield can increase by a slightly greater attention even to the old system? The Publicity Department of the Government can be a very effective help in this direction.

For sustained effort the value of philosophy is very great. In ancient times the workers worked for his community, he worked harder than his fellows because he wanted a better reward for life after death. Even when the industrialisation was in its early days the workers derived sadistic-masochistic pleasure in the discomfort of hard work, sometimes the workers struggled hard for his personal end. Now the old values are crumbling into pieces. The State is satisfying most of the basic human requirements. Monetary incentive is not very effective. There is need for a new philosophy of life where the relationship between the individual and the society is considered afresh. If a reciprocal relation is established between the workers and the society, if the individual does

not feel frustrated, there would be happiness which will make him well adjusted at the work. We need certain social philosophers to set up a new standard of human expectation out of life and of ourselves.

CONCLUSION

We cannot forget human nature in our pursuit to raise production. The individual should be considered as a human being and the working group should be considered as a society not, as a host of idiots. It is necessary to take personal life into consideration for understanding the individual reactions.¹⁰ With the abandonment of the carrot-donkey-stick treatment it is necessary to accept complexity of personal motivation. Strength of groups is recognised. By reinstituting individuals in the proper setting of the society and by fostering a high social expectation individuals would be happier and more conducive to harder work. By gaining co-operation and by raising the morale of the people we can help the individual, can help the society and can raise the productivity of the country. We can survive in the struggle for existence if the individuals and the society work in close co-operation for the common good.*

10. Russell Fraser: "The Incidence of Neurosis among Factory Workers," *Industrial Health Research Bulletin*, U. K. Report No. 90.

* This article was written under the guidance of Prof. H. H. Ferguson, Professor of Psychology, St. Andrews University, United Kingdom, under whom I was doing researches on Industrial Psychology. I have gained very much from discussion with him, but only I am responsible for the ideas and opinions expressed in this article.

—O:—

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF CONFUCIUS

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG,

Lecturer in History, University of Delhi

PHILOSOPHY, indeed if it is to be the systematic manifestation of thought, must necessarily find expression in the writings of private individuals. Prior to Confucius, there were no such writings. Confucius himself did not write any book; but what his disciples have recorded of him and the *Five Classics* edited by him, were the first step in the development of a true system of thought. Confucius is, therefore, the first individual to be studied in the history of Chinese political philosophy, because prior to him, there existed, in all probability, no system of thought worthy of being called philosophy.

In Chinese we speak of Kung Fu Tze—"Guru Kung." Confucius is largely a western name. He was born in 551 B.C. in the State of Lu (the present Shantung province in north China). When he was nineteen, he married, and at the same time, he was appointed a Director of the Public Lands by the King of Lu. At the

age of fifty, Confucius reached his highest post as Chief Minister of Lu. He held this post for about four years. After his resignation in 497 B.C., he was accompanied by many of his disciples when he set out for wanderings which were to last for 13 years. There had been many feudal states of China undergoing many hardships and dangers. At last he returned to his native state, where he spent the last three years of his life engaged in literary studies and in teaching his disciples. He died in 479 B.C., and was buried in the district of Chu-Fu of Shantung province, where his tomb is still to be seen.

To know what Confucianism is, it is essential to study its sacred books. They are commonly referred to as the "Four Books." These are: (1) The *Analects*, that is to say, the sayings of Confucius as recorded by his disciples, (2) the *Great Learning*, a treatise, written, probably by Tseng-tze, a disciple of Confucius, (3) the

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Doctrine of the Mean, by Tze-ssu, a grandson of the Sage, and (4) the *Works of Mencius*.

The *Five Classics* are: (1) The *Yi-Ching* or *Book of Changes* used in divinations, (2) the *Shu Ching* or *Book of History*, (3) the *Shih Ching* or the *Book of Odes*, (4) the *Li Chi* or the *Book of Rites*, and (5) the *Chun Chiu* or the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

The root of Confucian political philosophy lies in *Jen*. Without understanding the meaning of this word, one will not grasp the political idea of Confucius at all. Chinese ideograph for the word *Jen* represents two men in relationship to each other. Confucius once defined *Jen* as 'to love all people.' He also said that 'to subdue one's self and return to propriety is *Jen*. To be a man of *Jen* is to reach the highest of human possibilities in terms of the complete fulfilment of the mutual good. In *Yi Ching* or the *Book of Changes*, it has been said: "The superior gentleman reared in the virtue of *Jen* will nurture people." The passive aspect of *Jen* is *Shu*, the ideograph for which is a combination of 'Like' and 'Heart.' It means putting oneself in another's place. It is a principle of inference, the basis of the Chinese Golden Rule. When Tze Kung asked whether there is one word which could serve as a guide for action in one's life, Confucius answered, 'Shu,' and explained it to mean, "Don't do to others what you would not wish done to yourself."

From the standpoint of Confucian teachings, knowledge and virtue are closely connected. In fact, the purpose of education in ancient China was to cultivate a virtuous life. Tze Hsia, a disciple of Confucius, put it this way: "The superior men must learn in order to cultivate the highest moral principles." Only virtuous men should govern the state. Confucius wished to see politics based on ethical principles, which explains why he emphasized that virtue must be the foundation of government. He said:

"He who exercises government by means of virtue may be compared to the north polar star which holds to its place and all the stars turn toward it."

Again Confucius said:

"The moral character of the ruler is the wind; the moral character of those beneath him is the grass. When the grass has the wind upon it, it assuredly bends."

There is then only one ethical principle for both the individual life and the public life. If you are a good man, you will be able to be a good ruler, but the basic thing is to be a good man.

The ideal state of Confucian political thinking is that every man should develop his morality to the maximum degree, and so construct a world in which the doctrine of *Jen* rules. This is called the Grand Union. A full description of this is found in the following quotation from *Li Chi* or the *Book of Rites*:

"When the Great Doctrine (Tao) prevails, the world is a Grand Union. Officers are elected according to their wisdom and ability, and mutual confidence and peace reign. People regard not only

their parents as parents but also their children as children. All the aged will be provided for, and all the young employed in work. Infants will be fathered, widows and widowers, lonely orphans, the disabled and the sick will all be cared for. The men will have their occupations and women have homes. No goods will go to waste, nor need they be stored for personal possession. No energy should be retained in one's own body, nor used for private advantage. Self-interest ceases, and banditry and rebellion are not known. Therefore, the gates of the houses are in no need to be shut. This State is called the Grand Union (Ta Tung)."

Judging the above passage there follow three things. First, it conceives of a super-national organization having



像真聖孔祠石縣阜由裝部

Confucius

the whole world as its scope. No hereditary rights are recognized, but government is established by direct popular election and its administration is based on the spirit of *Jen*. Secondly, the tribal family is the unit of society, but its spirit transcends family considerations. Only biological differences are recognized, while emphasis is laid on "all the young men employed in work." The old and the children are all supported by the labour of those who are young and strong. Thirdly, natural wealth is exploited to the utmost but not for personal gains. The sacredness of labour is instituted, but no one is to work for his selfish end.

The Grand Union is the fullest expression of the perfect personality of the Universe. But the Universe will never reach its ideal; if it is realized, it would no longer be the Universe. And yet in this incomplete Universe what should human beings strive for? We should strive with all our energy to make the Universe approach its ideal

perfection one step nearer. To accomplish this, we must develop our fellow-feeling among mankind. In a situation where fellow-feeling is inactive, the first step is to awaken it to life again. There is a simple method for it, namely, to begin with one's personal relations—parents and children, brothers and sisters, husband and wife, the ruler and his subject, and friend and friend. These represent the five dimensions of life. These five relationships may be grouped into two, the solid relationship within the family and that without the family. The first three relations are relationship by blood or marriage, whereas the last two are relationships by righteousness (social or political ties).

When the five human relationships are properly observed, the two solid bodies necessary for the promotion of the family and the society and the relation between the former and the latter become complete. Therefore, Confucius held that harmony with the family is the root of good government in the State. The *Book of History* states:

"Some one asked Confucius, saying: 'Why? Sir, are you not in the public service?' The Master answered: 'Does not the *Shu* (the *Book of History*) say concerning filial piety: Filial piety and friendliness towards one's brethren can be displayed in the exercise of public service? These qualities then are at the root of public service. Why should only that idea of yours be considered as constituting public service?'"

Are there any moral rules for the family and for the government? These are contained in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* which was edited by Confucius himself. It is the political Bible of China. To each statement in the book, Confucius implied his approval or disapproval. The manner of recording is cryptic and the contents are not narrations but rather rules of approval or disapproval. The influence of the book doubtless has been very great. There is a proverb about this book: "His one word of approval and disapproval is as severe as the killing by a halberd and a battle-axe."

Here are samples of the statement found in the book of *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

(1) First year, Spring, the Imperial January.

This is one of the statements in its entirety. It was interpreted by the commentators as meaning the first year of the ascension to the throne by Duke Ying of the State of Lu (the present Shantung province). The year thus refers to this great event in the State of Lu. But the month refers to the Imperial calendar of the Chou Empire (1122-256 B.C.), of which Lu is merely a part. This recognition of the Imperial calendar denotes submission of all feudal lords and their subjects to Imperial authority.

(2) Fifth year, Spring, the Duke went to Tang to observe fishing.

This statement implies that this is an act not appropriate for a Prince. When the Duke proposed to go to observe fishing, one of his ministers told him that hunting during the four official hunting seasons can

contribute to the national defence and that consequently during these times it was proper for the Prince to appear. However, a small thing like fishing is beyond the scope of government and should not be attended to by the Prince.

(3) Second year, Spring, Imperial January, Sung-tu murdered his King Yu-Yi and his minister Kung-Fu.

The killing of a king by a subject is the greatest crime that can be committed. Confucius used the word *Shih* meaning crime-killing, instead of the word *Sah*, for killing.

(4) Hsuan-Kung—12th year, the Baron of Chu laid siege on the State of Cheng.

Summer 6th month. The Army of Chin led by the Commander Sin-Lin-Fu and the Baron of Chu fought in Pei and the army of Chin was defeated. Kung-Yang, commentator on this statement, said that Chu, while generally considered to be a state of barbarians, this time was favoured by Confucius. He made this personification of Chu in the name of the Baron because the Baron's conduct in battle was up to the Confucian standard of culture. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* emphasised the distinction between the Chinese feudatories and the barbarian tribes, and Chu, with this exception, came under the latter.

I do not wish further to multiply the examples of statements in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. It is enough to say that the murder of a ruler was regarded as one of the greatest crimes and that incest was equally bad. The barbarian tribes, when they attacked a Chinese kingdom, were condemned by Confucius. Even when a Chinese kingdom committed an attack on its neighbours without any provocation he recorded the event with disapproval.

This manner of recording, according to Mencius, made the rebellious ministers and villainous sons tremble. This technique was borrowed from Confucius by later historians who distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate dynasties. A dynasty which was founded by a minister who had taken advantage of a period of disorder and had murdered the king was considered illegitimate. Tsao-chao was one who had taken such an advantage of the rule at the end of the latter Han dynasty (25-221 A.D.) and in the name of the Han Emperor had extended his own sphere of influence. Later his son built up his kingdom of Wei (220-265 A.D.) which became one of the Three Kingdoms. But Wei was styled the Usurper Dynasty.

Liu-Bei, ruler of the kingdom of Su, was considered the legitimate king, because he was the descendant of the Han royal family. Such distinctions between legitimate rule and usurper or puppet government exercised a very great influence upon the minds of the Chinese people, when they were asked to choose one of them to follow. This moral attitude persists till today.

We would like to mention that during the last Sino-Japanese War, the moral support by the people to

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the Chungking National Government springs from two psychological motives: one is that the Japanese, from the viewpoint of a Confucian, are a barbarian tribe which should be expelled, the other is that the Chungking National Government is the legitimate government but that of Nanking sponsored by Wang Chin-wei is a puppet government and therefore is illegitimate.

Readers may come to know now, why the twenty million Overseas Chinese abroad as well as the nine million Chinese in the Formosa Island are still supporting the Chiang government, and even the Chinese POW in Korea want to go to Formosa. This is not to mean that we Chinese people are still looking forward

to the leadership of KMT, but we sincerely follow our great Guru Confucius's teachings.

If you try to trace this mental attitude, you will find the source only in the book *Spring and Autumn Annals*. So you see how deeply rooted is the influence of this book on the Chinese mind. One who wishes to understand the political psychology of the Chinese can only find it out by reading the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

We may conclude this article by saying that the victory of the Confucian school was achieved not merely through the support given by the emperor but also through the real contribution which this school made to the Chinese culture and civilization.

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A PROBE INTO INDIAN PRICE TRENDS

By Prof. V. K. SHRIVASTAVA, M.A., F.R.ECON.S. (Lond.)

EARLY economists of the 18th and 19th centuries utterly disregarded the importance of consumption. The rise of Socialist thinkers and the Welfare school of Economics has brought to the fore the problem of 'wants and their satisfaction.' Satisfaction of human wants is now obtained indirectly through the system of money-exchange, split into two parts—sale and purchase of goods. The system of money-exchange works through price-mechanism. By price is meant the value-in-exchange of goods expressed in terms of money. Every one of us is a consumer. The man in the street always thinks in terms of rupees and annas. If he was buying one loaf for one anna before 1939 and now if he is required to pay two annas for it, he will at once conclude that 'bread has become dearer.' However, the economist thinks of the rupee as having a more or less fixed purchasing power. Purchasing power of money depends upon the total quantity of 'exchange-media' as related to the volume of goods and services produced in a country. Price-changes occur, when other things being equal, there are any changes in any of the two factors or in both in the opposite direction.

War or peace, both may equally account for causing disturbance in the price-system. A boom is as good as a slump. The last Great War and the period of depression in the 'thirties, were enough to teach the world a good lesson on price-control. In the case of the U. K. and the U.S.A., which had drawn upon their previous experience, prices did not rise as high as in several other countries. All leading economists of our country are alarmed at the rate of fall in the purchasing power of the Indian rupee. The main causes of the fall are (i) the Governmental financial policy, (ii) huge war-financing, (iii) the new 'created' money, (iv) production crisis, (v) restricted imports, (vi) depression psychology. Other factors

which accentuated the rise have been the continuation of deficit financing, the policy of decontrol and the continuous increase in salaries, wages and dearness allowances. The continuous spiral of rising prices may be better studied with the help of the following data:

Index Number of Prices and Cost of Living

Year	Base 1914	
	General Index	Cost of living Index
1939	137	113
1940	120	115
1941	149	139
1942	238	188
	Base 1939	
1945	242	231
1947	302	285
1948	383	292
1950	409	298
1951	434	314
1952	415	325

The following important conclusions may be arrived at from the study of the above data:

- Inflationary conditions had not assumed serious form as late as 1941.
- Prices rose considerably since 1942 and the spiral of rising prices went on till the end of 1951.
- The Index number showed decline from the beginning of 1952 to May 1952.
- Since May 1952, there has been a slight increase in the general index which remained almost constant till 15.9.1952.

Prices were almost stable during 1947 but in 1948, the rises were significant for every month from January to July. These rises coincided with a policy of decontrol of food and cloth. However, some economists do not consider decontrol as the villain of the piece. In their opinion, the stable relation between the money supply and the goods exchanging against them was established at a general index level of about 382.

The unhappy position of the Government finances starts from 1946-47 when deficit-financing was undertaken and a surplus on India's account, both revenue and capital of Rs. 276 and Rs. 248 crores in 1944-45 and 1945-46 were converted into a deficit, which in the year 1947-48 was Rs. 228 crores and in 1948-49, Rs. 224 crores. The index of effective money-supply increased from 116.3 in 1939-40 to 532.2 in 1948-49. While money-supply was the means by which high prices developed, the passive factor which was low production was also equally important.

In the country itself, there are sharp variations. Kanpur with the cost of living index at 466 is the dearest place. Nagpur had its index at 381, Calcutta 363 and Madras 328. Delhi, Jabbalpur, Jamshedpur and Ludhiana are comparatively cheaper. The un-weighted retail price index numbers for 18 urban and 12 rural centres have been given in February 1952 issue of the *Indian Labour Gazette*. In the urban centres, the index numbers for all articles of food showed a clear downward trend. This downward trend was due to a fall in the prices of miscellaneous articles of food, e.g., gur, potatoes, onions, chillies, and brinjals. There was a fall of 10 points or more during December, 1951, as compared to the year 1944 in the index numbers for Agra, Barcilly, Banaras, Patna, Howrah and Raniganj. In the rural centres, however, the index numbers for all articles of food recorded a rise of 15 points on account of rise in the prices of *jauar*, *bajra*, onions, kerosine oil, match-box, *dholi*, shirting, *sari* and tobacco in the rural centres. However, there was a general fall in the prices of cereals, including rice.

The trends of wholesale prices for six major countries, namely, Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, U.K. and U.S.A. did not reveal any upward march up to June 1952 except in Australia. The data available in respect of these countries have been compared to 1948:

Year	Australia	Canada	Italy	Japan	U.K.	U.S.A.
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	112	103	95	163	105	95
1950	132	109	90	193	120	99
1951	163	124	103	267	146	110
1952 (June)	171	122	99	279	108	108

The living costs as compared to 1948 base year are 162, 124, 111, 166, 122 and 110 in Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, U.K. and U.S.A. respectively for January, 1952. Evidently, living costs have revealed a rising tendency in all the countries except Italy.

It has been realised, however late, that the rise in prices cannot be followed up by a continuous rise in wages and salaries. Inflation is a serious handicap to Government budgets, production estimates as well as individual budgets. Labour leaders have realised that although they have succeeded in getting increased wages for the workers, they are not better off

because of rising wages. Inflation leads to hoarding of commodities and the tendency causes an artificial scarcity of essential commodities and the poor people have to suffer in consequence. It is believed that production increases when the prices fall. But continuous rise in prices must involve continuous rise in the cost of production. There are also difficulties of obtaining capital equipment, coal and raw materials. Labour unrest, transport difficulties and the partition have also accentuated the production crisis in the country. The businessmen are able to gather merely paper fortunes since the value of each rupee in terms of goods is less. The middle class with a fixed income is the worst sufferer. Commodities of everyday requirements go up in prices and their income does not rise in proportion. Consequently, the middle-class people either live on their savings or reduce their standard. The relation between the creditor and the debtor gets disturbed. In this way, inflation affects the very basis of economic life.

The Indian Government, as the guardian of the free people, had great responsibilities. Partition of the country had created new problems of rehabilitating not only the uprooted people but the entire economy on a new basis. Millions of starved, naked and homeless people looked askance at the Government. Thousands of journalists, educationists and lawyers who were in the first rank of fighters for freedom became overnight the worst critics of the Government policies. Persons who were expected to become nation-builders became groaning spectators. While there was the need for curtailing and restricting Government expenditure and increasing revenues the Government had to spend on schemes of social and educational developments. They had to increase the central grants to provinces. They had to undertake long-range schemes. They had to implement the abolition of Zamindari and the policy of prohibition. On the other hand, taxes had to be reduced. Naturally, this accentuated the pace of inflation in the country.

On the 4th October 1948, the Government of India enunciated the following broad policies:

- (i) To take all possible steps to keep the Government expenditure as low as possible;
- (ii) To make a concerted effort immediately to ensure that there is no further rise in prices and the cost of living;
- (iii) To order future policy so as to secure in the shortest possible time progressive reduction in prices to reasonable levels and the supply of an increasing volume of goods and services; and
- (iv) To curtail the purchasing power in the hands of the community and to prevent any further addition thereto.

Balanced or surplus budgets, stopping of financial assistances to provinces, intensification of campaigns for small savings, limitation of dividends, restriction on credit and price controls were some of the measures

which the Government of India adopted to meet inflation. necessarily increases the money income faster than production. There is, therefore, the inherent danger of inflation. The instruments of monetary and credit policy have to be used to obviate these dangers. The new Central Budget indicates optimism, yet it is the 'actuals' that will prove it. J. D. Sethi has estimated that our revenue has been inflated to the tune of nearly Rs. 31 crores. It is bound to increase the amount of deficit financing provided for in the capital budget as expenditure is generally considered to be rigid.

Now, the Government of India has launched the first Five-Year Plan. The normal result of development expenditure is that, to the extent that it is not met by the redirection of resources, it is inflationary. This argument has been set aside by the Government on the ground that the net expenditure abroad is so great that there is a tendency for rupee surpluses to emerge in the sense that the rupee receipts are in excess of rupee expenditures. The *Eastern Economist* has taken into consideration the question of the diminution in our assets and consequently the need for foreign aid. Great emphasis has been laid upon price policy, through which the fullest mobilisation of the available resources and their allocation has to be made so as to secure optimum results. The aim should be to maintain a structure of relative prices which will bring about an allocation of resources in conformity with the targets stated in the Plan. The Commission feels that financial and physical controls are necessary in order to secure these ends. In the early stages a development plan finance is only a wizard's game.

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YOUNG BENGAL DISCOVERS INDIA

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

THE emergence of the "Young Bengal" or the English-educated middle class Bengalis was a more important event than the great Sepoy Mutiny in the history of British administration in India. The history of the growth of nationalism in India is the history of the movement initiated and ideas propagated by this community.

The adoption of English as the medium of instruction was followed by a conflict between the English-educated middle class Bengalis and the English in this country. This conflict started on questions of racial prejudice and excessive pretensions of non-official Britishers in this country, whose example in this respect was followed by other European communities, the Armenians, Jews, etc., domiciled here. Gradually the volume of Indian resentment increased and as political consciousness arose relations between the educated community and European Government officials were affected. For a time, the educated community made a clear distinction between the English officials of the Government and the Government of the country, but within a few years, as an intelligent and independent Press began to function, the older sentiments towards the Government began to change. The real cause of the change, of the extension policy in dealing with the educated middle class and aggravation of the spirit of conflict, was much deeper and was to be attributed to the complete reversal of the old policy of the British Government in this country. A secondary cause was the undermining, as a result of governmental measures, of the implicit faith of the politically-minded community of this country in the Proclamation of 1858.

A great change came over the Indian policy of the British Government after the Wahabi and Sepoy rebellions. This change was mainly due to the emergence of the English-educated Young Bengal school and its attitude. For fifty years British politicians considered carefully the probable effects of the introduction of English education in India and in 1835, the Government adopted English as the medium of instruction. That the apprehensions of the critics of the Government were not baseless began to be perceived within a generation. Many members of the Young Bengal school became thoroughly anglicised; some of them adopted Christianity, but the total result of it was that the Young Bengal school discovered India, their motherland. As soon as the watchful English rulers got an inkling of this fact they considered it necessary to modify their older policy in dealing with the educated middle class

Bengalis. From that time this community came to be suspected and distrusted by the British Government. This was the first change in their policy.

The second change was the change effected in their old policy towards the Indian Moslems, whom they considered it prudent, to accord preferential treatment and use to balance the growing power of the numerically preponderant Hindus. This and other considerations of prudence, namely, the unity and fanaticism of Indian Moslems and Britain's relations with Moslem States in Asia, Africa and Europe, dictated this change of policy. Again, they realised that if it was advisable to balance the Moslems against the Hindus, it was equally advisable to balance the numerically preponderant but ignorant tenants against the landlords. The principal reason for which the Permanent Settlement was made, namely, creating a body of influential supporters of their rule, had lost its force after the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny, when all doubts regarding the strength and stability of their rule were removed. Henceforth they began to take greater interest in the tenants. This was the third change in the old policy of the British Government and it became clearly manifest in Bengal under the regime of Sir John Campbell.

The Indian policy of the British Government, as reshaped by these great modifications in the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, remained unaltered up to the end of British rule.

To come to the attitude of the Young Bengal which necessitated such vital changes in the Indian policy of the British Government.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Hindus of Bengal were full of gratitude to the English who had saved them, as they thought, from Moslem misgovernment, Mahratta raiders, Thugies and lawlessness prevailing in the country. This period was followed by a period of infatuation and destructivism after the introduction of English education. The cultural revolution which took place next largely helped the educated community to regain their mental balance. A revulsion of feeling against the English set in and a spirit of revolt took possession of the Young Bengal school. Educated Bengalis abandoned the old humility and servility towards Englishmen lording it over them, refused to *salam* any and every Tom and Dick they met in the streets and demanded to be treated as equals to the Englishman. Such was the personal aspect of the revolt.

To the Government of the country they made known their claim for appointment to the same high jobs as the English, and a larger share, in other ways, in the administration of the country. The monopoly of the high posts in the public services by Englishmen, their monopoly of the trade, commerce and industries of the country, the oppressions of European

indigo and tea-planters, discriminatory treatment to the European offenders in the law-courts, the arrogant and humiliating treatment of the children of the soil by Englishmen attracted the attention of the educated middle class community. The progressive Bengali newspapers which acted as their organ began to discuss these topics and vehemently attack the English. Their attacks were met by the *Friend of India*, *Vanity Fair*, *Hurkaru*, *Pioneer*, *Daily News* and other English-conducted newspapers of the time.

How the relations between the educated Bengalis and Englishmen had changed with a few years after the Sepoy Mutiny will be seen from the following extracts at random from a few contemporary Bengali newspapers:

"Enmity between the English and the natives seems to increase. An Englishman will never let slip an opportunity to attack a native and a native is sure to return the attack. This custom has been much practised since the Sepoy Mutiny, of the English and the natives trying to outstrip each other in pointing out one another's fault. Not content with abusing each other they have dragged women too."—*Som Prakash*.

"The English regard themselves in the presence of the natives as worthy of the worship of the gods. They think that their own heads are heads indeed, the heads of the natives are but the broken pots at the kilns of the potters. The object of our birth is to obey, to serve, to endure chastisement at their hands, their birth is to fulfil the work God delights in."—*Barisal Vartavaha*.

"The English come to this country for money and only seek how they can take wealth out of India. If a native has at any time an opportunity to strike an Englishman all have unmixed pleasure in it. If any misfortune happen to the English they inwardly rejoice. Being deficient in strength and intelligence they cannot do anything, but they nurse the spirit of rebellion in their hearts. Genuine loyalty is not to be found in the minds of most people now."—*Sulabha Samachar*.

Long-drawn hostilities commenced between English officials, non-official Englishmen in this country and Anglo-Indian newspapers on the one hand, and Bengali newspapers on the other. The latter kept a careful watch on all instances of misdeeds by Englishmen in tea gardens, indigo factories, in Government offices, in the domain of district administration, in the railways and brought them to the notice of the public, and criticised the offending parties. It is possible to give a factual and impartial sketch of the progress of political thought and political work in Bengal with the help of extracts from contemporary records. This sketch, as it proceeds, will touch on the various trends in the development of nationalism in Bengal from twenty years before the birth of the Indian National Congress.

Those who may be entrusted with the work of compiling the history of the Indian struggle for freedom should not ignore the details of the pre-Congress and pre-Swadeshi chapters of this history.

MODERN DANISH SCULPTURAL ART

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (Sweden)

[The artistic genius of Ejner Trellund manifests itself through chunks of wood and lumps of root.]

VERY few in India, not even perhaps members of the artists' fraternity, have heard the name of the great Danish artist, Ejner Trellund whose unique artistic gift has led him to seek his moulding material in the vegetable kingdom. His instruments are few and primitive and he has gone back to the obsolete Middle Ages in carving

created in pure wood Tamerlane, Atilla, Asoka, Socrates, Abdul Hamid, etc. Other fantastically wonderful creations of his are, an Uhlan, a Matador, a blind Arab, a Teuton Kaiser and lots of other different representative types of men.

As I have said in the beginning, his grand total of



Kalmuk. 1946



Caucasian. 1944

out human heads from wood. His efforts extending over 20 long years, have resulted in his creating in all 50 'heads' so far. His representations include a varied and representative lot, including a Kalmuk, a Georgian, a Russian Pope, a Mandarin, a Buddhist Lama, a Sikh and several other types of people. Of the historically-famed personages of the world, he has re-

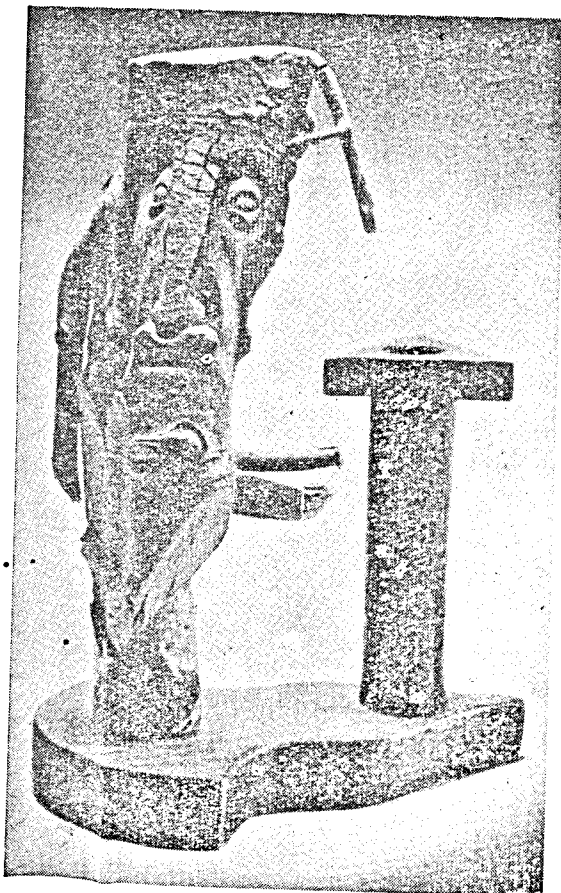
wooden heads is only 50 so far, as he has, of late, practically given up pursuing his hobby in the aforesaid direction.

Those connoisseurs of art who have seen his wonderful excutions in wood bewail his inexplicable desire of drawing himself within his shell.

What sort of man is Ejner Trellund and with what

degree of realism he has been able to unfold the creative impulses of his mind on woods?

Ejner Trellund is a middle-aged man of few words having a particularly gnarled countenance, which clearly bears the stamp of awful vicissitudes of fortune through which he had to pass. But there is something in his impassive face which eloquently expresses an indomitable will within, bent, as it were, on conquering all the hard knocks of life.



Hermit. 1942

His marked reticence is occasionally succeeded by a gentle flush of childlike enthusiasm when he is drawn into a conversation about art and philosophy. He is a straight talker and once engaged in expounding his extremely individual attitude towards life, he is in the habit of going straight at the root of the matter instead of trying first to clear the tangled mass of superfluous foliage which cover up the core of the matter.

A perceptible weak, under-current of irony runs through his talk and the grimness of his rugged exterior and the steel-like ring of his manly voice, gives one the inescapable impression that this great man of new ideas in the field of art has risen far above the sordid desires

of life and has been able to totally abjure the pomps and vanities of life.

This ascendancy of his art over circumstances and environments gives him the will and determination of a savant to carry out in toto the promptings of his inspired mind and see through to a finish the work he has in his hands without turning round or looking back for public applause or division.

Though he seriously believes in the dictum, art for



Darduce. 1941

art's sake, and steadily goes on giving shapes to his unique artistic ideas, he is always conscious that he owes it to himself to help his fellow brethren in pulling themselves out of the rut of a drab and dreary existence and help them understand the real values of life through a realistic expression of his thoughts through the medium of man's oldest and best friend—the wood.

Many critics of art find fault with Trellund's wooden faces, which always do not conform to the standard rules of art and, in certain cases, fall short of realistic excellence. They find in these a certain amount of crudity, which they think, takes off the edge of a realistic and artistic enjoyment of his creations. These art-

critics though fully conscious of his originality and the whole-heartedness of his efforts in trying to give expression to his burning ideas, nevertheless, cannot quite understand, why an artist of his stature should not try to arrive at a greater degree of perfection in his art by being a little more conventional.

The wooden images which he has carved out of the stumps of ordinary maple, poplar, birch, elm, oak and other common trees, have strange outlandish features and these seem to have come from another world, except for the fact that all these 'heads' have a sad human look,

to be and is content to convey only a realistic expression of his thoughts and feelings.

Many critics say that Trellund's method of carving reminds one of pastoral art of the Middle Ages, employed in ornamenting wooden pipes and bowls. But this analogy is totally misleading. Trellund's art is not the childish effort of engraving a piece or stem of wood with flowers, butterflies, birds or other cheap pictorial representations but altogether a novel way of giving shape to profoundest human thoughts, feelings and sentiments through the medium of any ordinary lump of



Apostle. 1938

reminding the critics that these are not mere phantoms but humans—very true humans, just as ourselves—only of the different yesterday or of the quick-changing to-day.

What marks him off from the rest of the so-called 'finished' artists of the world is his spontaneity of expression, shorn of all orthodox rules and conventions. His ideas are altogether different from those of the more orthodox school of thinking. He does not believe in hammering away at his piece of creation in order to make it look lovelier and brighter than he actually intends it



Emperor Abdul Hamid. 1941

root or block of wood. He tries to make these 'heads' as near to life as possible and to bring upon the observer the feeling of a close human presence and never allowing him to think that he is judging only the beauties or flaws of lifeless, inert wooden images.

His 'heads' seem to think, feel and be capable of instantaneous action like us when we are just awakened from a deep and refreshing sleep and are drowsily looking before us.

Johannes V. Jensen, the art-critic who personally knew Trellund, once said in talking about Trellund's art



Ejner Trellund, Danish Sculptor

as being "the art of caprice, the art of the mood, subjected to the power inherent in the materials, the forms and colours, to awaken the inner vision and the visionary's urge to reveal it to everybody."

Sometimes we see landscapes and figures in mosaic floors, in cloud formations and in the patches of damp on ceilings and walls; they appear so clearly that we are tempted to think that a few more strokes would suffice to fix the impression permanently.

Trellund who worked on roots and branches of trees had to have men with gnarled and twisted features, but all the same these do not suffer from a lack of animation or the fire of life.

Though none of his works are tastefully pretty, as we would want them to be, yet nobody can deny the unique visionary power of Trellund and the spontaneity with which he creates his images. His whole creations represent a conception of art which in profoundness is worthy of the highest ideals of art. This visionary—nay prophet, moulds his thoughts and canalises them in a way so that these are able to fashion their own beauties often kindling into strange beauteous shapes. The rhythm of poetry and the voice of prophecy seem interlaced in a miracle of design and craftsmanship in his creative art.

Trellund's art is the product of the profound intuition of genius rather than only the adroit manipulation of the artist's chisel.

THE JUANGS

By L. N. SAHU,

Member, Servants of India Society, Cuttack

The Juangs are a class of tribesmen who inhabit Keonjhar and Pal Lahara in the State of Orissa. Their population in 1931 was 15,024. They are short in stature, thick-set, copper-coloured, and rather ugly-looking, with curly hair, broad nose and thick lips. They are generally peace-loving.

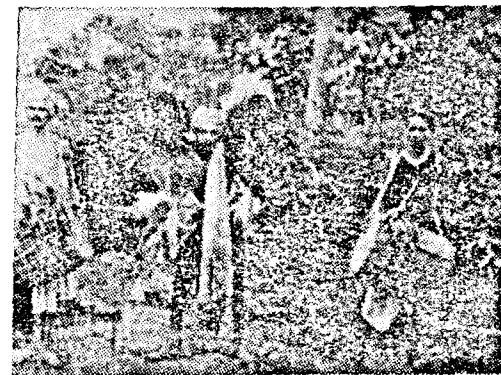
They call themselves children of a saint (*rishiputra*). One of their ancestors was a man of forceful character and whatever he uttered bore fruit. He was therefore called a saint. According to tradition, he had hair on his tongue and it was because of this that he possessed such extraordinary powers. His enemies tried hard to deprive him of his powers by giving him various kinds of forbidden food, but their efforts failed to produce any effect. However, when he was forced to eat the

dhamana snake, the hair on his tongue fell and his powers disappeared. This is the traditional story of the first Juang. Even to-day the Juangs get angry if anybody calls them "eaters of the *dhamana* snake."

The Juangs wear few cloths. The women have tattoo marks on different parts of the body and go about with their breasts uncovered. They used to wear a leaf apron round the waist; but this is now seldom used since the introduction of cloth in 1868 by Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of the Orissa Division when the leaf dresses were burnt. According to tradition, the Juangs were originally completely naked and it was their founder referred to above who advised them to adopt a leaf dress. Another tradition states that it was a deity who cursed the naked Juangs to

put on leaves or suffer destruction. The leaf-wearing Juangs may be identified with the *Patra Sauras* (*Patra*, leaf and *Sauras*, aboriginal) of tradition, whose goddess according to the *Sadhanamala* is called *Parna Savari*,

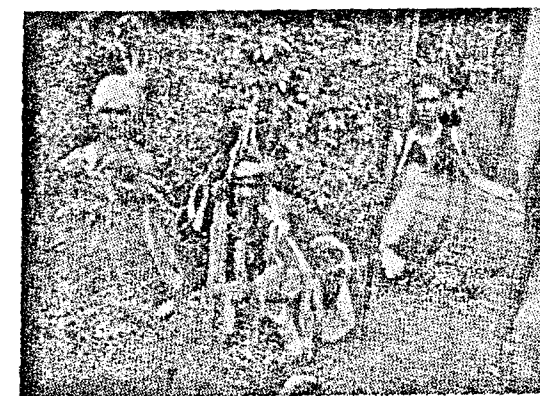
married boys and girls. Adultery is punished by divine vengeance and the adulterer is sometimes stripped naked and paraded through the village with a heavy stone tied to his genitalia. Another interesting feature



Patra Saura

the protector from cholera, small-pox and other diseases. As for ornaments, the Juangs wear heavy brass bangles and cowries. Their necklaces are sometimes very broad and even touch the ear. They wear in the nose iron or brass wires which look like elephant tusks.

Originally the Juangs had a food-gathering economy. But now shifting cultivation is the prevalent form of food production, and the hoe and the axe have replaced the digging-stick and the bill-hook as chief implements. They eat beef and the flesh of dead



Patra Saura dance

of Juang life is their dancing. Men and women dance together with forward and backward movements, like the Gadabas, after having drunk their home-made beer. Their favourite musical instrument is a tambourine called *chambu*. The animal dances of the Juangs, like those of the vulture, bear, deer and peacock, are justly famous.

The Juangs call themselves the first produce of the human race. They also think that they are sprung from the earth; so they do not sleep on beds. In the



Patra Saura dance

animals. Their method of killing cattle is very interesting. They tie a cow to a big tree, then cut round the tree till it is about to fall and leave it to the cow to bring it down with its dragging motions, as a result of which it is killed. The Juangs do not put salt in their food, but keep a lump of it in the middle and lick it by turns.

They have well-organised youth dormitories for un-



Patra Saura dance

winter they sleep in the open and put fire all around to keep off wild animals. They make attractive wooden combs and often remarkable carvings in the shape of breasts, etc., on the wooden door-posts of their youth dormitories. They are also good at knitting and making mats of date-palm leaves. Their culture shows some traces of the influence of the Panchasakha

Vaishnavas of Orissa. They have a distinct tribal language of their own, of which a specimen is given below:

Alpa misitian badmaharagian misan etadiyam



The writer

Kanade tileyikya khos arem aksariyan kibi kipika
(Translation: After a few days a great famine broke out and the child suffered terribly from want of food.)

The Juangs have also developed the art of song,

an example of which addressed to the daughter-in-law by the mother-in-law is as follows:

O, my dear daughter,
Do not wash the pot;
Black will soil your hand.
Do not pick cow-dung;
It will soil your hand.
I love you, dear daughter.
I want to keep you happy and well.
Love my son and make him happy too.

The Juangs do not possess private property in land. The area available round a village belongs to the whole community. Each takes as much as he can manage. In some Juang villages everyone pays the same amount of tax, whereas in Juangpir in Keonjhar taxes are paid by the village as a whole and not by the individuals. It was the grandfather of the present Raja of Keonjhar, Sri Dhanjaya Narayana Bhanja, who introduced a tax of one rupee per plough.

This is, in short, an account of the life and institutions of a fascinating tribe in eastern India. No doubt there are many gaps in our knowledge of their culture and it is to be hoped that anthropologists would soon proceed to record it in detail before it disappears under the impact of higher civilisations.*

* Thanks are due to Sri G. N. Das, M.A., LL.B., Research scholar, for help in preparing this paper. I am also indebted to Professor Banambar Acharya, Christ College, Cuttack, for much of the material supplied to me.

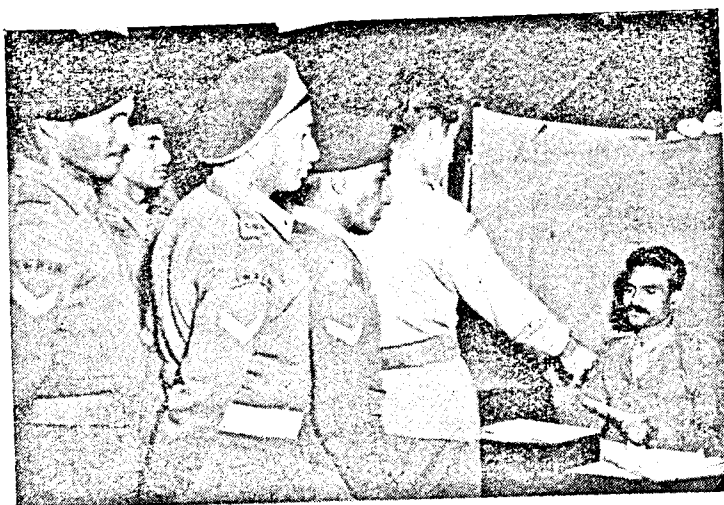
UNITS IN KOREA

Field Post Office Renders Efficient Service

A quiet bunch of twenty-five men under the command of a good-humoured and mild-tempered officer, Major L.A. Freitas, are rendering selfless and efficient service to the 6,000 Indian troops in Korea. They comprise the Field Post Office which receives and sends letters, bridging a distance of about 5,000 miles and bringing friends and relatives, families and dear ones together.

On an average over 6,000 letters are sent every day from "Hind Nagar" and over 14,000 are received in each delivery from India. The 'dak' goes five times a week from Korea and flies back from India with equal frequency through different air services. The tie up is with British and American A.P.Os.

From the 56 A.P.O. in New Delhi, where mail from all over India is collected, mail bags fly to Tokyo



Troops line up to purchase the special stamps issued for use in Korea

THE BIG PROJECT OF THE PUNJAB

Force to Seoul—the capital of South Korea. Through the American courier service Indian mail bags are delivered at the U.N. Warehouse situated just outside the Demilitarized Zone. There our postal boys collect the mail and bring it to the Base A. P. O. with the Custodian Force, located in the heart of Hind Nagar.

In addition to the Base A.P.O. there are two other Sub-Post Offices. One with the NNRC in Shanti Nagar called the 741 F.P.O. and the other—the 739 F.P.O.—with the Brigade Headquarters in Raj Nagar. Attached to these are a number of energetic and enthusiastic unit post orderlies who run up and down the unit lines and the post offices, collecting and delivering the much-awaited letters.

With the exception of receiving VPPs and insured articles, for which no adequate provision can be made here, the Indian F.P.Os in Korea transact all the normal business of any Post Office covering money orders, savings bank accounts and life insurance facilities. Telegrams and cables too are accepted. They are sent

through Seoul to Hongkong from where the wires radiate messages throughout the world.

It takes about seven days for letters from India to reach Korea. It has been the constant and earnest endeavour of the F.P.O. here to reduce this time but the difficulties are great many and the modus operandi tedious. In fact this is truly considered quick delivery.

All transactions of the F.P.O. here are made through Indian Postal stamps giving the men a feeling of being at home. The Post Office is fully equipped with a large quantity and variety of Indian stamps. In addition they distribute two free field air mail letters per man, per week. These are a great boon to the Indian troops who accept them with cheerful gratitude.

Said the O.C. of the Sixty Indian Field Ambulance Unit which has been in Korea since 1950, "Postal arrangements have been efficient from the day the Custodian Force landed in the Demilitarized Zone. As far as this Unit is concerned it is the first time the personnel are getting mail regularly after about three years."

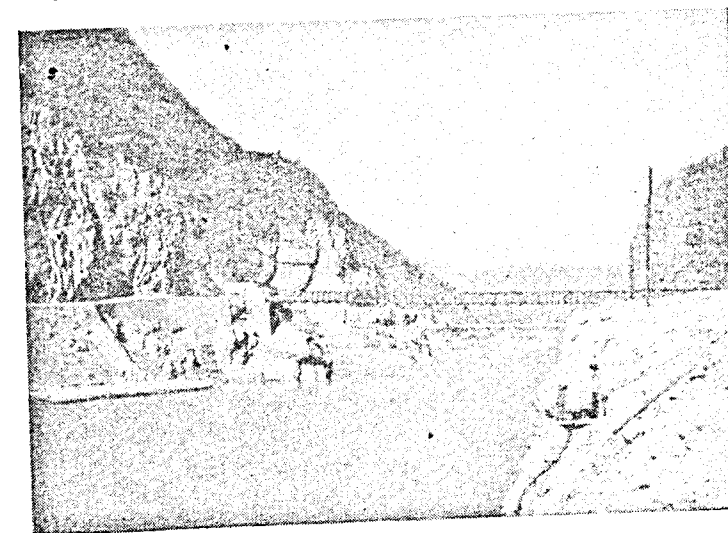
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THE BIG PROJECT OF THE PUNJAB

By BALESHWAR NATH, B.Sc., C.E. (Hons.), M.I.E.

The Sutlej is said to be the oldest river of all those traversing Indo-Gangetic Plain, and brings down to this mortal world the ever-purifying effluence of Mansarovar, from the very feet of Lord Shiva. In its valley today is growing up a new civilization unfettered by its traditional past. Just where the pre-historic river emerges out of its mountainous course, it flumes out of the clear-cut gorge and gravely meanders down to Rupar (East Punjab), where many decades ago, during the last century, it was barricaded across to enable the off-taking of the Sirhind Canal. The clear-cut gorge has, however, attracted attention of the Punjab administrators and engineers for a long time and it now forms the crucial point of the Bhakra-Nangal Project of the Punjab.

The scheme envisages building up a cement concrete gravity dam across the gorge thus empounding 7.4 million acres feet of water in the Sutlej Valley, the submergence extending to about 45 miles up-stream. This, when completed, will probably be the highest concrete dam in Asia. A subsidiary dam at Nangal, about 8 miles down-stream (already completed), will enable a 38 miles long concrete-lined Power Channel



The Sutlej at Bhakra Dam Site

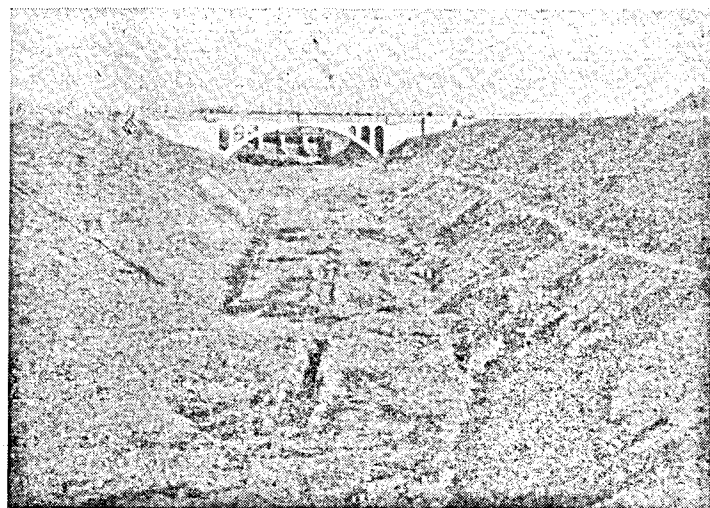
Beas-Sutlej Doab and aptly called Bist Canal, will take off to the right from Rupar, depending for its supply on the pondage created with the construction of dams. Bhakra-Nangal Scheme is, therefore, a multipurpose project, promising plenty to the enterprising people of the Punjab.

NANGAL TOWNSHIP

Nangal township is the focal point of all activities. The railway destination is the Nangal Dam Station on the newly extended Rupar Nangal link of E.P.R., now a part of Northern Railway. As one reaches that far-off end, a feeling of cheer and alacrity greets the mind. Here is something going on. Probably, the red tape has turned saffron in this land of Guru Govind Singh. Driving from the railway station to the township is across an active engineering set-up. Beaming faces of Punjabi youths with their gestural mode of conversation and the alert demeanour of workers and craftsmen attract attention at every turning. The township itself is a well-laid-out colony. It is electrified and water-laid. Apart from cheerful living accommodation, there are a hospital, a school, a club, a bazaar and good connecting roads. A field hostel takes in visitors and guests. The pano-

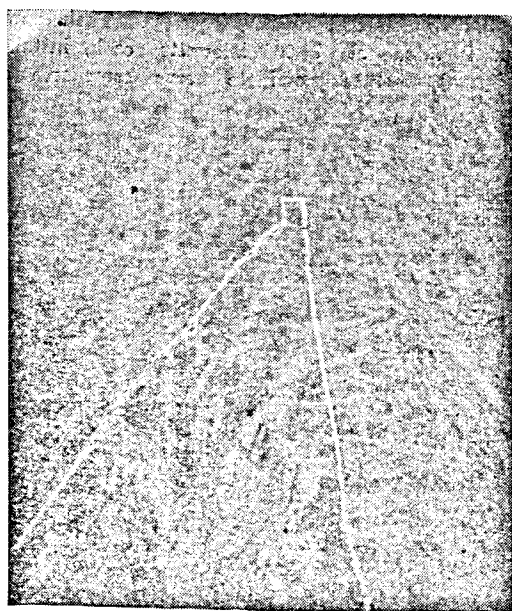
ramic setting of Rest House No. 2 is beyond praise. This is a double-storeyed building and is uniquely placed on a convex water-front. The township in itself is indicative of a liberal and broad-based attitude with which the Punjab Administration deals with the officers and engineer-personnel engaged in the accomplishment of the great project.

There is an Engineering Workshop at Nangal, which is an acquisition of a great order. It is said that



A cement concrete Arch Bridge as built on the newly excavated Power Channel

the vast equipment installed therein, including the extensive aircraft hangers, which accommodate the workshop, had all been acquired from disposal dumps. In that installation there are many pieces of great-constructional utility and of rare availability, particularly in this country. The Punjab engineers undoubtedly grappled the situation well, when under a long-range planning directive they dug out from disposal dumps and acquired for themselves these invaluable pieces of equipment, in odds and bits and in a neglected and mutilated state. They have mostly been renovated and put into operational condition, and now make up a workshop worthy to meet the needs and requirements of a great constructional project. A broad-gauge railway siding connects the workshop with the rail-heads and other significant constructional points. The department owns some locomotives and wagons too, which considerably facilitate carriage of heavy materials, both across short and long distances. A transport section in the workshop looks after the departmental fleet of motor vehicles and is run almost on a military transport-unit basis. In short, the workshop makes up an impressionable asset of great utilitarian value, and undoubtedly renders the task of builders both assured and expeditious.



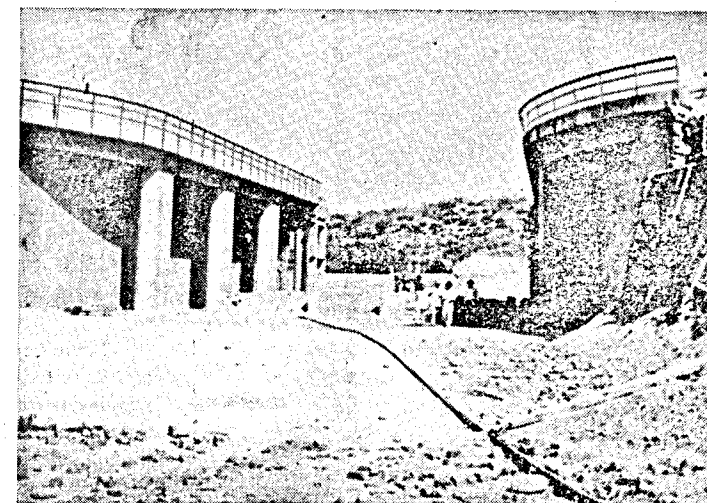
The profile of the proposed dam as marked out at site on hillsides

AN ENGINEERING TREAT

The dam site at Bhakra is about 7 miles up-stream on the river. It has been rendered approachable by a black-topped motor road built to double traffic width. A railway siding has also been laid along the mountainous course and has even been tunnelled across a precipitous location. As one approaches the site two suspension bridges thrown across the gorge catch the eye first of all. And, then the tunnel openings on both flanks of the gorge come into view. To be led across the constructional activities inside the tunnels involving superb engineering feat is really a treat. These are fifty feet diameter tunnels, each about half a mile long and will form diversion outlets for river water, even during floods, while construction of the main dam progresses along. The rock being sand-stone interspersed with indurated clay or shale, the tunnels are to be lined inside with cement concrete. This is a difficult engineering operation and is being carried out efficiently with the help of shuttering gantries and numerous other engineering devices. Cement concrete for the purpose is fed from suitably installed batching and mixing plants, and is mechanically pushed on to pouring locations, through leading-in pipes. Inside the tunnels, one is faced with slush and muck all round allied with a rattling noise of pneumatic appliances, serpent-like hissings from leaky pipes and nozzles and reverberating loud reports from explosive charges and rock-blowing operations, which combine to present a literally shaking experience to a casual visitor. To an engineer, however, the experience is thrilling to the core and is, at the same time, instructive and inspiring and educative.

Emerging out of the tunnels one can see a profile of the proposed dam marked out in white on the hill-sides of the gorge. From foundations to top, it will be a massive concrete structure almost 650 feet high. Looking to the apparent outcrops of rocks on either side of the gorge, which at places show up shattered sand-stone and visioning to oneself a gigantic structure of great dimensions resting thereon, a feeling of scepticism flashes across the mind. A re-assuring thought that the project must have been based on expert geological and engineering advice, however, lets one regain his composure. Construction of the dam will require laying of about 45,00,000 cubic yards of cement concrete and this will take a couple of years to get completed. Besides, the work involves technicalities of

a very complex nature, which needs must be taken care of during the construction of the dam. The administration has, therefore, requisitioned services of some foreign experts, who also stay at Nangal township. When a coffer dam is built across the stream, river water is diverted down through the tunnels, dam foundations are exposed and actual work on the dam is in progress, it will be a sight worth seeing; it will be the first work of its kind in the Himalayan range, and will be

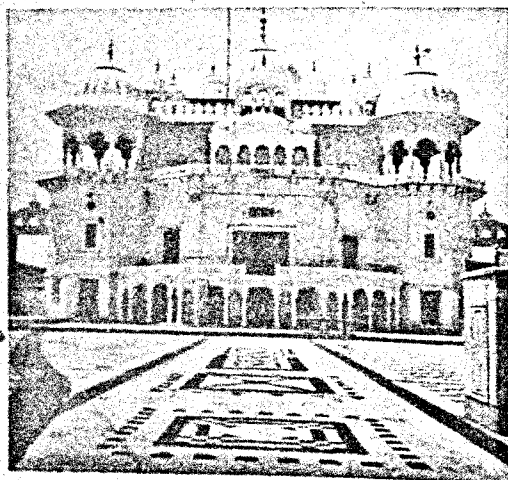


Inside view of the aqueduct over Do-nala

singularly significant for its appurtenances and technique. Along with the construction of the dam two Hydro-electric Generation stations are also come up at Bhakra, with a generation capacity of 2,40,000 kilowatts. This energy when available will make Punjab a powerful State with power enough to meet its own agricultural and industrial requirements and have even a surplus to spare for its needy neighbours.

As the Sutlej winds down from the dam site, a few hill streams join the main river on its way to Nangal. At Nangal, the river gets confined within high banks almost in a canalised shape. This reach therefore affords an ideal site for putting a dam across, which has almost been completed. This dam will enable effective control being exercised over river supplies. In its construction can be noticed some marked deviation from old conservative ideas, governing designs of Hydraulic structure. Across and just above the head of the new Power Channel and below its entry level have been located silt excluders, which will tend to wash down into the river heavier charges of silt and shingle and will let in only comparatively clear water into the new channel. An instructive model of the dam and its appurtenant structures exists at site, which depicts in plan and cross-section an easy overall picture of the work. An observation pavilion

with glazed windows all round, stands significantly at the left hand down-stream end of Nangal dam. From within it, one gets a comprehensive view of the river, particularly on its down-stream side. A watch tower of that description is undoubtedly an asset to public works of that magnitude, for it affords to casual visitors a neat place from where to see and scan the works.



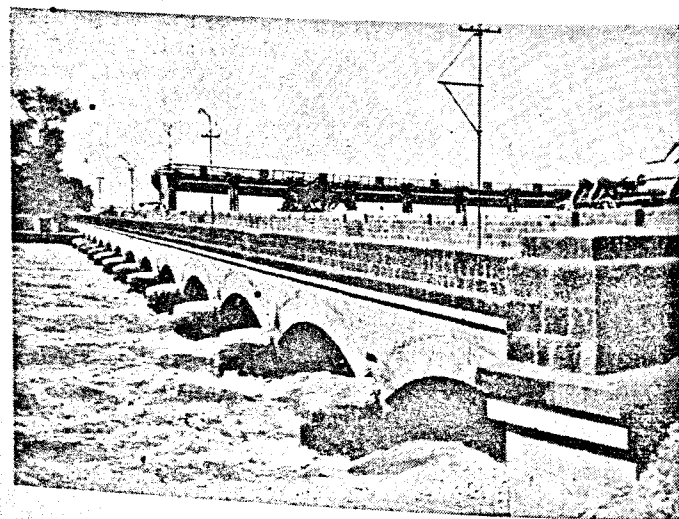
The Gurdwara at Anandpur Sahib

THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

Offtaking to the left from Nangal dam is the proposed Power Channel, also called Nangal Hydel Channel. A strikingly new cement concrete arch bridge built across the excavation and visible from the channel head is the first of the series of many interesting items of construction that one comes across, while driving along the venturesome enterprise. Alignment of this 38-mile channel is across an undulating and dented country along the foothills of the lower Shivalik range. Many a hill-torrent runs into the Sutlej, which follows a course almost parallel to the new channel. All these have to be negotiated with cross-drainage works of varying magnitude and of varying designs. While the aqueduct at Do-nala carries the canal across over a reinforced concrete flume, another stream is to be crossed over in the full section of the canal with even the outer slope lines intact. The whole

wetted perimeter. A casual visitor is hardly competent to comment on the course and the design adopted for the channel. Nevertheless, the crusading spirit with which the work is being carried on in the entire front will evoke admiration in the mind of even an apathetic individual. Maybe the historical background of the tract inculcates a spirit of adventure in the hearts of the builders. This is the cradle land of crusaders, who under the valiant leadership of Guru Govind Singh led a dauntless guerrilla struggle against the Moghul marauders almost three centuries ago. The magnificent Gurdwara at Anandpur Sahib magnificently adorns this land of retreat and tells a tale of manful mobilisation of human effort against the revengeful manoeuvres of their Moghul masters. The struggle is now against the misery of hunger and sloth. Looking across the active front one feels that the youth of the Punjab is shaping its destiny and is hammering out a prosperous future for his tormented and sheared-off homeland. He is working hard and it is indeed enlivening to look into his determined eyes and at his hopeful face.

There are two Hydro-electric Power Stations under construction on this Power Channel. They will be installed with 3 sets of 24,000 kilowatts each. Work on the first one is well under way, while the other foundations are being excavated. These Power Houses are being built to designs laid down by suppliers of the plant. Natural difficulties encountered at the site have been overcome efficiently. A special feature of the work is the cellular reinforced concrete foundations. It is said that the equipment for these Power Stations, which had been ordered from abroad, has



Head of Sirhind Canal taking off at Rupar

channel length almost arrived at site and erection of machines on Power House No. 1 will be taken up towards the

close of the year 1953. Electric energy available from these Hydro-electric Stations will bring about a phenomenal change in the countryside and will provide the much-wanted stimulus to cottage and other industries in the Punjab. Long distance transmission on Bhakra Project will be done at 220,000 volts bringing in almost the entire State within its orbit, including the neighbouring tract of Delhi, with its vast and ever-expanding capital town of New Delhi.

ANOTHER CANAL

Rupar is the next place of interest. The lower Shivalik range ends here. And, as though nature made a gift to man, the Sutlej at this point affords an ideal site for a canal head. This was built long ago and the off-taking Sirhind Canal is one of the oldest in the Punjab. On its banks at Rupar, can be seen joyful crowds of the young and the old enjoying bathing and doing their washing. The controlling weir is so happily located that neither any extensive river-training work is called for nor does the river ever try to break off the collar. With additional water available in the river from the proposed pondage in its upper reaches, it will become possible to take off another canal at the same site from right flank capable of commanding an extensive area in Beas-Sutlej Doab. Rupar had already been

a significant place but Bhakra Project has brought in so much activity within its precincts that it may soon outgrow its boundaries and may develop into a flourishing metropolis of a promising tract. And above all, it will have the unique honour of heading three important canals of the Punjab, namely, Sirhind, Bhakra and Bist.

This narration is in no way a complete or even a partial account of the big project. It represents only some rambling impressions of an engineer visitor. There may be in it some facts not quite adhering to the latest plans and policy. Nevertheless, it has to be stated that in the present-day factious atmosphere of the country, with politics getting the upper hand in everything, Bhakra Project is a commendable broad-ventured venture on the part of the Punjab engineers. Their cumulative talent has brought about in East Punjab an aromatic fragrance of progress and promise, in spite of an ugly stinking mess of internal turmoil. Apparently, the Administrative set-up of Bhakra Project enjoys high-power immunity from secretarial stinkers, from internal haloblasts and from individual angularities of high personages. It has thus been able to harness engineering potential of the State to its best advantage, and to convert a land of retreat into a land of marching forward.

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THE PRESENT LONG-STAPLE COTTON CULTIVATION

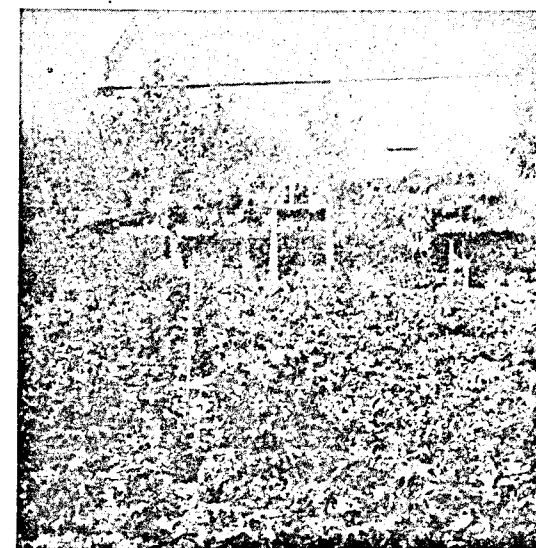
Observations on Works in West Bengal, 1953-54

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABARTY

INDIA was deprived of its principal cotton- and jute-growing tracts by partition. The exchange policy of Pakistan made the problem very acute and necessity of increasing production in the Republic was keenly felt. Several meetings in Bombay and Delhi had been held in 1949-50 to find out ways and means to increase cotton production and the Central Government contributed about 40 lakhs to the Indian Central Cotton Committee for the work.

The suitability of Bengal for long-staple cotton had been proved by the working of different Government schemes in Bengal before partition. For some defects in the management it failed to impress the cultivators. From my long experience in cotton cultivation in Bengal, as agricultural officer of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, I had pointed out the necessity of improving and economising its efficient cultivation by use of some labour-saving agricultural implements and their practical demonstration. This I had widely published through many popular papers and magazines since 1940 by illustrations and by other means. Further, I had been from 1935 growing the superior Egyptian cotton every year, in different parts of Bengal, which in spite of many difficulties, I had succeeded in acclimatizing, with the help of the

Calcutta University. The Head of the Department of Botany, Prof. Agharkar, and his Mycologist, Dr.



Dacca Egyptian cotton

Banerjee, considered it a fit subject for study by their Post-graduate students. The quality of cotton produced by me, till now, is almost similar to that of its place of origin and according to opinions by experts spin warps of 80s with staple length of 1-7/16 inch. The increasing demand for such superior cotton by mills in India, for which they have to depend entirely on foreign imports, induced me to preserve seeds of this acclimatized superior cotton. As a refugee from East Bengal, I was without any employment, and had to



Dacca Egyptian grown in the fields

struggle hard, to maintain this strain, as the only grower of this cotton. I regularly published results of my works, with reports on the same by experts in papers and magazines and also of my difficulties. This moved a similar enthusiast Sri G. D. Naidu of Coimbatore to contribute Rs. 500 which he sent by Telegraphic Money Order. Such voluntary contribution from unknown persons is rare in India.

By the end of 1950, the secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee, came to West Bengal and inspected some cotton fields grown with American varieties. He visited my cultivation of Egyptian cotton also and was convinced of the suitability of the cultivation of both

these varieties. He recommended a scheme of work for 3 years for the cultivation of American variety (Perbhani) at a cost of nearly 4 lakhs to be contributed by the Central Government and the State. The scheme was to be managed by the Agricultural Department. Another scheme for seed-multiplication of Egyptian cotton was also formed. I was to cultivate as an honorary worker, an acre of land, the cost of which will be contributed by the State. The report about the quality of the cotton by experts was very encouraging. It was found suitable to spin 80s warp with staple length of about 1 1/4" as stated before. That this cotton is indigenous to Bengal was proved by the fact, that from half an acre of land cultivated very carelessly in 24 Parganas, last season, 1952-53, a yield of 6 maunds of seed cotton was obtained, though the field remained water-logged for a month in the rainy season. The field was shown to the Chief Government Officers-in-charge of cotton works in Bengal. It is mysterious that the Agricultural Department had never succeeded in its growing till last season, 1952-53. They have all along disregarded rules laid down by me for its cultivation, specially about treatment of the seeds before sowing as advised by the Calcutta University and about the time of sowing which have to be completed in April or latest in early May, after a sinking shower, or after irrigation if necessary. This I have published widely in several papers and magazines. It may be stated that till last season, 1952-53, I was the only successful grower of this variety, which, if it can be introduced among cultivators, will mean crores to West Bengal.

The Agricultural Department, for reasons best known to them, stopped their contribution towards cultivation of an acre by me from this season though my produce has maintained its superior quality, which had been supported by experts. They have, however, taken the risk of growing it themselves, in several of their District Agricultural Farms, with the hope of success in at least one case. I have supplied them with seeds collected from the most healthy plants, and I learn that the seeds had been treated according to methods suggested by the Calcutta University. In my anxiety to see its cultivation successful, I had when supplying the seeds, requested them to inform me about the condition of the plants from time to time, which they had not done. They have a well-equipped Research Institute, which, though it has not studied the same during periods of my growing, may now undertake scientific investigations and study of the plants in different stages of their growth. As yet it has done nothing beyond what has been done by the Calcutta University before partition. The University has also been neglecting Research work on this important cotton after Professor Agharkar has retired from service. Nowhere in the world such indifference to reader

scientific help and study of such an important valuable strain can be seen.

As regards the working of the cotton scheme under

the direct management of the Agricultural Department for introducing American cotton (Perbhani) in West

Bengal, though it has worked three years, it has totally failed to interest the cultivators.

Responsible and extensive growers of the first year like the Jhargram Agricultural College, Messrs. J. N. Roy Chowdhury & Co., Baikunthapur Farm, etc., abandoned its cultivation from the second year. In the first year 3,500 acres had been sown with cotton from which crops from 1,000 acres could be collected. Nearly 8,000 cultivators participated in its growing. The cost of cultivation was Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 per acre and the average yield was on an average 3 maunds of seed-cotton per acre which, sold at Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per acre, comes to Rs. 100 only. Thus there was a great loss to cultivators. If the amount spent in preparing soil and sowing of 2,500 acres is taken into consideration, from which no cotton could be obtained, the loss is tremendous. The working of the following two years was equally disappointing. It may be mentioned here that the working of similar schemes for ten years before partition did not succeed, and the same officers are in charge of the working of the present scheme also. The working of the present scheme has,



Dacca Egyptian cotton. Staple length 1 1/4 in. to 1 9/16 in. Writer of the article standing by the cotton plants to indicate the height of the plants



Dacca American cotton. Staple length 3/4 in. to 1 1/16 in.

however, succeeded in proving the suitability of this cotton both as regards quality and quantity of yield. The cotton can spin yarns of 30s to 40s and the yield in some cases had been 20 maunds of seed-cotton per acre.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF GOVT. SCHEME OF COTTON CULTIVATION IN W. BENGAL AND ITS REMEDIES

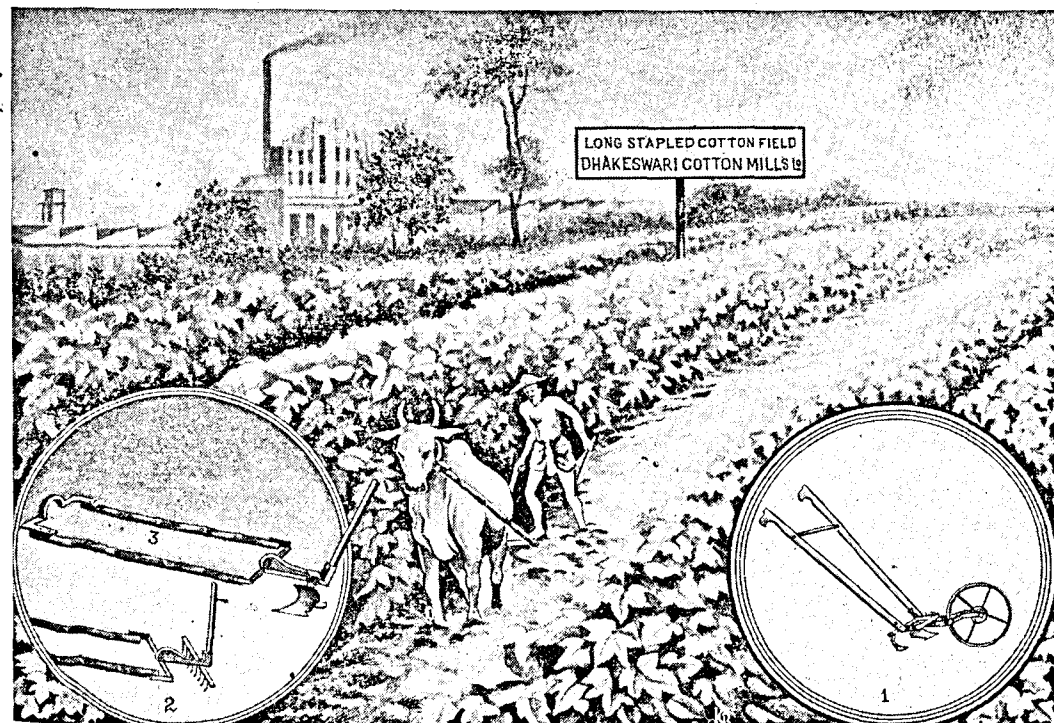
Cotton is not a sow and reap crop. It requires many times more labour and care to grow than other crops generally cultivated here. Though most of the works are of minor nature, as can be done by children, cotton requires sufficient water for three months after sowing. So seeds are sown in well-cultivated prepared soil at regular intervals, after a sinking shower just before the rainy season in the end of May or in early June. Frequent use of hand hoes and ploughs in the first two months after sowing in loose soil and of one-bullock-driven ploughs and harrows after that, when soils grow a bit stiff due to protracted rains, is indispensable. I have been since 1940 advocating the use of the above implements in cotton cultivation, through many papers and magazines. But as yet, nothing has been done by the Agricultural Department to introduce them. Use of such implements will economise labour and increase yield by clean cultivation.

Long-protracted rains encourage rank growth of weeds in the rainy season. It becomes difficult and

costly to control them by hand labour. It may be noted that labour in this period becomes costly and difficult to procure, due to their demand in jute and paddy fields. As work has to be done in periods of dry days during rains, opportunities for work are also rare and that also is often missed due to sudden appearance of rains. So growers in most cases, in despair, destroy the cotton plants and prepare the field for other crops. This is the reason why out of an area of 3,500 acres originally sown with cotton 2,500 acres had to be destroyed in the first year's work under cotton scheme.

It is advisable to grow cotton as mixed crop with *aus* paddy, ground-nut, etc. The spaces between cotton lines being filled by a crop for which harrowing and weeding will be necessary, the field remains clear, weeds cannot easily grow. A few ploughings and cross-ploughings, after paddy or ground-nuts have been harvested during autumn, when soil remains moist, conserves moisture in the soil and encourage speedy development of the cotton plants.

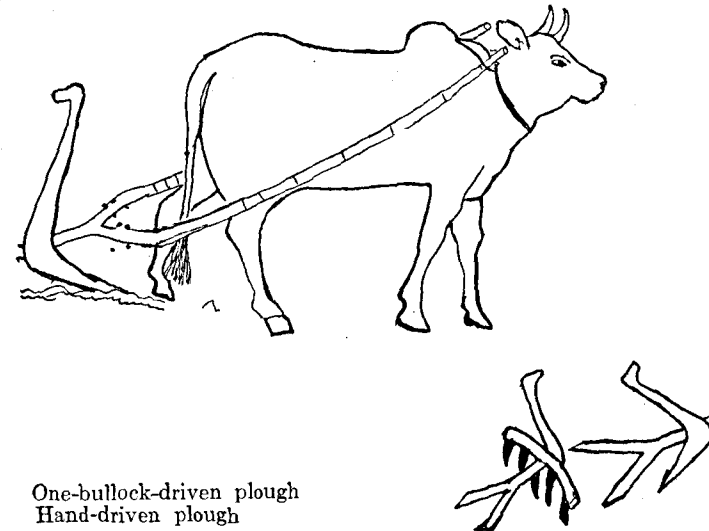
The Agricultural Department will do well to work a Demonstration Farm on an economical basis. Both American and Egyptian cotton will be grown there as single crop and as mixed crop with *aus* paddy, ground-nut, etc. Labour-saving agricultural implements men-



Interculture implements used in cotton cultivation by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills: (Fig. 1) Hand hoes and cultivator. (Fig. 2) One-bullock-driven harrow, 30 ins. wide. (Fig. 3) One-bullock-driven light plough

THE PRESENT LONG-STAPLE COTTON CULTIVATION

tioned before, on models as are used by small cotton plants in one's household lands, every family can get their cotton free for spinning. Thus it will be easy to cultivators in America have to be used. The management shall have to be trusted on persons who may become self-supporting, regarding supply of their own guarantee profitable working of such a farm. The clothings. The Charkha, though it may engage one



One-bullock-driven plough
Hand-driven plough

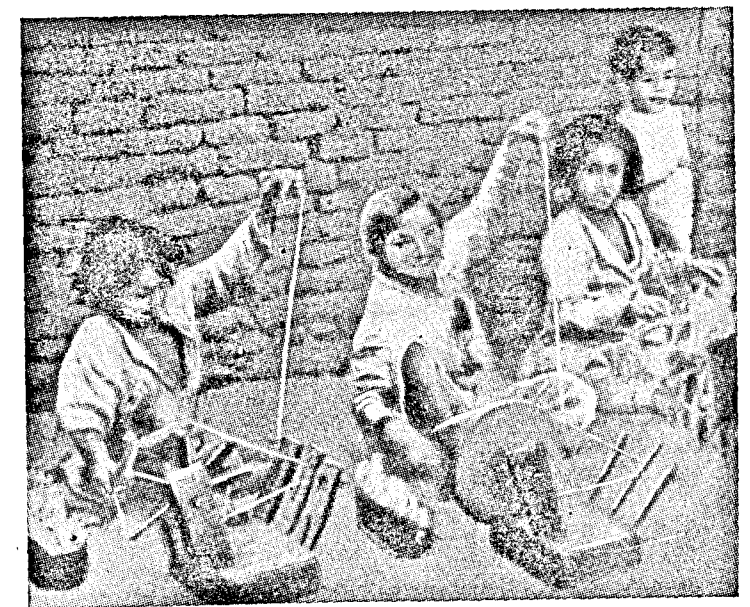
Community Development Department may also take up such work about which I sent my suggestions. In Fulea area, crops generally cultivated there, are not paying. The agricultural labourers suffer very much from unemployment, specially during slack periods of the agricultural year. Cotton cultivation, if it can be introduced there as a mixed crop with *aus* paddy, will much increase the value of the crops. Further, it will keep them engaged in the collection of cotton, ginning and spinning. The Commissioner, though appreciating it, did nothing to work out the same.

Successful working of such a farm at a comparatively small cost, and results of working in details in chronological order with income and expenses of growing, if widely published, will do more to enthuse people to its cultivation than thousands of acres of growing, as is being done now.

Cotton cultivation, if it can be introduced, will make cotton easily available in the State, and will do a good deal to revive *charkha* and spinning among the people. In all cotton-growing tracts in India, children even take to spinning as play and enjoyment.

Mills have to spend 60 per cent of the value of cloths in purchase of cotton. By growing a few cotton

in periods of unemployment, cannot be sufficiently paying. But by such work in periods of unemployment, need of one's clothings may be met without any loss in earning. It is a matter of great regret to observe that Congress members and Government have lost faith in Mahatma's *charkha*, else they would have utilised all opportunities to introduce it in the State. Of late, Government has been freely distributing rations, clothes and money in many places, as relief to needy people. If there had been any regard for spinning, such distribution on condition of daily spinning a tola or a half of cotton, would easily help to revive spinning in the State. Officers-in-charge of such distribution may be advised to treat such free distri-



Children spinning

tribution as subsidies towards spinning of cotton. Besides improvement in cotton cultivation works, Government may arrange an annual conference of successful growers of cotton for discussion among them about ways and means of improvement in cotton cultivation. There are cotton-growers' associations in almost all cotton-growing tracts of the world, through which wonderful improvement has been made in cotton cultivation and their

various requirements. The Government, as constituted now, seem to judge merits of their officers by the amount they can spend in a scheme, and not on the merits of results achieved. As one anxious to see cotton cultivation well established in Bengal I earnestly appeal to them to give my suggestions a fair consideration and act accordingly, by ignoring which, they have courted their previous failures.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee may also take up the working of a small Demonstration Farm on a

strictly economical basis and prove its great possibilities by results of the cultivation. Both American and Egyptian cotton may be grown in this form as mixed and single crop with some labour-saving agricultural implements as can be purchased by poor cultivators. The Research Institute of the Agricultural Department of the State may be requested to study the valuable Egyptian cotton plants at different stages of their growth and find out correct rules for its cultivation.

—:O:—

A STANZA FROM "AND THE AEONS ECHOED"

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Hell's blood-red gates were barred
Resembling scarlet fires opaque and hard,
Congealed in the cold storm-blast of thy breath!
From outer world no more could wondering death
Enter at will and lure the unborn seers
Beyond the red gate and behind the white,
Into its realms of shadows and of tears
Caught in the ruthless cyclic grip of years
Gradually passing into fading light.

The white gate opened inwards with a calm
Movement as of thy slowly opening palm,
Revealing through sweet airs of myrrh and musk

Ancestral congregations in the dusk
Of the unborn, waiting to dribble through
Like starry emanations through the Blue
Of the transparent body which awaits
Their passage through such unpremeditated states
Since thou behind the inevitable Forget
Of all creation, dost remember yet
The detailed process of created things.

When suddenly I heard
In the interior spaces, an ominous Bird
Beat its own unborn hunger into Wings,
Glorious and regal, paradisaic-rude,
Sculptured to pure protective amplitude
Of presence that became
Divine self-offering of scented flame!
Under their glimmering shadow then
Began the natal day of soul-superior men
Invisible yet in tunnelled twilights streamed
Through hollowed ivory through which in silence ran
The only road of journeying brute and man,
Heavenward and undiscovered, at whose end
Just at the wind-swept bend

Lotus-allured, they linger for a span
And finally in a last splendour noise ascend
To there where I perceived, though could not see,
The passing into naught of memory.
A million million ancestors were they
Who rose and trod the way
Mile-stoned with whitest lotus in a wheel
Almost ascetic-still, although in drunken reel.

—:O:—

"Trade, Agriculture and Industry in West Bengal (1200-1625 A.D.) as found in the Persian and Arabic Sources"—a paper read by Prof. N. B. Roy in a meeting (November 2) of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta:

"The principal fact that emerges out of a careful and minute study of the contemporary Persian chronicles and Arabic epigraphs (1200-1625) is that West Bengal as at present constituted was a flourishing and prosperous region, drained by navigable rivers which offered facilities of inland trade and sea-borne commerce. Areas like Kajangal (north-west Murshidabad from Suti to Sekherdigi), which now present aspects of desolation, were hubs of an active and vigorous life. Equally interesting is the fact that both the banks of the Bhagirathi were dotted with thriving hamlets and villages, as attested by the revenue contributed

by the various *Mahals* during the Akbari age—and Sarkar Mandaran in Hughli district had a diamond mine out of which small bits of the precious metal were quarried out.

"In *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* would be found statements about the liking of the Chaghtai monarchs (e.g., Babar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan) for the fruits of this province. Fishes swarmed in the Bengal rivers, and both Viceroy Islam Khan and Mirza Nathan had a great relish for them.

"Among the pursuits of the people, boat building and plying was the most important. Next in importance to this industry was the craft of the builders and the masons, the technician and the architect, the engravers and the artists who left memorials in such superb edifices, as Sona Masjid, Dakhil Darwaza and Firuza Minar.

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

Article Four

THE LION ROARS

By St. NIHAL SINGH

IX*

ALMOST half the sands of 1942 of Judea's Anointed One had run out. India had been dragged by power-intoxicated imperialist agents astride the country through crisis after crisis. They had been helping themselves to men and materials they required in any part of the globe for the prosecution of hostilities, from the outbreak of the (world) war (two), without morally strengthening themselves by obtaining legislative sanction. That callous, high-handed action had roiled politicals possessed of the least spark of manhood.

Resistance had been gathering. Largely through the persistent efforts of the high-souled Mohandas Karamchand ("Kaba") Gandhi, the opposition remained almost wholly non-violent.

Being patently in the wrong, the authorities, lacking the sanction that consent gives, had armed themselves with engines of repression that their wits, razor-sharpened mostly at Oxford and Cambridge, overworking all the time, could devise. These had been applied with ruthless savagery, particularly in Bengal, against the resisters who sought to awaken their countrymen to the enormity of executive lawlessness. A procession of publicists who spoke out what was in their minds were steam-rollered from platform to jail.

The curb was applied to pencil, pen and typewriter in newspaper offices. This offended the dignity of the users of these tools in the service of the nation. A surprisingly large number of them struck out against the ukases issued by the bureaucrats who had neither been put into power in any part of the Motherland by any Indian legislature nor owed any responsibility to any representative body in the Motherland.

Finding that even the courts set up by themselves administering laws that they had placed upon the statute book would not convict persons on the evidence trumped up by unscrupulous policemen hankering only to line their pockets with gold by pleasing their alien bosses, the officials dragooned workers in the nation's cause into detention without charge or trial. Such

arbitrariness more than any other species of oppression roused resentment in the breasts of even timorous Indians. Pent-up passions by what was to prove to be the middle of the war were seethed and sizzled.

X

At the moment when the climactic of the Indian struggle for freedom was none too far off, the loom of destiny clicked and clanged day and night in the Government House at Calcutta. The imperialist shuttle had been placed in the hands of a youngish Briton. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Arthur Herbert¹ had had the best of both worlds—the New and the Old. His mother was a Rhode Islander, bred and born along the United States of America's Atlantic sea-board. When he grew up he attended the oldest American University (Harvard).

His father, a sprig of an aristocratic Monmouth family, had gone into the British Diplomatic Service. He had been sent from capital to capital and was entrusted with missions of great importance requiring knowledge of foreign languages and of the people who spoke them and the most patient, tactful, delicate handling. That he performed these assignments to the satisfaction of the Foreign Office was attested by the bestowal upon him by the Sovereign of a G.C.V.O., and also by his appointment, in the evening of his service, to the legation at Mexico. There for reasons best known to him he politely declined to go.

The son might have done likewise and gone into the Foreign office. "Kaiser Bill's" troopers, who blasted their way to Brussels in the autumn of 1914, changed his course of life. Just then John Arthur Herbert was coming to man's estate. He answered the country's call—and the call in his blood, for he was of fighting stock,—by volunteering. Passing through the portals of the Military Academy at Wellington, he was commissioned in 1916 a lieutenant in the Royal Horse Guards. Five years later he became Master of the Foxhounds for his county—a dearly prized privilege, that pronounced him a skilled rider

* The section numbers are continuous with those in articles I, 2 and 3 in the September, October and November, 1953, numbers of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.

¹ Herbert is the family name of many peers. Among them are the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Powis.

and an intrepid huntsman. What more could a lover of sport desire?

More—much more—was waiting for him round destiny's corner. In 1926 he had the good fortune to find favour in the eyes of the Viceroy-designate, the Baron Irwin. I had become conscious of him when, in 1921, he, as Major Wood, became the Under-Secretary for the Colonies and told us ink-slingers in London not to "Major" him. "The war is over and done with," he said. So it was—temporarily.

Taken on the Viceroy's staff, the young, personable, pleasant-mannered officer spent two years at the Viceroy's "House." Of this only a little earlier Alice, Countess (later the Marchioness) Reading had been talking to me. "It is far, far too big," she said. "Who will be able to afford it?" India's money bags seemed to the imperialists to be without bottom.

Political storms raged all round Dame Britannia's Indian hub during Captain Herbert's stay there. He had the opportunity of watching his chief's way of handling Swarajists and the still more troublesome non-co-operators. This, in the eyes of men in power in Britain, must doubtless have helped to educate him in the ways of holding in some sort of check an enslaved nation in a bitter, rebellious mood.

What was, perhaps, more important from the imperialist angle of vision was that he saw something of the Muslim Leaguers. Under Mahommed Ali Jinnah's lead they were throwing monkey wrenches into the nationalist machinery.

At each pitching their demand went up. Now they negotiated with the Nationalists. Sometimes they took advantage of the good offices of the Liberals. All the time they were coaxing, cajoling and brow-beating the British into bettering the terms offered by the Indian (or, to use their word, the Hindu) side. I cannot recall off-hand if Gandhiji had as yet presented his fellow-Kathiawadi the "blank cheque" of which the world heard so much: but the generous impulse existed in the Mahatma's heart.

After his return "Home" and receiving his Majority, Herbert married, needless to say into a noble family. By 1934 he, then Lieutenant-Colonel, decided that he had had enough of soldiering. His thoughts turned to politics. In conformity with his background and with his own conservative inclinations, he stood for a Welsh constituency in Tory interest and, without any difficulty, entered the House of Commons.

2. I have seen this ancestral house. It is situated in the heart of that small peninsula, once again called Saurashtra as it was in our ancient forebears' time. The town—Dhoraji—is of some importance and was in Gondal State, now an integral part of the United States of Saurashtra.

An M.P. with his antecedents and experience, with his shrewdness and virility, is ever in the good books of the party leaders. John Arthur Herbert was soon promoted. Having no need to take the people's money, as did many of the poor Labourites—he elected to serve as an "unpaid" assistant whip.

While India's constitution was being hammered out on the British Parliamentary anvil, he bestirred himself to contribute his mite towards securing the acceptance of the Tory objectives. These were to whittle away, as much as possible, the powers to be transferred to the Indian electorates and to design provisions that would hamper the Indians who would, in due course, be sworn in as ministers.

Who would have a better chance to be assigned the superintendence over the working of the new legislation than he? That he should have been placed at the head of perhaps the most difficult province in the "Dependency" showed that his Majesty's Government of the day, presided over by the amiable if not brilliant gentleman from Birmingham bearing the illustrious name of Chamberlain, reposed faith in this parliamentarian.

XI

The loom of destiny that John Arthur Herbert was set to mind was the oldest in India. Clive built it, in fact, in the early days of the "John Company." Fumes from the powder blown at the field of Plassey still filled the air. Not only did he design it but he actually sat at it and worked it. The shade of Umi Chand is really needed to pay tribute to the skill with which the founder of the British Empire in India manipulated it.

Since then Fort William had witnessed many changes. Among these the most important was the shifting of the Capital from the banks of Ganga *Mat* (Hooghly) to those of her sister Yamuna (Jumna) at Delhi.

The loom had, in consequence, to be rebuilt. It ceased to be the master-machanism that it had been. It became semi-automatic. Impulses sent from Delhi by a secret process operated it: but not wholly.

A minder was needed in Calcutta (during the summer in Darjeeling) to keep it in efficient working order. In view of its age that, in itself, was for him no light task. Besides the subtle Bengalis might throw grit into it if they got the chance. He had to be sleeplessly vigilant. With the development of local needs certain operations supplementary to the Delhi-impelled ones had to be carried out.

A description of these constitutional respon-

sibilities is given in the Government of India Act, 1935. This can be scrutinised at will by any one who has the curiosity to do so.

The language employed by the constitutional pandits is, however, mystic. It may mean nothing or everything. This depends upon the ingenuity of the interpreter, particularly the interpreter given by the Act itself more than ample powers to enforce his own reading.

XII

Barrister that Syama Prasad Mookerjee was and with experience of working so large and so complex an organism as the Calcutta University, he must have understood all the implications when his Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert administered to him the oath of office. This was done in the "House" in which the loom of destiny was kept well hidden from prying eyes and secure from meddling hands. So the Finance Minister never actually saw it at work or otherwise.

His Chief, Hon'ble Moulvi Fazlul Huq, had passed through the executive mill and was a qualified lawyer. Apart from this he had everything to gain and nothing to lose by working in concert with the non-Muslim wing of his Ministry and, in particular, with Syama. His existence as Bengal's Premier depended, to no small extent, upon such co-operation. They believed that so long as they all pulled together, they should be able to rule while his Excellency, like the wearer of the British Crown, only reigned.

In forming that expectation reason was on Syama's side:

Firstly, while the coalition was in being, the ministry enjoyed a majority in the Legislature. It could count upon sufficient votes to carry through any measure it desired.

Secondly, these constitutional advisers of Sir John Herbert's (as they were in terms of the Statute and as they regarded themselves) knew that he had been an assistant whip of the Conservative Party when the Act was pushed through both Houses of Parliament. Also that Lord Linlithgow, now in the seat of the Mighty in Delhi, had had much to do with the final shaping of the measure. It was, therefore, safe to presume that they would be interested in its working smoothly and successfully or at least strive to avoid a breakdown.

Thirdly, the Indian National Congress had accepted office in the provinces in which the electors had placed its candidates in a majority only upon coming to an understanding with the tardy, if not unwilling British agent in India. This was taken by them to imply that the Governor would function only as a constitutional

ruler—in other words, he would not intervene in the day-to-day administration by ministers responsible to the legislature.

Fourthly, in the autumn of 1939 these governments had been withdrawn by the Congress High Command because of the arbitrary manner in which that agent had rushed India into the war without obtaining legislative sanction. It was all the more advisable that the area of trouble be not further extended.

Fifthly, there had already been a breakdown in Calcutta. The Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din (of whom more a little later) suddenly found out-manoeuvred. He no longer could command enough votes in the legislature to carry on.

The reactionary elements in the "Writers' Buildings" gave him all the support they could muster. This they did with a shameless disregard of constitutional propriety. The Governor was wholeheartedly at his back. Quite openly, too (so Syama had assured me at that time).

Sanity, if not the safety of the province, left his Excellency no choice in the matter. Being the one man who, with Syama's and Syama's colleagues' adhesion, could carry on, Fazlul Huq should not be let down, particularly in the parlous conditions then obtaining in Bengal.

XIII

The probabilities were not with Syama, however reason was with him. These I shall list.

Firstly, the loom of destiny at which his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Arthur Herbert sat was only semi-automatic. The patterns were produced by waves sent out from Delhi, which, in turn, was subordinate to the one in Downing Street. He might vary the colouration, strengthen or weaken it. He might use thicker or thinner thread. He might produce flimsier or coarser material. Change of pattern, however, he could not attempt.

Secondly, there were the Governor's own proclivities, prejudices and passions. There was his inheritance. There was also his experience—experience in the Army—experience in the Viceroy's House when he was on the staff of the Marquis of Halifax (as Lord Irwin, upon succession to his father's title and estates, had become)—at Delhi—experience he had acquired while seated on the Tory benches of the House of Commons and more especially in the Conservative Whip's office during the days when the Indian constitution he was now working was in process of fabrication.

Thirdly, there was the great Khwaja. He had tasted the "sweets of office." He liked it. He yearned for more of it.

This he could have only if somehow or other Fazlul could be downed—driven out of office. He had not the knack nor the tact to cohort with the non-Muslims of the Syama type. Or (was it?) that they, because of his separatist creed, would not touch him with a ten-foot pole. And this Fazlul sat in the seat second only to that occupied by the Governor—and, according to the letter of the law, of fundamental importance.

Yet the good Khwaja had advantages. They were great advantages, at least to Sir John Herbert's way of thinking.

(a) He was of the same kidney as the Governor—a bit of an aristocrat.

(b) He had received education not so very dissimilar to that which the Governor had been vouchsafed. From the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh he had gone to the Dunstable Grammar School in England. I remember that he was at Cambridge in my early days of British journalism.

(c) Most important of all, he was Mohammed Ali Jinnah's No. 1 in Bengal. The imperialists might not have loved the generalissimo of the Muslim League. He had an annoying habit of posing—attitudinizing. He had a sharp tongue that could sting worse than any whip of scorpions known to man. One never knew when he would use it.

Without his manoeuvres, however, the Congress, bad as it was in their estimation, would be wholly insufferable. It could not be held down without Jinnah's counterpoise. He was, in the circumstance, indispensable. They knew, too, that that astute lawyer-orator-organizer could be trusted to split and to splinter India when India became too hot for the British.

For all these (and perhaps some other) reasons, the Khawaja (though he had, for the nonce failed his great leader) was the apple of the imperialist eye. The Governor and his bureaucrats were, as noted already, none too discreetly paving the way for him to win back the premiership, if only to squelch Fazlul, who was playing into Syama Prasad Mookerjee's hands.

XIV

There was one scheme that the Fazlul Cabinet was pressing for all it was worth, it was believed at Syama's instigation. The ex-guardsman sitting at the loom of Bengal's destiny, in fact, regarded it as more mischievous than any project or recommendation of his government, if not all the other added together.

Taking advantage of the situation that the westward push of the Japanese had created, they were asking him to organise the "Bengal Home

Guard." In his view this involved the reversal of the military policy that had been pursued since Thomas Babington Macaulay had penned his notorious diatribe (the "cowardly" Bengali). Only once had his people assented to allowing the *bhadralog* (Bengal's genteel classes) to enlist. Just a battalion had been raised. This was done as an experimental measure. That the experiment was not repeated told, at least to him, its own tale. He kept harping upon that failure.

This, however, did not daunt Fazlul—or turn Syama Mookerjee away from the project.

The Cabinet in its entirety—Muslims and non-Muslims with the Premier at their head—were asking, not merely for re-trying the experiment on a modest scale. No. Quite the contrary. They insisted upon "at least one lakh" officers and men being enlisted from amongst Bengalis.

Only in that way, they urged, could the emergency that might be upon them at any moment be met. So Bengal's manhood must be mobilised in defence of the Motherland. Whatever the difficulties, they must be overcome in view of the menace galloping towards them.

In this connection they pointed to the fate that had overtaken Burma. Britons had done nothing to rouse enthusiasm in the Burmese breast to withstand and to repel aggression. Burmese had not been enlisted, equipped, armed and trained effectively to deal with the invader. Britons, by themselves, had proved inadequate. They had to pack up their kit-bags and withdraw. The Japanese had overrun the country. There had been an exodus of Indian civilians too.

Per contra the Chinese had relied upon themselves. Answering the appeals made by Mai Ling (Madame Chang Kai Chek) they had turned out by the million. Under the general direction of the generalissimo, they had contested every inch of ground with the aggressor, who had been halted and was even being thrust back whence he had come.

Australia, too, was cited as an example...

And here in India, they pointed out, instead of following such splendid examples, only the policy of "scorched earth" was being advocated in anticipation of dread events. That policy, to be sure, was applied—ruthlessly applied—in Russia. The Russians did it, however. They were their own masters. They could do with their land, buildings and their contents, as they pleased.

With India the case was different. Indians were not their own masters. He—Sir John Arthur Herbert—sat at the loom of Fate set up in Government House, Calcutta. What moral right

could he have to scorch Bengal's earth—earth that to Bengalis was mother—if the enemy's advance westward could not be checked?

The Governor, however, contended that

(1) Bengal could not have an army of her own. To do otherwise would be to fly in the face of the established military policy.

(2) Even, for the sake of argument, were enlistment to be permitted, how could the Home Guard be armed and equipped? The country was already short of arms and ammunition.

(3) Who would train the Guard? Personnel for this purpose did not exist.

(4) Most important of all, the former experiment had foundered.

Syama, for one, rebutted:

(1) There may at present be regulations that stand in the way. The scheme might, in fact, be entirely against the Indian Army policy, as the Governor contended. Regulations were not, however, like the laws of the Medes and Persians. They must be amended as need arose. The need had now become clamant. All bars must be lifted. "To-day," he bluntly asserted, "the Army Policy must be determined first and foremost in the interests of India."

(2) If there be no arms and ammunition, the fault, he delicately suggested, was not Indian. He would not, however, waste the Governor's time by apportioning the blame to the party responsible for the situation—that there was "no longer production of" munitions "for India's use to-day." He insisted upon saying, however, "that we shall arrange for increased production to the best of our ability." He cited two instances. To quote him:

"...Here again, pray recall to your mind the stirring appeal made by Madame Chiang Kai Shek and also the Australian Prime Minister. China's supply of arms and ammunition was extremely limited and the lady declared with commendable pride that when the Chinese people started fighting Japan, they had nothing but their hands, their flesh and their blood. The Australian Prime Minister said that they had also suffered from lack of arms and when they started reorganising their Home Army, they had to use broomsticks at one stage of the training. Such objections as you have raised are indeed of no value at this critical hour."

This was blunt talking from a "cowardly Bengali" to the superman who represented, at Calcutta, the might of the British Empire. Without taking count of how hard he had hit, he went on insisting that if arms and munitions were not readily available, they must be "manufac-

tured by us or imported into India from other countries."

(3) Men to train the Guard must "be brought from other parts of India," or, if that be not possible from wherever they may be available elsewhere in the Empire."

As his aim was not to have a wordy joust but to carry the ex-guardsman with him to help solve a problem of considerable magnitude and of the greatest urgency, he appealed:

"Difficulties there are undoubtedly. I shall not even ask who has been responsible for India's helplessness, provided we really go ahead with a new policy. Difficulties must be faced and surmounted boldly, if we are to survive this crisis. The real obstacle will be want of trust. Are you prepared to trust us even to-day? The verdict of history will be against you if you deny us the elementary right of raising out Army according to our needs. Either, you say that you will protect us and military defence of an adequate measure will be available at the right time—this answer may be humiliating to the national sentiment of India who asks for the exercise of the right of self-defence; but even then an assurance of this character will have considerable practical importance. Or if you cannot give us the assurance that India will be saved, why should there be a hesitance on your part in allowing the people of the land to defend themselves in such a manner as they consider best even at this last hour? Let India's interests be the supreme factor to-day and let Indians themselves decide how best to tackle the grave peril into which you have thrown us."

What good would the Home Guard be to "save Bengal from air attacks," the Governor, in his *non possumus* attitude asked. To this Syama's rejoinder was:

"... If we can strengthen our own Air Force, a fight may be given. But is it not possible that Japan may some day in the near future land in Bengal and if that happens we may have to face the brutal realities of a guerilla warfare? How are we prepared to resist this menace? The Japs may spread themselves in different parts of the province. What forces are there to combat such an aggression? Then again there is the question of maintenance of internal security. It is only with the help of disciplined forces, mainly consisting of the people of the land, which may not even be fully armed at the beginning, that we can hope to rouse the true spirit of courage and fearlessness in the minds of the people at large. My idea is that every district, sub-division and thana would have its own Home Army under the unified control of a Government department. This will act as a watertight section but in full co-operation with the civil authorities. It will be the people's army for saving their hearth and home from the impending attack of the enemy and from internal chaos."

All this served to alarm the Governor rather than to allay his suspicions. He and Syama were virtually dead-locked—and dead-locked not only over this issue.

[Article No. 5 of this series will appear in the January, 1954 issue of *The Modern Review*.—Editor]

3. From letter written by Syama on March 7, 1942, to "Dear Sir John Herbert" and printed in a pamphlet titled "A Phase of the Indian Struggle," and published by Monojendra Nath Bhowmik from Kustia, Nadia.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

UNDEREMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. SANTI KUMAR GHOSH, M.A.

AMONG underdeveloped countries the problem of unemployment arises from the shortage of capital. Cyclical business fluctuations are generated in industrially advanced countries. But their major effects in cases of backward economies are on incomes rather than on employment. As a matter of fact, none of these countries have experienced industrial mass unemployment. Although the great depression of the thirties meant lower prices and shrunken markets for the exports of underdeveloped countries, the labour force as a whole was still dependent on the land. These countries have, in fact, little fear of any widespread unemployment resulting from a deficiency in demand.

In India, the problem of unemployment has an individual character of its own. Most of the people thrown out of employment in the industrial sector are speedily reabsorbed in the rural centres. For, most of the workers maintain village ties. Unemployment is thus hidden in our villages. The low level of earning,¹ irregular unemployment in the villages and the excessive pressure on land are the symptoms of such a situation. In other words, the problem appears as "disguised unemployment" in agriculture, in which there is under-utilisation of man-power on account of a shortage of land and capital.

For the most part the marked under-utilisation of labour time is due to the seasonal nature of agricultural activity. In West Bengal, for instance, there are nine months' idleness for jute-growers and 7.5 months' for jute and rice growers.² In addition to seasonal under-employment, the community also suffers from chronic agricultural under-employment, in the sense that even at the peak of agricultural activity the potential amount of labour time still exceeds the amount of labour time actually utilised.

Since agriculture is notoriously unstable structural unemployment is a characteristic phenomenon of our country. Of the total cultivated area of about 341 million acres only about 60 million acres are under irrigation and the remaining part is dependent on the vagaries of rainfall. Moreover, some industries (e.g., cotton and sugar industries) are themselves of seasonal character. Further, in agriculture employment may be provided but income may collapse due to some natural

calamity (e.g., destruction of the crop) and the farmer may suffer. There are years of subnormal agricultural activity as a result of natural disasters. When there is severe drought or flood the situation changes into one of acute mass unemployment and emergency measures are required.

The increase in population pressure on land has forced a large number of able-bodied persons to leave the countryside to seek employment in towns and urban centres. Not possessing the skill and resources needed for most trades, the new-comers are driven into a small number of occupations,³ which are therefore characterised by an over-supply of labour. The levels of wages earned in these occupations are kept extremely low and the management has little incentive to raise its standard of efficiency. Thus, without any substitution of capital for labour and for the same volume of output, the labour requirements in those occupations could be considerably reduced through measures of rationalisation.

The solution of the problem of under-employment in a backward country like India can come only through patient, untiring constructive work. A planned economic development of the country can eliminate large-scale under-employment. Development plans must be launched and accelerated to bring about the maximum utilisation of resources. In addition to the action that should be taken by private enterprise governments should organise development works to absorb unemployment and should expand industry so as to provide employment for the excess agricultural population. Irrigation works designed to bring more land under cultivation and more of the existing cultivated land under irrigation may cause a shift of agricultural population from land now in use to newly-developed lands. In many cases cottage industries will prove very effective in providing supplementary employment for the rural population. In fact, for the same amount of capital investment small-scale industries can provide more employment than large-scale industries. A planned development of electric power will prepare the way for future industrial development and relieve present power shortage. Provision of new transport facilities and additional transport equipment may speed up the movement of men and goods

between cities and countryside and between ports and hinterland.

Where unemployment is entirely of a seasonal character, the sum-total of labour required at different periods of the year for a particular combination of crops under cultivation will have to be considered. If the different crops happen to be so combined that their respective seasonal peaks follow smoothly one after the other, then seasonal variations in the aggregate labour requirements may be fairly moderate, even though each individual crop is highly seasonal. The possibility of crop diversification varies from one region to another according to market conditions and the quality of the soil. Elimination of structural unemployment,⁴ however, will require a proper scheme of irrigation coupled with some form of crop insurance. Irrigation works and river valley schemes may go a long way to meet the crying need for water supply.

In an over-populated country like India, the way to improvement of agriculture lies partly through the development of industry, since substantial progress in agriculture is often not possible without reducing the number of workers engaged. Industrial progress in countries at the lowest level of development is not possible if the lack of skill and equipment is not overcome by government training schemes and construction programmes. In an economy where there is an acute shortage of both domestic capital and goods available for consumption, however, there is not only a physical limit to the productive resources that can be devoted to capital formation, but there is also a monetary limit to the amount of investment that can be undertaken without generating powerful inflationary pressures. In particular, one important problem during the initial period of construction will be to ensure that there is a sufficient marketable surplus of food available to meet the needs of workers who are newly employed on various projects of capital construction.

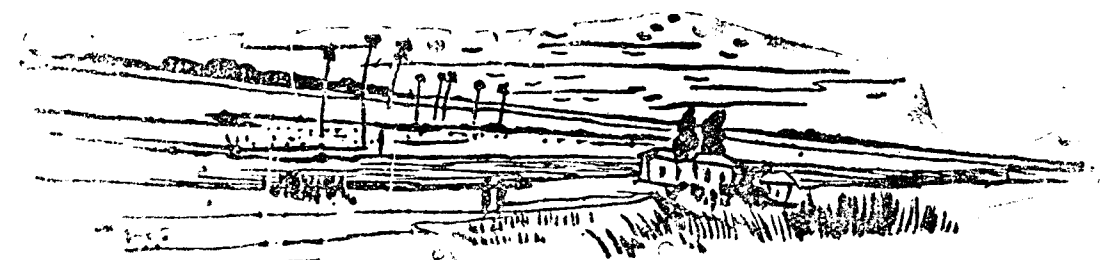
It is often argued that India must discover some means for holding her galloping population in leash, if she is not to allow all her programmes for economic and national reconstruction to founder on this bio-

logical rock. Whatever success in increasing production, it has been said, can be achieved, unless there is a decrease in the rate of population growth we shall be severely handicapped in our efforts and may fail to make any headway at all. There is no reason, however, why if vigorous efforts were devoted to development, national incomes should not rise faster than population. Raising of the legal age of marriage, provision of opportunities for women to earn an independent living and of recreational facilities in rural areas would also slow down population growth. At the present time, however, a deliberate state policy with the object of encouraging the practice of birth-control among the masses is impracticable both because of the low economic condition of the people and their lack of education. As a matter of fact, experience in other countries indicates that urbanization is, for various reasons, associated with a slackening of population growth, and increasing urbanization and industrialization in India may have a similar effect. It cannot, therefore, be concluded that economic development must inevitably be dissipated in population growth.

Among other conditions, a properly organized employment service has a notable part to play in the economic development of the country. Employment Exchanges can guide the worker and train man-power for job openings. The success of the Exchanges will, however, depend on the rate of expansion of the quantum of employment as well as on the degree of co-operation by the employers. Finally, a good deal depends on the character, attitude and responsiveness of the workers. The psychological resistance of workers to newer modes of life must be overcome if the employment policy is to achieve any measure of success.

In no country should there remain a large body of persons unemployed or under-employed, constituting as it does, an enormous waste of potential wealth, apart from the physical, moral and psychological losses which it entails upon the working-class community. The problem of under-employment in an under-developed region cannot, however, be solved in a night. Its solution can come only through the rebuilding of the entire economy from the bottom upwards.

4. See paragraph four above.



1. The average annual income of the Indian peasant is approximately Rs. 48.

2. The Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee (New Delhi, 1949).

3. The urban occupations which absorb most of the rural labour are, however, tertiary occupations (i.e., domestic service and petty trading).

MID-CENTURY 1953

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

If Western statesmen ten years ago could have foreseen the political horizon of our own decade, much of the present configuration of world politics would have come out different, and the dismay with which we look at the world today would have none of its elements of sharp regret and mutual incrimination. Generally speaking, we have greatly undervalued the undercurrents of public feeling, not only in countries largely populated by Caucasians, but especially so in Asiatic countries. What has happened during these last ten or twelve years? Dozens of the leading men, that were in power over world affairs, have disburdened their memories in memoirs, and we have had the privilege of deciding for ourselves whether such publications were factual confessions or mere alibis. Most of the actors on the war stage have spoken, but some of the most important have not, because not a few of those no longer are able to communicate with their earthly co-dwellers. Some of the most interesting sidelights on the disturbed period from 1904 to 1948, have been added to the panoramic world-view by outsiders, like Lin Yutang of China and other observers of non-political stripe.

It is rather astonishing how much attention the utterances of Asiatic writers and speakers get today, compared with the situation, let us say, at the close of World War Number One. Among the signers of the Versailles treaty was Baron Sinha, K.C., representing about 350 millions of people in India. The gentleman, (personally known to the present writer), had about as much to say, or far less, than Mr. Burgos of the Republic of Panama. Compare with this the uncommon interest with which the world today watches the latest statement of Mr. Nehru at Delhi, the remarks, or the silence of the Indian delegate at U.N. discussions, or in the daily press, what the latest ideas of Mr. Naguib of Egypt are. Hurried trips have been made by leading men of the West to gauge the opinion of high and low alike in places ranging from Beirut in Syria to Yokohama in Japan. Sensitive ears could have been aware of subterranean rumblings in Asia even thirty years ago, sensitive eyes might have more accurately measured the strength of lava eruptions of Asiatic craters, when Marshall, as late as 1946, spent a year in China to "bring the two warring factions together."

The case could not have stood, even in 1919, where we thought it was standing when Western statesmen divided the world. Economic, social, racial and political

forces clearly have played havoc with diplomatic desires, intentions and measures. The forces mentioned can, not passively differ so much when we find them in operation in oriental countries, from what such sources would, or could, effect nearer home. Perhaps we should get rid of our distrust in our own ability to judge and understand Asiatic mentality, Asiatic thinking and acting, judging and feeling.

The British empire is down, and the West has the eery feeling of facing grim giant, that has been hiding so far behind the giant screen of British might and sea power. We may have taken for reality what merely was a painted screen, and, perhaps we are filling in the empty space in our vision with creations of our own imagination.

As Toynbee reminded us recently, the onlaughts of Asia on the Western Christian world have happened periodically every few centuries. Beginning with the Hunnish eruption in the fifth century of our era, followed by the flood of Islam in the seventh and eighth, there came the Monogolian invasion of Europe in the 13th century, and the Osmanli Turks roughly again 400 years after that. It was perhaps the great centuries beginning with the great Genocse, who led Europe out into the new world, and the great Portuguese, who opened the seaway to ancient India, which made the West forget her great mother continent, Asia, at her back. The Victorian age with the realistic grimness of its arms, its idealistic greatness, and its maudlin smallness, the fitting anticlimax of the great age of discovery, colonisation and invention, also came to an end we are living in now, the totally different world of today. In unsteady whirl we find the great powers that have been released striving for mastery in every field of human endeavor. Race is no longer a hall-mark ensuring a privileged position in the world, and all the other standards of "civilisation" are undergoing serious severe and trying tests. Many things and ideas that were taken for granted appear today like relics of a past age, and new concepts, new valuation and standards are forcing themselves into daylight clamoring for our attention. Will there be a new feeling of security, of certainty, and of reliability on human ideals, thoughts and institutions after the holocaust of destroying and discarding has come to an end? The best of all nations hope so, and must prepare for the dawn of that happier age.



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

BENGAL UNDER AKBAR AND JAHANGIR: A STUDY IN SOCIAL HISTORY: By Tapan K. Raychaudhuri, D.Phil. A. Mukherjee & Co., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. x + 248. Price Rs. 12.

This book marks a distinct and long-awaited-for advance in the study of Bengal history. Hitherto works of more or less merit have been published on the political and biographical side, but the previous studies on our social history have been jejune, mainly because of their authors' poor linguistic equipment and failure to collect all the necessary materials,—their sole stock in trade having been Vaishnav poetry and English Factory Records. But Dr. T. Raychaudhuri has brought to bear on his task a knowledge of French, Dutch and Persian, besides the English and Bengali languages, and has laid under contribution, for the first time, all the detailed information scattered through Persian books and European traders' reports co-ordinating them with the Bengali literary evidence (mostly Vaishnav sources). His collection of materials embraces the limits of our present knowledge, and this mass has been digested and made to yield its latent conclusions with great sobriety and maturity of thought. This book will be indispensable to all serious students of Bengal history and Bengali culture.

The author begins with a minute and critical study of the actual operation and effects of Mughal rule in Bengal, in which he boldly differs from certain of his older predecessors, notably Moreland and Jadunath Sarkar. Next the coming of the European traders and the expansion of the Chaitanya sect, and the influence of these two on our social life and character are examined with depth and freshness of thought, and some unpleasant and unpopular truths are driven home (see pp. 113 *et seq.*). The economic background of these forty years, our people's mode of life, European society and business, and the trends in general culture during this period (with some unavoidable anticipations of the succeeding 80 years) are very lucidly and freshly described in the final section.

Particular praise is due to the author's style and manner of presentation. There is no verbosity, no commonplace observation, no slipshod English. It is an eminently readable book, and may well serve as a model to our writers of doctorate theses in contents and form alike.

We wait with great interest for the second volume which will cover the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib (1628-1707), because for these eighty years we have a plethora of manuscript materials in Persian despatches, *akhbarat*, official manuals and regular histories, while the English and French factories, which are absent from Bengal in the present volume,

went full steam ahead in the later 17th century and have left copious records, in contrast with the paucity of materials under this head in Jahangir's reign.

JADUNATH SARKAR

WOMEN IN "THE SACRED LAWS": By Shakuntala Rao Sastri. Bhavan's Book University No. 13. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953. Pp. 193. Price Rs. 1-12.

Written appropriately enough by a lady of high academic distinctions in the field of Sanskrit learning, this important monograph attempts with remarkable success to survey the branch of Hindu law relating to the status of women from the earliest times down to the present. A Preface by the General Editor, the Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi, in explanation of his scheme of the Book University of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (of which institution he is the life and soul) and a short Foreword by Dr. F. W. Thomas, introduce this meritorious work to the general reader.

The book consists, apart from a short Prologue, of six chapters. The first chapter deals with the material scattered through the four great *Dharmasutras*, viz., Gautama, Baudhayana, Apastamba and Vasistha. The second chapter (somewhat loosely entitled "Contemporary evidence") examines the supplementary data from Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, the works of classical Sanskrit literature as well as inscriptions and coins, down to comparatively late times. The third, fourth and fifth chapters analyse the extensive material of the *Manu-samhita*, the later *Smritis* and the *Smriti commentaries* as well as *Digests*. The sixth and last chapter gives us a critical estimate of the general tendencies and characteristics of Hindu law relating to women, and it ends with the statement that the clauses of the Hindu Code Bill, now on the legislative anvil of the Central Government, when passed, "will only re-establish the time-honoured customs and laws of ancient India and show the glory of Indian culture to the world."

The authoress's work is marked by exhaustive study of the available material, thorough grasp of its essential principles, and proper appraisal of its formative influences and its leading characteristics. These qualities make her work a valuable addition to the recent and growing literature on the subject. We may be permitted to mention here a few points for consideration by the authoress when a new edition of her work is called for. In the Prologue the authoress mentions (p. vii) certain *Smriti Digests* (instead of their authors) as flourishing or living in the 17th and 18th centuries, while her startling statement (p. x) that "the Satapatha Brahmana emphatically declares that kings are not entitled to make new laws or to modify the old ones" is without any foundation. On the next page (p. xi) she says without justification

that while Gautama, Baudhayana and Apastamba declared the Veda to be the source of Dharma, Manu as well as Yajnavalkya "made a departure" by taking the Veda to be the first, tradition to be the second, and usages of virtuous men to be the third source. In the first chapter the authoress repeatedly (pp. 5, 7, 39, 40, 44) finds in the *Dharmasutra* texts in favour of *Niyoga* sanction for the remarriage of women and this leads her, quite unjustifiably, to charge Gautama (p. 6) with incongruity. The *Dharmasutra* texts in favour of child-marriages of girls, according to the authoress (pp. 5, 39, 45), are later interpolations as they conflict with the implications of the contemporary *Grihyasutra* ritual. This ignores the alternative explanation suggested by Gautama (18.23), viz., that the text in question reflects the views of individual authorities no doubt after the practices of distinct localities and strata of the people. In the third chapter, the authoress while discussing Manu's attitude towards *Niyoga*, says (p. 90) that "the three differing views occurring in the same context cannot be the work of one author or of one period," but on the contrary, represent firstly, "the Vedic period," secondly, "the transitory Pauranic period," and thirdly, "a later period, perhaps later than that of Vishnu and Narada." Now apart from the authoress's inversion of the chronological order of the Puranas and the later Smritis, it appears more reasonable to hold that the different views represent Manu's picture of the different ideas on the subject in contemporary authoritative circles. In the fourth chapter, the authoress finds (p. 141) in the stories of the Jatakas about the general wickedness of women the clue to the changed attitude of the later law-givers beginning with Manu who are unsympathetic to women. This dictum on the one hand ignores the references to the noble types of womanhood idealised in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and other works and realised in the picture of the good wife in Vatsyana's *Kama-sutra*. On the other hand, it takes no notice of the increased rights of property accorded to women in the later Smritis. In the concluding chapter, the authoress cautiously suggests (p. 173) that "the pathetic condition of women in India at the dawn of British rule" was due not to the laws but to the customs of the times. And yet in the same breath (p. 174) she quotes from Kaegi's work *The Rig-veda* "the glaring instance" of palpable falsification of an old Rigvedic hymn in support of the custom of *sati*, and she concludes that "this is just an example of the gross injustice done to our traditional and authoritative texts" by the later writers.

We have noticed a few slips, e.g., 'belonging to the same *gotra*' for *sapinda* (p. 52) and *nagarika* for *nagaraka* (p. 85). A few misprints, such as, Satatura (p. 63), derivations and bharyani (p. 150) and annas (p. 172) as well as the date of Bukka I, King of Vijayanagar (p. 177) require correction.

We cannot conclude this review without quoting some extracts from the authoress's estimate of the Hindu law about the position of women in her concluding chapter. Illustrating "the catholic and humanitarian character" of the old texts, she says (p. 176) that the laws of marriage lost sight of no type of love subject only to the condition of its solemnisation by sacrament, while the laws of sonship wiped out the word 'illegitimacy' from the fold of society. "In regard to property and inheritance, the status of women in India was far superior to that of her confreres in any other country of that age." These views are neatly summed up in the concluding lines (p. 193): "The laws of ancient India were so catholic in spirit and all-embrac-

ing, if they are taken in their true spirit, that they can cover the entire needs of humanity. At the time when these laws were framed, no country in the world produced better laws for womanhood, nor gave a higher status to woman in society."

U. N. GHOSHAL

TO ASHRAM SISTERS (Bapu's Letters—1): Edited by Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1952. Pp. xx + 116. Price Rs. 1-8.

Mahatma Gandhi's letters are being printed in a series. The first of these is comprised by a batch which was addressed by him to the female members of the Ashram between 6-12-1926 and 30-12-1929. In his introduction, Kaka Kalelkar has brought out the salient lessons which Gandhiji wanted to impart to women in general, and female workers in particular who had dedicated themselves to the cause of social uplift.

SATYAGRAHA IN CHAMPARAN: By Rajendra Prasad. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. xii + 224. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is the second revised edition of Rajendra Babu's account of Gandhiji's first Satyagraha in Champaran which led to the final overthrow of the indigo planters' oppression in the province of Bihar. As a shining example of the vindication of peasants' rights through the application of non-violence, Champaran will always occupy a deservedly high place in our country's political history. We hope, therefore, that this carefully written history by Rajendra Babu will be welcomed by the public.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MIND AND LIFE: By A. G. Tansley. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1952.

The author is a well-known writer and his book *The New Psychology* has made the science of psycho-analysis known to many students all over the world. The philosophical bent of his mind, however, which dimly revealed itself in that book published many years ago (1920) has found definite expression in the book under review. Throughout the volume he has made persistent efforts to reconcile the intuitions of the common man with the conclusions of the scientists regarding Life, Mind, and Spirit. His own view is that the contradictions that we notice between man's eternal beliefs and the modern scientific truths are apparent only and therefore, neither need be given up in the interest of the other.

His presentations of the scientific truths and of the Freudian discoveries are eminently fair. In fact, he has ably pointed out many of the fallacies involved in the reasonings of the critics of psycho-analysis, but, being definitely influenced by the writings of McDougall, he has in his own critical evaluation of the doctrines of psycho-analysis unfortunately repeated some of the errors committed by that eminent critic and psychologist.

The author has his quarrels with Freud regarding psycho-analytical terminology and holds that much of the opposition to psycho-analysis "would have been largely avoided if the more general conception of love as the urge to union, instead of a word (sex) conveying a sharply defined and much narrower concept, had been made the basis of exposition." (p. 104). Perhaps, the hostility could have been avoided but then the danger was that psycho-analysis would very probably not have remained psycho-analysis any longer. Freud himself was conscious of the 'hostility' aroused by his use of the term sex, but he deliberately

refused to alter his terminology. The following relevant passage may be quoted here from his book *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*: "I might have done so (used the more genteel expression, Eros and erotic) myself from the first and thus spared myself much opposition. But I did not want to, for I like to avoid concessions to faint-heartedness. One can never tell where that road may lead one, one gives way first in words, and then little by little in substance too" (p. 39).

The reviewer has nowhere found in Freud's writings any categorical statement regarding the inheritance of characters acquired by individuals as the result of their experiences during their lifetime and therefore is unable to agree with the author that Freud 'firmly believed' in that doctrine of inheritance.

The chapters on the Family and the Community, the Individual and the Community, are very well written though the author has not gone very deep into the problems raised by the topics. The weakest chapters from the systematic point of view, however, seem to be those dealing with 'Causation, Determinism and Free Will' (Ch. 6) and 'Psychological reality and the spiritual values' (Ch. 12). It is difficult to agree to the statement that "When a particular idea is very widespread in human race they do by that fact establish a claim to validity" (p. 162). In discussing about spiritual values the author seems to have lost his bearings and to be drifting hither and thither in the gulfs of logical sophistication, metaphysical speculations, and religious mysticism.

The reviewer is in full agreement with the author's view that all developmental processes may be brought under the concept of increasing approach to equilibrium. He himself formulated the same theory which was published in the *Indian Journal of Psychology*, Vol. VIII, 1933. In that article he elaborately described how the various developmental processes and the activities of the mind could be shown to be but the individual's attempts to regain the balance or equilibrium that had been disturbed by the act of birth. The book is written in an easy and pleasant style and a perusal of it though raises some doubts, definitely creates a feeling of satisfaction.

S. C. MITRA

BHOODAN YAJNA (Land-gifts Mission): By Vinoba Bhave. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. viii + 134. Price Rs. 1-8.

Today peace has become synonymous with the maintenance of *status quo* and violence with revolution. Gandhi evolved a new approach which while maintaining peace would also usher in a revolution and bring in a rapid and radical change in society. That new approach is in ferment in the Bhoodan Yajna of Vinoba. A silent revolution is taking shape under his unique leadership. The book under review is an authoritative collection of some of Vinoba's speeches selected so as to cover in small compass the whole range of Bhoodan Yajna. The book seeks to present to the readers the case for the Bhoodan movement in the words of its author; a difficult task for Vinoba is ever growing and ever presenting new thoughts.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE STORY OF THE NORTH BURMA EVACUATION: By A. R. Tainsh. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta, Bombay, Madras. Pp. 175. Price not mentioned.

The main title of the book "... And Some Fell by the Way" gives a human touch to the story which

the author, a Major in the R.I.A.S.C., relates. The memory of the refugee route, its partition into "White" and "Black" is faded today. And what is of more permanent value is the way in which problems of "refugees" have to be dealt with—by kindness, by trying to so act that their "morale" is kept up. The maps found at the end of the book have attained a new importance for India now that her Eastern frontiers are being stirred by forces that come directly or indirectly from China, gone Communist.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

INDIA AND THE WORLD: By Nursingdas Agarwalla. Published by Atulananda Chakrabarti, 19A, Desapriya Park, West, Calcutta 26. Pages 119. Price Rs. 4.

The author, an industrialist, in this publication has included nine essays on topics, such as the story of State, Kingship in India, Secular State of India, Democracy, Nature of Capitalism, Evolution of Socialism, Socialism vs. Capitalism, Democracy and Communism. He has expressed noble sentiments and advocated world unity and universal brotherhood. He is an advocate of Capitalism but admits the responsibility of capitalists for social welfare. Many will not agree with some of the views of the author in defence of Capitalism but his advocacy for 'One World' has universal support. The problem still remains whether the basis of world unity shall be Capitalism, Socialism or Communism or an amalgam not yet discovered.

A. B. DUTTA

ANECDOTES FROM GANDHIJI'S LIFE, Parts I, II and III: National Heritage Series. Illustrated. Price As. 7, As. 9 and As. 11 respectively.

SHORT PLAYS FOR CHILDREN: National Heritage Series. Illustrated. Price As. 10.

MY EARLY LIFE: By Rabindranath Tagore. Abridged from his "Reminiscences" and edited by Rajendra Verma. Pp. 146. Price Re. 1-6.

MAKERS OF TO-DAY: By Diwan Chand Sharma. Card board-bound. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 2.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF EMINENT INDIANS: Edited by M. M. Bhattacharjee. Cloth-bound. Pp. 235. Price Rs. 2-12.

Published by Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, London, 1952.

The first two books are intended for boys of lower classes, the last three for those of higher classes of Indian schools. There can be no better subjects chosen for the study of young children than *Anecdotes* from the life of the Father of our Nation, *Short Plays* are amusing folk tales dramatized for little children. *My Early Life* is well worth the study by students as the *Reminiscences* show the growth and development of the mind of a poet, one of the greatest world poets of today. In the fourth book, *Makers of Today*, short biographies of famous men of the world and of India, e.g., G. B. Shaw, Tagore, J. C. Bose, Edison, Henry Ford, Marconi, Madame Curie, Wright Brothers, Ronald Ross, M. K. Gandhi, Sun Yat-sen, Lenin, and Roosevelt, are narrated by D. C. Sharma in a lucid and elegant style. They are full of instructive and informative matter to make the students fully acquainted with the modern inventions and the progress of science and civilization of the world to-day. The last book is ably edited by M. M. Bhattacharjee by selecting masterpieces from the *Speeches and Writings of Eminent Indians*, e.g., Tagore, Vivekananda, J. C. Bose, Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi, G. K. Gokhale,

Jawaharlal Nehru, Sachchidananda Sinha, Lala Lajpat Rai, Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Radhakrishnan, C. V. Raman, Jayakar and Srinivasa Sastri. We hope that the school authorities will do well by selecting the books for the study and benefit of students for whom they are written.

B. K. SEAL

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE DEVI-MAHATMYA OR SRI DURGA-SAPTASATI: By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras-4. Pp. xx+170. Price Rs. 2.

We welcome this addition to the 'Sanskrit Scriptures Series' of the reputed publishers of Madras. It contains the sacred text of what is popularly called the Chandi in Devanagari type followed by a faithful and lucid English translation with occasional footnotes by Swami Jagadiswarananda. Swamiji's Bengali editions of the Gita and Chandi are extremely popular and his English translation of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad has earned for him a place of great authority and honour. The present edition of the Chandi will, we doubt not, be warmly received by the English-knowing public—it removes a long-felt want of theirs. The translation is based on Pargiter and other authorities and has been revised by the eminent Dr. Raghavan of Madras. As the text is chanted on sacred occasions all the necessary accessories are printed in original, making the edition equally attractive for the public at large.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

BENGALI

PUERNACHHED (The Full-stop): By Srimati Lilī Devi. Barendra Library, 254, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 2.

A romantic novel, depicting the eternal triangle of love in a rather extraordinary setting. Saroj and Salil, two brothers, happen to fall in love with the same girl Sandhya, under circumstances, for which neither of them was prepared. The younger, when aware of the situation, joins war-service and sacrifices the prospect of his own marriage with the girl in order to make his elder brother happy. The presentation of the story is agreeable.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

BHARATIYA TARKASHASTRA KI RUP-REKHA: By Dr. Umesh Mishra. Published by Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad. Pp. 118. Price Re. 1.

A highly praiseworthy outline of Indian Logic, which all students of Logic and Philosophy in our colleges, where the present medium of instruction is being gradually replaced by the national language, Hindi, will find very helpful. Lucidity is its outstanding merit.

SWATANTRA BHARAT KI BAHIKHATA PADDHATI PAR VICHAR: By Kasturmal Banthia. Published by Banthia and Co. Ltd., Ajmer. Pp. 40. Price eight annas.

An informative brochure on the Indian system of book-keeping, which has stood the test of time as well as of usefulness for centuries.

YEH SWARAJ KAISA: By Dharendra Majumdar. Pp. 39. Price six annas.

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G. M.

BAPU—MERI MA: By Miss Manu Gandhi. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 55. Price As. 10.

Miss Manu Gandhi a close relative of Gandhi, attended on Kasturba till her death and on Gandhi after that at the time of the Noakhali tour and thereafter till his tragic end. She calls Gandhi her mother as he brought her up in the way she should go. She kept a diary and her reminiscences as formed there are interesting. Her companion at Karachi in pre-Gandhi days, Mrs. Kurangi Desai of Khar, the grand-daughter of the late Mr. Devatia, has translated this little book from Gujarati into Hindi and a very creditable translation it is.

K. M. J.

GUJARATI

PREMO PANTH, YOJAN 2: By Desai Valji Govindji. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 80. Price As. 4.

From Gandhi's own writings, selections have been made to illustrate his life and incidents therein. Mr. Valji, a devout and scholarly follower of Gandhi, and saturated with his principles, was the proper person to do so, and he has done it. Part I or Yojan I of this *Panth* (Road) has been published by The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. The Navjivan Prakashan Mandir proposes to publish it also. This *Panth* is a charming performance.

EKNATHI BHAGVAT: By Dr. Varjivandas Damodardas Merchant. Published by The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 576. Price Rs. 6.

Eknath Maharaj was one of the most popular saints of Maharashtra and deeply versed in our religious lore. The Eleventh Skandh of Shrimat Bhagvat carries in it the Secret (Rahasya) of Slavation. Many are the comments written on it. The commentary of Eknath is one of the best. Dr. Merchant put it in its Gujarati shape in 1931 and this second edition is brought out after thoroughly overhauling the first one.

PARAM PUJYA BAPU: By Sopanand G. Ramchandran. Published by The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1.

Incidents in Gandhi's life, interviews with him and other happenings in his life are so arranged in this small book as to read like a connected narrative.

SANTNI VATO: By Gopalji Odhavji Thakkar. Published by The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 264. Price Re. 1-8.

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THE HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The Holy Mother Centenary Number of the PRABUDDHA BHARATA, which was intended to be published in January 1954, has to be postponed owing to unforeseen circumstances. It is now decided that the March 1954 issue will come out instead as the Centenary Number.

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on various virtues, like forgiveness, absence of egoism, etc. It is a reprint of a book of the identical name, *Sant Samagam* by Mr. Thakkar, a devoutly religious person.

K. M. J.

DAYARAM GIDUMAL: By T. L. Mandhir Malani. Translated into Gujarati by C. R. Patel. Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, 1953. Price twelve annas.

The name is that of the hero whose biography had been written in English by his son-in-law, who after the Partition settled in Nadiad, headquarters of Kheda in Gujarat. He was popularly known as Dada for his social activities.

Dayaram Gidumal was born in 1857 in Hyderabad, Sind. He was a student of Bombay Elphinstone College and studied under Prof. Wordsworth, a grandson of the great English poet who along with the Professor of Persian extended a good influence on Dayaram. Dayaram was later on taken on to Statutory Civil Service, and numbered among his friends, Malabari and H. S. Advani, both social reformers of repute, and Dayaram wrote and published life-sketches of both Government and the people.

When Dayaram was the Judicial Commissioner of Sind, he was invited to tea by the Viceroy at Karachi. But he would not take tea as it would be against his religious principles. He was tolerant of other religions and believed that peace could come to the world only through love of men. He had written a booklet in English, *The Alphabet of Discipline* in which there are three good prayers through

which the earth might be turned into paradise—prayers for morning and for evening.

From a District Judge he rose to the position of the Legal Remembrancer. In 1902, he served on the Police Commission and then as a Judicial Commissioner of Sind and in his capacity of a judge he showed alertness and independence of judgement. Many are the stories current about his honesty in the face of temptation. In days when politics was not altogether a taboo as in later times, he was a prominent member of Sind Sabha and contributed articles to *Sind Sudhar*. He had written more than a dozen in English and five in Sindhi. These were entirely on religious topics. He was quite modern in his outlook on education, and realised that modern aids must be utilised by the teachers' association and that the mother tongue must be the medium of instruction. His attitude towards social service bore fruit in D.M.D. Trust. He had started other organisations for the purpose and his thoughts on the subject did him credit. Once he remonstrated with Gandhiji regarding his fasts as in his opinion they were not strictly non-violent and also because they ran counter to the injunction of the Gita on Yukta Ahar and Yukta Bihar—restrained meals and restrained living.

His marriage a second time in 1913 made him extremely unpopular, and his son-in-law has quoted the letter written by Gidumal to his daughter and her husband, recounting the steps that led to it. Platonic friendship outstripped its bounds and so, marriage, which embittered the cup of his life. He died in 1927.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Eva Gore-Booth

In the following article in *The Aryan Path* R. M. Fox presents his countrywoman, the Irish poet and pacifist, Eva Gore-Booth, a fine and sensitive soul, who deserves to be remembered also for the humanitarian spirit that kept her active in public causes uncongenial to poets of the Ivory Tower :

One of the poets of the Celtic Twilight period whose work has been neglected in recent years is Eva Gore-Booth, daughter of Sir Henry Gore-Booth and sister of Constance, better known in Irish history as the Countess Markievicz. In quantity as well as quality Eva Gore-Booth's work entitles her to a distinguished place, for she has written 10 books of poetry, a prose play, *The Sword of Justice*, and three books of essays. Her life spanned the period between May 22nd, 1870, and June 30th, 1926. She died in London.

She left Ireland in her early twenties, travelling first in the West Indies and America with her father and then—in 1897—settling in Manchester, where she was active in many progressive causes, particularly those concerned with the economic, cultural and political advancement of women. Perhaps her life and interests in Britain helped to detach her from that group whose names are usually associated with the Celtic Literary Revival. But the leaders of that movement fully accepted her as one of themselves, as indeed her work demonstrated.

In the years when the landowners and aristocrats in Ireland were not noted for their sympathy with the people, the Gore-Booths always had a reputation for it. The Secretary of a Relief Committee in Sligo wrote :

"In 1879-1880 we had a famine in Ireland, and Relief Committees in every parish. Her father, Henry Gore-Booth, kept an open store of food at Lissadell, giving out meal, etc. to the starving poor, free to all, at his own cost, and I believe all the members of his family assisted in doing so."

At this time Eva would have been 9 or 10 and always the formative influences of those early years stayed with her, evident in her poetry no less than in her social activities. Another lasting influence was the beauty of the Sligo mountains and the haunting memory of the sea at Lissadell.

As long ago as 1897 Eva Gore-Booth published her first book of poems and W. B. Yeats greeted it enthusiastically, saying : "I think it is full of poetic feeling and has great promise. 'Weariness' is really most imaginative and is, I think, in the mood in which you are most yourself. The last four lines are really magical."

THE closing verse of this poem reads :

For silence is the song sublime,
And every voice at last must cease,
And all the world at evening time
Floats downward through the gates of peace,
Beyond the gloom of shadowy caves
Where water washes on the stones,
And breaks with quiet, foamless waves

The night's persistent monotonies :

The stars are what the flowers seem,
And where the sea of thought is deep,
The moonlight glitters like a dream,
On weary waters gone to sleep.

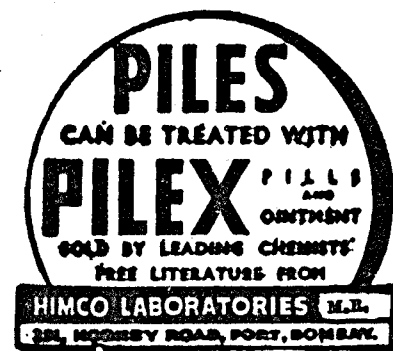
Here is the authentic note of the Celtic Twilight period, the mood of shadowy splendour which Irish poets of the period expressed to the delight of the reading world. Eva Gore-Booth received much praise for her delicate, sensitive verses, rated by a leading English critic as second only to the work of one writer of the Celtic Revival. In 1904 she published the volume *Unseen Kings*, including a play on the death of Cuchulain.

About this last A. E. wrote to her : "I congratulate you on your *Cuchulain*. I think it is very beautiful and full of mystery. I always thought your imagination would incarnate finally in its best form in Irish subjects.... I think your work would do admirably for the Red Branch Cycle performances we hope to have in the autumn here.... I feel you belong to the spiritual clan of new Irish people, some of whom write and more do not, but all know that *Tir na nog* is no dream and that inwardly we are inhabitants of it and breathe a common air."

Later this play was performed at the Abbey Theatre by a company which Count Markievicz and his wife had founded.

Among her early poems I have found one, "Clouds," which shows how she was drawn to the idea of militant struggle in the cause of Irish independence. She writes :

See, amid the shadows where dead Ireland lies,
Justice stands, the future flashes from her eyes:
After thy new birth of travail and of pain,
Rise, she says, dead nation, live and hope again.
Nay, not dead but sleeping; surely she shall wake,
In her mighty hands her life and honour take,
Drink the wine of courage, break the bread of life,
Bear the sword of Freedom foremost in the strife.



A slim book of verse with a primrose-coloured cover was published in Dublin in 1918. She called it *Broken Glory*. Printed on the cover are the significant words "Passed by Censor." This refers to the military censorship of those troubled times. Here are the lines on "Easter Week":

Grief for the noble dead,
Of one who did not share their strife,
And mourned that any blood was shed,
Yet felt the broken glory of their state
Their strange heroic questioning of Fate
Ribbon with gold the rags of this our life.

A number of poems are written to her sister. One "To Constance—In Prison" succeeds in recapturing the glory of Lissadell where they had spent their childhood. The closing verse reads:

Yours is that inner Ireland beyond green fields
and brown
Where waves break dawn-enchanted on the
haunted Rosses shore.
And clouds above Ben Bulbin fling their
coloured shadows down
Whilst little rivers shine and sink in wet sands
at Crushmor.

In "The Triumph of Maeve" those early memories of Sligo rise again. She wrote these lines on her return after a visit to Sligo.

The foamless waves are falling soft on the sands
of Lissadell
And the world is wrapped in quiet and a floating
dream of gray;
But the wild winds of the twilight blow straight
from the haunted hill
And the stars come out of the darkness and shine
over Knocknarea—
I have seen Maeve of the Battles wandering
over the hill.

Her "Little Waves of Breffny" has long ago achieved recognition as one of the finest Irish lyrics:

The great waves of the Atlantic sweep storming
on their way,
Shining green and silver with the hidden herring
shoal;
But the little waves of Breffny have drenched
my heart in spray,
And the little waves of Breffny go stumbling
through my soul.

Although Eva Gore-Booth was delicate from childhood she was not content to devote her life to poetry alone. She had an eager sympathy for the poor and the suffering. At 22, when she went to Manchester, she interested herself at once in the organization of trade unions for women and also in movement for woman's suffrage. She acted as Secretary to the Manchester and Salford Women's

Trade Union Council. She edited a paper, *The Women's Labour News*, and did much public work, largely foreign to her temperament, because she felt it was necessary. In one verse she left a record of a public meeting at which she spoke. She called this "The Street Orator":

At Clitheroe from the Market Square
I saw rose-lit the mountains gleam
I stood before the people there
And spake as in a dream.

This reads like one of those gatherings at which the poet William Morris used to speak. But her work was practical for all her dreaming. Besides the activities already mentioned, she helped to run a reading circle and founded a dramatic group. Later, in London, she was active in social causes but still she poured out poems, verse plays and essays distinguished for beauty, grace and that eager giving of her personality which was a leading characteristic of her work.

Eva Gore-Booth was a true mystic always seeking to find and express the Inner Light behind the appearance of things. She was a confirmed pacifist and believed in the sword of the spirit. As she put it in her play, *The Sword of Justice*, "A sword alone is an uncertain weapon." I met her first early in the First World War, when she was speaking at a peace meeting in London. It was held in a small hall and I acted as her chairman. It was a stormy time but she had a peaceful tranquillity of spirit. I remember that she read her speech, but it was framed in such sensitive clear-cut words that there was none of the dullness usually associated with a written speech.

"I am," she began cheerfully, "one of those quite hopeless people who do not believe in fighting under any circumstances."

Although she was a fighting pacifist it was her fate to be introduced always as the sister of the Countess Markievicz who had fought so valiantly in the Easter Rising. She told me so, ruefully but with a smile, after

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I had mentioned this interesting fact to the audience. But actually the coupling of Eva Gore-Booth with her militant sister was not so incongruous as might appear. They were both united in their sympathy with suffering and their love of freedom. Though their methods differed they were working for the same end.

Always there was the greatest understanding between these sisters—one a warrior, other a pacifist. *The Death of Fionavar*, Eva's poetic play, was decorated by Constance Markievicz with drawings of wild, proud horses. Those streaming manes and tossing heads expressed as much the mood of the poet as of the artist. This play is dedicated to "The Many who died for Freedom and the One (Francis Sheehy Skeffington) who died for Peace."

Eva Gore-Booth was careless of fame and money. Her poems were given to obscure little journals standing for causes in which she believed. And yet some of the finest poets among her contemporaries in Ireland and in Britain gave generous recognition to her work. It was a time of unfolding and blossoming in the arts and this does not go with any petty, grudging spirit. After her death a complete edition of her poems was published by Longmans, Green and Company in 1929.

I saw her for the last time a few months before her death at her home in Hampstead. She had been very ill and was paler than usual. Her pale gold hair was loosely coiled and her blue eyes were filled as ever with eager interest. She was seated by a table piled with books and a reading lamp was at her elbow. She was wearing a blue velvet jacket and the brown rug over her knees kept slipping down as she talked with animation. She was as fragile as an arum lily. She spoke of plays and books, of the state of Europe, of the industrial depression which England was facing and of her hopes for Ireland. The only thing she refused to discuss was her illness.

The spirit of poetry has changed greatly from that Celtic Twilight splendour and the tranquil mystical beauty which she expressed in her work. But that work and her spirit remain to us a possession as real as the great shoulder of Ben Bulbin standing out of the Irish mists or the foamless waves which still fall on the sands of Lissadell.

Protest Against Race Oppression

The *National Christian Council Review* has reproduced the following open letter written by the Rev. Trevor Huddleston and published in the *Church of England Newspaper* on July 3, 1953:

A good deal has been written, and a great many conflicting views have been expressed about the rights and wrongs of Christian intervention from England in South African affairs. Put very bluntly, there are those who say: 'No one has a right to speak about the racial situation in the Union of South Africa unless all the factors are understood. In England they are not understood. And in any case the Church of the Province of South Africa can look after itself. Statements, resolutions and sermons in England are more of an embarrassment than a help.'

I have never personally believed argument which—in effect—rules out onlookers on the ground that they either of the game or that they have blink than not those of us who live inside caught up into the currents and cross-currents are biased or blinded by experience. And it is good for the solution of any problem that it should be subject to scrutiny and comparison with objective standards. If, for example, South Africa claims to be a democracy, it is not a bad thing that her standards should be compared with those of democracies centuries older and more experienced than herself.

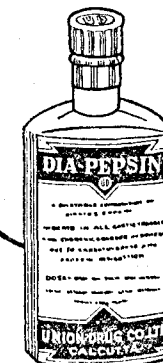
TIME FOR SILENCE IS PAST

I believe with all my heart that the Church in England should use every weapon in her armoury to arouse the conscience of Christians all over the world. And I believe this not because I hate South Africa but because I love it.

And—let it be said with shame—the vast majority of European church people in South Africa are not giving the kind of lead which would inspire confidence in any one. If, in fact, we have begun to learn the lesson of Kenya, we should see to it that we implement our knowledge at once.

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INVASION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

I am convinced that, first of all, people in England could be told again and again that what is happening in South Africa is an invasion of human rights. That in consequence, and because man is made in the image of God, it is an insult and an affront to God Himself. In face of this, all talk of 'interference' is simply absurd—unless, of course, one takes a purely humanist or materialist political viewpoint.

The Group Areas Act (which, when applied, effectively prevents any one racial group existing where it desires to exist, and may well bring ruin on certain groups such as the Transvaal Indians), The Suppression of Communism Act, The Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act (all of which in different ways destroy or gravely imperil freedom of speech and of opinion), The Pass Laws and the Native Urban Areas Act (which together destroy freedom of movement and create an atmosphere of progressive distrust, fear and resentment).

All these—and the multifarious regulations and proclamations which have been issued in recent years—are offensive *not* because they are merely discriminatory or undemocratic, but because they undermine the dignity of man himself.

I could list very many more such measures: I could give incidents descriptive of how they work: I could indeed paint a picture coloured with many an emotional streak.

But I want to end by reminding the readers of your paper of an event which is now being begun and which

may have repercussions all over Africa. And I want to ask your readers to protest, through their local M.P.s., to the representatives of the South African Government in England. For this is a simple issue, yet it is one which will affect 14,000 African families.

OUTRAGE IN JOHANNESBURG

The Minister of Native Affairs has ordered the expropriation, the eviction of all African native people from the 'Western Areas' of Johannesburg—i.e., Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare.

For no other reason than a purely racial one, these people who have—many of them—had their homes in this area for a generation are to be deprived of those homes. At the same time, freehold-tenure—a privilege almost unique in the urban areas of South Africa—is to be taken from them and (wherever they may go) they will never recover it.

This is not a slum-clearance scheme: it is pure and simple expropriation. The people have never been consulted in the matter, nor have they any representation in the City Council. Their protests have been unheeded. Yet they are permanent labour-force of Johannesburg. Only because European suburbs have encroached upon a predominantly African area has this plan been moved. It is racialism in *excelsis*. Its consequences will be the uprooting of thousands of people and their settlement at least ten miles farther from their work. The removal of Sophiatown is the Naboth's Vineyard of white western Johannesburg. It should receive the same condemnation.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

New York Marks 300 Years as International City

January 15, 1953. In 1653, 27 years after Dutch settlers in America bought Manhattan Island from the American Indians for \$24, they founded a city there. It was called New Amsterdam. Population: 600.

Today, on that spot stands New York City, the second largest metropolis in the world. Population: 7,846,009.

In 300 years New York has grown quickly as cities grow. Its history, if not long, like Rome, Paris or London has been colourful. A visitor to New York in February will see much of that city's past brought back to life when New Yorkers celebrate their city's 300th anniversary.

That some visitor might think that people have come from all over the world for the festivities. In a sense he will be right. The thousands of Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Spaniards, Germans, Russians and representatives of dozens of other countries he will see are from all points of the globe. But they are not visitors. They live in New York side by side with some 60 other nationalities.

New York's conglomerate citizenry dates from its very beginning. John Gunther, the American author and journalist, has observed in his book *Inside USA* that "from the early Du Ponts to Otto Hapsburg, from Leon Trotsky to Haya de la Torre, Manhattan has been traditionally generous to refugees. It has been a cosmopolitanism of the mind as well as the pocket. It may be built on an island, but it is not insular."

Today, more than 2,000,000 foreign-born persons live in New York City. Of this number the largest group is Italians (more than 400,000), followed by Russians (395,000), Germans (225,000), Poles (195,000), and Irish (160,000). In addition there are 28,500 Greeks, 25,000 Czechs and about 12,000 Chinese.

Many of the Chinese have settled in their own communities where they cling to homeland traditions. On the surface the Chinese settlement—"Chinatown"—seems mysterious to the tourist. But underneath it is a quiet, orderly society of former servicemen, college students, wage-earners and businessmen.

About 100 years ago when "Chinatown" first started to grow it was a noisy, dirty place. Around 1900 it became the battleground for the wars between the notorious tong associations. But today "Chinatown" is a quiet and law-abiding community, occupying a section several blocks from the Wall Street financial centre.

Spanish Harlem, the Puerto Rican section, is another of New York's famous foreign "cities within a city." An estimated 300,000 Puerto Ricans now live in New York, most of them in upper Manhattan and the Bronx. The first Puerto Ricans entered New York at the turn of the century, when Spain lost control of the West Indies. But Puerto Rican immigrants did not come to New York in large numbers till 1917 when U.S. citizenship was granted to them. The greatest influx, however, has occurred since the end of World War II.

New York's Negro community is one of the city's

oldest, dating back to the early Dutch settlement days. Like other peoples now living in this diversified city, the more than 600,000 Negroes comprise elements representing all faiths, creeds, political beliefs and occupations. Moreover, Negro cultural and political leaders work closely with their white colleagues to erase the vestiges of inequality among all groups.

The foreign-language press helps knit together other national groups. More than 220 non-English newspapers published in 15 languages offer foreign-born New Yorkers' news in their native tongue.

Through three centuries New York has indeed become an international city that has welcomed peoples from all over the world. The city's present mayor, Italian-born Vincent Impellitteri as well as his predecessor, were born outside the United States.

Commenting on New York's polyglot population, the American author E.B. White, wrote: "The collision and the intermingling to these millions of foreign-born people representing so many races and creeds make New York a permanent exhibit of the phenomenon of one world. The citizens of New York are tolerant not only from disposition but from necessity. If the people were to depart from the place of cosmopolitan intercourse, the town would blow up higher than a kite."—*USIS*.

College de France

In speaking of the cultural life of France it is worthwhile from time to time to turn from current movements to the great institutions which sustain it. College de France is such an institution, and one of the most successful. It is the highest educational institution in France, and yet gives no degrees or certificates.

For the purpose and mission of the College de France is that it shall be an establishment completely independent as regards the choice of both programme and of professors and style of teaching. Its motto "Docet Omnia" shows that nothing which is human knowledge can

be unfamiliar there. The branches of learning studied range from philosophy, taught in turn by Henri Bergson, Edouard Le Roy, Louis Lavalley and the present holder of the chair, professor Merleau Ponty, a rival of Jean-Paul Sartre, Political Economy with Md. Andre Siegfried lecturing from 1933 to 1945, to the history or religions with Alfred Loisy and then Jean Baruzi, orientalism so brilliantly served there by Ernest Renan and classical antiquity by Theodore. In science, Hadamard, Maurice de Broglie and Rene Lerche have held chairs made famous in the past by men like Ampere and Lannec.

The most striking thing about these names and those of holders of the forty-eight chairs to-day corresponding to the subjects taught, is their amazing variety. Variety of origin in the first place: the College de France is unique in being the only establishment of higher education where non-university men are given professorships: Paul Valery's only qualifications were his poems and his lectures on Poetry before the war brought large and unusual audiences to the College de France. Bergson too was not exactly what one would call a "university man." For the professors of the College de France, an institution that is directly dependent on the Ministry of National Education without belonging to the University of Paris, are appointed by the Minister from a list of four candidates, two proposed by the Professors' Assembly and two by one of the five Academies forming the Institute de France. The appointment is not therefore the result of any choice by the Civil Service or the Government, but by leading French thinkers who have selected one of their peers. There is variety also in the subjects taught, some being of educational or practical interest, like medicine, chemistry and political economy, —others being absolutely disinterested, as for instance ancient Sanskrit and paleo-Christian archaeology. Variety too in the popularity of the different courses: some only attract one or two listeners so that the professor at the College de France who apparently only had the chauffeur waiting to drive him home listening to him, has become a by-word among students. But others draw large and sometimes enthusiastic crowds.

For the sole purpose of the College de France, as its present Administrator, Mr. Edmond Farel has said, is to "contribute to the advancement of science" and not to award degrees, serve politics or provide a utilitarian and therefore limited formation. In a country steeped in humanism like France, the College de France is perhaps the most human of educational establishments. When he founded it, Francis I was not concerned with erecting premises for it but with finding suitable persons to teach there, "I do not wish to build a college of stones but of men," he said.

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In the course of its four hundred years and more of existence, the College de France has also been built in stones: it is housed in an edifice erected in the 18th century and designed by the architect Chalgrin, on a site formerly occupied by the Colleges of Treguier and Cambrai. Outside this building, it has spread over into a group of more recent edifices, some built and some in course of completion, which as regards dimensions and modern equipment meet the requirements of up-to-date scientific research: some thirty laboratories in Paris, the Paris suburbs and the provinces, thus depend on the College. But this proliferation in stones, now common to so many establishments devoted to intellectual research, from the Bibliotheque Nationale which is slowly colonising the Rue de Richelieu and spreading to Versailles, to the Faculty of Medicine which has recently built an annexe on the site of a whole block of houses in old Rue des Saint-Peres, does not alter the fact that the main part of the College stands still in the immaterial flame kindled by Francis I and which to our day has never gone out: the freedom of teachers and the freedom of education.

—News from France.

Dr. Julian Huxley Awarded Kalinga Prize

Dr. Julian Huxley, D.Sc., F.R.S., has been awarded the Kalinga Prize for distinguished popular writing in science in a ceremony at Unesco House in Paris last month. The prize of one thousand pounds sterling was established in 1951 as a gift to Unesco from Mr. B. Patnaik, Indian industrialist. The first award, in 1952, went to Professor Louis de Broglie of Paris.

The prize is international and is awarded annually for outstanding and continued achievement in the dissemination and interpretation of science to the general public in books, articles, radio programmes or films. Dr. Huxley is the author of some 15 popular books, including the recent *Evolution in Action*, *Essays of a Biologist*, *Man in the Modern World* and *Evolution*. He had been nominated for the prize by both the Royal Society of Great Britain and the Institute de France.

The jury for the 1953 award was composed of Dr. M. N. Saha, Professor of Physics at the University of Calcutta, Mr. Paul Gaultier, Member of the Institute de France, and Professor A. J. Kluyver, Technische Hogeschool, Delft. The jury considered ten nominees from eight countries: Argentina, France, India, New Zealand, United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The prize bears the name of Kalinga, an Empire which covered part of India and Indonesia more than 2,000 years ago. It is also the name of the Kalinga Foundation Trust which has made generous grants for develop-

ment and social work in the State of Orissa. The President of the Trust is Dr. R. K. Mahatab, Indian Minister of Industry and Commerce, and Mr. B. Patnaik, member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, is a director.

—UNESCO, October 1953.

V. K. R. Menon Appointed Director Of ILO India Branch

Mr. V. K. R. Menon, I.C.S., Labour Secretary to the Government of India, has been appointed Head of the International Labour Organisation's India Office at New Delhi. Mr. Menon is expected to take up his duties early in October.

After receiving his education at Madras, Mr. Menon graduated from Cambridge where he obtained a merit scholarship. He joined the Indian Civil Service

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in November 1926 and served in various capacities—Magistrate and Collector, Secretary to Government in the Local Self-Government Department and Finance Secretary in the State of Bihar. Mr. Menon joined the Labour Department of the Central Government in October 1945 as Joint Secretary and acted as Secretary. He was Secretary in the Ministry of Communications from 1948 to 1950 and then returned to the Ministry of Labour as Permanent Secretary.

Mr. Menon has had a long and varied connection with the ILO. Besides being in constant touch with the

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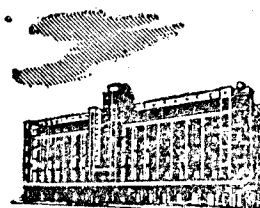
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Branch Office as Labour Secretary, Mr. Menon was India's representative on the Governing Body of the ILO from 1950 to date and was a member of the Indian delegation to the annual conference of the ILO in 1950, 1951 and 1952. He was Chairman of the ILO's Committee on Plantations (Bandung—1950), the Coal Mines Committee (Geneva—1951) and of the Iron and Steel Committee (Geneva—1952).—ILO Press Release, 14 September, 1953.



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Jamini Roy's Art Hailed In New York

An exhibit of paintings by the eminent Indian painter Jamini Roy at a New York art gallery recently attracted considerable interest among the city's art lovers and critics.

In 45 years, Jamini Roy has rarely allowed his work to be exhibited outside his native India. Paris and London have seen his pictures but never before. With the exhibit in New York, he gave the outside world another look at his work.

The recent exhibit resulted largely through the efforts of an American serviceman, Harold Leventhal, an admirer of Roy. During World War II, Roy's studio in Calcutta was a popular haunt for American servicemen interested in art.

A tribute to Roy's genius is the fact that half of the paintings and drawings exhibited were sold by the end of the first week of showing. And art-critics of several leading newspapers and magazines wrote about him and his work.

New York Times critic Stuart Preston said: "The singular quality of Indian art is its emphasis on three-dimensionality, and Roy, though limited by the two dimensions of the canvas and further limiting himself by painting absolutely with neither shadows nor modeling, yet contrives to suggest maximum solidity and volume in his figures by the supple strength of contour alone. His calligraphic power is most impressively evident in the brush drawings of figures. . . . Roy's art is totally disciplined and thrives on its good humour and on its clear sense of form."

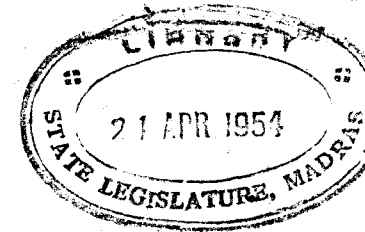
ART IN TEMPERA

Newsweek's critic wrote: "Roy's paintings reflect the peace he has made with himself and with the world. Flat, bright figures painted in the conventional forms of Bengalese artisans reveal his reverence for the dignity of India and Hindu lore. Roy usually grinds his own pigments and normally paints in tempera. His drawings are composed of simple and economical lamp-black lines. All express his belief that there is no evil in good-humoured men and women."

Roy is one of India's modern painters who have developed a personal idiom based on the glorious forms of Bengal's folk art. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not fall back upon the barren choice of revivalism or compromise with the Western art, but he found a forward solution.

Born in April 1887 in a village in West Bengal, Jamini Roy was brought up in an atmosphere permeated with local culture. The simple village craftsmen aroused in him his first interest in form and design. Though his early paintings revealed distinct Western influence, he soon began a lonely search for form. This became a great intellectual adventure which resulted in his paintings being hailed by critics as "pure and vital." His success has proved the truth of Cezanne's remark, "When colour has its richness, form has its plenitude."

Roy has not confined himself solely to the treatment of Indian subjects. Though a Hindu, he made a deep study of Christian subjects. Inspired by them, he painted a series of pictures on Christ, His Mother, and His disciples. These penetrating interpretations in colour and form won him international fame.—American Reporter.



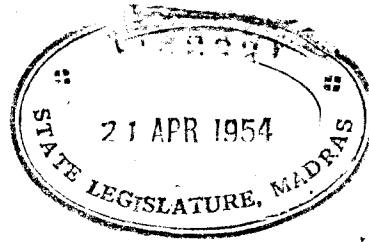
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Working of the Sindri Chemicals

At the first annual general meeting of the Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals Ltd., held recently, the Chairman of the Company stated that the achievements of Sindri have been creditworthy, as measured by the target output and economic costs of production. Since the commencement of production operations in March 1952, the factory's output totalled 230,000 tons of ammonium sulphate during the thirteen months ended March 1953. The production in the last quarter of 1952-53 was 74,176 tons, as compared with the target of 87,000 tons. There has been a steady decline in the cost of production, and the prices charged have also been reduced. Even in the initial period, the price of Rs. 350 per ton was below the cost of imported sulphate. Following an intensive campaign launched in 1953 to popularise the use of fertilisers as a positive step towards self-sufficiency in foodgrains, the price was reduced by Rs. 65 per ton, a reduction of nearly 20 per cent. It is expected that production costs will be further reduced in the near future.

The offtake however caused some concern to the authorities. In February 1953, although the stock position showed huge accumulation, the production was not curtailed and actually a high level of production of nearly 27,000 tons was attained that month. The short-fall in offtake in 1952 is attributed to droughts in some parts of the country, financial difficulties of the State Governments and unsatisfactory arrangements for distribution made by them. Had the Company decided to export its products, it could have cleared the stocks and earned large profits on that account. The Company received a large number of requests at much higher prices. The Union Government's Food and Agricultural Ministry is responsible for administering the fertiliser pool to which the entire production of Sindri is contributed at present. The Company is not satisfied with the present distribution arrangements controlled by an outside authority. It demands that it must have the responsibility for marketing its own output. A proposal is being examined for the taking over of distribution arrangements by the Company from January 1, 1954. Steps are also being taken for popularising the use of fertilisers for intensive cultivation and a scheme for the purpose is being formulated in co-operation with the Food and Agricultural Ministry.

Located at the heart of India's coal belt and within easy reach of abundant resources of cheap electrical power and water, Sindri has large potentialities of industrial development. The Company has entered into an agreement with the Associated Cement Co. Ltd., for the sale of the calcium carbonate sludge, which is a by-product of ammonium sulphate production. The A.C.C. propose to construct a cement factory at Sindri for the production of 600 tons of cement per day, utilising this by-product as the main ingredient. Another agreement has also been concluded with the German firm of Messrs Karl Still for the

supply and installation of a battery of coke ovens for the production of 600 tons of coke a day, which will make Sindri self-sufficient and will also bring about substantial economies in the production costs. Plans are also under consideration with the US Technical Co-operation Administration for the utilisation of the coke oven gases for the manufacture of urea and ammonium nitrate to provide a diversity and balance in the availability of fertilisers from indigenous sources.

Indo-US Technical Co-Operation

The last two project agreements under the Indo-US technical co-operation programme for 1952-53 were recently concluded. The first agreement undertakes to provide some equipment and supplies to increase the existing facilities for an exploratory project for lignite excavation in South India. The object of the project is to determine the economic feasibility of the recovery and processing of lignite in the South Arcot District in the State of Madras. The joint cost of this project is estimated at \$250,000 and Rs. 25 lakhs. The experimental mining operation will make possible the recovery of about 16,000 tons of lignite which will be available for test purposes and actual consumption in plants having facilities for burning the raw lignite. A study of market conditions, fuel requirements of various users and other data relating to the sale, distribution and utilization of the lignite will be conducted during the period of the experimental pit excavation. Such information will be used as a basis for planning the full-scale mining operation of the lignite deposit.

The second agreement is supplementary to the Operational Agreement No. 10. It provides for the acquisition of certain items of additional equipment for the completion of the pilot plant of the Cellulose and Paper Branch of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, which is under construction. The total estimated joint cost of the project for the fiscal year 1953-54 is \$210,000 and Rs. 320,000. The completion of the pilot plant will enable the Cellulose and Paper Branch of the Institute to conduct experimentation, demonstrations and pilot operations on the production of pulp and paper from a wide variety of indigenous raw materials. The pulp and paper plant will also be used as a regional centre for research and training for nationals from other countries. The Technical Co-operation Administration will arrange for the engineering services in connection with the erection of the plant as well as for specialists required and requested from outside India under this project.

The dollar cost for these two agreements amounting to \$460,000 will be provided from the savings under supplementary agreement No. 1 regarding the fertilizer project. The agreement in respect of the malaria control project was amended to provide 15 additional malaria control units, thereby increasing the number of units from 75 to 90. About 90 million people will receive protection from malaria under the amended agreement. The amendment does not involve any additional dollar expen-

diture but the rupee cost of the project will be higher by about Rs. 29 lakhs.

Another Technical Assistance agreement was also concluded which provides for assistance in obtaining detailed proposals for expanding the Sindri Fertiliser plant for the production of urea and ammonium nitrate, and the productive utilisation of the coke oven gas of the plant. The USA Government will provide a sum not exceeding \$50,000 for this purpose.

Changes in Exchange Restrictions

Article XIV, section 4 of the Articles of the Agreement of the International Monetary Fund lays down that, not later than three years after the date on which the Fund begins operations and in each year thereafter, the Fund should report on exchange restrictions still in force under section 2 of the same Article. In pursuance of this provision, the Fund has submitted its Fourth Annual Report this year. The report indicates broadly the nature of the changes which had taken place during 1952 and early 1953 and thus assists an understanding of the general character of recent developments in exchange restrictions. Generally speaking, the period was one of consolidation for some countries and their changes in the exchange control were in the nature of technical simplification in the operation of their exchange systems. As regards the other countries, it was essentially a period of watching world development to see what would take place elsewhere before taking any decisive measures to lessen their own exchange restrictions.

The volume of world trade was smaller in 1952 than in the preceding year. But the Fund cannot say definitely to what extent this reduction is due to intensification of international trade or exchange restrictions, which began in the second half of 1951, as contrasted with other causes. There was no significant relaxation in exchange restrictions during the last year. While some countries lessened their exchange restrictions, others intensified theirs. Though some countries simplified their multiple exchange rate structures, others made them more complicated.

The slowing down of the scramble for raw materials in 1951 resulted in a decline in their prices in 1952 approximately to the level of June 1950. Although the decline in prices of raw materials undoubtedly helped the more industrialised countries, it tended to produce in the primary producing countries a more cautious and restrictive attitude towards the granting of exchange and the lessening of exchange restrictions. Thus in several leading countries there was a reduction in the amount of exchange made available for imports directly arising out of a recognition of adverse balance of payments positions and a desire to correct them. The general use of discrimination in the application of restrictions continued during 1952, so that payments in hard currencies were reduced to a larger extent than were payments in soft currencies.

No additional currencies became convertible during

the years 1951 and 1952. In more than half the number of member countries surveyed by the Fund, multiple currency practices continued to operate. A few of them slightly simplified their multiple exchange rate systems by reducing only the arithmetical number of rates employed, but six member countries expanded their multiple exchange rate systems. Among the latter, two countries introduced additional fluctuating exchange rates by the use of negotiable certificates. These certificates entitle the holder to obtain exchange in payment for imports not otherwise permissible. Another country introduced an "auction system" by which it allocated limited quantities of available exchange. This means of exchange distribution was not in use for some years past.

The report throws much interest on retention quota arrangements and similar practices. These arrangements are usually applied to dollar export receipts and confer special privileges on those obtaining such means of payment. Thus, during 1952, such arrangements were either introduced or expanded in three countries, but were discontinued in three others. Two of the member countries introduced "free" exchange markets in which certain segments of their international trade and payments were to be handled. Three members introduced exchange taxes or increased the existing taxes. Liberalisation of trade between countries which are members of the European Payments Union was in general maintained.

Jute Marketing Practices

A Commission has been appointed by the Government of India to institute an enquiry into the marketing practices in the raw jute and jute goods trade and the extent to which they are influenced by speculators and to recommend measures for ensuring a fair price not only to the grower of jute but also to the jute mills. Mr. K. R. P. Aiyangar, Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Finance, has been appointed as the Chairman of the Commission. The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows:

(a) To examine and enquire into the operations of the tiers in the jute industry and trade from the grower of raw jute to the seller of jute goods; (b) to examine and enquire into the factors which determine the return to the grower of raw jute for his product and the part played in it by the cost and the adequacy or otherwise of transport, the lack of contact between the grower of raw jute and its consumer, the absence of market information to the growers of raw jute and all matters relating thereto; (c) to examine and enquire into the nature and the content of speculations both in raw jute trade and the jute goods trade, the extent to which market prices are affected by the operation of mill owners, jute dealers and the speculative operators in the market and to consider in relation to the circumstances which rendered the closing of the *fatka* market in Calcutta in December 1952, the malpractices indulged in by the various units that operated in the *fatka* market resulting in undue depression of prices of raw jute as well as jute goods;

and (d) after such examination, enquiry and consideration to make recommendations to the Central Government on the measures necessary: (i) to secure for the grower as well as the industry a fair price for raw jute and jute goods, (ii) to put down the malpractices engaged in by certain sectors of the jute industry in order to rig up or depress prices for their own ends, and (iii) to ensure that the jute export trade is not affected by frequent manipulation of the market by interested persons.

Plainly speaking, the democratic system of Government based on bureaucracy suffers from slow movement and red-tapism. Quickness goes at a discount with democracy. Since the days of the British rulers, committees and commissions have become essential adjuncts of the Indian administrative system and our independence has not brought any change in that respect, on the contrary they have become much too frequent. The appointment of the Commission on jute marketing is not only unwarranted, it is redundant too. That shows that the Government does not care to examine the reports of the previous commission on the same subject. The appointment of the Commission is just an evasion of the responsibility for some time to come. There already exists voluminous literature on the subject of jute marketing, viz., the report of the Central Jute Committee on the marketing of jute and jute products. Although it was published in 1941, it was almost brought up to date in the revised edition published last year. There is also the report of the Export Trade Promotion Committee (Chairman: Mr. A. D. Gorwala) which deals extensively with the practices of *fatka* and other futures markets. It may be recalled that a memorandum on the futures markets subscribed to by all sections of the jute trade and industry was submitted to Sir John Anderson, when he was the Governor of Bengal. It is regarded as a highly useful document. On the same subjects there are two excellent reports of Prof. Todd. If any action is really intended by the Government, all that it has to do is to make a thorough perusal of these reports and decide on the lines on which excessive speculation can be effectively checked. Moreover, the Forward Markets Commission is going to be appointed soon. It can be asked to tackle this problem of *fatka* in jute trade. It is really puzzling to think what useful purpose will be served by the present enquiry commission.

The terms of enquiry of the Commission are comprehensive enough as they cover every aspect of marketing raw jute and jute manufactures. But futures trading should be the main concern of the Commission in view of the diverse opinions on its utility or otherwise to the jute grower and manufacturer. According to a section of opinion, the *fatka* market serves no other purpose than encouraging gambling orgies, while others contend that it is essential for ensuring liquidity and smooth marketing of jute and jute goods and for providing a hedge against future uncertainties. They argue that the hectic heights and the sharp falls in prices are due to the high sensitiveness of the market which is not

in itself a defect. Unless the futures market is sensitive, they maintain, it cannot provide a cover against future risks at economic premium rates. A futures market, if it is to serve satisfactory, must allow keen competition among the operators and in the face of keen competition, wide fluctuations in prices are bound to follow.

Whatever may be the conflicting opinions about the utility of the futures market, it is imperative that violent fluctuations in prices must be avoided. The widely fluctuating prices have become a recurring feature of the jute industry resulting in hardship not only to the grower of jute and manufacturers of jute goods but also to members of the trade. Irresponsible and excessive speculation brings about business failures, results in defaults and ends in crashes destroying the utility of the futures market. When speculation exceeds the bounds of moderation and reasonable risk-taking, it degenerates into gambling. This is the problem that encompasses speculation and for the prevention of which no satisfactory solution has yet been found out. A solution is required which, while preserving the futures market intact, will eliminate over-speculation. The inherent weakness of Indian businessmen is to overtrade and even to condone defaults and to compromise with the worst defaulters. And the speculator having largely intruded and obtained control in industry, thanks to war-profiteering and black-marketing, Indian industries are being adversely affected.

Indian Tea Crop

From the point of view of production, the current season (1953-54) opens on a more secure basis. The last season (1952-53) ended with a short-fall in production by 4.75 million lbs. as compared with the previous season's output. The Indian tea crop will be lower this season due to the deliberate cut in production. The latest figures of production of North Indian tea reveal that the production will be lower by about 12½ million lbs. South India is endeavouring to bring about an automatic reduction in crop by producing better quality tea, although the planters have not been able to accept any definite agreement on restriction of crop. There has been decline in the output during the first five months of the current year. One of the causes for this fall in output is attributed to the effort on the part of a large number of estates to concentrate more on quality than on quantity. In recent years there has been a pronounced deterioration in the quality of the Indian tea and in consequence India is losing her export markets to her rivals, like Ceylon, Dutch East Indies, etc. It is said that house-wives in London prefer better quality packets even at higher prices, because of the fact that quality blends ultimately turn out to be economical.

The enquiries made by the Rao Committee revealed that 60 per cent of the total Indian production of tea was medium tea, 20 to 25 per cent superior quality and the balance residual tea including "rejections." The tea estates should pay special attention to quality plucking

and destruction of waste tea, sweeping and fluff, commonly known as "rejections." In South India, what is called premium tea forms about 25 to 33 per cent of the production. Some suggested to the Rao Committee that it would help to support tea prices, if the rejections could be completely destroyed, as they are used as adulterants and were depressing the price of good quality tea.

The Tea Act 1953, confers powers on the Union Government to improve quality of tea. But there is a great demand for tea waste as consumers belonging to the low income group provide a market for them, obviously because they cannot afford to buy the high-priced quality tea. It is stated that no amount of State control will succeed in preventing production of tea waste, as there will always be loopholes for evading it. Voluntary co-operation of the industry is therefore essential.

Oil Politics in the Persian Gulf

Nearly two years ago Persia's oil ceased to flow to world markets, and in this short period the face of the rest of the Persian Gulf has been transformed. In Saudi Arabia and Kuwait there has been so great expansion of the oilfields that by the end of 1952, their joint increase in output had more than replaced Persia's production in its last year of full flow. Besides, there are rising volumes of production of new fields in neighbouring deserts. Last year two affiliates of the Internationally owned Iraq Petroleum Company, operating near Basra in Iraq and in the desolate Qatar peninsula, respectively produced 17 million barrels and 25 million barrels. In 1953 there has been a new find by the American Independent Oil Company in the Neutral Zone shared by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile the earliest field on the Arabian shore, run by Americans in Behrein, yields its steady 11 million barrels per annum. Just to the south of it a member of the Royal Dutch-Shell group has taken up a 10,000 square mile sea-bed concession of the coast of Qatar. Aramco has located, but has not yet commenced production from, another under-sea field off Saffaniya on the Saudi Arabian coast, and there are local conflicting claims over rights to the rest of the shallow floor of the gulf. The Aramco and the Iraq Petroleum Company affiliate, Petroleum Development Ltd., are meanwhile prospecting in the untried deserts to the south-east and south-west of the Qatar Peninsula.

In respect of the crude oil supply, it is said that a return of the Persian flow on to the world markets would now be an embarrassment, not a help, to everyone except the Persians; it would entail reduction of output elsewhere, and it would bedevil the relations between companies and rulers who now count on higher revenue from oil. But this is not true of refined products. The Abadan refinery with its potential output of over 500,000 barrels per day is the largest in the world. The only other two refineries of size on the Gulf—Aramco's at Ras Tanura and the Behrein Petroleum Company's plant at Behrein—can each put through about 200,000 barrels a day. Other refineries in the Middle East are small

topping plants only. Abadan's output will continue to be missed in Asia until, from 1954 onwards, the refineries now being built at Aden, in India, and in Australia come on stream. It is no longer missed in western Europe where self-sufficiency in refining capacity has been attained. The following table will make the present position clear:

Crude Oil Production (million barrels)				
	1950	1952	Management	
Persia	241.4	10.6	1950—British:	
			Anglo-Iranian	
			1952—Persian: NIOC	
Saudi Arabia	199.5	301.8	American: Aramco	
Kuwait	125.7	273.4	Half-British, half-	
			American: Kuwait	
			Oil Company	

Direct Payments By Oil Companies to the Governments of Oil Producing Countries (\$ million)

	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	Iraq	Behrein	Qatar
1950	112.0	12.4	14.8	3.3	1.0
1951	155.0	30.0	38.5	3.8	3.8
1952	170.0	139.0	110.0	6.3	9.0

With the disappearance of Persia's oil from world markets and with the rising tide of world consumption, the oil companies operating in the Persian Gulf have stepped up production to meet the rising demand. Financially, the arrangements with the rulers of the oil bearing territories along the Persian Gulf are the so-called 50:50 basis on the Venezuelan model that has now become common. Under formulas, which differ slightly from territory to territory, they are based on the principle of an equal division of profits before deduction of foreign tax, and the concessionaire pays home taxation only on his share of the proceeds, and the owner Government's share is unaffected by foreign taxation. Oil provides one-quarter of the national income of Iraq, one-half in Saudi Arabia and over three quarters in the smaller principalities, the highest proportion being that of Kuwait.

Now the rulers are becoming conscious and demanding higher rates. If there is a 50:50 agreement, why not insist that it should be made retroactive? If a concessionaire sells oil under bulk contracts at special price, the rulers are demanding that the profit should be worked out on the full price. The Sheik of Behrein is disturbed at the greater production and in consequence the greater wealth of a neighbour in Qatar who has far fewer responsibilities than he. Thus local jealousies are developing. The Saudis are inquiring whether Aramco has a right to sell its crude oil to its parent companies below market price and whether they ought not to be receiving compensation for oilfields discovered but not yet operated owing to the state of world demand. The rulers are now contemplating to push the division of profits towards 60:40.

In recent months the relations in the USA between the oil companies operating overseas and the Administration are hardly in the halcyon state. The decision to raise the Middle East crude oil prices is the outcome of a series of embarrassing pressure and counter-pressures from the American domestic oil companies and the Administration. If the cheaper oil of the Middle East were to flood into the Western hemisphere markets, who would gain? Certainly, the overseas companies operating in the Middle East would reap the higher profits. There would be a political rumpus in Washington from American domestic producers by comparison with which the 1949 criticisms of "dumping" would be insignificant. Severe repercussions would follow on Venezuelan oil output and upon Venezuela's politics. There would be a grumble along the Persian Gulf from rulers asserting that the oil companies were not crediting them with a fair price for the Middle East crude oil. The American market is prepared to take a reasonable amount of foreign crude oil "to supplement but not supplant" its own domestic supplies; and it disapproves the idea of full and free competition from the Middle East. Of last year's crude oil imports by Britain, 93 per cent came from the Middle East and less than 7 per cent from Venezuela and the USA.

Developments in Iran

Recent developments in Iran have been bewildering. The results of the referendum in Teheran early in August suggested popular support to the Mossadeq regime. The referendum was instituted to obtain popular sanction for the dissolution of the Majlis—the Lower House of the Iranian Parliament. The Upper House—the Senate—had earlier been dissolved by Dr. Mossadeq. The Majlis had been virtually ineffective as all the supporters of Dr. Mossadeq had resigned from it, thus leaving the House without a quorum. Even some Opposition members had also resigned. The Shah appeared to wield little or no power at all and apart from the economic crisis, Dr. Mossadeq apparently was master of the situation.

Then came the news of the abortive Royalist coup and the Shah's flight from Iran. Teheran Radio announced that at 11-30 p.m. on August 15, the officers of the Shah's Imperial Guards under Colonel Nasiri attempted to overthrow the Mossadeq Government by a military *coup d'état*. Dr. Hussein Fatemi, the Foreign Minister and two other Government leaders had been arrested by the insurgents. The Government successfully dealt with the revolt, put Colonel Nasiri in jail and ordered disbandment of the Royal Guards. The royalist coup was directed to instal Gen. Zahedi as the Prime Minister.

The Shah, who was holidaying with the queen at Ramsar on the Caspian coast flew out of the country to Baghdad from where he went to Rome. He said that he had appointed Major-General Zahedi to succeed Dr. Mossadeq as Prime Minister. He said that

Gen. Zahedi had not staged a *coup d'état* but had conveyed Shah's orders dismissing Dr. Mossadeq. He said that he did not contemplate abdication and would be willing to return to Iran if Dr. Mossadeq obeyed his orders appointing Gen. Zahedi as Prime Minister.

Meanwhile Persian police had been on the trail of Gen. Zahedi who was believed to be hiding in the scrub-covered hills of Northern Teheran. At a secret rendezvous there he was reported to have issued to the Press photostat copies of an imperial decree purporting to be a letter from the Shah appointing him Prime Minister. The Government announced a reward of 100,000 rials for information leading to the arrest of Gen. Zahedi, who issued a statement saying that he was the legal Prime Minister and asked the security forces to obey his orders.

Dr. Fatemi, the Foreign Minister, told Pressmen in Teheran on August 17 that Iran had no intention of proclaiming herself a republic and Dr. Mossadeq was officially reported to have been considering forming a Regency Council to act in the absence of the Shah.

For the moment the Mossadeq regime looked like surviving the shock. But it was overthrown by another royalist coup on August 19. Royalist troops overpowered the supporters of Mossadeq and seized Teheran. The Shah was cabled to come back. Dr. Fatemi, the Foreign Minister, was reported to have been 'torn to pieces' but was subsequently reported to be in hiding. Dr. Mossadeq escaped and remained in hiding and later on surrendered after it had been announced that he would not be killed.

Demonstrators supporting the Shah burned buildings in the centre of Teheran and also set fire to a Theatre used by the Communist Party and wrecked a Russian shop.

Ayatullah Kashani and Hussein Makki, former supporters of Dr. Mossadeq, came out in support of the new regime.

On receiving the news of the overthrow of the Mossadeq Government, the Shah declared from Rome that he would return when the news was confirmed. He said: "This is not an insurrection. We now have a legal Government. Gen. Zahedi is the Prime Minister I appointed." He said that with the exception of the Communists, 99 per cent of the population were for him. He said that he had left the country to avoid bloodshed. In reply to a question he said that he had no reason to go to England. Regarding relations with the U.K., he said: "Our differences with the British remain. But any nation which would recognize our supreme interest and our sovereignty, and which tries to have decent relations based upon mutual respect, would have no difficulty in establishing normal relations with our people."

The Shah returned to Teheran on August 22. In an interview prior to his arrival he declared: "The Anglo-Iranian exists no more in Iran. The oil has been

and remains, nationalized." He was contemplating radical reforms, he said, and was going to start again the distribution of his personal fortune according to a programme he had himself chalked out.

Dr. Mossadeq had been arrested on August 20 along with Dr. Moazami, former Speaker of the Majlis and member of Dr. Mossadeq's oil nationalization team; Dr. Ghulam Hussain Sadiqi, Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Sayed Ali Shayegan, another member of the oil nationalization team. They were arrested from the house of Dr. Moazami.

The new Premier, General Zahedi, presented his Cabinet to the Shah on August 23, in which he himself retained the portfolio of Minister of War and Minister of Interior. The Cabinet included a number of former Premier Ali Razmara's colleagues as well as some from Dr. Mossadeq's Cabinet.

The new Government would continue the present Soviet-Iranian talks, Gen. Zahedi said. The Government announced on August 24 that all oil contracts made by the previous Government to sell oil to Japan and Italy at reduced rates would be fulfilled.

Reuter reports: "Resumption of parliamentary activity in the country might take the form of a new Senate being formed immediately rather than the old Senate being revived. The Senate consists of 60 members, half of whom could be nominated immediately by the Shah.

"Elections for a few seats might be held to provide the requisite quorum. This would be followed by elections for the suspended constituencies of the Lower House."

It was also reported that Britain had told the U.S.A. that she would fully support an American emergency dollar grant to Iran to help the consolidation of the new regime of General Zahedi. President Eisenhower had expressed full support to the new Government.

Earlier on August 15, the *Bombay Chronicle's* Teheran correspondent wrote: "As Iran is preparing for a fresh General Election, after the dissolution of the 17th Parliament on the strength of the results of the referendum, the cold war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in this country has been fully intensified, and observers believe the present one would be a decisive round . . ."

The correspondent further wrote: "The United States seems to have changed its policy towards Iran almost completely and the increasing accusation by U.S. diplomats of the regime of Dr. Mossadeq is interpreted by informed quarters as an 'open offensive in the process of being launched against the present Government of Iran.' . . ." (*Bombay Chronicle*, August 19, 1953).

Commenting on the overthrow of Dr. Mossadeq's Government, the *Leader* wrote on August 22 that it would be regretted by progressive forces in Iran. The paper said that "intervention of the Iranian army in

politics does not augur well for the future of Iran." It characterised as "false" the allegation that Dr. Mossadeq was pro-Communist and considered it was wrong on the part of the U.S. Government to stop American economic aid because Iran had not been amenable to British wishes. Reiterating that Dr. Mossadeq had the popular backing, the paper said: "It is the army and the reactionary section of the people who have overthrown Dr. Mossadeq. If there is a fair and free election, Dr. Mossadeq will sweep the polls as he did last year."

The Foreign Policy of Indonesia

Djakarta (WP).—When Premier Wilopo returned his mandate to President Sukarno of Indonesia early in June, he had one satisfaction: for 14 months he had maintained a government, a longer time than any predecessor. But Wilopo was heading into a long series of difficulties as he and others sought to establish a successor regime.

Asia's newest republic is having its troubles. Many observers are pessimistic about the future. Dutch colonialists, of course, still hope the Indonesian people will admit their inability to govern themselves and will request the Netherlands to return. Federalists who spurn the van Mook divisions of the state (in the United States of Indonesia period) as a means of continuing Dutch control, believe the Republic must retrace its steps by granting the regions a large measure of self-rule. The central government is unable to suppress the bands in West Java which have been killing, burning and looting nightly; some of these are Islamic terrorists whose aim is to establish a theocracy by force; some are Communist-inspired; many are simply people who would rather rob than work.

There are conflicts within the army. National income does not equal necessary expenditures. The dependence of the people on selling a few products, such as rubber, tin and copra does not afford a sufficient spread to protect the nation's economy against fluctuations in world prices. There is as yet no representative parliament; politicians can only guess at the real popular will. Yet the Nationalist Party refused to back the policy of the government with respect to land distribution in Sumatra on the ground that it was against "the will of the people." The low literacy rate (some put it at only eight per cent) complicates the holding of national elections. The country's adherence to an independent foreign policy prevents it from securing adequate help from either of the two world blocs.

Yet a conviction prevails that if any land of Southeast Asia will survive, it will be Indonesia. With only a few trained leaders, the country is doing the best it can, on far too little, and that alone is ground for some encouragement. There is no whining, no "itching palm" for foreign gifts. In spite of all, the country believes in itself and generally in its future. Whoever picks up Wilopo's mandate, however, will have no easy job.

Dr. Mohammad Hatta, Vice-President of Indonesia, in an article in the *Foreign Affairs*, writes that the foreign policy of Indonesia is based on the *Panchasila*, the five postulates that constituted the basic national philosophy of Indonesia. The *Panchasila*, contained in the preamble to the constitution, carried the acknowledgement that the Indonesian Republic was based upon the belief in Divine Omnipotence, humanism, nationalism, democracy and social justice. Acknowledging the Divine Omnipotence, however, did not mean that Indonesia was a theocratic State but that the majority of the Indonesian people believed "in God, and as a corollary, acknowledge the existence of certain moral values."

In accordance with the provisions in the constitution of the Republic, the Government of Indonesia was to work for the inclusion of the Republic of Indonesia in international organizations.

The Republic was following a foreign policy designed to strengthen world peace and international co-operation and non-alignment with either of the power-blocs. The objectives in foreign policy were to defend the freedom of the people and guard the safety of the State; to obtain necessary capital and consumer goods from overseas for national reconstruction and betterment of the standard of living of the people; to strengthen principles of international law and to aid in achieving social justice on an international scale, in line with the U. N. Charter, in particular by endeavouring within the U. N. framework to help colonial people achieve freedom. The objective laid special emphasis on initiating good relations with neighbouring countries, the majority of which had in the past occupied a position similar to Indonesia.

The present world conditions of *apartheid* and cold war did not encourage ideals of world brotherhood. But the Indonesians believed in the common-sense of mankind, which desired peace, and were therefore confident that their ideals would be achieved in the long run. The desire to strengthen forces of world peace had impelled Indonesia to keep out of the power-blocs and explained "Why it is not prepared to participate in any third bloc designed to act as counterpoise of the two giant blocs."

This non-alignment did not mean that Indonesia was neutral. On the contrary, she was committed to international solidarity. As a member of the United Nations, Indonesia could not adopt an attitude of neutrality. But because international solidarity had not yet been achieved and the world was cracked into two pieces, under present conditions, Indonesia would remain neutral, in case, a war broke out. "Indonesia plays no favourites between the two opposed blocs and follows its own path through the various international problems. It terms this policy 'independent,' and further characterizes it by describing it as 'independent' and 'active.' By active is meant the effort to work energetically for the pre-

servation of peace and the relaxation of tension generated by the two blocs, through endeavours supported, if possible, by the majority of the members of the United Nations." This independent policy kept her from enmity with either party, preserved her from taking sides, and permitted her to be friends with all nations on a basis of mutual respect.

Dr. Hatta writes that the foundation of that policy had been laid by the Indonesian Government in 1948, while it had been still engaged in a struggle against the Netherlands. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Wilopo, had redefined the Government's policy and had declared that "the Republic of Indonesia has decided to adopt an independent attitude in the sense that

- (a) It does not permanently take sides by pledging itself to either of the two blocs which are in controversy with each other;
- (b) It does not pledge itself permanently to keep aloof or to remain neutral in every incident which may arise out of controversy between the two blocs."

This "independent attitude" was of a positive nature in the sense that in the event of a problem arising out of the controversy of the two contending camps "the Republic of Indonesia will continue to base its attitude on its independence of action taking into consideration

- (a) Its own conception of its aim and purpose as a sincere, loyal and serious member of the United Nations, and

- (b) Its belief in the importance of this State and nation as a factor of great influence in the immediate as well as remote future."

Indonesia's military strength was insufficient for her self-defence. Therefore, her foreign policy aimed to prevent the country from being attacked. "Indonesians believe," writes Dr. Hatta, "that this possibility of attack will be minimized so long as the country adheres to its independent policy and actively tries to prevent the outbreak of World War III."

Her internal objective situation also had tended to lead Indonesia to adopt this line of foreign policy. The primary task facing the Government was internal consideration after so many years of wars and disorganization. "A foreign policy that aligned the country with either bloc of Great Powers would render this internal task infinitely more difficult." She needed to keep on friendly with all nations for economic reasons also.

East and West Germany

What is the situation like, now, after the riots in East Germany? How will things shape now the Soviets have got their zone under control? The *Worldover Press* reports are as follows, as made on July 10:

Time alone will tell whether the Russians, now ruling sternly under martial law, will go back to a harsh

policy or eventually relax and resume their peace tactics. There is widespread expectation that the latter course will be followed. History indicates that once a dictatorship begins to abandon its toughness, the lid is off, and there must be further concessions. Two days before the riots, High Commissioner Semeonov had begun a program of greater co-operation; passports were freely granted, and those who had left farms in the East were told they could have them back, unmolested. Notwithstanding severe Russian controls, there have been numerous concessions to the East Germans, and it is widely believed that the harsh discipline now invoked by the Russians is directed as much against the inept Grotewohl East German regime as against pro-Westerners. If there are the usual purges and a new set-up is worked out, a regimen of moderation is anticipated, with the emphasis again on German unification.

CAN GERMAN UNITY BE ACHIEVED?

Suppose the best and most incredible thing should happen, asks German affairs expert Joachim Joesten, reporting to *Worldover Press*, and the Kremlin pulled its troops out of East Germany and permitted free elections? The outcome is certain—an *Anschluss* of the Soviet Zone to the Federal Republic. What then?

Western Germany has retained its traditional form of federal government and is composed of nine *laender* or states. Eastern Germany, which also started out as a federal republic, wiped out the traditional state lines in August, 1952, and is now divided into 14 *bezirke* or districts, named after their chief cities. If East Germany were added to West Germany, it would by itself make too big a state, arousing fears of its predominance; yet each of the 14 districts would be too small to constitute a state.

The new electoral law adopted by West Germany would reduce the Communist vote in East Germany still further. And in the economic field the task of finding a common denominator is appalling. The drastic land reform of 1945 has radically changed the face of Eastern Germany; former large estates have been cut up into small farmsteads grouped in co-operatives. Tens of thousands of "big peasants" have fled to the West and if the country is reunited they will clamor for the return of their properties, while the new settlers will fight to stay. East Germany's mines and factories have been expropriated; how can they be turned back? Perhaps a capitalist and a Communist society can co-exist, but can they be welded together into an integral whole?

When and if unification takes place, another formidable problem looms. A hint of it may be found in a pamphlet just issued by the Bonn "Ministry for All-German Affairs." It is wrong, this publication suggests, to refer to the Soviet Zone of occupation as "Eastern Germany." Rather, it should be called "Central Germany," for to the east of it are other provinces, now under Polish administration, that once belonged to the Reich, and will, perhaps, again.

Korean Political Conference

The four-nation proposal recommending India's participation in the coming political conference on Korea was passed by the U.N. Political Committee by 27 votes to 21 with 11 abstentions. Those voting against the proposal included Pakistan, the USA and Latin American countries. The margin, in favour of India's participation, if maintained in the General Assembly, would not be enough for a two-third majority. It was mainly due to strong U.S. opposition to the proposal that it failed to secure two-thirds majority in the Political Committee.

The proposal to invite Soviet Russia to participate in the Political Conference was adopted by 55 to 2, with two abstentions.

The main Allied resolution setting up the Korean peace Conference was approved in full by the U.N. Committee by 42 to five, with 12 abstentions.

The Soviet proposal for a 15-nation Conference was rejected.

There had been much wrangling inside the Political Committee as well as behind the scenes over the scope and composition of the Conference. The United States delegate put forward the point of view that the Conference should be limited to the powers contributing armed forces in Korea. This view was challenged by the British delegate and many others. They said that the U.N. was the party and the U.N. should participate in the talks. Then there was the stubborn opposition of the U.S. delegate to the proposal inviting India's participation in the Conference. In it her main supporter was the delegate from South Korea, who indulged in a diatribe against India in which India was charged with complicity with the Communists and scheming behind the backs of U.N. Mr. Pyun Yung Tao, the South Korean Foreign Minister, in a speech before the Committee on August 24, stated that South Korea found it impossible to collaborate with India on the same side. He accused India of being in 'mortal fear' of Communist China. India had appeased Communism and had not sent a single soldier to Korea. But she had now willingly dispatched thousands of troops to guard "the Kremlin" created in Korea, where defenceless anti-Communist prisoners "will be indoctrinated or brain-washed into Communism for many long months."

India was assiduously "laying schemes" to enhance the prestige of the Chinese Communists by inviting them into the U.N. and "handing Formosa" over to them. "With or without collusion with the enemy India master-minded an arrangement for the exchange of prisoners of war which was calculated to carry out the forced detention and forced repatriation of all anti-Communist prisoners to which so much ostentatious and hypocritical aversion was displayed," Mr. Pyun said.

"This is treachery of the first magnitude to be shown to a well-meaning neighbouring people," he declared.

"From the knowledge of how India has been behaving in Kashmir, my delegation gravely doubts whether

India would live up to the high moral standard it seems to expect the Republic of Korea to practise," he said.

The South Korean delegate was stopped and reproved, and not allowed to continue with his idiotic statements.

Sir Gladwin Jebb, the British delegate, said on August 26, "We think that India should participate in the Political Conference since she is not only a great Asian State, but it is also in a particularly good position to play a constructive role. After all, if it had not been for the efforts which the Indian Government made to persuade the Peking Government to accept what the majority of members of the Assembly thought was an honourable solution of the prisoners of war difficulty, we might well not at this moment be reaching back our prisoners of war."

The whole controversy was terminated by India's withdrawal as reported in the news below:

New York, Aug. 28.—India to-day dramatically withdrew her name from consideration as a member of the Korean Peace Conference.

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian delegate, asked the United Nations General Assembly not to press the resolution recommending a seat for India at the conference. His request came just before the Assembly was due to vote on the issue.

Mr. Menon said he hoped that the Assembly would not force the resolution concerning India to an issue.

The Assembly's Political Committee yesterday approved a recommendation that India should take part by a vote of 27 to 21 with 11 abstentions. This would not have been enough to have given India the necessary two-thirds vote in the Assembly.

As Mr. Menon left the rostrum the Assembly delegates warmly applauded him.

Mr. Menon told the Assembly that India's action was motivated by the consideration of creating the proper atmosphere for what he described as the "post-armistice period."

The recommendation that India should go to the conference was made by Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and had been strongly opposed by the United States.

Britain and the United States split in the vote in the Political Committee yesterday. India's withdrawal today obliterated another Anglo-American division in the Assembly.

Mr. Menon declared that India had not been subjected to any pressure by Britain or any of the sponsors of the resolution.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, the United States delegate, immediately paid a tribute to Mr. Menon for a "generous and statesmanlike" attitude.

Mr. Lodge said, Mr. Menon's statement that the purposes of peace would best be served by not forcing the resolution on Indian participation to a vote in the Assembly is generous and it is statesmanlike.

"His desire in his own words not to add to the heat of battle has come from a man whom we consider to be

a great representative of a great leader of a great nation," said Mr. Lodge.

"It is the kind of spirit which gives us hope for the future. Our position on this question was not directed at India as such. On the contrary we feel deeply that at any later discussions or conferences on Far Eastern matters, India must play a central and constructive role."

Mr. Leslie Munro of New Zealand, one of the sponsors of the recommendation for Indian participation, announced on behalf of the sponsors that in view of Mr. Menon's statement he would ask the Assembly President not to put the matter to a vote.

Mr. Munro said that India had not sought a place at the conference. If India had been given a place she could have given valuable service.

"We desired India to play her part and profoundly regret she is unable to do so," Mr. Munro said.

The representatives of the 16-member nation listened attentively as Mr. Menon began by saying that the main resolution on the setting up of the conference sponsored by 15 of the 16 countries which sent troops to Korea "contains the possibilities of bringing about the desirable results which should flow from the armistice, given goodwill on all sides and if the extensive possibilities are fully explored."

This was not the time to enter into controversies, Mr. Menon said.

India's approach to the matter he said was that "we are in a post-armistice period; we are marching towards peace rather than merely stopping the war."

India's own understanding was that the Chinese peoples and North Korean governments would approach the problem "in a mood of reasonableness and a desire to bring about a peaceful settlement."

For all these reasons Mr. Menon said India had not participated in the vote in the committee on the setting up of the conference.

That was not because India did not have any views or concern or was indifferent.

"But there are times when even silence is service," said Mr. Menon. "This is one of those occasions when even those who 'stand and wait' perform a service."

He asked that in the record of the proceedings of the committee the position of India would be recorded as not having participated in the vote. It would appear in the present report, said Mr. Menon, as though India had been absent.

The Situation in Indonesia

Giving the background of the protracted Cabinet crisis in Indonesia, S. Kenglov writes that Indonesia was facing an economic crisis. Agricultural production was declining. Unemployment was on the increase as a result of closing down of many plants unable to bear foreign competition. The foreign trade deficit was on the increase and reached the figure of 1,636 million rupees in 1952.

Mr. Kenglov ascribes this state of affairs to the fact that "Indonesia's economy is still controlled by foreign capital, which is interested solely in extracting the highest profit. The chief exploiter of the Indonesian people is Dutch capital, it controls some 80 per cent of all the foreign investments in the Republic and in 1951 netted a profit of 518 million guilders."

The Republic's economy was keenly feeling the adverse effects of the Washington-imposed Ban on trade with China. Rubber was Indonesia's key product. In a good year, the Republic produced 700,000 tons of rubber, over 8 million people depended for their livelihood on the rubber industry, which also brought in 51 per cent of all the foreign exchange.

Referring to the recent Cabinet crisis in Indonesia he writes that the Wilopo Cabinet had resigned because its Masjumi members had tried to return the Sumatra plantations, taken over by the peasants, to the Dutch planters, and restore the rights of Bataafsche Petroleum to the Sumatra oil fields. Masjumi had also resisted the popular demand for measures against the communal Dar-ul-Islam bands.

Four-Power Conference

The Governments of the U.S.A., U.K. and France, following decisions taken at the Washington Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three countries, had invited the Soviet Union at a Four-Power Conference at the end of September to discuss "organization of free elections in the Federal Republic, the Eastern zone of Germany and in Berlin;" and "conditions for the establishment of a free all-German Government, with freedom of action in national and international affairs." The notes, delivered on July 15, said that those were essential steps which must precede the opening of discussions with the Soviet Government for a German peace treaty. It was also stated that at the first meeting agreement should finally be reached on the Austrian treaty.

In a reply, delivered to the Western Powers on August 5, the Soviet Union declared her readiness to join a Four-Power Conference, but stated, she considered the participation of the Chinese Peoples' Republic as essential. The Soviet Union insisted that the agenda of the discussion must be widened and should include both Europe and Asia, and a discussion of measures for easing international tension including reduction of armaments and the prohibition of military bases on the territory of foreign States. The note said that with the "cessation of the war in Korea and conclusion of an armistice, favourable conditions have been created of securing relaxation of international tension." The primary responsibility for maintaining peace and international security rested—the U.N. Charter provided for it—with the five Powers, the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Soviet Union and Peoples' Republic of China.

The reply said that the notes of the Western Powers avoided the fundamental question of the "national unification of Germany and conclusion of a peace treaty." The suggestion for an all-German election, the proposal to appoint an impartial commission of representatives of foreign States for investigation with a view to creating the conditions necessary for the holding of such elections would "not only fail to assist the unification of Germany, the foundation of an all-German democratic government and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, but would have Germany divided into a Western and an Eastern part and would continue to delay the conclusion of a peace treaty. The reply also pointed to the dangers of remilitarization of Western Germany."

However, the Soviet Government attached "great importance to joint discussion by the Powers of the German question and hopes that such discussion will enable comprehensive examination of pertinent problems relating to the re-establishment of German unity and together with the solution of the question of a peace treaty with Germany, will conduce to the consolidation of peace in Europe."

The reaction of the British Foreign Office was that the Soviet reply was not a rejection of the proposals for a conference of Foreign Ministers. To that extent it was welcomed.

The *Times* reports that unofficial U.S. sources had expressed disappointment that the Russians had made no reference to the question of timing of the proposed talks. The *Times'* Washington correspondent says that it was noted with concern "that the Russians seem to be proposing a conference which is not only very much broader in scope than that envisaged in the Western invitation but which would seem also to depend on certain conditions, including agreement to discuss the question of 'banning of foreign military bases on territories of alien countries'—in other words, to discuss the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance which the U.S.A. is determined to avoid." (*Statesman*, August 8).

Commenting on the suggestion contained in the Soviet reply to the Western note, the *London Economist* writes: "But on such general matters the Allies would do best to say again they see no point in talking about each and every cause of international tension until they have tested possibility of negotiation and agreement about the main one, Germany. They cannot contemplate for a moment, Sir Winston Churchill least of all, another Yalta in which the great Powers attempt global bargaining—what the Russian Note calls 'a free discussion of the ripe international problems.'"

"Nothing would divide the Allies more quickly than any such conference; and it must remain the prime object of the Russian Government, however

sincerely it may seek a *detente*, to divide the United States from Britain and Europe."

The *New Statesman and Nation* wrote on August 8: "If the Western Powers could fairly be charged with making difficulties in seeking to confine the conference to the almost insoluble problem of Germany, the Soviet Union gives the impression of making her tactical purposes an equally unhelpful *riposte*. With the agenda widened to include the whole world from the Sakhalin Islands to Casablanca, the sort of conference for which the Russians are now asking would give limitless scope for mutual recriminations and reciprocal barrages of propaganda."

The *Observer* writes that the "immediate task of diplomacy today" was restoration of confidence between the Soviet Union and the West. The difficulties of a European settlement, though real and manifold, were not unprecedented and insurmountable. Suggesting a way in which this task might be furthered the paper proposed a meeting of Foreign Ministers provided it preserved "a measure of informality and a still greater measure of privacy and seclusion." The paper lay great stress on the secrecy of the talks and writes that if the Foreign Ministers' Conference could not guarantee that secrecy, the Powers should resume diplomatic contacts and discussions through ambassadors which had the advantage of being less spectacular and arousing fewer public expectations.

Wastage in Industry

While delivering the Acharya P. C. Roy Memorial Lecture on "Development and Utilisation of Scientific Talent in India" held under the auspices of the Indian Chemical Society at Bombay, Dr. J. N. Mukherji said that the country was annually losing about Rs. 100 crores due to the faulty process of recovery of sugar from the cane in the manufacture of *gur* and *khandasari*, reports the *Bombay Chronicle* on August 10.

"Dr. Mukherji stressed the importance of a scientific policy for the State which alone could tackle the problems of poverty and under-development facing the country. Recalling the vital role played by unofficial scientific institutions in promoting science and making available the fruits of science to the industry and the people at large in the Western countries, the lecturer pleaded for greater help to and better recognition of such institutions in the country."

"While welcoming the policy of the Government to accelerate the progress of industrialisation of the country with the help of foreign experts, Dr. Mukherji warned the authorities that there were a number of lines of development where such co-operation might not be available in the absence of common fields of interests if the interests collided."

He said that this dependence of our resources on outside help was like a lopsided industrial advancement and pleaded for building up the scientific, technical and engineering potential of the country. Expenditure would repay the outlay many times and quickly.

The Press in Pakistan

Discussing the condition of the Press in place she *Star's* special correspondent writes that the Pakistan was very weak because the readers were restricted on account of high prices and because of low incomes from advertisements which were only a few, owing to the lack of industrial development. As a result the newspapers depended upon foreign firms for advertisements and, as a fact, more than half of the entire advertisement revenue earned by newspapers in Pakistan came from establishments owned and run by foreign interests. "And advertisement money is not merely money! It is much more," writes the special correspondent. "Advertisers have been known to wield considerable influence stifling the truth. In our country if this baneful influence is a little more pronounced, it should not be surprising at all."

The other most disturbing element was the influence of politicians on newspapers or newspaper editors. "Most of the newspaper proprietors are running newspapers not as newspapers but as just another instrument to quench the pitch in their favour, be it in the field of politics or in some other field." Then there was too much interference by the proprietors. The journalists had no security of service. They had to say *ditto* to whatever the proprietor asked to write or to quit their services. Dismissals and resignations were frequent.

Such a situation could not fail to tell on the efficiency and ultimately on the financial position of the newspapers. "And from here there are only two ways open to the newspapers: to close down and bury the whole affair or to rake up money somehow to keep the disaster at bay."

"Money obtained 'somehow' is seldom productive of pleasant results. If not earlier, the newspaper finds itself in an alley when there is only one way out—blackmail, which we call irresponsible journalism."

The working journalist had no say in any matter. "The fact is that an average pressman seldom shares the vices of the press and equally seldom his virtues are afforded an opportunity to shine through the printed sheets you read as newspapers in Pakistan."

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THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

By Sr. NIHAL SINGH

(Specially written for *The Modern Review*)

Mr. Kenglov fact that "Indor foreign capital the highest pr people is D of all the f 1951 nette

The 1, first floor chamber in an opulent, adverse eff. neighbourhood in Calcutta was lined with Chinks from floor almost to ceiling, save a good ydoors and windows. In the centre near rubber, c farthest from the front, way be'ow which livelihood traffic ceaselessly flowed, was set an out-in 51 peout chair. It was none too big for the

Re'heavily moustached occupant. So filled he wilearning, Eastern and Western alike, was he, its Mosh Mookerjee, that his admirers—and playr number was legion—spoke of him as the p'atara (incarnation) of Sarasvati (the goddess of Wisdom) in this *Kaliyuga* (the iron age).

From him my eyes wandered towards the figure that, following my entry, had noiselessly glided into the Presence and stood with bowed head, ears attuned to some message or mandate. In build and feature the two bore unmistakable similitude. In years they were a generation apart.

This was, I learnt, Syama, the second son of the celebrated jurist, lawyer, linguist, scientist and, above all, educationist—Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee. By virtue of native intelligence and by dint of hard, conscientious work, the moustached Sarasvati had earned the title to append almost half of the alphabet to his name.

Possibly because of his size, the son looked remarkably mature, though he had but entered his twenties. His attitude towards the author of his being impressed and pleased me. Adoration was writ large upon his face. Eyes, ears, hands and feet were all eagerly devoted to the service of that embodiment of erudition he evidently loved more than life.

This was in 1921-23. I was back in India after my second globe-girdling—a decade spent largely in Europe.

An encounter had taken place shortly before between Asutosh and the satrap set up by Dame Britannia to rule in her name over Bengal. Of that set-to, many tales were current. Lord Lytton, whom I had met in my early days of English journalism, and who shared my interest in penology, had inherited Bulwer's brain as well as the title. He had authority at his back, too. Yet he had not have the best of the bout with his Bengali Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who could brook no interference with his administration of the institution, veiled or open.

I had a job of work in hand that kept me in

Calcutta for weeks, so I had some opportunity of observing the second son of that formidable personage. What under-study was more advantageously placed, I asked myself, or albeit was more capable of benefiting from that opportunity?

Fifteen years had bubbled up from Eternity's cauldron and had been sucked back into it before my gypsy feet were once again treading the Calcutta side-walks. In the meantime Syama had graduated from the University, had gone to Britain (while I was living somewhere else), there had pursued his legal studies, eaten his dinners, been called to the Bar, attended some conferences as the representative of his *alma mater* and returned to his natal city. He had shown no great keenness to practise law but had taken with avidity to educational administration. At three and thirty he had been inducted into the office that had given his father the spring-board for exalting Bengal.

Several letters typed on the Vice-Chancellor's letter-paper with Syama's bold, clear, firm signature, had been winged my way. Familiar with my writings from his school days, when he had devoured them as they appeared in *The Modern Review* and other Indian magazines, the epistles had been couched in terms that warmed the cockles of my heart. They whetted my desire to renew acquaintance with him.

I would fain have gone to meet him in his office or in his home: but he insisted that on the first occasion he must call on me. I appreciated his sentiment and respected his wish.

The difficulty was that just at that moment I had no fixed abode. I was, in fact, occupying what my good lady, in her expressive Americanese, called our "palace on wheels." My railway friends, who in the kindness of their hearts, had placed it at my disposal so that we may travel in comfort, had ordered it to be parked at a platform in the Howrah station, next the street. So airily dismissing her qualms born of propriety, I made an appointment for Syama to call one afternoon.

When railway men happen to be in the right mood they, in the words of the jingle, are

"...very, very good,

And when they are bad they are horrid."

That "O.C." (in their cant "officer's carriage") was "some" carriage indeed. It was, if I remember aright, 69 feet long and ran, I believe, over twelve wheels. There was a huge compartment that served as drawing-cum-dining-room during

the day and bed-room at night, in addition to another large bedroom across the entrance-aisle. The bath, I seem to recall, was seven feet long and four feet wide. The train in motion at anything like top speed set up such a wave action that I, used to a much humbler mode of living, never dared to get into it unless the saloon was parked at a siding. There was, however, another tub elsewhere which was much more like the one that a frequenter of (English and other) landlady's lodging houses was accustomed to. In addition to the two large bedrooms there were rooms for the secretary and staff and next to the lesser bath room a "cabin" for the servants almost as large as a first-class compartment, as was also the luggage room. Beyond it was the kitchen—roomy, light and airy, fitted with a real cook stove. This was my delight, for the recipes that appear in my cookery articles are all evolved by me and tested before they go into print.

Just as the hour set for Syama's coming was striking the floor of the carriage rocked, not too gently. The tea-things clattered.

"Oh, dear!" exclaimed my wife with some petulance, "oh, dear! they are moving the saloon again."

"What difference does it make?" I, no less disturbed, said in a tone calculated to soothe her nerves much jangled by prolonged "rambuncting" (to use her own expressive Americanese).

"You apparently have forgotten," she almost shrieked at me, "that an important caller is just about due. You told him that he would find this 'palace on wheels' parked alongside the No. 10 platform at the Howrah station. He, therefore, would have no difficulty in finding us."

This was only too true. The saloon was in motion while this colloquy proceeded. By the it was well into the yard. Except for a cabin from which men ever on the look-out manipulated levers that, according to the need of the split-second, shifted points, there was nothing in sight but rails, shining in the westering sun and carriages and waggons on some of them.

Alarmed—genuinely alarmed—Mrs. Singh gloomily predicted: "He will come and, finding no saloon at the spot you named, will go whence he came. Even if some one perchance tells him where this blessed carriage has been shifted to, he will never be able to locate it in this—wilderness—wilderness of rails. So that is that."

"A man who had the wits and the energy to climb into the seat of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University at an age when many of us have not finished cutting our wisdom teeth," I assured her, "would not be fazed by this little move for which there is doubtless good and ample cause. More than likely the Station Superintend-

ent's eye will pick Syama out of the multitude and he will personally conduct your august visitor to us. I promise you that you will presently see his smiling face beaming at you from that door through which he will be entering."

Sure enough. That was exactly what happened. Hardly were the words out of my mouth when there was a click and the door near which my good lady was sitting swung upon the carefully greased hinges and a man entered. From the size of the head I could recognize it as Syama's.

A bare head it was. Somewhat closely cropped.

A giant he looked as he, upon entering, straightened himself, advanced towards Mrs. Singh, bowed, shook hands and expressed his joy at seeing her. There was nothing of the lackadaisical Oriental in his step, speech or handshake.

As he next greeted me I saw how much he had matured since our last meeting. His manhood was, certainly, in flower.

"Our brother Asutosh has left us," I remarked, "since we were last in Calcutta."

"He died in 1924—on May 25th," he replied.

"The greatest tribute that ever was paid to him," I remarked, "emanated from Lord Lytton. Unconsciously, no doubt. When your father and he had scarcely ceased measuring swords, he, seated in the study in that grand mansion in Calcutta built in imitation of the Cu zonian country seat, confided in me:

Lytton: "If the schemes that you have in mind go through, the number of persons who would have passed through the portals of the University would outrun the number of jobs. You would hardly credit the remark he made."

Asutosh: "I shall not mind."

Lytton: "Not mind unemployment among the educated?"

Asutosh: "Precisely."

Lytton: "Why?"

Asutosh: "Don't you say over there that discontent is divine?"

"You see," commented Lytton, "Asutosh Mookerjee wishes to shake the very foundations of *pax Britannica* in the East."

Syama, who had not heard of this passage at arms, was patently impressed with it.

"You must write Father's *Life*," he said, with that downrightness that I had already learnt to associate with him. He seemed to know his mind—to possess the faculty of making up his mind quickly—resolutely.

I thanked him politely.

"No, no," he said, "this is no new brain-wave on my part."

"Indeed, no," interposed Mrs. St. Nihal Singh, "I remember you mentioned it in a letter—or was it in more than one?"

Bubbling with joy at this, he began to outline the book, child of the slow-moving East though he was supposed to be.

"There were four sides to Father," he explained, "at least four, each more or less distinct from the others."

"Firstly, there was the scientist. He had the mathematician's brain. In his B.A. he had worked out a problem that astonished mathematicians abroad. With that foundation he could have become a great physicist had he so willed—or tried to be."

"Secondly, there was his linguistic, literary side. His mastery over English did not so occupy his mind that he did not become proficient in Sanskrit. This was evident from the ease with which he won two degrees in Sanskrit learning. He had taken pains to learn all these as well as Bengali. What I must not fail to add is that he could use to effect all these languages both by word of mouth and by pen. This was indeed remarkable."

"Thirdly, after gaining distinction in his chosen profession, he went from the Bar to the Bench. The questions he put, the points he elucidated, were admired by the most eminent counsel, both in India and in Britain. The judgments he handed down were noteworthy equally for their grasp of law, appreciation of the finest points of law and equity, brevity, lucidity and precision of language."

"Fourthly and perhaps greatest of all, he was an educationist. As syndic of the University during his early years he made a mark. His terms of Vice-Chancellorship enabled him practically to rebuild that institution by developing science and technology, philosophy, culture, art and literature. He gave a new direction to life in Bengal. His keenness for the adoption of the mother-tongue as the vehicle of education was already exercising a profound influence before he passed away."

"Not the least good that he did was to fish out young men of promise and give them the opportunity to develop their gifts. Father installed a young Andhra at the University as head of the philosophic side. By his intellectual gifts and work Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan acquired a world-wide reputation. C. V. Raman was persuaded to leave the Accounts Department, where he had brilliant prospects, and devote himself to science, though to begin with he would be financially worse off. Meghnad Saha, too, he encouraged. You will observe that he did not confine himself to Bengal, but sought his men wherever he could find them."

III

"How about your own work at the University?" I asked. "There you have come into a great inheritance."

Almost everything Syama had to say about the University was associated in one way or another with his illustrious sire. His only thought was to go on consolidating and extending the work Asutosh had inaugurated. Fortunately no one in the wide world knew so well as, through association with him, Syama did of the plans that administrator had in mind when he vacated the Vice-Chancellor's chair. It was all to the good that the son who now occupied the chair relinquished by his sire carried the blue-print in his head.

More than that, he had ideas of his own. Born in the initial year of this century, brought up in an atmosphere of acute unrest—confusion—boy-cott—swadeshi—swaraj—and kindred waves, he had "urges" (as the Americans say). There also was the steadily accelerating tempo of the age. It had begun to go up with the Russo-Japanese war. The jazzed nerves—not only the jazzed music—that subsequently came in the wake of World War I. All this expressed itself in the matter of the time-table to which it seemed to me he had geared himself.

In the programme of what he wished to do that he outlined to me as we sat talking in that railway saloon on a siding at the Howrah station I noted that he was eager to develop the post-graduate teaching side of the University. Much had been done by his father. Much, however, remained to be done to put Calcutta University in the forefront in that domain.

I admired particularly the stress he was placing upon culture and art. He told me of the tour he had been making in Orissa, of the valuable figures and figurines he had been able to acquire. These he had put or was going to put in the University Museum.

The emphasis he placed upon the medium of education pleased me most of all. With the steps he had taken all teaching would soon be done, even in the graduate classes, through the Bengali. He seemed to derive much satisfaction from this achievement.

Had he found his *metier*?

Was he content with educational administration? Or did his heart hanker for . . . ?

We discussed these matters after he had taken leave of us and gone from the saloon long ere then taken back to the No. 10 platform. In discussing the state of Mother India, he had used a phrase more than once. It was "civil liberties." His mind seemed to be dwelling upon it. Of this more in the next article.

(Article Two of this series will appear in the October, 1953 issue of *The Modern Review*.—EDITOR.)

HISTORY AND GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., (Geog.), M.Com.

II

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT DURING POST-WAR PERIOD

The abnormal conditions created by World War II led to some far-reaching developments in the co-operative movement. There has been an over-all improvement. Between 1938-39 and 1945-46, the increase in the number of societies, the number of members and the working capital have been respectively 41 per cent, 70 per cent and 54 per cent. Also the movement touched 6 per cent of the population in 1938-39 but 10 per cent in 1945-46. The war stimulated the growth of Consumers' Stores and Marketing Societies. Many new types of producers' societies like Weavers' Societies, Milk Supply Unions, Motor Transport Societies, Fruit Growers' and Cane Growers' Associations, etc., were formed during the war period. The credit societies extended their functions and the movement manifested its multi-purpose potentialities. Loan repayments were accelerated, turnover was brisk and working capital registered a substantial increase though not in proportion to the war-time inflation which means that a unique opportunity of augmenting working capital by increasing members' deposits was lost. Thus during the war, "with a large turnover, accelerated payments and shrinkage in the overdues the societies gained in strength and vigour." There was a temporary decline in the figures consequent on the partition, but the progress made subsequently has been so appreciable that the figures for 1949-50 have exceeded even the total for undivided India in 1945-46, the number, membership and working capital during 1949-50 having increased by 0.5 per cent, 37 per cent and 42 per cent respectively over 1945-46 figures.

The following table shows the development of the movement since 1909 up to date:

(See TABLE I on page 193)

Before we conclude this history of the co-operative movement in India we may point out its certain characteristic features:

Firstly, the co-operative movement in India has not sprung up from the people. It was initiated by the Government with a view to solve the problem of rural indebtedness; and even today it is based not on the voluntary efforts of the people determined to help themselves but on the Government support, which could not evoke the ready response and services of the young and the ardent, who looked with suspicion upon every movement so started. In the words of Mr. V. L. Mehta:

"Government are so out of touch with public feeling and sentiment that despite their control of the machinery of administration they fail in their efforts to seek an expansion of the movement."

In fact, it is not a spontaneous growth but a Government policy.¹¹ The distinction between co-

operation imposed by the Government and necessarily supervised, regulated, restricted and controlled on the one hand, and co-operation promoted by voluntary initiative and sustained by the co-operative spirit, which insures the loyalty of the members, on the other hand, cannot be over-emphasised.¹²

Secondly, started originally to provide the farmer with cheap credit, it has continued to this day a predominantly credit movement. So that the progress of non-credit co-operation has been slow and agricultural credit societies dominate the picture.

Thirdly, though there are inter-provincial differences, the structure of the co-operative organisation is uniform in almost all the provinces, e.g., in each province at the head of the movement there are three authorities, viz., the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies in charge of control and direction of the movement, Provincial or Apex Bank in charge of finance, and the Provincial Co-operative Institute or Union in charge of education and propaganda.

We close this note by quoting the remarks of the Reserve Bank of India in the following paragraphs:

"Apart from this general expansion, the working of the movement in recent years has been characterised by greater diversity of functions; co-operation has permeated several walks of life, some of which were perhaps no more than touched before. It has played an important part in the attempts to solve two big problems, viz., the rehabilitation of displaced persons and the augmentation of the food production. The rehabilitation of displaced persons through the formation of co-operatives received a great fillip, owing mainly to the aid extended by the Government, in the shape of loans, grants-in-aid, cheap land building materials and similar other concessions. Housing, industrial and farming societies were generally encouraged so that the displaced persons could be settled in colonies and provided with gainful occupations. In the field of food production co-operatives were entrusted with the distribution of manures, chemical fertilisers and agricultural implements. Credit facilities were liberalised for the members of co-operative credit societies by such measures as the relaxation of credit limits, financing at concessional rates, installations of pumping sets and oil engines. Thus by the introduction of modern methods there was sought to be brought about both more intensive and extensive cultivation of land.

"The full-scale development of the multipurpose idea in several States like Madras, Bombay, Mysore, U.P., is another notable trend in the primary credit structure. These societies were entrusted with the distribution of rationed and other essential commodities."

11. Horace Plunket Foundation: *Year Book of Agricultural Co-operation* (1930), p. 20.

12. *Ibid.*, (1931), p. 21.

TABLE I

All-India Progress of the Co-operative Movement since 1906-7

Period covered	Number of societies of all types		Number of Primary Society members		Working capital	
	Central	Primary	Agricultural	Non-agricultural	Total (Rs. 1000)	Percentage of working capital owned
Average for 4 years from 1906-7 to 1909-10	17	1909	107643	54267	6812	21.8
Average for 5 years from 1910-11 to 1914-15	231	11555	459086	89157	51842	20.8
Average for 5 years from 1914-15 to 1919-20	942	27535	902930	266031	151847	21.7
Average for 5 years from 1920-21 to 1924-25	1808	55899	1661098	493509	363626	23.0
Average for 5 years from 1925-26 to 1929-30	1981	91955	2791562	897279	748913	22.8
Average for 5 years from 1930-31 to 1934-35	1612	104102	3032628	1258341	946106	27.2
Average for 5 years from 1935-36 to 1939-40	1129	115831	3137873	1638869	1046773	29.7
Average for 5 years from 1940-41 to 1944-45	1053	148835	4768173	2449632	1243474	29.9
1945-46	1034	171102	5612671	3520673	1640009	29.0
1946-47		139.14		91.01		
1947-48		149.77		101.07	1560001	
1948-49		163.88		127.07	1710006	
1949-50		173.09		125.61	23310000	

FUTURE TREND OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Reserve Bank of India has brought out a comprehensive review of the progress made by the Co-operative movement in India in the two years of 1948-50. The publication outlines the future trend of the movement into Multipurpose Co-operative Societies, which should embrace complete economic activity of the agricultural and labouring class within its fold. These, as given out in the said publication, are:

- (1) The Organisation of Multipurpose Societies.
- (2) Financial accommodation from the Reserve Bank to the Co-operative movement, and
- (3) The training and education of staff working in the departments and the co-operative institutions.

THE MULTIPURPOSE IDEA

"Even as early as 1937, the Reserve Bank of India stressed the importance of organising multipurpose co-operative societies in our country where numerous single-purpose societies could not be easily worked on an effective and economic basis; the multipurpose society could embrace the whole life of the agriculturist. It was explained how the credit societies were catering only to one of the needs of the agriculturist, viz., credit, and even then they could meet only a part of the requirements. The agriculturist was, therefore, still largely dependent on the village sower for marketing his goods, for supplying him with his necessities of life, viz., consumer goods and numerous other services that he was in need of. The result has been that the idea of effecting an economic regeneration of the Indian peasantry through co-operation has remained

unfulfilled. Co-operators, official and non-official, have become increasingly aware of the limited utility of single-purpose societies and during the past few years, the credit society has been yielding place to the multipurpose society. Several States have drawn up schemes of organising such multipurpose societies afresh or at least have begun to enlarge the functions of the existing credit societies by entrusting them with the work of distribution of essential goods to start with. The multipurpose idea has thus obtained a firm footing.

"It has, however, to be observed, that there has not so far been a clear-cut scheme for defining the scope and activities of all the institutions in the multipurpose hierarchy. While all are agreed that at the bottom the primary society should be multipurpose, dispensing credit, distributing supplies, looking after better sanitation, better living and so on. It has to be examined as to which institutions these primary multipurpose societies should be federated into, at the taluk or district level, and what should be the function of these federal agencies. The trend appears to be in the direction of having a federal organisation at the taluk level. In this connection, it may be observed that there is a tendency to combine banking and trading. No doubt the village multipurpose societies can and must do banking because the volume of transactions under each activity will not be so large as to imperil the interests of any other section to any dangerous extent. Further, it has been found necessary to secure the undivided loyalty of the villager to the Co-operative movement and in the absence of facilities to be loyal to the society. On the other hand, the taluka multi-

purpose society should be a purely trading concern and it would be preferable to exclude banking from it completely for several reasons: Firstly, its business would be sizable and its profits in certain lines or losses in others might be considerable at times. And, the societies may not only trade as agents of the primary societies but on their own also in some types of goods and such business would naturally carry risks. If, therefore, the trading side suffers on account of some speculation or undue risks taken by a society, such a failure may have serious repercussions on its banking side. Secondly, trading calls for special business talents, different from those needed for carrying on banking. An enterprising businessman need not necessarily be an able banker, but on the other hand, might even bring the banking side into a dangerous position. Thirdly, the taluka multipurpose society might not be able to attract deposits of all kinds, and the hope that it would develop into a first class taluk bank might not materialise. So much so the banking section may not be a profitable section and apart from unnecessarily mixing up trading and banking, may not by itself cater for the credit needs of the affiliated societies satisfactorily. And from the Reserve Bank of India's point of view also, it would be doubtful, if the numerous taluka multipurpose societies can run separate credit sections on absolutely banking lines, to be considered fit enough for giving the second good signature under Section 17(2)(b) of the Reserve Bank of India Act.

"This would mean that the primary multipurpose societies would have to affiliate themselves to taluka multipurpose central financing agencies for their credit needs. And at the top, there would be the apex bank on the credit side and an apex society on the non-credit side. In short, the trading structure should be treated separately from the credit structure, and it is up to the Registrars of the States to clearly define the scope and functions of the various institutions, in the trading and credit hierarchy, in order to avoid mixing up of banking and trading."

RESERVE BANK AND THE MOVEMENT

"Another factor that has assumed increasing importance in recent years is the larger demand for funds made on the Reserve Bank of India by the Provincial Banks under Section 17(2)(b), (4)(a) and (4)(c) of the Reserve Bank of India Act. From Rs. 0.91 crores and Rs. 0.68 crores in 1947-48, the amount of loans applied and the amount sanctioned have increased to Rs. 4.82 crores and Rs. 2.14 crores in 1949-50 and still further to Rs. 10.46 crores and Rs. 7.62 crores respectively in 1950-51. The advances have been at concessional rates wherever they were utilised for financing seasonal agricultural operations and marketing of crops referred to in the Act. Recently, a few amendments have been made to the Reserve Bank of India Act with a view to liberalising the Bank's loan policy to the State Co-operative Banks. The amendments are:

(1) Section 17(2)(a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, which relates to the discounting of bills arising out of bonafide commercial or trade transactions and which was not applicable to provincial co-operative banks before, has now been extended to co-operative banks also.

(2) The period of accommodation from the Reserve Bank specified in Section 17(2)(b) has been extended from 9 months to 15 months. The condition placed by the Bank that all the loans should be repaid by a fixed date irrespective of the maturity of the bills has also been removed.

(3) Another far-reaching step is the extension of the provisions of the Reserve Bank of India Act to the former Indian States which have now been reorganised into more homogeneous States Unions and which have so far been denied the facilities for accommodation available under the Act. To bring about a uniform development of the movement in these new States Unions, the Reserve Bank advocated as a first step, the formation of apex co-operative banks in them and have also conducted preliminary discussions with the authorities in some unions for taking speedy action in that regard. The need for organisation of apex banks is most necessary to enable them to take advantage of the Reserve Bank's accommodation facilities since under the Act, financial accommodation from the Reserve Bank could be made available only through a State Co-operative Bank or in its absence, any central society declared to be a State Co-operative Bank by a State Government for this purpose.

"In this connection, an Informal Conference was convened in 1951 to discuss the role of the Reserve Bank of India in the sphere of Rural Finance. As a result of the deliberations of the conference, an expert Standing Advisory Committee has been formed comprising prominent co-operators and others, both official and non-official. The main function of the body is to advise the Bank on matters pertaining to its Agricultural Credit Department and allied subjects."

CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION AND TRAINING

"Lastly, the question of imparting training and education to the staff of the Co-operative Departments and the Co-operative Institutions is also of paramount importance. The responsibilities are becoming greater day by day, and it is very necessary that all the higher executives concerned with important co-operative societies should know their job thoroughly. At present, except in advanced States like Bombay and Madras, adequate arrangements do not exist either for imparting initial training or for refresher classes for departmental and non-departmental workers. In Bombay, the Poona Co-operative College is serving as a centre for training the higher staff. It is seen that some of the officers from other States are also being deputed to this college for training. Similarly, the staff of the co-operative institutions in Madras including depart-

mental staff, receive training in the Central Co-operative Training Institute in Madras City. Efforts should, therefore, be made to provide facilities for the satisfactory training of the personnel in the higher ranks like officers of the Co-operative Department, Managers and Secretaries of Banks and Societies in all the States. In the existing circumstances two kinds of training arrangements will have to be made, viz., long-term training in the theory as well as practice of co-operation. Banking inspection and audit and so on, for officers newly recruited and short-term intensive training for those who are already working in the Departments and Co-operative institutions and who must reinforce their knowledge by a refresher course.

"It, therefore, devolves on the departments to make suitable arrangements for such a thorough training. Perhaps they may consider utilising the existing higher training institutions, such as these in Bombay and Madras, to the fullest possible extent, until such time as the necessary steps are taken to set up similar institutions in the States themselves.

"In conclusion, it may be said that in spite of all the difficulties which it has had to face, the Co-operative movement had a fairly successful period of development during the two years under review. The potentialities are very great in view of the importance given to the movement in all nation-building activities in the various States. Guided properly by zealous co-operators and well-trained officials, the movement has every reason to look forward to an increasingly effective and useful role in shaping the future of the country."

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

A proper classification of the co-operative societies is essential for three reasons: Firstly, it facilitates the study of the principles that should govern the working of the different kinds of societies. Secondly, it enables an easy study of the progress made by the different types of co-operative societies in different regions through independent and comparative study. Thirdly, it can help the propagation of certain theories and notions.

In regard to the international statistics classification of co-operatives by Dr. C. R. Fay is as follows: (i) Co-operative Banks, (ii) Agricultural Societies, (iii) Workers' Co-operative Societies, (iv) Co-operative Stores.

Dr. Faquet suggests the following classification: (i) Consumers' Co-operative Societies, (ii) Housing Societies, (iii) Occupational Co-operative (excluding agricultural societies but including Urban credit societies), (iv) Agricultural Societies (including the credit societies), (v) Various others.

The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, has adopted the following classification: (i) Credit, (ii) Production, (iii) Production and Sale, (iv) Purchase, (v) Sale.

The fourth classification may be attempted as: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Consumers' Societies, (iii) Producers' Societies, (iv) Insurance Societies, (v) Housing Societies and (vi) Others.

The classification given by Dr. Fay does not include the housing societies and the insurance societies; but from the point of view of co-operative development in the world it is essential to study the progress of these societies separately.

In the second classification, greater emphasis is placed on consumers. It does not have a separate group for credit societies. In view of the special importance of finance, it seems incorrect to include the credit co-operatives and producers' societies in one.

The third classification has no place for housing. Also it considers insurance societies as something which can be taken as auxiliary to one of the five forms while purchase societies include both supply societies and consumer's stores, and class production may be merged in "production and sale." Sale group may be included therein; and three groups could be together named, "Producers' Societies." So the third system is also not suitable.

The fourth classification does not distinguish between the Urban and the Rural societies. But the rural societies do not have to follow principles very much different from those that guide the urban co-operatives. It also seems unjust to have one class for agricultural societies and four or five for the non-agricultural societies. If a distinction is made between the urban and rural problems, let there be as many classes for agricultural societies as for the urban societies. If this is not agreed to, it will suffice to have a sub-head for "Urban Credit Societies" under "Credit Societies"; and for "Agricultural Producers' Societies" under "Producers' Societies."

(A) In India, the Reserve Bank has made the following classification: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Purchase and Purchase and Sale Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Production and Sale Societies, (v) Others.

(B) Land Mortgage Banks.

(C) Non-Agricultural Societies: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Purchase and Purchase and Sale Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Production and Sale Societies, (v) Others.

(D) Insurance Societies: (i) Ordinary and (ii) Cattle.

This grouping may be modified in view of the growing importance of the housing, marketing and multipurpose societies. Hence, the given classes under (A) and (C) group may be remodelled as (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Consumers' Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Marketing Societies, (v) Housing Societies and (vi) Others.

Under each of these classes, the number of societies which are multi-purpose in nature may be indicated within brackets. This will not only focus our attention

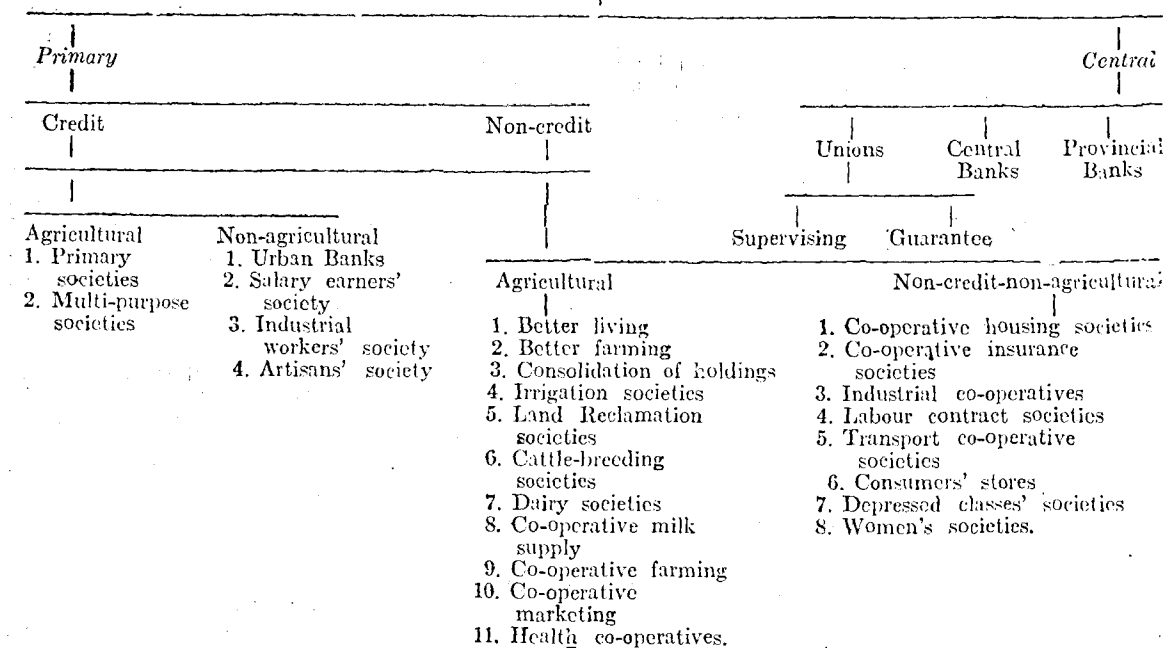
on the necessary aspects of co-operation, but will facilitate compilation of internal statistics for a comparative study.

It is difficult to give an exact classification of the different kinds of co-operative societies but for convenience we can divide them into two main categories, viz., (a) Agricultural and (b) Non-agricultural.

Agricultural societies are those societies in which the majority of the members are agriculturists, i.e., persons whose main occupation is cultivation of land or the rearing of livestock or of which the object is mainly agricultural. Whereas, non-agricultural societies are those which are not agricultural in character.

The diagram given below showing the classification of the co-operative societies will give a clear idea of the complex co-operative structure that has been built up in India:

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES



(A) AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The Agricultural Societies may be again sub-divided into credit and non-credit societies, and similarly non-agricultural societies may also be divided into credit and non-credit societies.

1. *Agricultural Credit Societies:* In the list of Agricultural Societies on credit side we have first the primary societies, the main purpose of which is to provide credit to their members and to encourage the habit of thrift. At the other end of the credit societies are the Provincial Banks which link the rural areas with the money markets of the country, and have their headquarters at the capital towns of the Province or States. Between these two extremes are the Banking Unions and Central Banks. Generally speaking, Primary

Co-operative Credit Societies are linked with the Banking Union or the Central Bank and the Central Bank is linked with the Provincial or the Apex Bank.

The primary societies are confined to small villages, the Central Banks to Taluka or District towns, and the Provincial Banks are the headquarters of the Province. If a borrower in a village needs money, he applies to his society. If the society has no fund at its disposal, it applies to the Central Bank, and if the Central Bank is in need of the funds, it applies to the Provincial Bank. That is why it is said that the co-operative movement links the farmer in the remote village with the money markets of the country. The objects of primary agricultural credit societies include the borrowing of funds from members or others to be utilised for loans to members and also for the promo-

tion of thrift. They also act as agent for the joint sale of its members' produce and the joint purchase of their agri-domestic requirements, for the hiring of implements, machinery or animals to members, the dissemination of information about improved farming practices, the encouragement of subsidiary industries and the reform of social practices.

2. *Agricultural Non-Credit Societies:* On the non-credit side, the agricultural societies deal with sale and marketing of goods, consolidation of holdings, better living and better farming, insurance of cattle, supply of seed, cattle breeding, co-operative farming, irrigation, milk and dairy products, ghee, poultry and eggs societies, crop-protection societies, colonisation societies and crop insurance societies, labour contract societies.

(B) NON-AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The non-agricultural societies may also be conveniently sub-divided into credit and non-credit societies.

The credit societies are generally called Urban Banks. They provide credit to workers and artisans. They have no separate Provincial or Apex Bank of their own, though they have their own Central or District Banks.

On the non-credit side, the important societies are Employees' Societies, Consumers' Stores, Thrift and Life Insurance, Housing Societies, Artisans' and Weavers' Societies, Milk Societies, Communal Societies, Societies for Factory Workers and Societies for Depressed Classes, Societies for Women, etc.

Of India's co-operative undertakings in this century, credit societies which were launched the earliest still dominate the picture. In all Provinces and States, agricultural societies exceed by far both in number and in membership, though not in working capital, all other types of co-operative organisations put together.

Out of 169.66 thousand primary societies in 1949-50 124.06 thousand were credit societies forming 73.1 per cent of the total agricultural credit societies, their membership and percentage to the total being 116.53 thousand and 68.7 respectively. The number of agricultural credit societies rose from 112,339 in 1948-49 to 116,534 in 1949-50 consisting of 28,126 limited liability societies, 75,953 unlimited liability type and 12,455 grain banks.

The largest number of agricultural credit societies is to be found in U.P., 24,057 in 1949-50 followed by Madras 15,348, Bombay 8,928, West Bengal 9,598 and

Hyderabad 15,890. Madras leads in the number of members of such societies 1,191,027, followed by U. P. 813,726, Hyderabad 771,829, Bombay 611,873 and West Bengal only 220,698 and the Punjab 278,883. Whereas there were only 7.53 thousand non-agricultural societies in 1949-50, there were 48,17,545 and 20,65,990 members of the agricultural and non-agricultural societies respectively, representing 68.7 and 31.3 per cent of the total number. The working capital of the former was 3521.75 lakhs and Rs. 5160.24 lakhs of the latter.

Madras had 1,191 non-agricultural societies in 1949-50 followed by Bombay and West Bengal with 1,496 and 385 and by U.P. 616, Punjab 453 and Mysore 562. The number of members of such societies in Madras was 483,215, Bombay with 721,954 was followed by Bengal with 281,132, U.P. with 79,282, Punjab 25,537 and Mysore 112,970.

The details given below show the numerical position of credit and non-credit societies:

	1948-49		1949-50	
	No.	Percentage to total	No.	Percentage to total
<i>Credit Societies:</i>				
Agricultural	112.34	68.95	116.53	68.68
Non-agricultural	7.03	4.32	7.53	4.44
Total	119.37	73.27	124.06	73.12
<i>Non-credit Societies:</i>				
Agricultural	22.76	13.97	25.86	15.25
Non-agricultural	20.79	12.76	19.74	11.63
Total	43.55	26.73	45.60	26.88
Grand total	162.92	100.00	169.66	100.00

(Concluded)

THE FIRST CENSUS OF FREE INDIA

By ASHISH BOSE, M.Com.

The Census of 1951 was the eighth regular census of India and first census of free India. In the history of census operations in India it stands out as a remarkable census. It secured public co-operation in much more abundant measure than on any previous occasion. And it was probably the least inaccurate and the most scientific census in India.

THE CENSUS OPERATION

The Census was taken in all Part A, B and C States and Part D territories of India with the exception of (1) Jammu and Kashmir and (2) the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam. Sikkim was always included in former censuses and the practice has been retained in this census also. The counting started on the 9th February and the enumeration was completed by the 3rd March, 1951. 5,92,937 enumerators visited six crores and forty-four lakhs of houses. The enumeration records were assembled and checked at 52 Tabulation Offices opened temporarily for this purpose at

various centres in the country. Provisional figures of the total population were published in April 1951 and the final population totals were published in May 1952. A sample verification of the actual count was done before the end of 1951 and the result published in March 1953.

NEW FEATURES OF THE CENSUS

The useless collection of statistics and discussion regarding castes and sub-castes, which was the practice in previous censuses has been abandoned and more attention paid to the economic characteristics of the population. Further, the ambiguous concept of "community" which was introduced in the Census of 1941 has been discarded and statistics of religion collected.

The occupational distribution of population which was abandoned in the Census of 1941 has been introduced again with a more simple and scientific classification. The entire population of the country has been divided into two broad livelihood categories:

(1) Agricultural and (2) Non-agricultural. Each category is divided into four classes. The detailed classification is given in a subsequent table.

The 9 Part A States, 9 Part B States and 10 Part C States in addition to a few Part D Territories have been grouped into six Population Zones. They are: North India, East India, South India, West India, Central India and North-West India.

Independently of the above grouping the country as a whole is divided into five Natural Regions on the basis of physical features. They are: The Himalayan Region, the Northern Plains Region, the Peninsular Hills and Plateau Region, the Western Ghats and Coastal Region and the Eastern Ghats and Coastal Region. These five Regions are in turn divided into 15 Sub-Regions and 52 Divisions (the Bay Islands form the 53rd Division). Thus the study of population changes in relation to geographical and economic factors is made possible.

Another feature of the Census of 1951 is that instead of calculating the percentage variation as was done in past censuses, "the mean decennial growth rate" has been calculated. The latter is based on the average of the population of 1941 and 1951 taken together and not solely on the population of 1941 which is the base in the calculation of the percentage variation.

SAMPLE VERIFICATION OF THE CENSUS COUNT

For the first time in the history of census operations in India, a sample verification of the Census Count was conducted on a random sample basis and a precise estimate of the extent of error in the Count made. The area brought under verification contained 81 per cent of the total population. This verification reveals that the 1951 Census Count contains a net under-enumeration error of 1.1 per cent. As the Census Paper No. 1 of 1953 puts it:

"For every thousand persons included in the Census Count 11 other persons were probably omitted. It is a reasonably safe conclusion that the number of persons omitted (per thousand counted) could not have exceeded 12 or fallen short of 10."

It is encouraging to note that even in U.S.A. a net under-enumeration error of very nearly the same order was revealed by a post-enumeration survey conducted soon after the Census of 1950.

TOTAL POPULATION

The total population of India including the estimated population of Jammu and Kashmir (4.41 m) and the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam (0.66m.) on the 1st March, 1951 was 361.8 millions. The total land area was 1.27 million sq. miles. The following figures relate to the territories actually covered by the Census of 1951:

Total population in 1951: 356,829,485
Total population in 1941: 314,766,380
Net increase (1941-51): 42.06 millions
Mean decennial growth: 12.5 per cent

Percentage increase: 13.4 per cent.

On account of the merger of Chandernagore into India the population of India (in 1951) increased to 356,879,391.

THE BIGGEST STATES

The following table gives the population, density and the rate of growth of population in the ten biggest (on the basis of population) States in India:

	Population (in millions)	Density (persons per sq. mile)	Mean decen- nial growth rate (1941-51)
Uttar Pradesh	63.22	557	+11.2
Madras	57.02	446	+13.4
Bihar	40.23	572	+ 9.6
Bombay	35.96	323	+20.8
West Bengal	24.81	806	+12.7
Madhya Pradesh	21.25	163	+ 7.9
Hyderabad	18.66	227	+13.3
Rajasthan	15.29	117	+13.9
Orissa	14.65	244	+ 6.2
Punjab	12.64	338	- 0.5

In India, Uttar Pradesh has the biggest population, Madhya Pradesh the largest land area (130,272 sq. miles) and Delhi State the highest density (3,017 persons per sq. mile). Travancore-Cochin has the second highest density (1015). The density is lowest in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (10), Kutch (34) and Manipur (67).

RATE OF GROWTH

Among the six Population Zones, West India (Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch) shows the highest rate of increase in population (20.1 per cent) and North-West India (Rajasthan, Punjab, Pepsu, etc.) the lowest (9.0 per cent). Likewise among the five Natural Regions, the Western Ghats and Coastal Region shows the highest rate of increase (20.5 per cent) and the Northern Plains Region the lowest (10.8 per cent). Among the individual States, the highest rate of growth is recorded in Delhi (62.1 per cent). Next come Coorg (30.5 per cent), Tripura (21.9 per cent), Mysore and Travancore-Cochin (21.2 per cent each) and Bombay (20.8 per cent). There is an actual decrease in population in Punjab (-0.5 per cent) and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (-8.6 per cent).

SEX-RATIO

Of the total population of 356.83 millions in 1951, 183.31 millions were males and 173.52 millions were females. Thus there were 947 females per 1000 males. There are more males than females in all States except Orissa, Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Manipur and Kutch where the reverse is the case. The sex-ratio is very unstable in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (625 females per 1000 males), Pepsu (844) and Punjab (863). It is worst in cities. In Calcutta, there are only 570 females per 1000 males, in Bombay 596 and in Kanpur 699.

RURAL-URBAN RATIO

The total rural population in 1951 was 295.0 millions or 82.7 per cent of the total population. There were 75 cities with a combined total population of

24.13 millions or 6.8 per cent of the total population. U.P. has the largest number of cities (16) while Bombay (State) has the biggest city population (5.1 m.). The biggest cities in India are Bombay (2.8 m.), Calcutta (2.5 m.), Madras (1.4 m.), Hyderabad (1.1 m.) and Old Delhi (915,000). Greater Calcutta, however, has a population of 3.5 millions. Since 1941, 27 new cities have sprung up in the area that is India today. There are 55 cities in the Part A States, 16 in the Part B States, 4 in the Part C States and none in the Part D Territories.

LIVELIHOOD CLASSES

The following table gives the livelihood classes and the percentage of population dependent on each class to the total population:

I.	Class	Percentage of total population
1.	Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly owned and their dependents	46.9
2.	Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents	8.9
3.	Cultivating labourers and their dependents	12.5
4.	Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents	1.5
	Total agricultural population	69.8
II.	Persons including dependents who derive their principal means of livelihood from:	
5.	Production other than cultivation	10.6
6.	Commerce	6.0
7.	Transport	1.6
8.	Other services and miscellaneous sources	12.0
	Total non-agricultural population	30.2
	Total	100.0

Thus India still remains a predominantly agricultural country. In spite of 50 years of industrialisation and urbanisation 70 per cent of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood and 83 per cent of the people live in rural areas. But the population has kept on increasing. In 1901, the population of India (excluding the areas of Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir) was 235.5 millions. In 1951, it was 356.8 millions. Thus in 50 years the population increased by 121.3 millions or by 51 per cent.

RELIGION

In the Census of 1951 the concept of "community" was abandoned and religion was recorded as revealed by the person enumerated. The following table shows the religious composition of the population of India (excluding those living in Jammu and Kashmir and the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam):

Religion	Population (in millions)	Percentage of total population
1. Hindu	303.2	84.99
2. Muslim	35.4	9.93
3. Christian	8.2	2.30
4. Sikh	6.2	1.74
5. Jain	1.6	0.45

6. Buddhist	0.2	0.06
7. Zoroastrian	0.1	0.03
8. Jews (26,781)	...	...
9. Other religions (Tribal)	1.7	0.47
10. Other religions (Non-tribal)	0.1	0.03
	356.7*	100.00

Hindus form an absolute majority in every State of India except in Pepsu (where they are 49 per cent) and in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (where they are 30 per cent). The Muslim population is 22.08 per cent in Assam, 19.85 per cent in West Bengal, 15.4 per cent in Bhopal, 12.48 per cent in U.P., 11.82 per cent in Hyderabad and 11.34 per cent in Bihar. The Christian population was 32 per cent in Travancore-Cochin, 6.47 per cent in Assam and 4.15 per cent in Madras. In the Census of 1951, the great majority of the tribal people returned themselves as following Hinduism. The followers of tribal religions are concentrated in Bihar (52 per cent of the total followers of these religions in India are found in Chota Nagpur Division), West Bengal and Assam. The Jews are concentrated in Bombay State (75 per cent of the Jews in India live in this State). The Parsees are also concentrated in Bombay State (87 per cent of the Parsees in India live in this State). The majority of Jains live in Bombay State. The Buddhists are mostly found in West Bengal. The Sikhs are concentrated in the Punjab, Pepsu, Delhi and U.P. Among the followers of other non-tribal religions the majority are found in Assam, Bombay and Madras.

THE SECOND BIGGEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

Next to China India is the biggest country in the world. So far as land area is concerned, she ranks seventh in the world (next to U.S.S.R., China, Canada, Brazil, U.S.A. and Australia). India occupies 2.2 per cent of the total land area of the world and supports 15 per cent of the population of the world. In Asia, next to Japan, Lebanon and Korea, she has the highest density of population. The population of India is more than the combined population of North America and South America, about twice the population of Africa and about 44 times the population of Australia. It is 1.8 times the population of the U.S.S.R., 2.4 times the population of the U.S.A. and 7 times the population of United Kingdom. During a single decade, 1941-51 the population of India has increased by over 42 millions which is the present population of France. Every year a population almost equivalent to that of Denmark is added to the population of India. This will give us an idea of the magnitude of the population problem.†

* This figure does not include the returns of 268,602 persons in the Punjab whose records were destroyed by fire.

† The article gives the gist of all the Census Papers published so far, viz., Paper Nos. 1 and 2 of 1952 and Paper Nos. 1 and 2 of 1953.

EGYPT (1875-1953)

By PROF. SUDHANSU, BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The world is sharply divided today between the two fundamentally opposite philosophies of life, namely, Communism and Capitalism. The world is not one in spite of Wilkie. It should be remembered at the same time that the down-trodden millions of Asia and Africa do not bother half as much about the rival 'isms' as about their own deliverance from the bondage of Western imperialism. Unless the capitalist imperialist nations face the facts, unless they respond to the challenge of the age and agree to liquidate their ill-gotten colonial empires, Communism will naturally appear to the exploited millions of colonies in the role of the liberator. They will do well to bear in mind the note of warning uttered years ago by Sumner Welles, a former Under-Secretary of the U.S.A. Government:

"As the result of this war (World War II) we must assume the sovereign equality of the peoples the world over. Our victory must bring in its train liberation for all peoples. The age of imperialism is ended. The right of people for freedom must be recognised."—A speech on May 30, 1942.

The Anglo-American Allies have won the war. Have they won the peace? No, we fear.

A great unhappiness "fills the feudal regions from Spain to Indo-China and, in addition, much of Africa and Latin America. Everywhere a thin wealthy upper caste shamelessly flaunts its luxury under the eyes of the hungry, diseased peasants and shepherds who are deprived of the education, organisation and political power to improve their lot. Techniques date back to Noah and the population increases faster than production. Industry is puny, the middle class weak, the working class small, and the farm population in feudal servitude. Army, bureaucracy, and police cruelly oppress and consciously delude the poor, and for these services to the rich they are allowed to consume the bulk of the national budget, politics by assassination flourishes and palace revolutions multiply. Leadership goes to the unenlightened nobility or plutocracy who pay or to the trigger-quick military and unscrupulous demagogues who inflame the patriotic passions or religious fanaticism of the mass. Masters come and go, foreigners are ousted, national independence is achieved, but bread, rice, milk, medicines, water, shoes, shelter, schools remain in short supply. Loans from abroad reach the pockets of the haves, the have-nots have only their envy and hate."—*The Life of Joseph Stalin* by Louis Fischer, pp. 287-88.

The description applies almost word for word to Egypt, which forms a part of the vast region indicated above and inhabited by more than a billion people. The happenings in that country during the last one year and more show that the national temper is rising. The Egyptians are in no mood to be tied to the apron strings of their masters—alien or otherwise. They want to be masters in their own house—masters in name as well as in fact.

Egypt came within the orbit of European politics

in the late 19th century. European statesmen and politicians were preoccupied with exclusively European affairs till 1878. It is only after 1878 that they began to take more and more active interest in extra-European affairs. For the generation of Europeans that lived after 1878 there was no European problem demanding immediate solution. Italian unity and nationality had been achieved. So also had the German, Prussia had successfully fought out her struggles with France and Austria. The Eastern Question was no longer explosive. There were besides, positive factors, which drew the attention of Europe to Asia and Africa. The growing population of Europe needed outlets. Her rapidly expanding industries needed fresh sources of raw materials and fresh markets.

Asia and Africa offered the best opening to an expanding Europe in the years after 1878 and international rivalries were transferred to these two continents. It was during this era that Egypt, a vassal State of the Ottoman Empire, came to be tied to the chariot wheel of Western imperialism. Turkish overlordship over Egypt it should be remembered had long ceased to be effective.

Khedive Ismail, who ascended the throne of Egypt in 1863, has been rightly described as a man "with an immense capacity for wasting money." Egypt's national debt rose from three million pounds to one hundred million during his reign. The burden of taxation literally broke the back of the people. The hapless Egyptian felakeen groaned under it. The country suffered from three C's—Coubash (a whip of hippopotamus skin with a tapering end used as a whip), Corvee (forced labour) and Corruption. Wholesale bribery and sale of concessions were openly practised and connived at. The Egyptian peasantry under Khedive Ismail was perhaps the most wretched people on earth. European intervention in the affairs of Egypt and the whole of her later history are in a very real sense the outcome of the "carnival of extravagance and oppression" of Khedive Ismail. Ismail sold his shares in the Suez Canal Company in 1875. Prime Minister Disraeli of England purchased them for four million pounds on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government. The transaction was the proverbial thin end of the wedge—the first step towards the establishment of England's stranglehold over Egypt. The Khedive repudiated the national debt of Egypt in 1876. English and French creditors of the Khedive were alarmed. Mr. Goschen and M. Joubart were sent out by them to Egypt to look after their interests and the immediate result was the establishment of the *Caisse de la Delta* (May 2, 1878). The Anglo-French Commission was originally empowered "to receive the revenue set apart for the service of the debt and to sanction or veto

fresh loans." These functions were enlarged before long to include the entire financial administration of the country. Ismail abdicated in 1879 and was followed by his son Tewfik on the throne of Egypt. The country was placed under an Anglo-French condominium in the same year. The financial supervision was vested in two controllers—one English and one French. The administrative control of the country soon passed into the hands of the Controllers. This dual control was not destined to last long, however.

The revolt of Arabi Bey in 1881 is a very significant episode in the history of modern Egypt. Nobody denies that it was in part military. But it was anti-foreign at the same time. It was directed against Turkish sovereignty on the one hand and against European intervention on the other. It was Arabi Pasha who raised the slogan "Egypt for Egyptians" (*Masli—Mastriji*) for the first time. In a sense he may, therefore, be regarded as the father of modern Egyptian nationalism. Arabi secured the dismissal of some 1,200 foreign officials employed under the Anglo-French Condominium. He seized Alexandria in June, 1882, and set up his headquarters there. He had already forced the Khedive to promise that he (the Khedive) would dismiss two of the leading members of the Cabinet and accept a responsible ministry. He had further agreed to summon an Assembly of Notables before the end of 1881 and to limit the functions of the Condominium to the service of the debt.

The developments in Egypt frightened Europe. The Great powers met at Constantinople to formulate an agreed Egyptian policy. The conference decided nothing. Great Britain, particularly anxious for the Suez, her vital life-line, resolved to restore order by force. Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour bombarded Alexandria. Arabi withdrew after having burned the city. He was finally defeated at Tel-el-Kebir by Sir Garnet Wolsley, captured and deported to Ceylon. The Khedive's (!) power was restored and some British troops were left in the country, ostensibly to maintain peace and order. The Liberal British Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville solemnly assured the House of Lords: "We shall not keep our troops in Egypt any longer than is necessary." The promise has yet to be fulfilled as so many of Britain's promises to weaker peoples.

The failure of Arabi's rebellion was followed by the abolition of the Anglo-French Condominium (November, 1882) leaving the English sole masters of the Egyptian scene. Major Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) was appointed the British Consul General in Egypt. The Khedive and his Ministers were responsible for the Government and carried on the administration of the country. But the British army was the real security for peace and the British treasury the real security for financial stability of Egypt. Baring was the Khedive *de facto* till his retirement in 1907.

When Arabi Pasha struck in Egypt proper in 1881,

Sudan, a dependency of Egypt, too, rose in revolt against the authority of the Khedive. A Sudanese proclaimed himself to be Mahdi, the Messiah. The rebellion, which assumed formidable proportions, was finally put down in 1898 when British troops under Kitchener crushed the rebels in the battle of Omdurman. As during Arabi's revolt, so also during the Mahdi's, British bayonets came to the rescue of the Khedive. England, of course, had her pound of flesh and Sudan was placed under joint Anglo-Egyptian rule in 1899.

The opening years of the 20th century were marked by a steadily mounting anti-British sentiment in all strata of Egyptian society. Discontent grew. National temper rose. Clear signs of unrest were discernible. Then came the Great War (1914-18) and Egypt, still a vassal of Turkey, was declared a British protectorate in December, 1914. The pro-Turkish Khedive Abbas was deposed. When the war came to an end in 1918, Zaghlul Pasha (Saa'd Zaghlul), the leader of the extreme nationalist party, presented a demand for complete independence of Egypt. Zaghlul's proposal was turned down. Prime Minister Rushdi Pasha next sought permission to go to England to confer with the British Government. The permission being refused, Rushdi Pasha resigned (1919). His resignation was the signal for riots and strikes all over the country. Even Government employees stayed away from work. Riots and strikes brought about a complete deadlock. The British Government sent out the Milner Commission to study the Egyptian problem at first hand and to suggest how peace and order was to be restored in Egypt. The Nationalist Party boycotted the Commission. Zaghlul Pasha, however, offered his co-operation and the Milner-Zaghlul Agreement recommended a treaty of alliance recognising the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with responsible institutions. Egypt was to recognise Britain's right to safeguard her special interests in Egypt, not to enter into any relations with a foreign power prejudicial to the interest of England and to permit England to maintain troops in Egypt. The Agreement was followed by a recrudescence of widespread riots. Zaghlul Pasha was deported. Egypt seethed with discontent.

England recognised the independence of Egypt in 1922. Certain questions were reserved for settlement later on. Zaghlul Pasha was allowed to return to Egypt. Supported by the Wafd (Nationalist) Party, he became the Prime Minister. The English Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian forces was murdered in 1924. Anglo-Egyptian relations steadily deteriorated and Zaghlul Pasha was driven out of office.

The treaty of 1922 was revised in 1936. England agreed to remove her troops from Cairo and Alexandria, but not to evacuate Egypt. British troops were to remain in Egypt within prescribed limits.

Questions left for future consideration in 1922 were also settled. The expenses involved in the withdrawal of British troops from Cairo and Alexandria were borne by the Egyptian Government. Barracks and aerodromes for the British army were constructed in the Canal Zone at Egypt's cost. Britain was guaranteed the unfettered right of use of all Egyptian ports, railways and aerodromes. Needless to say, the terms did not satisfy the progressive section of the population.

World War II which has intensified the urge for independence everywhere in the world, may be rightly regarded as an important land-mark in the history of human emancipation. The repercussions of that War were felt in Egypt too. As a matter of fact, she had never reconciled herself to the idea of Britain's tutelage. The years 1945-52 were marked by persistent anti-British agitation and frequent conflicts all over Egypt. Britain's Labour Premier, Mr. Attlee, declared in 1946 that all British troops would be withdrawn from Egypt and that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 would be replaced by an Anglo-American treaty to safeguard the security and independence of Egypt. We are not sure if Mr. Attlee really meant what he said. Britain's record in Egypt—one strewn with fragments of broken pledges—makes us dubious. The 1946 declaration was however well-timed and served a very useful purpose. It went a long way to pacify the impatient Egyptian progressive.

British imperialism was passing an anxious time in 1946. Britain and the U.S.A. held sharply divergent views over the future of India, Burma, Palestine and Malaya. Iran too was giving a headache. It would be unwise to antagonise Egypt at such a time. By 1947, the crisis had been tided over however and the Attlee declaration of the previous year was shelved. Egypt was disappointed. The national temper reached the boiling point. Egypt was convinced, if she had not been convinced earlier, that Britain would not quit Egypt unless forced to do so at the point of the bayonet.

Disappointed and disillusioned Egyptian public opinion forced the Wafdist Government of Nahas Pasha to abrogate the Anglo-Egyptian treaty (1936) in October, 1951. The Government declared at the same time that Egypt does not recognise British control over Sudan under the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1899. Students, labourers, peasants and the middle classes next launched a nationwide campaign against the occupation of the Suez Zone by British troops. Egyptian labourers in the Canal Zone organised a strike. Resistance groups sprang into existence in Cairo, Alexandria, Ismailia and other towns. Women did not lag behind their menfolk. For the first time in the long centuries of Egypt's chequered history women took an active part in politics. An anti-imperialist women's organisation came into existence. A nursing corps for those

wounded in mass demonstration was organised for the first time. In not a few places Egyptian police and military refused to deal sternly with the demonstrators. 35,000 Egyptian labourers in the Canal Zone refused to work. The Egyptian crew of British vessels refused to work for the British army. The country throbbed with a new life.

Egypt was a boiling cauldron during the three months from October to December, 1951. The Cairo correspondent of the United States News and World Report wrote at the time that Egypt's poverty-stricken masses were awake and described the awakening as resentful. It was at this critical juncture—at the crossroads of history—that the accredited leaders of the people failed them. The Wafd, which had been the spearhead of all Egypt's anti-British, anti-imperialist movements for a long time, took fright. They would not or could not keep pace with the awakened demos. The Wafdist Cabinet of Nahas Pasha was between the devil and the deep sea. It lacked the courage to condemn the mass struggle outright. Nor could it displease Britain. It nevertheless took stern steps to restore law and order in Britain's interest. The double-faced policy brought about the downfall of the Wafd. It forfeited the respect and confidence of the people on the one hand. On the other, Britain held it responsible for the growing mass militancy and accused it of conniving at anti-British demonstrations. A policy of vacillation and hesitance, an outcome of muddled thinking, makes enemies of all and friends of none. The dismissal of the Nahas Government was demanded by Britain. King Farouk meekly said, 'yes.' The excuse was not long in coming. About the middle of January, 1952, British troops in the Tel-el-Kebir area had minor skirmishes with the local Egyptians. Evidence from all sources shows that these were provoked by the former. British troops cordoned the palace of the Egyptian Governor and the police headquarters at Ismailia on January 25, 1952. Next day on January 26, the British Commander sent an ultimatum demanding the surrender of arms by the Egyptian police. The Governor ignored the ultimatum. An all-out assault was thereupon launched on the small Egyptian police force at Ismailia by British tanks, artillery and air force. Fifty Egyptian policemen lost their lives. Many more were wounded. There were riots and demonstrations all over the country in protest against the atrocities at Ismailia. This was exactly the opportunity Britain had been looking for—an opportunity of crushing the mass movement and of installing a government in Egypt that would faithfully carry out the dictates from the White Hall. She warned the Egyptian Government that unless it could bring the situation under control General Erskine, the Commander of British troops in Egypt, would place Cairo under military occupation. The American Ambassador at Cairo threw a hint to King Farouk on Janu-

ary 24 that the Nahas Cabinet must be dismissed. The Government acting on the advice of the King, proclaimed Martial Law in Cairo. More than 1,000 were arrested. Drastic as the measure was, it did not satisfy Great Britain. The Government was dismissed by the King immediately after the promulgation of the Martial Law. Aly Maher Pasha was asked to form a Cabinet. The Wafd, which had an absolute majority in the Parliament, once again betrayed the nation by meekly accepting the order of dismissal, by not raising its voice of protest against the unconstitutional act of the King. Reaction was triumphant.

There are very good reasons to believe that foreign powers had a hand in the fall of the Wafd. It came out in the press and over the radio of various European countries that King Farouk was forced to offer the Premiership to Aly Maher under pressure of foreign powers. General Robertson, Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in the Middle East, declared on December 31, 1951, that British troops would by no means be withdrawn from the Canal Zone and that other powers—the U.S.A., no doubt, among others—were behind this decision of Great Britain. Prime Minister Winston Churchill requested the Truman Government at the same time to send some American troops to Egypt. Some American papers gave out that a 6000 strong token army was actually being despatched to Egypt.

Ali Maher Pasha was soon dismissed. Hilaly Pasha succeeded him. Hilaly's first act was the suspension of the Parliament. A vigorous campaign of calumny against the Wafdist leaders sought to dis-

credit them in the eye of the people. In the meanwhile, the situation was steadily deteriorating, the martial law notwithstanding. Anti-foreign, progressive mass movement reached the climax.

The army had in the meanwhile lost its confidence in the monarchy. It had been thoroughly discredited and its leaders humiliated in the Palestine War. King Farouk and his relations and favourites had been responsible for the scandal in connection with the purchase of arms and ammunition for that war. Leaders of the army had begun to unite against the King and the political parties. At last on July 23, 1952, a successful *coup d'etat* made General Neguib the arbiter of the destinies of Egypt. King Farouk abdicated on July 26 and made an inglorious exit from the Egyptian scene "unwept, unhonoured and unsung." His infant son was declared King of Egypt as Fuad II. Monarchy has since been abolished (June 18, 1953) in Egypt, which is now a Republic with General Neguib as the provisional President and Prime Minister.

The fate of Egypt rests on the knees of the gods. In the meanwhile, the rise of Neguib has been interpreted by many as a victory of re-action over progress—a successful Anglo-American device to crush Egyptian nationalism. Others again there are who hail Neguib as Egypt's Man of Destiny, as the saviour of his country and of his people. The problems of Egypt are however no nearer solution today than they were at the time of Neguib's rise to power.

The time is not yet perhaps to pronounce a verdict. Let us wait and watch.

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MOISM AND AHIMSA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.

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FROM the 6th century (Confucius was born in 551 and died in 479 B.C.) to the time of Emperor Wu-ti of the Han Dynasty, who canonized the Classics of the Confucian School, it was about six hundred years. During this period, the Confucian School was only one of many schools of thought which ran parallel to one another. Besides the Confucian School there were the following schools: (1) Taoism, (2) Moism, (3) The Sophists, and (4) The Legalists.

Moism was founded by Motze who is one of most important figures in Chinese history, a man whose name was constantly linked with that of Confucius. Motze was born in 468 B.C. and died in 376 B.C. He seems to have been a great officer in the State of Sung.

He was skilful in maintaining military defence, and taught economy of use. Huai Nan Tze states:

"Confucius and Motze practised the arts of the ancient Sages and were learned in all the discourses on the Six Disciplines."

But there are many places in Motze's writings where he stands opposed to the Confucian School, the thought of which differed from his own. Confucius "tried to be correct in righteousness, without calculating profit; tried to be pure in principles, without considering whether this would bring material return." They were working tirelessly to rescue the world from its ills.

Anything must be of profit to the country and the people before it can possess value, and it is the wealth and

populousness of a country, Motze believed, which constitute its greatest profit. Although luxury and adornment are of no benefit to the country and the people, yet at the same time they are not its greatest harm. Harm lies rather in the incessant fighting of the people and states among themselves, caused, so Motze held, by the fact that men do not love one another. Motze, therefore, was preaching the doctrine of love. The practice of universal love not only benefits the one who is loved, but the one who loves, on the principle of reciprocity. Motze says:

"Heaven wishes people to love and benefit one another, and does not want people to hate and hurt one another. Why, Because He loves all and benefits all."

"How to follow the will and wish of Heaven? It is to love all people and Heaven."

Motze thought that the great benefits to the world come from men practising universal love, and its major calamities come from them fighting with one another. Thus he says:

"How were chaos and calamities caused? They were caused by people not loving each other. A thief loves his own house and does not love the other's house, he therefore steals from the other's house for the benefit of his own house. A murderer loves his own body and does not love the other's body, he therefore murders the other's body for the benefit of his own body. . . . Every officer loves his own family and does not love the other's family, he therefore exploits others' families for the benefit of his own family. A king loves his own country and does not love others' countries, he therefore attacks others' countries for the benefit of his country. . . . If a man looks upon another's house as his own house, who will steal? If a man looks upon another's body as his own body who will murder? If a man looks upon another's family as his own family who will exploit? If all look upon others' countries as their own country, who will attack? . . . Therefore, when all love one another, there will be peace; and when all hate one another there will be chaos and calamity."

Again:

"To kill one man is wrongful and must receive one death punishment. Accordingly, to kill ten men is ten times wrongful and must receive ten death punishments. And to kill hundred men is hundred times wrongful and must receive hundred death punishments. . . . Now the greatest wrong is to attack a country but he who attacks receives no punishment. . . . Is this right?"

Again:

"Which are the greater ones among the evils of the world? They are those actions of the big countries attacking the small countries, of the big families disturbing the small families; and those deeds of the strong robbing the weak, of the group of the many oppressing the group of the few, of the clever deceiving the dull, of the high class scorning the low. These are the greatest evils of the world."

Therefore, Motze thought that we should condemn warfare. He says:

"When the army sets out, the bamboos, arrows, plumed standards, house tents, armours, shields and sword-hilts will break and rot in innumerable quantities and never come back. . . . Innumerable horses and oxen will start out fat and come back lean, or will die and never come back at all. . . . Why, then does the government deprive the people of their opportunities and benefits to such a great extent? It has been answered: I covet the fame of the victor and the possession obtainable through conquest, and therefore I do it. But when we consider the victory as such, there is nothing useful about it. When we consider the possession obtained through it, it does not even make up for what has been lost."

Philosopher Bentham held that the purpose of morality and law is to procure the greatest happiness for the greatest number, a doctrine shared by Motze.

Although Motze held that the doctrine of universal love is the only way to save the world, he did not believe that men through their original nature can love one another. Because man's nature is like pure silk, and its goodness or evil is dependent entirely upon what it is 'dyed' with. We must strive to 'dye' others with the doctrine of universal love. But since the mass of people is short-sighted, it is difficult to make them see the benefit of universal love. Therefore, Motze laid stress on religious sanctions. He held that there is a God who rewards people, who practise universal love and punishes the perverse. He says:

"The ancient Sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, were those who obeyed the Will of Heaven and obtained reward. And the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Chieh, Chou, Yu and Li, were those who opposed the Will of Heaven and incurred punishment."

Motze loved all people without discrimination. Mencius described him by saying:

"If by grinding his whole body from the crown to the heel could have benefited the world, Motze would have done it."

Motze's idea of universal love is very similar to that of Ahimsa. Ahimsa is a word negative in form with a positive sense. We Chinese people prefer to use the positive form rather than the negative used by Indians. The philosophy of love of Motze and the Ahimsa of Hindû philosophy are the same gospel expressed in a slightly different way.

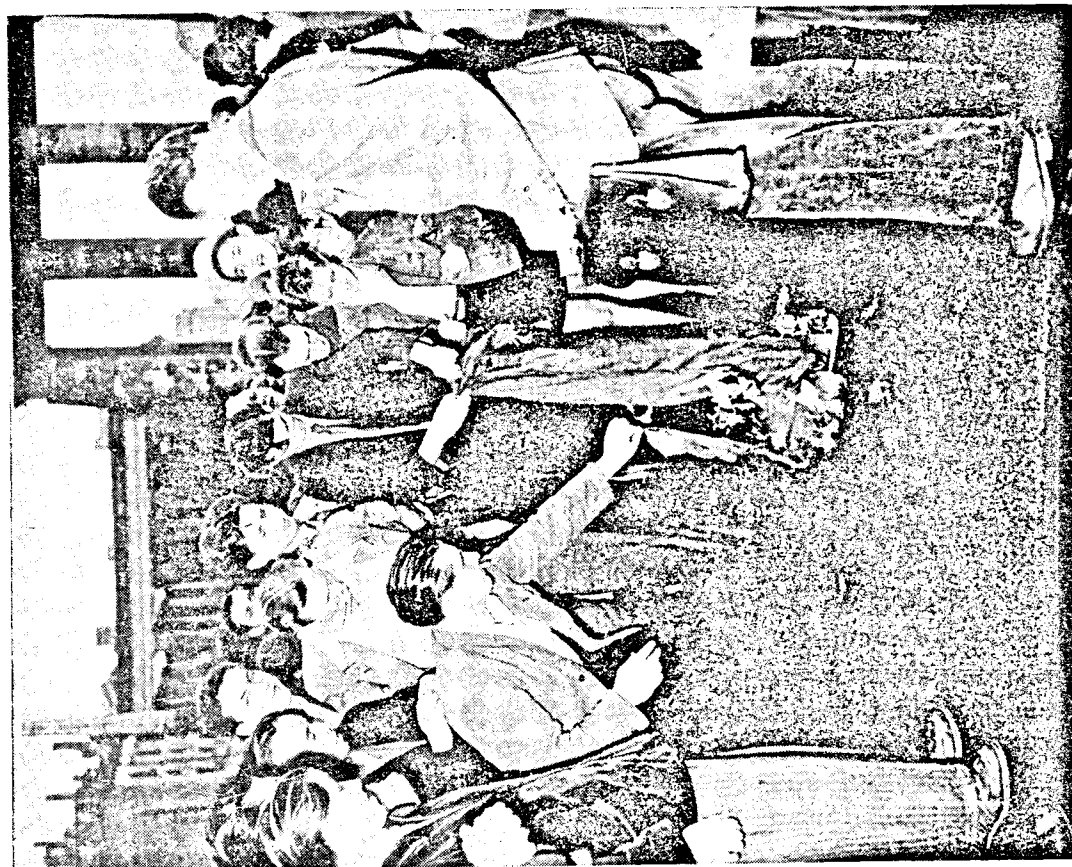
I have no better words to express my feelings about Motze's philosophy than the words which the Mahabharata uses: "Ahimsa is the Supreme Religion." Swami Sivanandaji says in the *Voice of the Himalayas*: "There is only one religion: the religion of love."



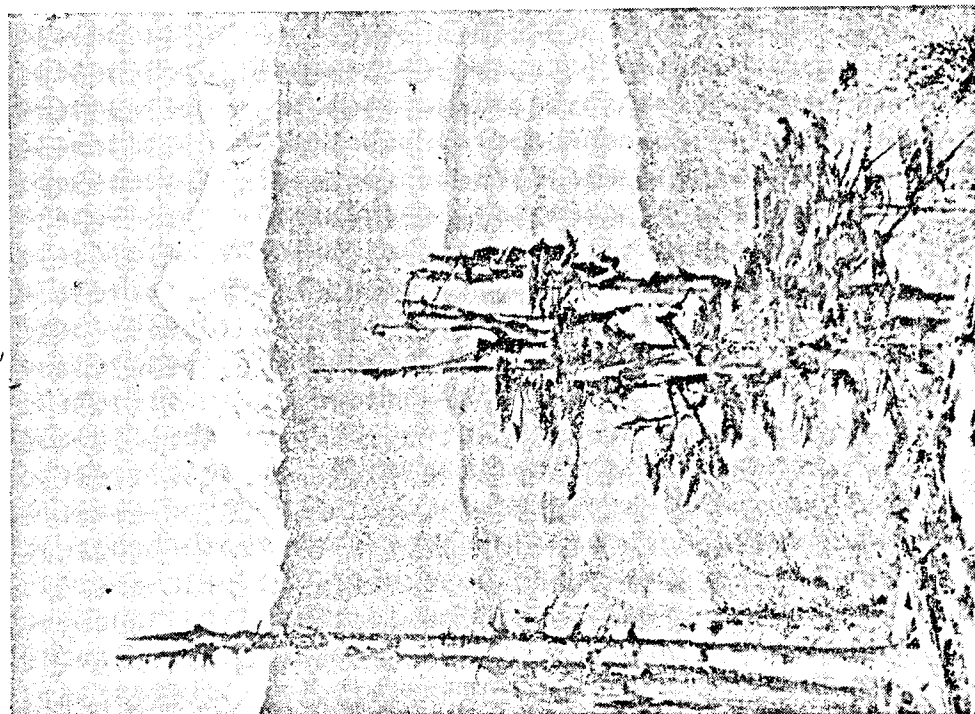
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by Sm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, arrived in Karachi on July 25. He was received at the Amuripur Airport by Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan.



Rajkumari Amrit Kaur gave a luncheon party in New Delhi on August 18, in honour of Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan and Begum Mohammed Ali. (Front row): Mr. Mohammed Ali, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Begum Mohammed Ali and Sir M. Zafulla Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan. (Back row): Dr. M. S. Mehta, High Commissioner for India in Pakistan and Mr. Ghaznafar Ali Khan, High Commissioner for Pakistan in India.



During the height of the recent violent anti-Soviet outbreak in East Berlin, German civilians burn a Soviet flag flown on the Brandenburg Gate



A view of Mt. Everest, from Phalut
Photo : Messrs. Das Studio, Darjeeling

THE OUTBREAK AT BENARES IN 1799

By DR. S. B. CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.,
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THE materials for the history of this episode have been taken from a nice little monograph, *Vizier Ali Khan or The Massacre at Benares: A Chapter in British Indian History*, written by Sir J. F. Davis, son of Mr. Samuel Davis, the brave Judge of Benares, who kept the insurgents at bay for a long time when they attacked his house. At the time of the incident, Davis, the son of the judge, was a child, but for this work he obtained, besides papers, the personal information and assistance of the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone who was appointed on his first arrival in India as assistant to Mr. Davis, the Judge and Magistrate of Benares in 1799. By publishing this little volume of one hundred pages, Sir J. F. Davis has not only "done honour to his father's memory," but has laid the students of British Indian history under a deep obligation. Few narratives, indeed, can have "higher claims to implicit credit."

When Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh died in 1775, he was succeeded by Asaf-ud-daula, who ceded to the Company the province of Benares, including "all the districts dependent on the Raja Chait Singh." The province was allowed to remain in charge of the Raja, subject to the control of a Resident at Benares. During the rule of Raja Mahip Narayan Singh, who was installed as successor to Chait Singh, an independent Magistrate was appointed for the city of Benares, the first to hold this post being Ali Ibrahim Khan. In 1794, Mahip Narayan was removed from the Government, as he was found incompetent to run it, and British officers were placed in charge of the administration. Benares remained quiet for a few years, but soon after the death of Asaf-ud-daula (1797) an insurrection broke out, the first of its kind during the British rule in India, which in many ways anticipated the political ideals of the Revolt of 1857.

The Company became the 'arbiters of the disposal of a kingdom,' as Lord Teignmouth wrote, 'by an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances.' The claim to succession lay between Vizier Ali, the son of the deceased Nawab and Saadat Ali Khan, the eldest surviving son of Shuja-ud-daula. Though the

former was installed by the British Resident at Lucknow, he was shortly afterwards deposed on account of his proved illegitimacy. By nature fearless and sanguinary, the young Nawab of seventeen, seems to have been conscious of his insecure position and even before his bonafides were doubted, the British Resident at Lucknow got the impression that Vizier Ali was entertaining hostile designs towards the English. The appearance of Lucknow is said to have been alarming on the day of Sir John Shore's intended visit to the city and Mr. Davis is of opinion that the assassination of the Governor-General was even planned by the Nawab's people.² But the Nawab was deserted by his friends including Almas Ali Khan, a powerful noble who denounced him before the Governor-General as spurious and profligate. The mother of the late sovereign, the Begam, also made similar complaints of the defective title of Vizier Ali, as a result of which he was deposed in favour of Saadat Ali Khan, and was removed to Benares where he was given as a residence the house known as Madho Das' garden with a pension of a lakh and a half annually. Saadat Ali was proclaimed Nawab-Vizier on 21st January, 1798.

The removal of Vizier Ali to Benares, on the frontier of his former domain, and the shadow of power sustained by the numerous retinue he was allowed to maintain, were by no means calculated to diminish the risks of future trouble and with a Mysore war in the offing and Tipu Sultan trafficking with the French, and Zaman Shah, the king of the Afghans, firmly entrenched at Lahore with a powerful army, the time indeed seemed ripe for a revolt of the Muslim princes of India.

The two chief civil authorities at Benares were: Mr. Samuel Davis, Judge and Magistrate of the district, and Mr. G. F. Cherry, the Resident at Benares, who, as Chief Judge of the Court of Appeal, was the channel of communication with the foreigners of rank at that city. By virtue of his position Mr. Cherry had some personal intercourse and interchange of visits with Vizier Ali, but he did not 'entertain any suspicions of sinister designs on the part of his charge' though Mr. Davis as well as the supreme government at Calcutta had repeatedly warned him to become 'cognizant of the suspicious conduct and disposition of Vizier Ali' and even suggested the removal of the

1. The book was published in 1811, but the impression having been exhausted, the second edition appeared in a limited number of copies meant chiefly for circulation among friends and relatives. The copy used by the writer of this article in the National Library at 'Belvedere,' bears an interesting notice—'purchased from the Hon'ble C. P. Ilbert. Date 26th October, 1886.'

2. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

Muhammadans of influence from the district, as they might be induced 'to throw their weight into the scale of insurrection.'

Vizier Ali at Benares lived in right royal style with all the external marks of high rank which helped him to cherish views of independence in himself and at the same time offered an inducement to other disaffected chiefs to strengthen his cause. Davis quotes Lord Valentia and other authorities to show that the massacre at Benares was not a mere 'ebullition of rage' in Vizier Ali when he was ordered to live in Calcutta, but that the plan of the insurrection was arranged long before the arrival of that order.⁴ In fact, Vizier Ali looked forward to an invasion of India by the Afghans under Zaman Shah to whom he had sent an envoy, and depended much on the expected operations of the Afghan invader for the ultimate execution of his plan. He had also engaged some of the principal people of Benares to join him in an insurrection through a chain of conspiracy carried out by two of his accomplices Izzat Ali and Waris Ali, and was also in correspondence with other disaffected Musalman princes of Bengal devoted to his interest.⁵ Lord Mornington, on

3. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

5. Among the letters of Vizier Ali seized after his flight, there is a letter from the brother of the Nawab of Dacca (perhaps a brother of Seyed Ali Khan Nasrit Jung, Nawab of Dacca) (*Hamilton Gazetteer*, i. p. 478) to Zaman Shah which gives us a glimpse of the working of the Muslim mind and the desperate nature of their attitude to British rule. After the customary eulogy, the letter proceeds: "... considering your majesty as the support and champion of the true faith, I am happy to offer my services in the most zealous manner and rank myself among the propagators of our holy religion. . . . However great were the obstacles to my submitting myself to your majesty's protection I have at length fortunately surmounted them, and, trusting to Providence have despatched this letter to your majesty's court by Sheikh Ali, or Amil, who will explain fully all circumstances relating to this country. I beg leave to observe that owing to the imbecility of the house of Timour, and the contempt into which it has fallen of late years, the powerful have been weakened and the weak become powerful. Worthless unbelievers and ambitious villains have started up at every corner, boldly conquered all these countries, and established themselves here. For these reasons, religion which should be so highly prized, is here lost, nothing of Islamism remains but that bare name. They have so stripped and reduced the principal Mussulmans that they have no resource, and are obliged implicitly to obey their orders. The Mussulmans have become vile and wretched, the honour of the great men is gone. Christians seize and keep by force, the daughters of Syeds and Mussulmans. Under these circumstances, when we can no longer act openly, it behoves us to exert ourselves secretly in the cause of religion. If your majesty's victorious standard shall be directed towards these parts for the establishment of religion and destruction of its enemies, by God's assistance your majesty will in a short time, and without any difficulty, conquer this country and annihilate your enemies." (Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98). These sentiments which Vizier Ali undoubtedly shared, made feasible the formation of a Mussulman league with Zaman Shah at its head to free India from the British. Kaye writes that Zaman Shah of Kabul had kept the British power in India in a chronic state of unrest. 'There was the fact,' he continues, 'of a minacious Muhammadan power beyond the frontier, not only meditating invasion, but stirring up the Muhammadan Princes of India to continue in a religious war against the usurping

being acquainted with the situation issued instructions to Mr. Cherry to remove the dangerous dethroned man from Benares to Calcutta. To Vizier Ali, it was a death-blow to all chances of success of his plan to overthrow the British rule, and so he was 'hurried into the execution of a desperate plot,' though he seemingly acquiesced in and gave out that he should proceed to Calcutta on the 15th or 16th of January (1799).

Mr. Cherry was too little inclined to suspect treachery on the part of the ex-Nawab, but the native Superintendent of Police reported to Mr. Davis on the 13th of January that Vizier Ali was engaging a number of armed men in his service, and seemed to make no preparations for his departure to Calcutta. On the night of the 13th Vizier Ali sent an information to Mr. Cherry that he would visit him on the following morning. Accordingly, on the morning of the 14th January 1799, he paid a State visit to Mr. Cherry, arriving at his house with a retinue of some 200 men fully armed. Unsuspectingly Mr. Cherry welcomed the party, and took Vizier Ali, Izzat Ali, Waris Ali and another attendant into the breakfast room who were accompanied by four armed followers. When tea was served to Vizier Ali he did not touch it, and began to complain in a loud voice, of the treatment he had received from Sir John Shore who promised him six lakhs of rupees per annum, but reduced it to a much smaller amount.

"On his departure," continued Vizier Ali confronting Mr. Cherry face to face, "Sir John Shore told me that you would take care of my interests and attend to my representations; but this you have never done. On the contrary, at the suggestion of Siadat Ali Khan you now wish me to go to Calcutta. . . . Saadat Ali Khan wishes for my death and the English are in league with him. . . ."

While he was thus speaking, Waris Ali drew himself near Mr. Cherry, and at a signal from Vizier Ali held him by the back, while Vizier Ali himself seized his victim by the collar and struck at him with his drawn sword. The Resident endeavoured to escape through the verandah but they followed him and cut him down to pieces. Mr. R. Evans, a young private secretary, and Captain Conway, who were living with Mr. Cherry, were also killed in the Residency. The assassins now swelling into a murderous gang then made for the house of Mr. Davis, the Judge of the district, and killed on the way Mr. Robert Graham, a young civilian, and Mr. Hill, a shopkeeper of Benares. Mr. Davis, just returning from his morning ride found the *cutwal* in his home who reported that he apprehended some mischief from Vizier Ali's visit to Mr. Cherry. Presently, they found the insurgents running up against the house. Without delay, Mr. Davis sent

Feringhee. Vizier Ali had intrigued with Zaman Shah, and would not only have welcomed, but have subsidised also an Afghan force in his own dominions (Kaye: *Sepoy War*, I, pp. 115-16).

6. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

his wife with her two children, of which the writer of the book *Vizier Ali* was one, to the flat roof of his house. He saved himself and his family only by his presence of mind and a narrow winding staircase which he defended with wonderful tact and pluck. With a spear and none to help him, he disabled his assailants singly every time they wanted to reach the roof. For the space of an hour and a half, he converted this narrow winding staircase into a sort of 'Domestic Thermopylae' as Lord Valentia described it,⁷ till troops came to his rescue. In the meantime Vizier Ali and his desperadoes went to plunder and murder other English houses in Sikraul, but when Major-General Erskine, encamped within a short march of the city of Benares, arrived at the scene with his troops, Vizier Ali retired to his house at Madhu Das' garden and prepared for defence.

The force under Erskine while marching through one of the suburbs of Benares suffered by the fire from the houses and the narrow lanes on each side, but on reaching Madhu Das' garden, the Nawab's palace, the gateway was broken in, and the stronghold was captured just as the sun set. It is believed that if the contest had lasted until dark, a frightful massacre would have been committed and the city of Benares pillaged by numerous bandits and adventurers who were thronging round.⁸

But though the garden house was assailed, Vizier Ali could not be captured as he had already fled by the way of Azamgarh towards Beaul accompanied by most of his horsemen and a number of his armed foot followed during the night. The next day, the 15th of January 1799, the Raja of Benares, the Delhi princes from the Shivala, and many of the principal inhabitants of the city waited on Mr. Davis to prove their steadfast adherence to the British rule, which, of course, was not doubted, though it is certain as it turned out to be, that Jagat Singh of Saranath fame, a kinsman of the Raja, had been one of the emissaries in Vizier Ali's conspiracy.⁹ Early in his flight, Vizier halted to

7. *Ibid.*, p. 96. There is also a succinct statement in Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*.

8. Meanwhile, the European residents assembled at the house of Mr. Davis, and it was freely acknowledged that they would have been discovered and massacred if the attention of the insurgents had not been occupied by his defence (Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41). Lord Wellesley, who was absent for a time on a visit to Madras at the period of the Benares insurrection subsequently expressed his appreciation of the arduous trial of prudence, activity and resolution of Mr. Davis and sent to his wife this autograph inscription: 'To Mrs. Davis, as a testimony of sincere respect and regard, and also a memorial of attachment founded upon long intimacy, to the honourable and virtuous memory of her deceased husband, from her faithful friend and servant, Wellesley.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 75-76).

9. The principal testimony was given by a Brahmin who was an astrologer to Vizier Ali. The Brahmin was sent by him to Jagat Singh, four months previous to the insurrection, to ascertain if he was well-disposed and if he would be a privy to his design of making war against the English. Jagat Singh in reply stated that he was a slave to the Nawab and that he would extend his dominions

address a letter to the Raja of Benares urging him to rise against the English which was miscarried into the hands of Mr. Davis,¹⁰ who, of course, found no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Raja and wrote back to him to calm his apprehensions as follows:

"Do not you be alarmed on this account, for though the Nawab wrote a letter to you, it is clear that you had no communication or correspondence with him, and I am well assured that you are a friend to the Company."¹¹

By the 18th of January public tranquillity seemed re-established but in the course of the enquiries, instituted by Mr. Davis and other servants of the Company, it was very clearly proved that not only a good number of Muhammadan chiefs, but also a considerable number of 'Hindu Babus' or nobles had promised assistance to Vizier Ali. These Hindu Chiefs were obviously waiting the result of the massacre, but their non-participation was not a proof of their innocence as definite evidence was found, that the Zamindar, Bhavani Sankar, and his son Sheo Deo Singh went to the fort of Pindra about 14 miles from Benares, on the Jaunapur road with two hundred men armed with guns and swords on the evening of Sunday, the 13th January where at nightfall they were joined by Nawab Vizier Ali. In the consultation that followed it was agreed that the Hindu Chiefs should prevent any force coming while the Nawab was fighting the English and that they should engage the troops from Beetabur.¹² After the flight of Vizier Ali, next day, Bhavani Sankar disappeared with the intention, it was supposed, of joining his master and Sheo Deo took up his residence in a small house in the city where he remained entrenched

as far as Calcutta. He is also reported to have said, "Let me assemble troops and raise money from the bankers to defray the expense of massacring the English." Vizier Ali being delighted sent a 'Kehlaut' to Jagat Singh who reciprocated by declaring that he had prepared a list of sixty of his friends, who would take an oath of fidelity to the cause. A secret interview took place one night between Jagat Singh and the ex-Nawab, when the latter seemed to have signed some promise or contract in the event of their plot, succeeding. But the Brahmin, later on, wanted to disclose the plot to Mr. Cherry and actually approached him for that reason, but the Resident declined to give him any audience. Jagat Singh, Davis says, had a great taste for Persian culture and refinement: his Persian Library and his compositions earned for him the title of the 'Nightingale of India' from a former Nawab. This might explain why he was so staunchly loyal to Muhammadan rule. (*Ibid.*, pp. 47-49).

10. The letter runs as follows: 'From Vizier Ali Khan to Rajah Udunt Narain Singh.' "By the grace and bounty of God, the life of the worthless Cherry, who disturbed and oppressed you, the hereditary servant of my family, has been terminated by the warriors of the army of Islam. You, who are my hereditary servant and ancient well-wisher, whose ancestry were always ready with heart and soul for the service of my family, must consider these joyful tidings, as the cause of your prosperity. Be ready with your people for my service, and guard well the roads about the city of Benares. Enjoin your people to permit no individual of the British or other European nations to pass the boundaries of Benares. . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45).

11. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-99.

surrounded by a body of guards known as 'Bankas'.¹³ "It is well known," wrote Mr. Davis to General Erskine, "that this city abounds with armed adventurers who are ever ready to enter into any service at a moment's notice. There are in the district persons of rank who live and maintain their own guards without any limitation from government."¹⁴ The danger resulting from the existence of these mercenary elements was apparent in the use made of them by Vizier Ali.

It was further ascertained that a nephew of Jagat Singh had come up from Saran to Benares and agreed to join him in the conspiracy engaging to raise 20,000 men in Chapra. It was also established that a chief named Culb Ali Beg, otherwise known as Mogul Beg, had attended Vizier Ali during the insurrection.¹⁵ The extent and organisation of the conspiracy is also indicated by the evidence of a European inhabitant, McLean by name who was going to be despoiled on the evening of that day far off from Benares. A number of papers discovered after the flight of Vizier Ali contained lists of forces he was able to pull—about four thousand eight hundred foot and a hundred horse who would join Vizier Ali at once, and some eighty thousand who would subsequently espouse his cause on the day of massacre. But it has been estimated that not more than two or three thousand actually composed Vizier Ali's forces on that day, but the huge levy would certainly have been brought into action on a favourable opportunity had he been allowed to stay in Benares and develop his plans.

So the plot failed, but Vizier Ali, however, was still at large and the implicated 'chieftains' were not yet apprehended. The supreme government of Calcutta had sent instructions to secure the persons of those nobles who were privy to the conspiracy but it was difficult to execute the order as these refractory chiefs lived in houses that were fortified like castles and in particular in the stronghold of Pindra. Further, Sandat Ali, whose help was needed in the pursuit of Vizier Ali and his partisans, implored to be excused upon the ground that he could not trust his own soldiers; and all that he did was to issue orders that Vizier Ali should be seized.

The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, then a very young man and assistant to the Judge and Magistrate of Benares, was deputed to capture Pindra. On the 18th of March he was furnished with four companies of infantry and twenty-four troopers. The

place was taken without resistance as the occupants had fled, but a seizure was made of fifty matchlocks, forty swords, and some powder and ball. On the same day Mr. Sealey and another officer of the civil service, surprised the residence of Jagat Singh and forced him to surrender. Sheo Deo, who occupied a strong house in the city of Benares, offered a gallant resistance to his friends who came to capture him. He held out a whole day and night without food and water and 'though every means was adopted to persuade him to surrender' and every assurance offered that no personal disgrace should be inflicted, he remained shut up in his impregnable position. At length he rushed out and furiously attacked the soldiers. In the desperate conflict that now ensued, Sheo Deo was slain, but not before he and his 'Bankas' had killed or wounded a number of the besieging party. The arrest of other leaders could not be made as many fled, only Bhavani Sankar and Jagat Singh were brought to trial and condemned to death. Of the two, Bhavani was executed, but the sentence of Jagat Singh was committed to transportation, but he committed suicide on his journey down the Ganges when he approached the sea, with a view to escaping the degradation of the loss of caste.

Subsequently, other measures were taken to break up this dangerous band of feudal retainers and to clear the country of the Bankas. In the meanwhile, Vizier Ali was ravaging Gorakhpur when he was joined by free-booters and adventurers of all kinds and with these lawless bands amounting to some thousands of men, he brought the eastern districts of Oude into a state of chaos and disorder, but chased by British force he moved from place to place and was eventually compelled to fly to Rajputana where he took refuge with the Raja of Jaipur. When pressure was brought to bear upon the Raja, he delivered him up to the English, but due to his 'scruples for the laws of hospitality' he stipulated for the life of Vizier Ali and also made it a condition that he should not be confined by fetters. Vizier Ali was taken to Benares, by a singular coincidence, on the anniversary of his rebellion and thence to Calcutta. Subsequently, after a long captivity in Fort William, he was transferred in the palace built for Tipu Sultan's family in the fort of Vellore, where the females of his family joined him.

Such was the outbreak at Benares in 1799. Considered from the aspect of affairs on the side of Mysore, brought about by the war with Tipu Sultan in February 1799, Vizier Ali's insurrection at Benares may not appear to be just a flutter on the political surface of India, and had it not been put down speedily, the spread of revolt at such a critical period might have taxed the resources of the government to the utmost. But the genesis of the insurrection calls for some remark. It was undoubtedly a political movement with definite political objectives, probably the earliest on record during British rule,—the Muslims and Hindu chiefs, joining in a conspiracy to overthrow the

government. The highhandedness of Warren Hastings, in the affairs of Chait Singh of Benares, left a back-wash of bitterness and resentment in the minds of the Hindus of Benares, who were unfortunately duped to join in a cause which was not worthy enough of their participation. The reckless ambition of a dastardly boy of nineteen of ignoble origin could not evoke much sympathy, and far less any widespread national sentiment, and the assassination of a half a dozen

Europeans, though an unprecedented event in the 90's of the eighteenth century, did not help the movement to gain any elevation. Even then, the insurrection served to generate a spirit of tension against British rule in India, and in spite of the pan-Islamic predictions of this young visionary to unfurl the green flag with the help of Zaman Shah, it furnished a precedent to the disaffected political elements to combine in a revolt to overthrow the rule of a foreign power.

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TOWARDS ECONOMIC FREEDOM

By S. N. AGARWAL

THE Agra Session of the All-India Congress Committee devoted its attention mainly to the serious economic issues facing the country. We attach the greatest significance to the two resolutions on Unemployment and the Social and Economic programme passed by the A.-I. C. C. after careful consideration of all aspects of the problem. It will be wrong to regard these resolutions as mere "pious hopes and platitudes"; they embody the will and determination of the Congress to bring about a social and economic revolution in the country after the achievement of political freedom. We have, indeed, been able to achieve substantial results in various spheres of national development during the last few years. Thanks to the able guidance and wisdom of our great leaders, it has been possible for us to consolidate and stabilise our newly-won political independence. Besides, the country has made impressive progress in different fields of economic activity. But we are ourselves not satisfied with the pace of progress in the social and economic domains. The resolution, therefore, rightly points out that "the pace of progress must be quickened more specially in regard to land reform and industrial growth." The A.-I. C. C. "attaches the greatest importance to the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in India" in order to make "the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land." The State Governments have been asked to "take immediate steps in regard to the collection of the requisite land data and the fixation of ceilings on land holdings" with a view to "redistribute the land, as far as possible, among the landless workers." Every effort is to be made "to add to the volume of investment for developmental purposes" through voluntary and, wherever possible, even compulsory savings. The machinery of administration and in particular the Services have also to be "reorganised with a view to deal effectively with the problems connected with the establishment of a Welfare State." The legal system which is "expensive and dilatory" should be revised

and made "simpler, less costly and more expeditious." The Planning Commission has been asked to "re-examine" the Five-Year Plan with a view to "its expansion in such directions as would lead to an increase in the volume of employment." The State has been enjoined to "assume a larger degree of responsibility in regard to cottage and small-scale industries" in order to provide fuller opportunities for the proper utilisation of country's man-power. The A.-I. C. C. has also stressed the need for the reorganisation of our educational system so that it may adapt itself better to the present requirements.

It is now necessary to follow up these important resolutions with definite lines of action, and we are confident that the Government of India as well as the State Governments will take early steps to secure for the country a true type of social and economic freedom for the common good of all citizens irrespective of any distinctions. It is essential to tackle our economic problems with a sense of urgency and in a crusading spirit. Time is of the essence in a fast-moving world of today; we cannot afford to follow a policy of over-caution and "gradualness." There is, of course, great risk in moving too fast; but the risk in not moving fast enough is no less. All of us have to realise that the quintessence of economic freedom is *economic equality* and reduction of glaring economic disparities in our present-day society. With a yawning gulf between the rich and the poor, all talk of economic freedom appears to be futile and meaningless. In order to establish real economic justice in society, it is necessary to fix ceilings on incomes either from land or from other kinds of property. The A.-I. C. C. has called upon the State Governments to take early steps to fix ceilings on land-holdings for redistributing land among the landless. We also welcome the Estate Duty Bill as a measure of achieving greater economic equality among the urban population. It will, however, be desirable to re-orient our taxation policy with a view to bridging

13. This set of braves called 'Bankas' were leagued together as a sect. They were men of all castes they affected a peculiar way of dressing, 'half bully and half dandy': strutted in the streets and were always ready to be hired for a crime. The term 'Banka' is derived from the peculiar movement of their swords which are proficiently exercised and so they were mostly maintained by the wealthy as their armed followers. (*Ibid*, pp. 68-72).

14. *Ibid*, p. 65.

15. It is interesting to note that one Mustapha Beg gave the signal for revolt to the people at Vellore in 1806. (*Kaye: Sepoy War in India*, I, p. 227, f.n.).

the existing gulf between the haves and have-nots.

In regard to land reforms, we would draw the attention of all the enthusiasts for large-scale farming in this country to the fate of collectivization in Eastern European countries like Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary. In Tito's Yugoslavia, collective farms have not only "set peasant against peasant, but also peasant against the State." In Hungary, collectivization has recently been "slowed down," because it has "impoverished and antagonised the population and brought the country to the verge of economic collapse." (Vide London Times, July 6). In China, there is a movement for allowing more "liberty for the peasant" by making collectivization voluntary and doing nothing "to neglect or roughly hamper the peasant's activity as an individual economic unit." The history of collectivization in the U.S.S.R. also clearly indicates the need for great caution in trying similar experiments in India. As in Japan and several countries of Western Europe, small-scale farming with co-operative endeavour in different processes of agriculture is best suited to Indian conditions. Instead of trying to pool land on the basis of highly mechanized farming, we should try to persuade the individual small-scale peasants to pool their resources of production like cattle, irrigation, manuring, etc., as also processes of agriculture like sowing, weeding and harvesting on a co-operative or mutual-aid basis. That is why we have welcomed Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yagna as a novel way of redistributing land to the landless on the basis of small-scale and intensive farming.

The problem of unemployment is, indeed, a serious problem which requires to be tackled on many fronts. We have expressed our views on this question on previous occasions also and have regarded unemployment as Enemy Number One in India. In order to liquidate it effectively, it is essential to provide the fullest scope for the development of small-scale and cottage industries. Unless our pattern of production becomes labour-absorbing rather than labour-saving, it would not be possible to solve the problem of unemployment or partial-employment in this country. This is not sentiment or a Gandhian "fad"; it is pure and simple arithmetic. Of course, the technique of cottage production has to be made as efficient as possible with the help of technical or scientific knowledge. The public has also to pay its own part in patronising the goods of cottage and small-scale industries as compared with those articles produced by big mills and

factories. The Government of India must re-orient its import policy with a view to protecting the interests of small-scale and decentralised production in India. The import of consumer goods which can be easily and efficiently produced in our own country through cottage and village industries must be rigidly curtailed and even completely stopped. Our educational system requires radical changes in order to impart to our youngmen the capacity to work hard physically for earning their living. The present schools and colleges have become veritable factories for quickly turning out armies of the educated unemployed who are proving to be a source of potential danger to the stability of our democratic traditions.

We welcome the reference to the Reorganisation of Services in the resolution of the A.-I.C.C. at Agra. We earnestly hope that the Government of India and the State Governments will now try to implement the recommendations of the Planning Commission in this regard with a strong will. Prof. Appleby's suggestions also deserve to be considered seriously for making our administrative machinery more flexible and less rigid. So far as the desirability of Legal Reforms is concerned, we suggest that the Government of India should soon appoint a High Powered Commission to go into this complicated question thoroughly and submit its definite recommendations within a year. Various schemes for tapping the idle capital resources, particularly in the rural areas, should be prepared by the Planning Commission in consultation with the Ministries of Finance and Communications. In such schemes, special facilities should be provided for earmarking funds for specific local projects in different areas.

It is also gratifying to know that the A.-I.C.C. has accepted most of the amendments to the Congress Constitution as proposed by the Working Committee. These amendments are meant to revitalise the Congress organisation with a view to making it a sharper and more efficient instrument for effecting an economic revolution in India. We feel confident that with the reorganisation of the Congress, the land and industrial systems, the administrative services, the educational system, the commercial policy and the legal procedure, we shall be able to achieve economic freedom for our great country within the next few years. Our first fight for political liberty began in 1857; we achieved independence in 1947; let our fight for economic freedom bear ample fruit before the beginning of 1957.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RAJASTHAN

By PROF. K. B. SAKSENA, M.COM.

It looks quite satirical on the very face of it that a big State of India, viz., Rajasthan, to which goes the credit of being the birth-place of the leading business magnates and industrialists, is itself to be categorized as a backward area both agriculturally and industrially. The State with a widespread area of about 1.28 lakh square miles is inhabited by approximately 1.53 crores of a sturdy class of males and females. Is it not a matter of deep thinking and concern that this region of the country with much less a density of population, as compared to other States in India—India as a whole and other developed parts of the world, is not in a position to provide a decent living standard to the existing population? To consider any scheme for the general economic development of the State would be unjust within the limited space. An attempt is therefore made here to study the industrial problems and prospects of an industrial development in the State.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before coming to any conclusion regarding the subject and suggesting proposals for the industrial development, it seems quite essential to look through the mirror the historical background for the present undeveloped condition of the State. Scanning the annals of the history of this State (though not in the form of present political configuration) we find that since the time we have got traces of its history, the land of Rajputs popularly known as Rajputana, had been a constant arena for political feuds among the various rulers of small States who were more anxious for establishing their political supremacy rather than aiming at a consolidated economic, political and social unity. This was one of the reasons for the fall of the brave people and the governments of this State before the Moghul and then the Britishers. The courage of the people can be well judged by the views of the learned authority Tod as expressed in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*:

"Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in history of mankind of people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict or human nature sustain and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure and making calamity a whetstone to courage."

Despite the absence of warfare in this region during the British regime, the laissez-faire policy of the government could not do much for the industrialization of the country as a whole, nothing to talk of Rajasthan. Of course, the limited stimulus that was given to handicrafts and fine arts in the various States was due to the fascination of the rulers for decorating their capitals. It could be hoped that the liberation of the country and the

unification of small and big units into a compact group under one government, would be much helpful for *inter alia* the development of industries in the State. The State and the country as a whole immediately after the independence have confronted a great many political and economic difficulties plus the rehabilitation problems created after the partition of the country. The diversion of activities has been responsible now for the lack of due consideration for the problem under review. However, I do not stand to depreciate the steps taken by the Rajasthan Government in this connection, but the proposals for industrial development are not however sufficient.

REASONS FOR LACK OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Political reasons only do not account for the chequered growth of industries in the State; but there are many other reasons that can be attributed to this slackness. The position of raw-material and the financial problems are also to be considered in this connection. There has always been lack of co-operation and initiative in the State and the industrialists of today. The industrialists who have their origin in the State were never very anxious to develop industries in their birth-place, rather they invested a major portion of their stupendous earnings outside the State. The system of customs duty and the lack of facilities for the import of raw material and movement of goods to and from the State along with the lack of facilities for the maintenance of industrial units, were obstacles in the way. Seth Ghanshyamdas Birla once opined that the industrial development in the State could not be possible in the absence of facilities for transport and communication, industrial power and the taming of the water resources for industrial purposes. One of the most serious curses to this State is the incredibly low percentage of literacy which accounts for approximately 90 per cent of illiterates.

PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT

Whenever we consider any plan for the industrialisation, the first question that comes up is the form which should be given to it. Not only Rajasthan, but the country as a whole is standing at the threshold of industrialisation and we have got an option between the Gandhian system wherein there is limited scope for the big industrial units run by huge machines and there is a major consideration for the cottage industries which would give employment to the 80% of the rural population who is out of work for about eight months in the year and the method suggested on the American lines which leads to surrender of man-power to the supremacy of the machines. Up to this time the State has



not advanced much towards the American method and the Gandhian economy has not yet been applied on satisfactory lines. Here, however, we should not ignore the methods adopted in the communist countries, particularly in U.S.S.R. which is a symbol of planning not only industrial but agricultural, fiscal, commercial, educational, credit and monetary as well.

The industrial policy for the State should be so construed as to lead an all-round development of our life and to respond closely to the needs of the society in a manner so as not to centralize the benefits within a small group or a particular class of the people, but it should be on an equitable basis.

A CASE FOR COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Here it looks quite essential to look into the possibilities of developing cottage industries in Rajasthan. For such undeveloped areas it is always useful to stimulate cottage industries. These will provide work for the majority of persons at a lower cost and will prepare a background for industrial outlook. The success of cottage industries in Japan and Switzerland are amazing examples which are quite fascinating and alluring for the people of Rajasthan. A survey of the position of meagre cottage industries in the State has been made by the Rajasthan Government which does not reveal a desirable progress in this direction. The important cottage industries mainly consist of weaving and spinning, ivory goods, engraving, oil pressing, dyeing, Bidimaking and wood work.

Keeping in view the development of cottage industries it should not be missed that the development of such industries is to be stimulated which will provide the people with articles of domestic use and not with those which lead the cultivator to immoral habits, e.g., Bidis and local liquor which, though they may give employment to a number of persons, are like the noxious vermins which would infect society with evil germs. The Rajasthan Government has contemplated to spend an amount of Rs. 38.50 lakhs over a period of five years (1951-56 for the development of the cottage industries in the State of Rajasthan. This amount is not commensurate with the size of the population and the area of Rajasthan. As compared to other Part 'B' States of Mysore and Madhyabharat which provide for an expenditure of Rs. 135.38 lakhs and Rs. 50 lakhs respectively this amount seems to be too meagre. It is quite ridiculous that this meagre amount has been provided only for cottage industries when no amount has been provided for other major industries in the State. For the purpose of financing these cottage industries, the help of co-operative credit societies in the villages should

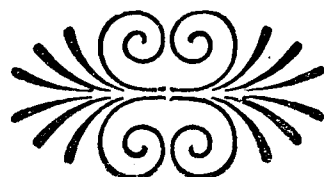
be obtained and every possible step should be taken to develop credit co-operation in the State.

MAJOR INDUSTRIES

The absence of any provision in the Five-Year plan for this State for the major industries should not be considered as to mean that there is no scope for the development of major industrial units. Rather this indifference of the State should be taken up by the private sector. Now in the democratic country, the big industrial units should flourish side by side with the cottage industries not with a view to competing with each other which will cause the ruin of cottage industries and massacre of the economic development of the State. It should, however, be aimed at that these two types of industries should work with fullest possible co-operation.

The working of the large industrial units creates problems regarding finance and labour. As far as the financial side is concerned, there are at present about four leading banks of Rajasthan origin and approximately an equal number of those who have been registered outside Rajasthan. These joint-stock banks can easily finance the requirements of the working capital. As far as the fixed capital is required for the establishment of new units or the expansion of the existing one, the facilities granted by the Industrial Finance Corporation can be availed of. The formation of a provincial corporation in Rajasthan does not look feasible or economically advantageous.

It should, however, not be lost sight of that the industrialists now should come forward with a generous motive for the welfare of the State and the people, and not with the only consideration of making profits. The problems of labour and capital relationship have become quite considerable these days and although the government is in constant effort to create amiable relations, individual effort from both the parties is quite indispensable. The capitalists should take lesson from the growing tendency towards socialisation and nationalisation of industrial units over vast regions of the world. The symbol of capitalism in U.S.A. and U.K. may not remain so forceful as it is today and even today the benefactors of capitalism and bureaucracy in the two countries are always on their guard to keep off socialism and communism at an arm's length. It is at this stage very essential for our capitalistic class to show goodwill towards the interests of the general masses and not to keep aloof for fear of nationalization of the industries in the future which is not in the offing as yet. Here they have got ample opportunity to save their skin from criticism by the public.



THE COLLEGE OF YOGA AT LONAVLA

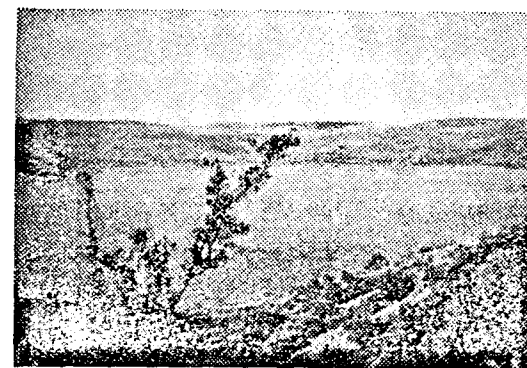
By Dr. S. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., T.D., Ph.D.

To wander for nearly twenty years in the mountains and jungles of the sacred land of Bharat from Kedarnath in the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Girnar in Saurashtra to Tarakeshwar in Bengal in search of Yogis to get an inkling into the mysteries of Yoga and ultimately to be blessed by the

to dispel darkness from the 'terra incognita' of Yoga and

"to propagate Yoga in all its aspects—physical, mental and spiritual—by co-ordinating it with modern sciences and orienting it in such a way as to make it useful in everyday life."

To give effect to his mission in life Swamiji made a small start in the year 1924 with an Ashram *The Kaivalyadhama* at Lonavla which is nearly 80 miles from Bombay, en route to Poona, and is on an elevation of 2,000 ft. approximately. Later on, the research side of the Kaivalyadhama was separated and organised as a well-constituted Samiti and was registered under the Societies Registration Act 21 of 1860 under the name of Swami Kuvalayananda's Guru, His Holiness Paramhansa Shree Madhavadas Maharaj of Malsar (near Baroda). Kuvalayanandaji's selfless devotion to the cause of Yoga gave rise to two important off-shoots of the Kaivalyadhama of Lonavla—one at Bombay and the other at Rajkot in Saurashtra. The Bombay off-shoot is known as the Kaivalyadhama Ishwardas Chhunilal Yogic Health Centre where on an average about a thousand people



The view of the 'Valvan Lake' behind the 'College of Yoga'

teachings of a Yogi in the very heart of a modern metropolis of no less importance than Bombay, is indeed one of the greatest wonders as well as an irony of fate in a man's life. Such was destined for the present writer who, in the year 1949, came into contact at Bombay with Swami Kuvalayanandaji, the founder-Yogi of the 'Kaivalyadhama' at Lonavla, Bombay, etc. The love and kindness with which Swamiji accepted the neophyte, in spite of certain handicaps, could only be explained by a reference to some relation existing between us in the previous births. It was the occasion when Kuvalayanandaji was selecting the first batch of thirteen students, who should satisfy certain conditions, for his College of Yoga that had its beginning in Bombay before being shifted to Lonavla. I was selected by Swamiji, not because I could satisfy the required conditions, but mainly on account of my genuine interest in the subject of Yoga. Yet, what a perverted idea one possesses about Yoga before one receives true light and what a heavy price one has to pay for his sad mistakes! To some it is a hoax, to others it is a cure-all.

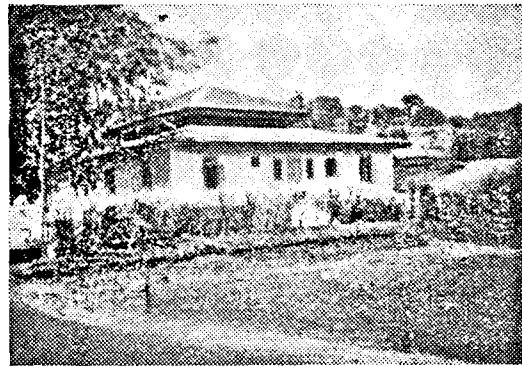
The subject of Yoga has an attraction or repulsion (both on false grounds) to a modern mind either due to the fantastic claims attributed to it or on account of the absence of a code suitable for the modern scientific mind. The present writer was no less a victim to the fog and mist in the domain of Yoga until he came to be guided by Kuvalayanandaji who has been fighting alone for the last thirty years



The 'College of Yoga'—Front view

(both men and women) undergo Yogic exercises every year. The Rajkot off-shoot maintains a hostel for college students and also carries on cultural work for the general public. The former institute gets an annual grant of Rs. 1200 from the Bombay Government and the latter Rs. 1,000 from the Saurashtra Government. The Kaivalyadhama has also deve-

loped an exclusive spiritual centre at Kanakeshwar-Bhuvaneshwar in the Kolaba district (off the Bombay coast). This centre is the *tapovana* of the Kaivalyadhama. Here Swami Kuvalayanandaji's Guru performed *tapas* for twelve years more than seven decades ago.



The first 'Ashrama of Kaivalyadhama' at Lonavla

But besides the afore-mentioned institutions Swamiji's mind all the time gazed at the temple which would be built up some day to enshrine the highest achievements of Yoga—both practical and theoretical. His dreams have, at last, been fulfilled by the starting of a full-fledged College of Yoga in 1950 at Lonavla ('The Gordhandas Seksaria College of Yoga and Cultural Synthesis') through the magnificent gift of Seth Makhanlal Seksaria of Bombay. Yet, how far it is from what it aspires to be and what immense potentialities are stored in it! The present assets of the College are only a few lakhs whereas it requires at least half a crore of rupees and there is no reason why it should not be possible for it to revive the ancient secrets of our hoary land reflecting through the prisms of modern science.

The College of Yoga at Lonavla being situated by the side of the first Ashrama of Kaivalyadhama over an extensive plot of land in the solitude of hills and lakes is a unique institute not only in our country but also in the whole world in the sense that the age-old Yogic lore of our motherland, is being investigated by the application of ultra-modern scientific instruments to the young men with bright university careers taken under training to serve as 'subjects'. In a short article as the present one it is not possible to give the details of the scientific experiments that are being carried on in the College of Yoga at Lonavla under the supervision of a Doctor of Science on the 'subjects' practising *pranayama*, *kapalabhati*, meditation, etc., to record and verify the truth of higher life experienced and described by our ancient sages. To use the words of Swami Kuvalayanandaji:

The aim of his College of Yoga is "to develop a philosophy and a culture based on the co-ordination of Yogic experiences and modern sciences that would lead to the establishment of human brotherhood. The principal science which will be used for this purpose is biology, although physics, chemistry, physiology, psychology, sociology, etc., will be fully taken advantage of . . . Life is trying to express itself in higher and still higher forms and endeavouring to obtain experiences of higher and still higher values. The science of biology which deals with life has stopped short with the study of the normal and abnormal man. That science will always remain truncated unless and until it extends its studies to the mystic. The effort of Dr. Julian Huxley and others to develop evolutionary ethics and scientific humanism will never have a sure foundation unless the mystic is scientifically taken into account. Cultures based upon an incomplete study of man will never eliminate conflict and war. If a man is to be happy, he must be studied in his entirety. . . . The experimental psychology that is developed in the West, however, has been concerning itself mainly with normal and abnormal or pathological psychology. The higher experiences of man have not yet been properly touched . . . Luckily for humanity the Indian Yoga taken in its most comprehensive sense, trains a man, stage by stage, from what may look to be merely physical exercises to the highest mystical experiences. Hence, the students trained in Yoga afford the best material for scientific investigation in Yoga."

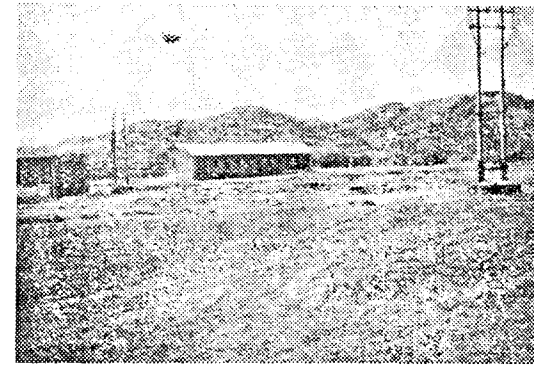


A hostel for the students of the 'College of Yoga'

In this connection one may think of the Duke University of the U.S.A. where Dr. Rhine is engaged in scientific experiments with the facts of extra-sensory perception—now better known as parapsychology. But even Dr. Rhine is handicapped to reveal the inner side of Yoga as he is not interested in or qualified for the facts and experiences narrated by Patanjali and other Sanskrit writers on Yoga. I, therefore, again assert that the position of the College of Yoga at Lonavla is unrivalled—specially as it is situated in the motherland of Yoga and is being directed by an adept in the subject.

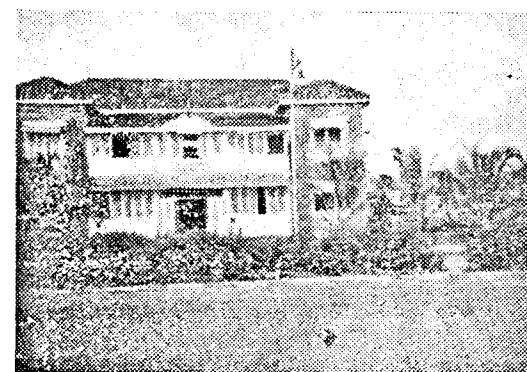
Nearly ten students are selected from all over India without any distinction of caste or creed every

year in June-July for the monthly scholarships of Rs. 60 offered by the College of Yoga at Lonavla which is a residential college and their courses of studies extend over two years. They are given lessons in practical



The view of another hostel

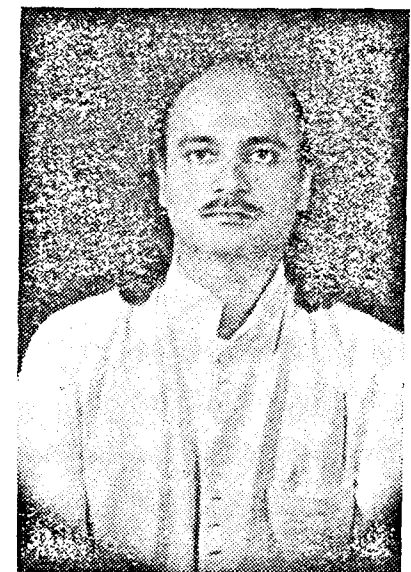
Yoga, Eastern and Western Philosophy, Indology, Comparative Religion, Anatomy and Physiology with reference to practical and scientific Yoga, experimental work on Yoga, etc. The professors consist of the Doctors of Indian as well as foreign Universities and well-versed Sanskrit scholars. Apart from the scientific study of Yoga, the College also encourages and gives facilities for research work in philosophy and literature. Several scholars of India and at least one from America (Mr. Behanan of the Yale University) have been awarded Doctorate Degrees by the different Universities for their research work done under the roof of the College of Yoga at Lonavla. The present writer is also one of them.



The 'Kaivalyadhama Yogic Health Centre' at Bombay

Excluding the two authentic books on *Asanas* and *Pranayama* by Swami Kuvalayananda, research work done by Om 'Kaivalyadhama' in the field of Yogic literature consists of the publication of a journal on Yoga called the *Yoga Mimamsa*, a critical edition of

the *Hathapradipika*, a critical edition of the *Brihad-Yogi-Yajnavalkya Smriti*, an *Index of Yogic Literature*, a *Concordance of the Yoga*, etc. In appreciation of the work put in by the College of Yoga at Lonavla the Central Government of the Indian Union and the Provincial Government of the Bombay State have allotted grants of Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 3,000 respectively to the institute so far. The College has also attracted no less world-famous visitors than Dr. J. B. S. Haldane and Prof. McBain from among the Western scientists, besides the Indian ones. The personality of Swami Kuvalayananda is a rare thing to come across even in the antiquated land of Yoga such as India. His vast erudition in the field of Yogic literature coupled with an equal amount of knowledge



The writer

of its practical side and a thorough grasp of the modern physiological investigations have made him well-known not only to the students of Yoga in India, but also in the Western countries which he has not yet visited. Though the main cause of his turning towards Yoga and the manner of his initiation at the hand of a greater Yogi, namely, the late Paramahansa Shree Madhavadasa Maharaj, will remain shrouded in mystery to us, yet we know this much that Swami Kuvalayananda was none but the principal Guru at Amalner more than a quarter of a century ago. His is a personality about whom the greatest living philosopher of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, has said:

"I am impressed by the work which you have been doing all these years . . . I know that the lessons of Yoga in its different aspects are needed today, not only in our country but in the world outside. And you have the capacity and the training for undertaking this noble task. . . ."

Mr. Roswell P. Angier, Chairman, Department of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven, U.S.A., writes:



Some students of Yoga in the lap of Nature

"I wish on behalf of the Department and of the Yale University to express our sincerest appreciation of the facilities that were given him (Mr. Behanan) in his study of Yogic practices. Mr. Behanan has a very deep affection for you and is full of gratitude for the untiring attention and help that you gave to him. This sense of gratitude is also felt by the Department of Psychology at Yale University."

To quote the words of my revered Guruji: "Yoga has a complete message for humanity. It has a message for the human body, it has a message for the human mind, and it has also a message for the human spirit."

But the world, as it is constituted, requires material help even for spiritual progress. Let the benefactors of humanity and wealthy philanthropists in our country as well as abroad not forget this fact and allow the College of Yoga at Lonavla to close half-way for want of financial help that is urgently needed by it. The responsibility of our National Government is also by no means less towards the maintenance of this Institute, which has grown up independently to the credit of its founder-Yogi, for the revival of our cultural heritage.*

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RAJESWAR DAS GUPTA The Pioneer Agriculturist of India

By INDU BHUSAN CHATTERJEE, MSc., L.Ac.,
Ex-Assistant Agricultural Commissioner with the Government of India

INDIA is an agricultural country and agriculture here is the most vital industry. In these days of widespread food shortage when huge quantities of foodstuff are being imported from abroad at enormous cost to the country, agriculture assumes even greater importance than ever. It has to be remembered, as once Sir Maurice Hallett remarked, that

"Whoever can make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, deserves better of mankind and does more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together."

In this connection the name of the late Rai Bahadur Rajeswar Das Gupta comes first to our mind. Realising the importance of agriculture he was one of the first to advocate research and improvement in our agricultural systems and their application to the field. Fittingly he has been called a pioneer in agricultural research in this province if not in India.

The late Rai Bahadur hailed from a distinguished Vaidya family of Vikrampur (Dacca). Undeterred by the loss of both the parents even at a very early age, he proceeded perseveringly with his studies and passed the F.A. Examination from the Dacca College. From

the very beginning he had a leaning for agricultural studies and this manifested itself in his taking admission in the Sibpur Engineering College with agriculture as a special subject. After passing the Final Examination he entered his service career. He was appointed Agricultural Inspector under the Government of Bengal in 1904. Later, after working for 2 years as the Superintendent of Agriculture, under the short-lived Eastern Bengal and Assam Government, he was promoted to the rank of Provincial Agricultural Superintendent. He conducted the cattle and jute census and prepared a *Year Book of Agriculture* which was of immense help to Indian Agriculturists. Mr. E. S. Miligan, the then Director of Agriculture, who was the first Agricultural expert to come out to India, was so much impressed by his work that he promoted him to the rank of Deputy Director of Agriculture.

Rajeswar Das Gupta officiated in the post of Deputy Director of Agriculture for two years and was then confirmed in the same post in the year 1919 and remained there till his death which, however, came too early in 1926 due to heavy extra departmental work which told on his health. He was made a Rai Bahadur in the year 1920. If he had lived a few years more, he was sure

to have been the first Indian Director of Agriculture in Bengal in those days of British bureaucracy. He lived only for 48 years, but in this short span of life his work is varied and voluminous. Regarding his success in service he was the first Indian I.A.S. in Bengal. He was not, however, merely a high Government official pinned



Rajeswar Das Gupta

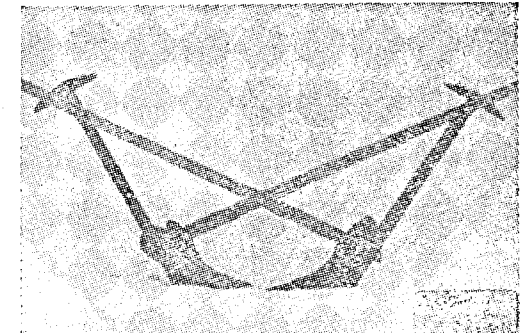
to his official files. He was a practical farmer and carried his message to the door of the farmers and agriculturists. In this country the most difficult task before an agricultural officer is to bridge the wide gap between the agricultural experiment station and the vast mass of peasants who really form the backbone of Indian Agriculture. In the words of Sir John Russell:

"It is not so much new science as fuller use of existing science that is needed."

Rajeswar realised this and spared no efforts for the application of laboratory results and improvements in the field. When the Royal Commission on Agriculture came to India in 1926 he acted as Liaison Officer on behalf of the Government of Bengal. He was the recipient of many medals and prizes in agricultural shows and exhibitions.

Amidst his many and varied activities Rajeswar could find time to write down his experiences in agricultural science in the form of manuscripts which he obviously desired to publish in book-form. His untimely death, however, prevented him from doing this and he left this responsible task to his eldest son the late Romes Chandra Das Gupta. But for the latter, these valuable works would have been lost to us. Romes Chandra spared no pains to get the manuscripts of his father arranged in the form of books and get them published. This over-strain told on his already failing

health and he died very prematurely at the age of 42. The Rai Bahadur's work are now being published by the Calcutta University in three volumes covering, in general, almost all the aspects of agriculture including livestock farming which in the main relates to cattle-breeding and dairy farming. The *Krishi-Bijnan* (Volume I) of which a second edition has come out deals with the fundamentals of agricultural science in lucid Bengali so that it can be read and the contents utilised by all those interested in agriculture in the two Bengals. It is not merely a theoretical book compiled from different journals and text-books. It is a practical guide to the cultivators. It traces the development of agriculture in India from time immemorial, deals with the nature of soil, its origin and broad classification particularly in this country, then goes on to describe the mechanism of



Rajeswar plough

plant life. The author devotes a chapter on plant mechanism of plant life, a chapter on plant nutrients, soil micro-organisms, manures and fertilisers, etc., What the author intends is to bridge the gap between the student of Agricultural College or School and the cultivator. The school purpose and the farm purpose, though inter-allied, should be considered as separate and the author's aim is to serve both. It is only natural to expect that with the progress of civilisation and in years to come a more organised system of education will be introduced and the treatment of land will be more and more "thoughtful" to provide a decent living to those engaged. In the cultivation of the soil lies the wealth of the country. This can be achieved only by applying scientific knowledge, sound practice and reliable theory. As a text-book for examination it is more suggestive than exhaustive and it is sure to open the mind of the student to the many problems involved in practice.

Rajeswar Das Gupta was very thorough in his methods and in his *Krishi-Bijnan* he introduced for the first time very appropriate Bengali equivalents of Botanical terms which shows his profound knowledge of Sanskrit. He believed that cattle improvement in Bengal would only be possible if an indigenous Bengal Breed could be stabilised with fixed characters and he really started selection work on these lines at the Rangpur Cattle Farm. But unfortunately, his policy was not continued.

Great credit is due to Rai Bahadur Rajeswar Das Gupta for the design and execution of a new type of plough which has been named "Rajeswar Plough" after him. It is an improvement on the plough used in Bengal which is antiquated and out of date. The adoption of the new plough would not only save time and labour but also increase production. The book should find a place in the curriculum of the Agricultural teachings and syllabus of our University as well as the State Government. The Directorate of Agriculture, West Bengal, should also encourage wider circulation of this

book written by one of the ablest officers of the Department. He was admired by one and all for his unflinching devotion to work, and his generous heart. Rajeswar Das Gupta is no more with us. The best way to commemorate his work and memory is to push ahead with our plans for an all-round improvement in our agricultural system and carry the message of laboratory research and experiments to the very door of the farmer and help him to apply more systematic and scientific methods for crop production. Then and then only we shall breathe "the air promise-crammed."

—:O:—

TAMING THE TURBULENT TAPI

A new era of prosperity will dawn for the Surat farmer tomorrow when Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power, Government of India, will formally open the Kakrapar Weir and Canal Project on the Tapi River, and release the first irrigation waters into the Chalthan Branch of the Left Bank Main Canal system. No longer will the farmer have to gaze towards the sky for merciful showers at the end of the monsoon season to save his crops. On several occasions failure of rains at the most crucial period has been a frequent phenomenon in this region. Henceforth water from the project which, incidentally, is the first in the Five-Year Plan to be constructed and put into operation by the Central Water and Power Commission, will be available in plenty when needed most.

Kakrapar, a tiny village 50 miles from Surat on the lower reaches of the Tapi river, has given its name to the project. It was once famous for *kankar* used for making roads, and because investigations on the Tapi first started here, this village became associated with the project.

Rising in the dense forests of Madhya Pradesh, the Tapi courses through Betul, Amraoti and Nimar districts for about 200 miles and enters the Bombay State a little beyond Burhanpur. Collecting the waters of numerous tributaries, it meanders another 250 miles through the Khandesh and Surat districts of Bombay State before emptying itself into the Gulf of Cambay. In the region of Kakrapar, the Tapi has dug for itself a deep channel with high banks. On both sides stretch miles of cotton and *jowar* fields and banana orchards.

RICH SOIL

As one travels from Surat to Kakrapar over a country track encountering jerks and jolts, and clouds of dust, one is sustained by the thought that the new road now under construction nearby will soon be ready. The black soil on either side of the road is rich and good for cotton, but its fertility cannot be fully exploited due to unreliable monsoons. The waters from the weir will now help overcome Nature's whims.

The Tapi's catchment area is 26,000 sq. miles with an average rainfall of 29 inches, nearly all of which

occurs during the monsoon, yielding a mean annual run off of 16 million acre feet. A small part of this water is today being utilised for irrigation.

Similarly, the basin's abundant timber wealth which can be converted into paper, rayon and plywood, besides being used in construction, is lying unexploited for want of power. Navigation too has suffered from neglect, being possible only up to Surat, a distance of 12 miles from the sea.

C.W. & P.C. INVESTIGATIONS

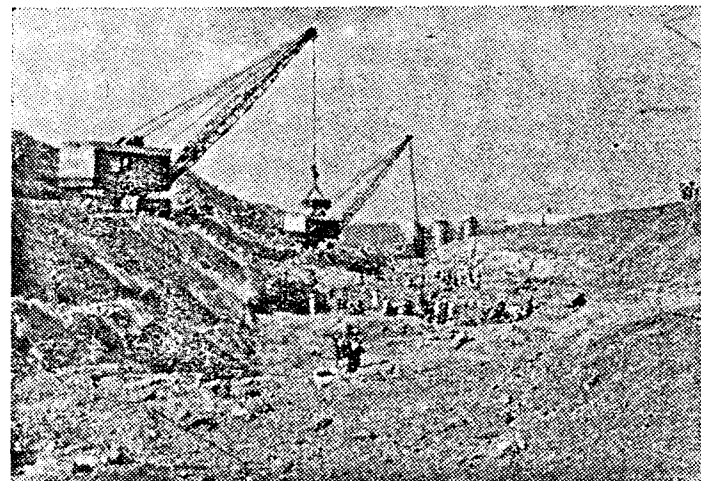
The Central Water and Power Commission took up the investigation into the scientific and planned utilisation of the waters of the Tapi in 1946. It was found that the basin could be conveniently divided into three parts, each of which could be developed independently without prejudicing an integrated scheme for the entire valley.

The lower portion of the basin possessed attractive possibilities and its development was given priority. The work has been divided into three stages. The first stage is further sub-divided into two parts. The first part provides for a Weir at Kakrapar and canal systems on both sides; the second which is under investigation by experts, includes the building of a storage dam to a partial height and canals to irrigate an additional area of 4,79,000 acres. Its completion will permit considerable perennial irrigation. The second stage involves the raising of the storage dam to its full height, and installation of hydro-electric power and transmission lines. The third stage envisages the construction of a 16-mile long power canal from the Kakrapar Weir to the river edge opposite Piparia village to take advantage of a 107-foot drop for generating more electricity.

THE PROJECT

On a massive rocky outcrop stretching across the river from bank to bank, the Kakrapar Weir is 2,038 feet long and the height above the deepest point in the river bed is 45 feet. The Left and Right Bank Main Canal regulators tower over the weir to a height of 53 feet. The length of the weir originally was 2,500, but it was reduced to enable a better off-take of the Right Bank Canal which is an important component of the project,

The noise and din of machinery mingled with the voices of some 2,000 workers echoed and re-echoed in the valley for wellnigh over a year in order to complete the Kakrapur Weir within the time set. It was a race against the clock and everyone—workmen, officers, staff and contractors—worked with martial regularity and unison.



Draglines at work on the Left Bank Main Canal. Machines are here seen excavating the bed and shovelling the earth for bank formation

The weir will command a gross area of 8,00,000 acres, of which 6,51,000 acres will be irrigated annually. The scheme is an economical one as the cost of development per acre is about Rs. 100/-. The increase in the yield of foodgrains will be about 1.6 lakh tons and of cotton 16,000 tons per year.

CANAL SYSTEM

The irrigation system fans out from two main canals taking off from the regulators on both ends of the weir.

Of the total length of 850 miles of canals, branches, distributaries and minors, 600 miles have been dug and the entire system is expected to be completed by June 1955.

The progress of the Left Bank Main Canal has been behind schedule because a layer of hard morrum and rock underground was encountered. It was drilled with holes and dynamited. In other parts of the canal system bulldozers, draglines and tractors are busy in the work of excavation. Afflux bunds have been constructed on either side to form a reservoir.

The waters of the Left Bank Main Canal will be let

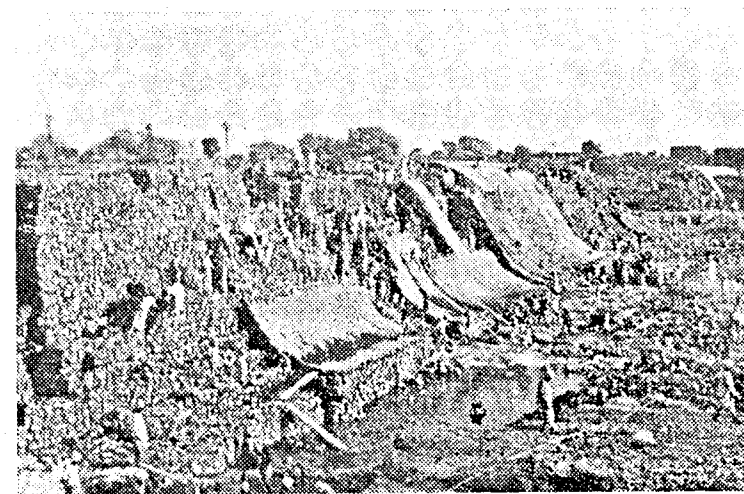
into the Moticher Khari which will serve as a canal for some distance. About half a mile above the Khari's confluence with the Tapi river, the Moticher Weir, a masonry structure across the Khari, has been built. This weir is 260 feet long and 48 feet high tapering from a base width of 299 feet to 24 feet at the top.

The country to be served by the canal system is traversed by several large rivers, necessitating construction of a number of huge and expensive aqueducts. Two major structures already constructed in the uppermost reach of Left Bank Main Canal are the Moticher Weir with spillway and an earthen dam at Ratania Khari. The number of masonry works on the canal system will exceed a thousand.

15,000 WORKERS EMPLOYED

Most of the work on the project was done by manual labour, but where the load, lift and operation by manpower was uneconomical, machinery consisting of dragline excavators, shovels, scrapers, etc., was used for economy and speed.

During 1951-52 the number of workers employed on canal digging reached a peak of 15,000. This helped considerably in giving employ-



Kakrapar Weir under construction

ment to a large number of persons from areas affected by scarcity and famine.

A large part of the equipment and stores was acquired from Disposals. All expensive and perishable stores were kept in godowns, while heavy material, like girders, plates and fencing, was stocked in an open yard.

Most of these will now be available for use on other projects.

Before work on the project started, a comprehensive soil survey of the commanded area was undertaken to determine the suitability of the soils for irrigation. This was done in the Project Laboratory at Kakrapar, which also tested concrete, mortar and engineering properties of soils.

The completion of the Weir at Kakrapar and the

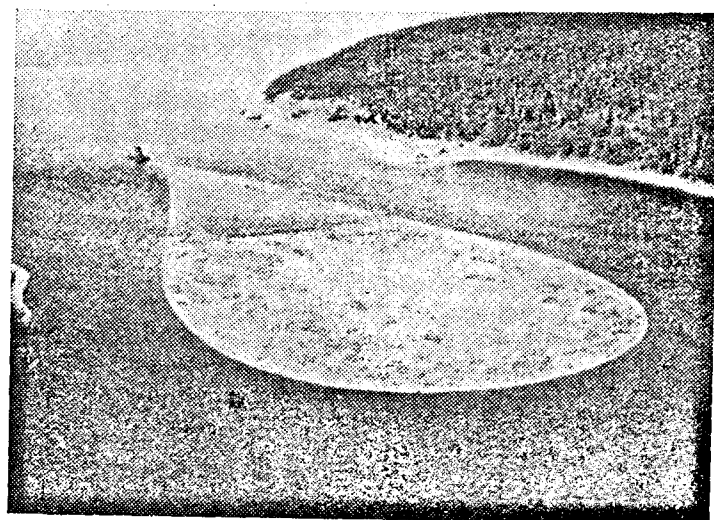
supply of irrigation water to the areas on the Chalthan Branch marks the commencement of the systematic development of this part of the valley. By the middle of next year another large tract between the Mindhola and the Purna rivers will be provided with irrigation facilities and by June 1955 channels will be ready to serve the rest of the areas on this project. So the first step in taming the wild and turbulent Tapi in the service of man has been successfully taken.—*PIB*

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PAPER : FOOD FOR THOUGHT

By A. G. MEZERIK

THE universal hunger for knowledge today has created a new need, a need for greater supplies of the raw materials for paper-making, since the printed word still is man's best means of communication.



In Sweden logs are towed to pulp mills in great rafts enclosed by a boom, as shown here

The oldest known bit of writing in the world, the Presse Papyrus, is in the municipal museum at Istanbul. It dates from about 6,000 years ago and the first sentence reads: "Alas, times are not what they used to be. Everyone wants to write a book and children are no longer obedient to their parents."

A long time has passed since then but the situation seems to be just the same—excepting that more people want to write books. There is another exception too. Papyrus leaves are no longer the basic ingredient for the manufacture of writing materials. Along with papyrus leaves the world has used—at one time or another—bones, stones and wood, slabs of clay and metal, fabrics, palm leaves, and finally sheepskin.

Now the world has turned to wood pulp, and

green forests are as essential to the printer as is movable type. And not only to the printer, for whether for ideas or confetti, for a poem or wrapping paper, or for postage stamps or wallpaper—paper winds itself about our lives from birth certificates through death certificates. The need for more paper—and more sources for paper—grows almost by the hour.

Governments and international organizations are committed to fighting literacy. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other United Nations organizations are introducing new forms of education. Governments are exchanging knowledge and information. Every such action calls for books, newspapers and periodicals. Radio and television are newer forms of communication. They well may be in the long run most important, but now it remains true that more men, women and children in the world depend upon words and images printed on paper for their information and know-

ledge than on any other means of mass communication.

As education removes the cobwebs of ignorance, a new kind of hunger is spreading across the globe. That hunger is for newsprint—for paper. The new famine is robbing millions of people of their mental nourishment. World organizations are mobilizing to relieve this famine. A newsprint shortage has been obvious for some time but the general boom in raw materials which took place in 1951, accentuated by stock-piling demands, created an acute crisis. It was then Unesco became alarmed. Inadequate supplies of printing paper available prejudiced the success of its basic educational program. Unesco approached the Food and Agricultural Organization and initiated a campaign to meet the emergency.

The FAO assumed the major responsibility for high quality were made in Java wholly from rice straw. On the basis of the technical improvement in moved into the pine forests and out of them and the straw-pulping process, rice straw could be used to around them in quest of a source of the needed paper a much greater extent as a raw material in those

tropical countries where there is an insufficient supply of pulpwood. But the fly in the ointment is that rice-growing areas rapidly are mechanizing their farming operations. Harvesting by machines such as combines will cause the farmer to switch to short straw varieties of rice which will reduce the supplies of rice straw before the pulping business gets started.

Bagasse, the residue of sugarcane, today is receiving the most widespread and intensive consideration as a source of pulp. The world's potential supply of bagasse—more than 33,000,000 tons—could do much to alleviate the newsprint shortage. Bagasse makes a good pulp, suitable for various kinds of paper, including newsprint, provided it is produced by modern methods and mixed with groundwood. However, it too

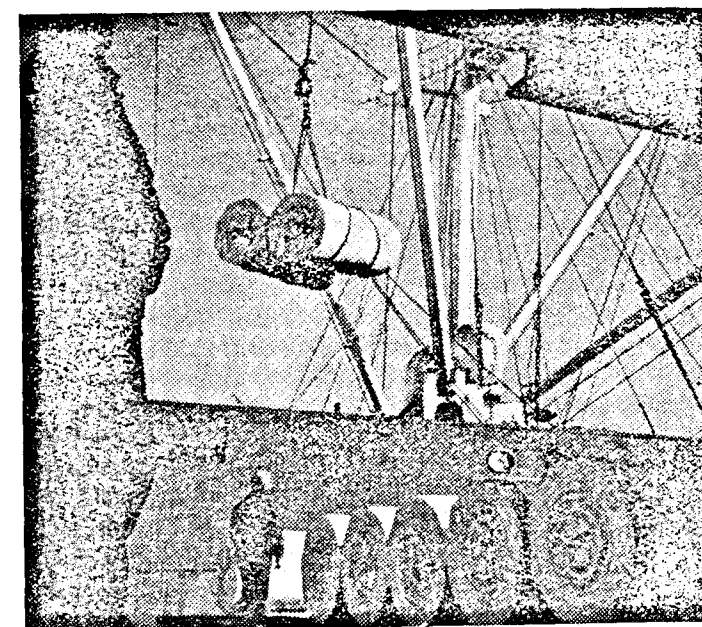


This team of man and elephant is taking one of the first steps in moving the raw material for paper-making from the forest to the pulping mill

for printing. The quest has reached back into time—once again touching the very papyrus from which we started. Egypt, as the year 1952 ended, announced it would again try to produce paper from the plant from which paper got its name—the papyrus, on which the Pharaonic Egyptians wrote. The search covers the land. It ranges all through agriculture, although to be sure, it does not now encompass the prospect of reintroducing sheepskin. The record of 300 sheepskins required by Gutenberg to print his Bible on parchment is in no danger of being challenged.

Other ancient agricultural sources for paper-making are not so immune. Wheat straw was employed in making pulp before wood began to be used. Methods were primitive and the product reflected it—being cardboards, corrugating papers and low-grade wrapping papers. However, the art of making pulp from wheat straw has lasted through the centuries with many small straw pulp factories still in operation. Rice straw is also a source for the making of paper—and of much better grade than is possible from wheat straw.

Before World War II white papers of a very



From Canada, newsprint is shipped to many other countries. This picture shows great rolls being loaded for export

has drawbacks. Supplies will be limited as long as most of the world's bagasse is used as fuel to fire sugar processing and refining. Bagasse also has a relatively high pith content which must be removed before

actual processing.

It already is clear that, in spite of these and other difficulties, bagasse is going to be a useful supplement to wood pulp in those parts of the world which are in or near sugar-processing areas. Supplement is the word, however, because compared to the total pulp demand, its possibilities are limited to a ceiling estimated by experts to be about 10 per cent of the world's present pulp output. Today's production of bagasse pulp amounts to less than one per cent.

The same areas which produce bagasse grow bamboo, which already is the chief raw material for making pulp and paper in India. Of India's total pulp production of 128,000 tons, 60 per cent was made from bamboo in 1951. Bamboo has good fibre dimensions; it grows rapidly, and it produces a good quality of paper. In Burma, Pakistan, Indo-China and the Philippines, commercial plantations growing bamboo bring high financial returns.

Bamboo is a grass, as is esparto, which grows abundantly in northern Africa and in Spain. Esparto is shipped mostly to England and France for processing. Sabai is another grass. With two crops per year and a yield of about 3,200 pounds per acre, sabai today contributes about 22 per cent of the raw material for pulp production in India. Esparto and sabai are important locally—but that is about all. Along with the grasses, straw, bagasse and bamboo all can make a contribution. None can meet the ever-growing need for paper.

The world demand for pulp will continue to rise in the coming years at a rate of about five per cent a year. By 1960, the demand will reach—and it may exceed—54,000,000 tons, an increase of 20,000,000 tons over 1950. To satisfy this need it will take trees and forests. FAO has been looking at all kinds of trees in all kinds of places, seeking new forest sources for pulp.

One of the most promising future sources of pulp-wood from tropical regions is from pine plantations. Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans have demonstrated the practicability of obtaining very rapid growth and high volume yields from planted exotic pines. The world's largest man-made forest—Kaingaroa, in New Zealand—will shortly supply newsprint under a \$30,000,000 project.

In the green region of selva sweeping back from the eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains, Peru sees a solution for its chronic shortage of newsprint in the wood of the cético, a native tree which grows in weed-like profusion along the banks of the Amazon, the Marañon and the Ucayali Rivers. In his *Woods of Northern Peru*, Llewellyn Williams says that the cético (genus *cecropia*), although designated a hardwood, is really soft and not very heavy. It is one of the fastest growing pulp trees, growing more than 30 feet in three years. The trunk is 10 to 12 inches in diameter.

Palms, of which there are hundreds of species, also are being explored. Palm woods vary from soft and spongy to extremely hard and heavy, sometimes with a density greater than that of water. It is possible that certain species of palms can be grown for their wood just as others are grown for oil, dates and coconuts.

Hardwoods are not being ignored. Australia's pulp production of 136,000 tons is based almost 80 per cent on hardwoods, while in the world as a whole only 8 per cent of wood pulp is made from hardwoods. Certainly there are possibilities. Eighty years ago, a raw material shortage forced the paper industry to discover and develop new resources, to use softwoods instead of rags as the chief source of pulp for paper. Today the search goes on to meet the ever-increasing pressure of world demand on the raw materials currently being used to produce pulp for paper. Plants, cotton linters, roots, reeds, grasses and many other agricultural products are being tested.

In the United States, at Savannah, Georgia, and at Lufkin, Texas, are factories which work for American, African, Indian, Finnish, Mexican and New Zealand manufacturers. They are searching for raw material sources—and included in their studies are palmetto, sugarcane, fibre, straw, bamboo, African bango and cotton stalks.

Around the world the search goes on—prodded always by the insistent need. When FAO, not long ago, offered to survey cellulose resources and help establish factories for pulping, 25 countries in the Far East and Mediterranean Europe replied, asking for missions to survey their potential capacities for producing paper and newsprint. FAO, as its work develops, gets to know more about the possibilities. They are not pessimistic. The world's forests, they say, are capable of supplying sufficient raw materials. It should be technically possible to achieve the necessary increase in production to meet prospective pulp and paper needs.

The traditional raw material for pulping is, of course, spruce wood which is concentrated in North America and Europe. These two main producing regions had an output of 8,000,000 tons in 1913; by 1950 their joint output had risen to just under 31,000,000 tons.

A long time has passed since the French scientist Rene Antoine Ferchault de Reaumur observed that wasps made their nests from wood filaments which resembled paper. His associates were skeptical when he suggested that man, too, could make paper from wood. When Friedrich Gottlob Keller, a weaver from Saxony, discovered wood pulp in 1844, he proved Reaumur right. By 1854, collars, cuffs and shirt fronts made of paper were on sale in New York City. Ten years later, aprons, hats, carpets, casks and floorings were being made of it. It was used to make

MILE-STONES TO OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE

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coffins (but the Persians had thought of that idea long ago), houses, and at least two churches, one in Oslo, the other in London.

Now there are 14,000 uses and with every child who learns to read, a new consumer for paper enters the market. It will indeed take every kind of conservation, ingenuity and inventive resource to keep abreast of this demand. R. F. Taylor, a forester in charge of the Alaska Forestry Research Center, sug-

gested recently that Iceland's forests, practically non-existent after thousands of years of grazing and erosion, might be regrown with conifer seeds collected in Alaska. Alaska thinks that could be done and Iceland wants it done. Who knows; one day a child in Basutoland in Africa may use a book, the seed of which was truly borne near Juneau, though the author lived in Paris.—From *American Forests*.

(Photographs by courtesy of American Forests)

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MILE-STONES TO OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE Patriotic Movements and Associations of the Early Nineteenth Century

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

INTRODUCTION: RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

In the history of India's freedom struggle, the patriotic movements and associations of the early nineteenth century should form a distinct and important chapter. It is a fact that the English established factories in Western and Southern India earlier than in Bengal. But from the cultural point of view, the people in Bengal came into close contact with the English earlier than others. Western thought, culture and education laid a strong impress on the minds of the Bengalis so much so that they began to think and act for our national progress on the pattern of the West. The signs of such development were palpable even before the systematic inculcation of English education to the generality of the people. Raja Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Radhakanta Deb, to name only a few, imbibed Western mode of thought and culture in the first decade of the century.

Rammohun Roy headed the progressive school of thought. His religious and social activities through the meetings of the "Atmiya Sabha," publication of religious books, issuing of pamphlets on social subjects, such as *Sattee*, and writings in the Press, had already made an impress on the minds of his co-religionists and the foreigners, mostly Christians. He assimilated the Western way of approach and reasoning so closely that at times he was hailed as a valuable addition to Christianity. But the Christians had to be disillusioned soon. Though he was a relentless critic of the religious and social habits of his countrymen, still at heart he was a staunch nationalist and ardent lover of his country and countrymen. Standing on this plane he came into conflict with the missionaries and challenged them to meet his arguments against the nefarious activities of the latter. Spread of Christianity amongst a dependent people by vilification of their social and religious customs could not be deemed as an act of chivalry. Rammohun asked them why they would not prove themselves zealous in propagating Christianity in independent countries like Turkey, Persia, etc., and follow the example of the founders of Christianity.¹ He

envisaged the gravity of the problem even in the twenties of the nineteenth century. Since then more than a century had passed, the country had also attained independence, but the missionary activities have

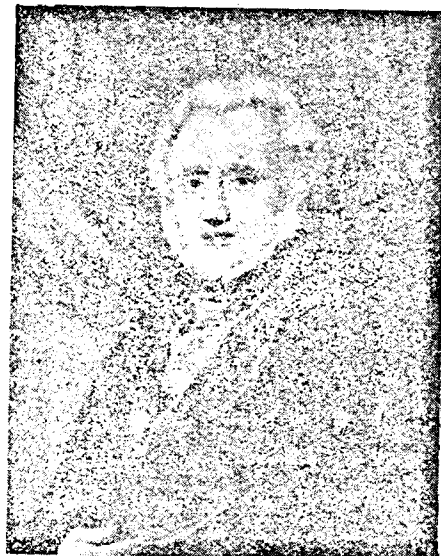


Raja Rammohun Roy

still remained a problem in the land. It may be safely said that our national movements and associations started, and very often received momentum, with our attempt to counteract this missionary menace.

1. *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Panini Edition, p. 145.

Rammohun was a pioneer in other directions also. The Hindu College had only been started in 1817. Systematic English education necessarily could not make much headway. In his political work he depended more or less on his colleagues who were mostly privately educated and acquainted themselves with the Western thought beforehand. Rammohun utilised the Press, then in the nascent stage, to propagate his progressive views on subjects which required to be tackled for the rapid improvement of his countrymen. He found in James Silk Buckingham, editor of *The Calcutta Journal*, a true well-wisher of India. Rammohun's Bengali and Persian writings in the two respective papers, *Sambad*



James Buckingham

Comrade and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, were Englished for the journal and published in it almost regularly. The governmental activities in the early twenties were severely criticised in Buckingham's *Journal* as well as in the Indian papers. Minutes on the English and the Vernacular Press—one on English by J. Adam and the other on Vernacular by W. W. Bayley—reveal broadly the critical attitude of the Press, especially of *The Calcutta Journal* and the vernacular papers towards the various ugly measures and actions of the Government. Instead of mending their ways in the light of these criticisms the Government of the day thought it prudent to pass the Press Regulation of 1823, which sought to prevent the free expression of opinion by the Press.

The Damocles' sword had already fallen on James Silk Buckingham. His licence was cancelled; he was banished from the country by April 1823. Rammohun also did not sit idle. Along with his associates, such as Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and others, he sent a petition

to the Supreme Court against this measure. This, proving ineffective, he sent an address to the King in Council in England, in which he dwelt on the virtues of a free Press. This address was likened to the *Arcopagetica* of Milton for its lucidity of style, force of argument and for the defence of the freedom of the Press. Rammohun took a step forward. As a protest against the Regulation, he stopped publication of his Persian paper *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, after bringing out its last issue on 4th April, 1823. In giving reasons for the stoppage, he quoted two Persian couplets, the purport of one of which is:

"The respect which is purchased with a hundred drops of blood
Do not thou, in the hope of a favor,
commit to mercy of a porter."

A great votary of the Bengali language, Rammohun desired its rapid improvement. He thought that the universal use of Bengali was urgently needed for political reasons also. In a paper, "On the possibility, practicability, and expediency of substituting the Bengali language for the English," Rammohun pleaded, for 'the reading of the vernacular languages of India by the English,' for, that 'would give us a better chance of obtaining justice than we have ever had yet.' Some cogent reasons were advanced in support of his proposition. He wrote in conclusion:

"... Surely it is much easier for two or three thousand of them (Englishmen) to adopt our language and character, than to expect sixty millions of Natives ... to give up that which have been used for centuries, and accept a new one."

In a dependent country, to hold and propagate such a radical view bespeaks of the vigour and foresight of the man that Rammohun was.

GAURIYA SOMAJ

Though most of his countrymen could not subscribe to his radical views regarding religious and social matters as also could not appreciate the far-sightedness of his political views, they, however, formed themselves into an association early in 1823 to devise ways and means for the rapid development of the Bengali language and literature and for the neutralisation of the missionary activities. Both the followers of Rammohun and those belonging to the orthodox section of the Hindu community joined the association in large number. The former included Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Tarachand Chakravarty and the latter the renowned Sanskrit scholars, such as, Ramjay Tarkalankar, Kashinath Tarkapanchanan and Raghuram Sironmani, as well as such other litterateurs and prominent Bengalis as Bhawani Charan Banerjee, Radhakanta Deb, Ram Comul Sen, Ramdulal De (Sarkar), Rasamay Datta and Kashinath Mallik.

2. "Rammohun Roy as a Journalist"—Brajendra Nath Banerjee, *The Modern Review* for August, 1931, p. 138.

3. *The Modern Review* for December, 1928, p. 636.

The Gauriya Somaj, rightly described at the time as "The Native Literary Society," issued a prospectus⁴ in Bengali in which its objects were explained in detail. The principal object of the society was the encouragement and diffusion of knowledge amongst our countrymen in their mother tongue. With this view the Society resolved that 'translations of works from other languages into Bengali shall be prepared and published at the Society's expense.' The prospectus proposes the following practical means for the fulfilment of this object in the following lines:

"We therefore beg to suggest, that the wise and well-informed men of this country should combine, and, as far as their respective abilities admit, or by the employment of pandits, and translators, the

twenty years, the English missionaries have treated the natives of Bengal.' The prospectus continues:

"What man of any observation is there who does not perceive its injurious operation on our existing laws, and who is uninformed of the lamentable condition of those who, deserting their own faith, have become native Christians? The missionary teachers, imperfectly informed of the principle of our Shastras, our *devtas*, and our institutes, have translated, as descriptive of them, detached passages; they have printed pamphlets against us, replete with most intemperate and abusing terms, and distributed these to the world ..."

The attitude of the English officials towards the Hindus and their religion was also deplorable. Influenced by their disposition to consider us as followers



Dwarkanath Tagore

of a false religion, they withhold all countenance from our pursuits, and feel little or no interest in our welfare.' The Hindus therefore could not look for any considerable encouragement and aid from this quarter. They must rely on their own strength to counteract the menace. They proposed in the prospectus:

"It thus appears that the Hindu, who has always been submissive, humble and inoffensive, is now exposed to unprovoked attacks, and is injured in his reputation, and consequently even in the means of subsistence, by persons who profess to seek his good. As yet this cruelty and calumny have been little heeded, and scarcely an effort to repel them been attempted; had such conduct been offered to the Mussalmans, they would instantly have combined to resent it; and in like manner it is now incumbent on the opulent and respectable Hindus, who delight not in the abuse of their Shastras and practices, and who wish to cherish and preserve them, to consider well these circum-

4. Published in English translation in *The Asiatic Journal*, December, 1823.



Ram Comul Sen

stances, and upon full deliberation, to unite to publish replies to the charge made against us, or to represent our grievances to the government, by whose wisdom no doubt a remedy will be devised."

The Somaj was inaugurated on 16th February 1823, in the Hindu College Hall, with Ram Comul Sen in the chair. The prospectus was read and discussed. Ram-comul Sen and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were appointed secretaries. In the second meeting of the Somaj, a committee of management was formed with Lally Mohun Tagore, Radhamadhub Banerjee, Kasikanta Ghosal, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Pandit Ramjay Tarkalankar, Radhakanta Deb, Tarini Charan Mitra and Kasinath Mallik. From the contemporary newspapers we get the record of only four



Prasanna Kumar Tagore

meetings of this Somaj, which were held in a rotating manner. The Somaj succeeded in focussing the attention of many influential and opulent persons, and it was hoped that the objects of the institution would be more than fulfilled. Though nothing of the Society was heard beyond the middle of June, 1821, still the impetus that it gave to the propagation of knowledge through the publication of Bengali translations or compilations from foreign authors as well as of the Hindu Sastras, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas; English and Bengali newspapers, periodicals, books on polite literature and poetry, grammars, dictionaries and even maps. The members of the Gauriya Somaj are found to engage in this work of

public good in their individual capacity. The Somaj could not continue for obvious reasons. But the objects for which it was founded, remained uppermost in the minds of our leading and enlightened countrymen who were its members. Very many associations were started later for literary or cultural pursuits. But the Gauriya Somaj may be rightly called the precursor of them all. Late in the twenties, associations of a newer and more radical nature grew up, due to the spread of the new education. Henceforward the people were more and more conscious of the evil consequences of the missionary propaganda in the country.

THE NEW EDUCATION: THE ACADEMIC ASSOCIATION AND OTHER COGNATE BODIES

During the first decade (1817-27) the Hindu College mostly imparted only rudimentary instruction in English. The appointment of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the young Eurasian poet, as teacher of History and English Literature in the Hindu College in 1826, signalled a new era in the teaching of these subjects. His instruction made it possible for the Indian youths to be acquainted with the currents of modern European thought and culture. The students no longer took things as they were. They applied reason to consider *pros and cons* of every subject and tried to arrive at an independent conclusion. They became habituated to stand for reason as against prejudice. The spirit of enquiry was abroad. To Derozio's pupils were gradually unravelled the secrets of European superiority over the rest of the world in every sphere of life. They began to preach and practise things which were disliked by their elders. They started debating societies at which they freely discussed social, moral, religious and political subjects. This transformation in the outlook of the Bengali youth was brought about within four or five years of Derozio's joining the Hindu College. Peary Chand Mitra, a student-disciple of Derozio, gave the credit for this historic transformation to the inspiring instruction of Derozio in and outside the Hindu College. He writes:

"Of all the teachers, Mr. H. L. V. Derozio gave the greatest impetus to free discussion on all subjects, social, moral and religious. He was himself a free-thinker, and possessed affable manners. He encouraged students to come and open their minds to him. The advanced students of the Hindu College frequently sought for his company during tiffin time, after school hours and at his house. He encouraged everyone to speak out. This led to free exchange of thought and reading of books which otherwise would not have been read." "The impetus to enquiry and promotion of thought given by Derozio manifested itself in debating clubs, which were encouraged by Hare."

The first and foremost of these debating clubs was the Academic Association started by the advanced students of the Hindu College in 1828, and over which

5. *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*: By Peary Chand Mitra, p. 15.

6. *Ibid*, p. 16.

Derozio presided. This Association met once a fortnight for literary discussion in the garden-house of Sreekrishna Singh at Maniktala, where later on the Wards' Institution was situated. The subjects discussed at the meetings included free will, fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, the narrowness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attribute of god, the hollowness of idolatry and the shams of priesthood. In these discussions Krishna Mohun Banerjee, Rasik Krishna Mallik, Dakshinaramjan Mukherjee, Rangopal Ghose, Ramtanoo Lahiri, Radhanath Sikdar, Gobinda Chandra Bysak, Peary Chand Mitra as well as many others took an active part. David Hare, the main projector of the Hindu College and a true friend and advocate of Indian advancement, was a regular visitor to the meetings of the Association and encouraged the deliberations of the young men on the above subjects. Sir Edward Rayan, Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and Colonel Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, used to visit the meetings occasionally. The example set by the students of the Hindu College was followed by those of the other seminaries also. We learn from a contemporary account that

"Seven associations of this kind are now in existence, the proceedings of which are conducted exclusively in the English language. Most of them meet once a week, and some at longer intervals, for discussing questions in literature and science; and sometimes in politics; the number of members belonging to each varies from 17 to 50. At some of the societies written essays are produced, which become the subjects of discussion; at one of them lectures on intellectual philosophy are delivered in rotation by members, and at another by the president, an East Indian gentleman of great talents. . . ."

The last one evidently refers to the Academic Association, and its President Derozio. According to this account, Derozio was connected with most of the others as a member. It further says:

"In short, he lends a very able and active hand in raising the intellectual character of the native youth; and many of the young men who have enjoyed the advantage of his instructions have distinguished themselves by their proficiency."

We learn also that

"The example thus set in English has been imitated in Bengalee literature, and two or three Associations have been formed principally of persons not connected with the schools above-mentioned, for writing upon and verbally discussing various subjects exclusively in the Bengalee language."

Students headed by Debendra Nath Tagore (later, Maharshi) and Ramaprasad Roy actually started an association in December, 1832, for the cultivation of the Bengali language.

7. "An Indian Correspondent on the Native Improvement" in *John Bull*, December 11, 1830.

This free discussion by the advanced students and young men soon led to activities that gave rise to a commotion in the Hindu society. Eating forbidden food, decrying idolatry, denouncing the social customs—constituted some of their chief planks of action to which the elders took serious exception. The latter made Derozio responsible for all this, and succeeded in inducing the Hindu College authorities to dispenze with his services. The young men were subjected to various kinds of torture and humiliation by their guardians. But they were undaunted. They remained votaries of their cherished opinions all their life. They fought against social evils and religious bigotry with youthful exuberance. Eager to diffuse the new educa-



David Hare

tion amongst their countrymen, these youths started free schools in and around Calcutta. Some of them took to journalism, literature, teaching or trade as their profession while others accepted posts in various departments of the Government. Whenever they went, they instilled the spirit of honesty and truth into the body politic. This paved the way for the removal of long-drawn abuses prevalent in the public offices and in private life. These young men, better known as "Young Bengal", later on, became the leaders of the community in politics and social activities. The lessons of association or combination, imbibed in their youthful days, stood them in good stead in after life. Guided by the noble motives of patriotism, they established religious, social, cultural and political associations for the all-round improvement of their countrymen.

The educated Bengali youths soon spread into the mofussil districts of Bengal, and gradually all over

Northern and Central India as well as Assam as the emissaries of new light, education and culture. They also took lead in the progressive movements of these regions.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ELDERS

Since the establishment of the Gauriya Somaj, the elders of the community took upon themselves the task of safeguarding our national interests in politics. They soon had an occasion to protest against the



Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

governmental action. The jury system was first introduced in our law courts in 1823. Here was made an invidious distinction by the powers-that-be between the Christians and the non-Christians. It was stipulated in the law that 'the Grand Jury in all cases, and all jurors for the trial of persons professing the Christian Religion, shall consist wholly of persons professing the Christian Religion.' Rammohun Roy, the most progressive leader of the period, protested strongly against this measure. While in England, he even brought the matter pertinently to the notice of the Parliamentary Joint Committee set up for the consideration of the Indian affairs in 1832. Here the public mind was so

much agitated over this unjust measure that both the Hindus and Mussalmans joined hands with one another for the first time for seeking redress of this political grievance and sent a petition to the Government here as well as in England either for rectification or for withdrawal of this ignoble measure. One Mr. John Crawford acted as agent of the Indians in England and presented a petition on the matter before the Parliament on their behalf. It was due to the continued agitation in India and abroad that the Jury Act was so amended as to remove the invidious distinction from the Statute Book in July, 1832.

Next in importance was the colonisation question mooted in late twenties by the non-official Europeans. The Europeans had to live in this country on sufferance, licences being issued to them for residence here. They were liable to be banished from the land even on suspicion by the Government. They, therefore, could not be permanent residents and have any stake in the land. For the removal of these disabilities, the colonisation movement was started. In the public meeting held for this purpose in the Calcutta Town Hall on 15th December, 1829, Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore lent their cordial support to the cause. Dwarkanath even moved a resolution for abolishing the restrictions on the residence of Europeans in India. Rammohun supported this resolution. In their speeches they both emphasised the necessity of the Europeans living permanently in this country, as partners of the Indians in weal and woe. From personal experience, Rammohun said on the importance of European colonisation as follows:

"I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs; a fact which can be easily proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage with that of those who unfortunately have not had that opportunity; and a fact which I could, to the best of my belief, declare on solemn oath before any assembly."

Rammohun believed in his heart of hearts that European capital and enterprise, not to speak of Western education and culture only, would be fruitfully employed for the development of the country's resources, whereby the Indians would be largely benefited. But the Charter Act of 1833 and the invention of the steam engine conjured up together to belie these expectations of Rammohun and his friends. There was a party of elders, headed by Radhakanta Deb, who denounced the colonisation question; and the unforeseen circumstances that followed, proved their contention to be right.

Some sort of political consciousness was already in evidence in the newly educated in Bengal. Both the elders and the young men felt that their dependence on

others must end before they could rise to their full stature. And the process had already set in. In his "An Address to My Countrymen," in 1831, Prasanna Kumar Tagore declared that

"The influence of liberty and truth was spread and is spreading far and wide, and nothing can check its course. There was a time when the natives of this country were looked upon as a race of unprincipled and ignorant people, . . . But look at the contrast now. Is it possible that at the present day an impeachment of such a dark character will be allowed to bear the slightest colour of truth?"

On the social plane the conservative Hindus came into serious conflict with the progressive school of reformers headed by Rammohun. The *Suttee* question was solved once for all by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General by the passage of the Anti-Suttee Act on 4th December 1829. The progressive leaders welcomed this measure and gave him an address of felicitation in the following January. The orthodox section also approached the Governor-General with a prayer to get the Act repealed, but failed to elicit a favourable reply. They, however, founded *Dharma Sabha* on 17th January, 1830, to conduct an agitation in India and England against the Anti-Suttee Act. They even appealed to the Privy Council for redress. But here also they could not succeed. At times the conflict between the Brahmo-Sabha, the religio-social body of Rammohun, and the *Dharma Sabha* of the orthodox Hindus grew serious. But the political grievances which both had to suffer equally, bridged the gulf of differences and they were united in no time to fight for the common cause.

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1833 AND AFTER

The 'reformist' and progressive activities of the Indians here and especially of Raja Rammohun Roy in England had their repercussions on the discussion over the renewal of Charter in the Select Parliamentary Committee there. The Charter Act was passed by the Parliament in 1833, and came into force early next year. By this Act the East India Company lost all its trading rights except those on salt, and the Indian Civil Service, a close preserve for the relations of the directors and influential share-holder of the Company, was opened theoretically to all, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. But, practically speaking, only the Britons could take advantage of this innovation for a long time. The most important change introduced by the Act, was, however, the centralisation of legislative power for all India in the Council of the

Governor-General, who now came to be designated as the Governor-General of India instead of the 'Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal.' This important change neutralised the fissiparous tendencies of the Governments of Madras and Bombay, who had hitherto acted practically independently of the Central Government at Calcutta. The spirit of governmental independence percolated to the rank and file of the newly educated there. Decades had to pass before this separatist tendency could be removed from their minds and a national outlook evolved. Being centralised, the Government became 'national' before our new nationalism could take a concrete shape. A fourth member was added to the Governor-General's Council as 'Legal Member.'

The colonisation movement succeeded so far as the removal of the licence-system was concerned. After the passage of the Charter Act, the Europeans were eligible to be an Indian citizen *par excellence*. They could settle here permanently, acquire property rights, engage in agriculture and carry on trade in the country. But the greatest anomaly remained, and they could move here like "free" Britons, by which they boasted to call themselves. Their privilege of being tried by the Supreme Court of Calcutta both in civil and criminal cases, was kept intact. This led to serious racial antagonism between the Indians and the Europeans afterwards. Even when in 1836, Macaulay, the first Legal Member, sought to remove this legal anomaly and racial discrimination partially by extending the jurisdiction of the Company's civil courts in the mofussil to try cases in which the Indians and Europeans were involved, the non-official Europeans in Calcutta held public meetings to denounce the measure and even then they nicknamed it as the 'Black Law.' This name persisted each time any attempt for the removal of this legal discrimination was made.

But the leaders of both the communities still acted together for the preservation of their common interests. The beneficent rule of Lord William Bentinck and his temporary successor Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe induced the Indians to unite and work for the good of their common Motherland. They did not hesitate to unite and protest against the administrative measures. The Press was set free in September, 1835. This gave no less impetus to free discussion of the State-measures.

Political associations soon cropped up to give vent to public feelings. Newspapers devoted themselves more and more to political discussion. Criticism of the public acts and measures as well as suggestions for the country's improvement became the order of the day.

10. *The Asiatic Journal*, August, 1931 : *Asiatic Intelligence*, pp. 200-1.

8. Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements, p. 351.

9. *The Asiatic Journal*, June, 1830 : *Asiatic Intelligence*, p. 67.



HOW AMERICANS MISREPRESENT INDIA

Some Samples

By PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL

"AMERICAN editors like to publish articles, etc., about India by their own editors, writers, journalists and observers, etc., who are visiting India off and on rather than by Indians," said an important man of the U.S. Embassy in India. I agreed because it is perfectly natural to rely more on their own countrymen and their writings will have a greater appeal to American readers. They also write in a suitable style giving those very facts most needed by them and in a manner which attracts their imagination at once.

But it is risky too, particularly in these days when earnest efforts are being made by U.S. at tremendous cost to win Indian friendship and goodwill. Misrepresentations, wrong facts, or exaggerations in their writings tend to create ill-will among Indians, and the critical section in India, not favouring increasing Indo-American friendship, make a capital out of even small things innocently written. They are likely to confirm all kinds of suspicions of Indians about American intentions. Naturally therefore, it is essential for American editors to be extra-careful in not publishing wrong things about Indian affairs injuring their sentiments, thus cutting the root of growing friendship between the people of the two great democracies of the world.

An impartial analysis of these references to Indian affairs is very revealing and sometimes it appears as if a deliberate attempt is made to misrepresent India even by most eminent and responsible men. Sometimes such instances are more harmful and we have to guard against them.

In this article I propose to give some concrete instances to give you an idea how and what misrepresentations are being made.

Even so responsible a man like the former U. S. Ambassador in India who was always believed to be correct and who was expected to be more familiar with facts being on the spot often made grievously wrong statements.

In his article appearing in the *New York Times*, dated March 23, 1952, under "Asia Challenges U. S. through India," the former democrat U.S. Ambassador in India Mr. Chester Bowles wrote:

"Following the general pattern set in the point four pilot study at Etawah each project will lay heavy stress on increasing agricultural production."

Participating in a Columbia Broadcasting system programme "Capitol Clockroom" broadcast on January 18, 1952, Mr. Bowles again said:

"The U. S. is trying to help them help themselves. Horace Holmes (point four expert) went out there to help them . . ."

The pilot project work, Etawah, of which I am a resident, is not a point four work. Point four aid

implies financial as well as technical help but here there was more. In fact, on June 5, 1950, the President of the U.S.A. approved the act of international co-operation, authorising the point four programme. On September 6, 1950, the first annual appropriation of \$34,500,000 for the fiscal year 1951 became available on September 8, 1950. The point four programme became the responsibility of the Department of State by executive order.

Etawah pilot project work had been started in September, 1948.

It will thus be abundantly clear that point four came into existence after two years of Etawah work had started and nothing has yet been done by point four in any shape or form to take the credit.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who visited India early in 1952 as a guest of India Government, paid a visit to Etawah and wrote about its work in her world-wide syndicated column "My Day" appearing under Allahabad (India), March 19, 1952 date-line in this way:

"When our point four people first arrived the farmers thought only of digging a big canal for irrigation purposes, which would have been an expensive project, but it was quite evident that no money was forthcoming for this, so Mr. Holmes started by inducing them to try better seeds in small sections of their fields. Then gradually tube-wells were put down and more irrigation was possible . . ."

In the same column in the concluding paragraph she wrote:

"Altogether I was so interested by Etawah that I wanted to tell the whole world about what Mr. Holmes of the U.S.A. working for the point four programme has started."

It implied that when work was started here there was no proper scheme of work, people entertained wild ideas or hopes, enough money was not arranged for and it was Mr. Holmes who gave the lead in driving away the confusion and that he was point four man.

All of these are however wrong. Before the work started experts had a definite well-thought-out scheme and ample funds at their disposal for executing it. People never thought of digging a canal and wanted to know what they would do as a big canal with so many tributaries already existed there, tube-wells were put down to supply more water and at will. There was no room for confusion of any kind and experts started the work according to pre-arranged plan. The biggest mistake, bordering on mischief, is the suggestion that it was started by or under point four. As explained above point four had nothing to do with it and Mr. Holmes who is now working in India with point four was then an employee of U.P. State and was imported into

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India to work here as an assistant and later joined point four.

The last paragraph where she says it was started by him is again wrong. Mr. Albert Mayer, an American town planner, who conceived it, planned it and put it into work and who still continues to work for it, started it.

When I brought to the notice of Mrs. Roosevelt all these facts she corrected her previous writings by writing the following under "Hyde Park," July 10, 1952 headline:

"I have a letter from a gentleman in India who points out that I was incorrect, rather left an incorrect impression when I wrote a column on Etawah, India. I am sorry to have been inadequate and I hereby correct it immediately, but I also wish to say that in short column it is very difficult many times to tell the whole story about anything."

"The project of Etawah was started by the Indian Government. Albert Mayer, an American architect, who is building the new capital of upper Punjab, was responsible for the early recommendations on which was to be done and has continued to watch over it with interest. The Government had engaged Horace Holmes, an American extension agent, and he worked in India for two years before our point four programme came into the picture at all. Later Mr. Holmes was kept on under the point four arrangement."

"This information was kindly sent me by Prem Narain Agrawal, M.A., who is an author and journalist of Ajitmal, Etawah, India. I am very grateful to him that he corrected the impression that I had created. I have mentioned Mr. Mayer on several occasions. He has been interested in and guided much on the building in this area and in other Indian areas."

Such mis-statements and half-hearted corrections by such eminent persons like Mrs. Roosevelt create a lot of misunderstanding and confirm various suspicions already existing in India. She corrected her previous writing but not all the facts and that too not in clear language.

When she visited Etawah she was in the company of the U. P. Governor and this fact she mentions in the same column from whom she could have easily ascertained these facts. But she relied on her own countrymen which put her in such an awkward position and did a lot of harm not only to her prestige in India but to Indo-American friendship and good relations. In her Allahabad, March 18, 1952 date-line column she gave the source of her information which she later had to correct in this way:

"The evening before on the train Mr. Holmes, who is the point four man, who started this work and whose training was given at Cornell University, came in to talk with me about what they were doing, so I had a little background to help me observe."

Evidently she was misled deliberately by Holmes with some intentions.

Her previous column appeared in Indian papers

but not her corrections. She did not appear to have made any effort so far to enlighten the Indian people about her corrections, leaving them free to form any opinion about her intentions, those of the Americans whom she represented. But Mr. Chester Bowles, the former U.S. Ambassador in India, did not deem it fit to correct his statements referred to above, despite my rather lengthy correspondence with him, and the verbal admission of the mistakes by his assistant, probably because of the official position he held at the time.

Though unusual for Ambassadors he wrote several articles about India and might have committed equally serious and damaging statements. In another article captioned "New India" appearing in the American Quarterly Review *Foreign Affairs* in October 1952, which came to my notice recently, he wrote:

"In addition there were 584 princely States. Of those only Kashmir, Hyderabad and Mysore were of significant size, while 202 had areas of less than ten square miles."

While the number of States is not exactly the same his statement that Kashmir, Hyderabad and Mysore only were of significant size, is misleading. There were several other States of significant size like Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, etc.

At another place in the same article he writes:

"The answer lies largely in making more consumers goods available in the village bazaars at reasonable prices. There are tens of millions of Indians who have never owned a pair of shoes or a change of clothing. The market for new cooking equipment and simple comfort is almost unlimited."

It gives an incorrect picture. There is plenty of consumers goods now in the market, barring a few things, but Indians have no money to buy them. Indians could not own a pair of shoes not because there was a dearth of shoes but they never had money to spare for them. Now with slump coming in there is a general complaint everywhere in India that consumers goods are lying in shops and stores, and there are no buyers. It is true that the market for cooking equipment and simple comfort is almost unlimited but they have no money to buy it.

It may be argued that neither Mrs. Roosevelt nor Mr. Bowles are professional writers and such mistakes are possible. But the truth is that their views and observations carry far greater weight than that of an ordinary writer, hence, they should have been more careful in their writings.

But professional and experienced editors have done no better.

Another very important man of the same embassy very proudly gave me a copy of Mr. Ralph McGill's report on India containing all the columns written by him during his stay in the interior of India, which had also appeared in the American daily *The Atlanta Constitution*, of which he was the editor, challenging me to point out wrong facts and wrong impressions as

he was sure it cannot contain such things. He gave it to me when I was discussing wrong facts, misrepresentations, exaggerations, etc., in American and Indian press about Etawah project in which the U.S. embassy had an hand.

Since he was in Etawah district for the most part of his stay and wrote about it, myself being in between Ayana and Mahewa, the two areas where he stayed and wrote about, I can give the correct factual picture.

Writing of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, under New York City date-line appearing in *The Atlanta Constitution*, dated November 21, 1951, he says, "He sold his beautiful, spacious house and gardens." Evidently he refers to Pandit Nehru's famous Anand Bhawan afterwards called Swaraj Bhawan, which was the headquarters of the All-India Congress Committee for a number of years. It was not sold but given free of all costs to the Congress to house its head office. There is plenty of difference in selling and giving free.

Writing of Mahatma Gandhi under Karachi date-line appearing in his paper on December 1, 1951, he says, "He (Gandhi) was shot on Sunday, January 25, 1948."

Gandhiji was shot on January 30, 1948 and it was Friday and not on the date and day he mentions.

Under Ayana, district Etawah, U.P., headline appearing in *The Atlanta Constitution* on December 10, 1951, he writes thus:

"So great is the shortage of fuel that cowdung is made into cakes and dried so that it resembles and burns like the peat of Ireland."

Cowdung cake is not used because of fuel shortage but because of the quality of fire it produces. Its fire is more suitable for good cooking. It is so cheap and convenient to make and use during monsoon when woods get moist, giving more smoke.

Writing about Etawah pilot project work, which he came to see in particular to shout about, under New York City date-line appearing in his paper, dated November 21, 1951, he writes, "There our agricultural aid has brought many changes."

Again he makes reference to this work under Ayana head-line appearing on December 10, 1951, in the following words:

"... Who is in charge of the farm project being conducted here by the Indian Government. With point four assistance ..."

He emphasises American aid in this area again under Ayana date-line appearing on December 11, 1951, in this way:

"Here thanks to ... and his associates, Indian and American. The administration of American aid has been sound and productive."

But the fact is that there was no American aid either technical or financial in the Etawah pilot project area. Etawah work had been started in Sept. 1, 1948, two years before point four was formed in the U.S.A. and much before it came to India. Some Americans who

worked in this area were employed and paid fully by the U. P. State.

Under Etawah headline appearing on December 12, 1951, he says, "Etawah which is the smallest of 48 districts in the State called the United Province," and goes on describing the annual livestock fair of the Etawah district as "the largest fair in all India." He called it the United Province though its name was changed to Uttar Pradesh in 1949 under the new Constitution.

Etawah is not the smallest district of this State nor the annual cattle fair 'the largest fair in all India.' It is not the largest fair even in our State of U.P.

Appearing on December 13, 1951, under Ayana headline he mentions, "There are in India 48 such other States." He would have been correct if he had said there are 48 such districts in U.P. There are only in all, big or small, 28 States, like Uttar Pradesh in the whole of India.

At places we also find confusion of thought. Under Ayana headline appearing on December 13, 1951, he writes:

"There is an area which is semi-desert. Irrigation necessary. There are two canals flowing more than 300 miles through the areas, deriving from Ganga (Ganges) the river."

Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 17, 1951, writing about another village Andawa a few miles from Ayana, he says:

"The land in this area, which is the vast Ganges river valley, is very fertile, but arid. Aside from the monsoon which brings rain in the late June and into late August, there is almost literally no rain at all."

In the first paragraph if he describes Ayana area it is wrong since there is only one canal and the land is not at all semi-desert. If he means the whole of Etawah district, which has two canals, the land again is not semi-desert.

The second paragraph makes the confusion and description more evident. The whole of Etawah district, not village Andawa alone, including Ayana village, lies in the vast Ganges river valley and the land is very fertile. I should rather say the land lying between the two famous rivers Ganges and Jamuna, called *doab* land is the most fertile land in the whole of India and Etawah is situated in this area. It looks ridiculously inspired to describe it as 'semi-desert.' Rainfall continues from late June to late August and also in September. In December and January, again there are showers of rain and often more than necessary for canal-irrigated land.

Under Ayana headline appearing on December 18, 1951, he writes:

"There were letters to mail and so we drove along bullock cart ruts to the canal bank, which flows from the Ganges 300 miles through this parched land and along it to the Post Office at Auraiya 11 miles away."

"It has a bank, with a policeman on guard in a uniform like a soldier's and armed with a rifle."

The first paragraph is a sad and incorrect reflection on the postal system of India. It implies he had to go to Auraiya 11 miles away just to post his letters as if there was no Post Office capable of carrying his mail nearby. There is a Post Office in the village of Ayana itself and another five miles away, as quick in carrying mails as Auraiya Post Office. It is wholly incorrect to say he had to go there for the sake of posting his mails. It would have been reasonable to say that he went to see what it was like.

It is equally wrong to say that Auraiya had one bank only as described above with a policeman. Auraiya has more than one bank and the man whom he described as policeman was not a policeman but a *senry* of the bank, employed to guard it. He seems to invent and develop a funny idea to boast American aid to impress his American readers. Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 20, 1951, he writes:

"The Indian masses were never given schools. ... Now they are being given schools and assistance in learning. The U.S.A. is playing a part in it, though always with and under the Indian Government as is proper."

There were schools not only in this region but all over India even during the British days and in some villages compulsory primary education existed. Their number was constantly increasing and reaching larger number of villages even in the remotest corners.

I do not know what part he thinks U.S.A. is playing in it. I have already stated in the Etawah project the U.S.A. has not contributed a single pice. There is no justification to say so when there was no such aid in any form.

While writing about the Prime Minister, with whom he lunched he shows the same ignorance. Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 22, 1951, he writes, "Even Nehru's daughters attained, etc."

Pandit Nehru has only one daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. He should have written sisters, to be correct who are two.

Describing his lunch with Pandit Nehru under New Delhi headline appearing on January 6, 1952, he says:

"So we talked, and his gracious sister, Madame Pandit Nehru, and his charming and attractive daughter chatted briefly."

He did not even know that his gracious sister, who has been Indian Ambassador in his country, should have been mentioned as Madame Pandit only.

While writing on general conditions of India, under Mahewa headline appearing on December 29, 1951, he writes:

"A good half of the population does not drink milk, because it comes from an animal."

It is true that a large number of our people do not drink milk; they do not drink, not because it comes from animal but because they cannot afford to do it or

they do not get it. It is funny to think in this way, because the cow is called mother from time immemorial for the simple reason that it gives sweet healthy milk. It has become a sacred animal to Hindus mainly for this reason and they have been drinking her milk for centuries.

Even a casual glance on the railway ticket from Etawah to Delhi, would have caught his eye that the distance between these two places is only 185 miles, not 296 miles as he mentions in his column appearing on January 1, 1952, under New Delhi headline.

These are some of the major and most glaring lapses which I have discussed here from the writings of a very keen and sincere observer editor of U.S.A., about whose facts the U.S. Embassy man in India was so sure. Others may be committing larger and more serious mistakes, depending on their preconceived notions, objectives and places of visit. Fed on such stuff by their own countrymen, neglecting the other side by the Indian writers, what the American public will think of the Indian can be very well imagined. When such material is distributed widely in India and the U.S.A. by responsible official American sources, it only indicates their complicity with anti-Indian propaganda, uprooting the feelings of Indo-American friendship and goodwill.

The effect of such irresponsible writings is that the general press in America begin to believe in so many things which are not correct, forming an altogether wrong idea of what India is today. This is the time when we need better information about each other so that we may understand them with greater sympathies and be more friendly. But such an impression among them, while it misleads the American citizens, creates ill-will amongst Indians when they know of such erroneous views of those, whom they try to befriend. It can be easily explained by Communists or others as anti-Indian propaganda to lower their prestige in the U.S.A.

The impressions the Americans are forming as a result of such writings can be best illustrated reading the following paragraphs from *New Orleans*, an U.S.A. paper, printed on December 30, 1951, under the headline "Point Four in Miniature—A Country Agent at Work in India":

"And by adopting modern agricultural equipment and knowledge to local conditions and religious laws, he turned the barren valley of Etawah into a bountiful garden."

Another paragraph runs as follows:

"It will kill the plants before they have matured and that would be taking life which we are forbidden to do"—they explained—"when Holmes wanted to introduce use of the soil-enriching legumes."

As explained elsewhere in this article Etawah is not a barren valley, it is the most fertile and best irrigated land in the whole of India nor the American experts have succeeded in turning it into a 'bountiful

garden.' In fact, these experts have caused more harm to Indian farmers than good owing to their unfamiliarity with Indian soil and conditions of agriculture.

It is equally wrong to suggest that Indians never knew of green soil-enriching crops or religion stood in their way. They have been using Sanai, Indigo, etc., as such for decades and no religious ideas came in their way.

In fact, in everything I read about India by American writers or journalists, I find some such information which may very well be described as 'intentionally or deliberately done' and the reasons for it may be differently interpreted by different parties. Even their own correspondents in India have been reporting incorrect and damaging facts.

In an article entitled "Point Four Props Farmers in India" in the *Christian Science Monitor* by its special correspondent, Mr. Gordon Graham, appearing on 20.8.51, it appears:

"For example, sometime ago it was suggested to the Etawah farmers that they should try green manuring with Sanai (sunherp). But the farmers would not plough the green crop in, as this would

require, because, as Hindus, they considered it sinful to destroy anything living before maturity."

So many are the misrepresentations in the writings of these few persons, and numerous persons and papers in the U.S.A. have written about Etawah! We can well imagine the number and extent of such samples. And all this is about Etawah. There may be many more places like Etawah and the cumulative result is just shocking to our imagination.

Herecuan efforts on the one hand by the American government and such misrepresentations based on completely wrong facts, inventions and distortions on the other hand, are going together and I wonder if the result would be satisfactory to the liking either of the American people or their government or the Indian people, who now deserve better consideration, particularly after a lot of such misrepresentations indulged in by the then British rulers to prove India's incapacity for Swaraj before the Americans for decades. Instead of counteracting this, such things continue only to undermine the future pleasant relations of the peoples of the two great democracies of the world. There is still time to think and be careful.

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THE CONCEPT OF JUSTICE IN OUR CONSTITUTION

By KUMARI SUSHILA RUDRA, M.A.

In our country for centuries, has the common man hankered and hungered for Justice. The one virtue which he admires most is "Insaf." The poets and bards of our ancient land have sung its praises, while legends tell us that the kings who have been revered and respected most were those who were imbued with a sense of justice. And now we find, according to the Preamble of the Constitution, that this much-sought-after virtue is almost within our grasp. For the Preamble of the Constitution states boldly:

"... to secure to all its citizens
Justice—Social, Economic and Political . . ."

Social justice is secured in our Constitution according to Article 17. "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'Untouchability' shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law." Thus we see one of the greatest ideals of the Father of the Nation is realised by this Article. By the removal of this social injustice nearly 50 million people are assured of their dignity as individuals.

Social justice is also attained by Article 23 as traffic in human beings and *begar* and other forms of forced labour are prohibited and punishable by law. Justice—social—is specially taken into account for the weaker people, in particular the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. According to Article 46, the State shall promote with special care their educational and economic interests and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Economic justice has not been fully realised. For economic justice is not to be found in Part III of our Constitution, namely, the Fundamental Rights, which are enforceable in a court of law if violated in any way. Justice—economic—is embodied in Part IV of the Constitution in the chapter dealing with the Directive Principles of State Policy. The articles therein are mere directives and principles which are to be followed and to be put into practice by each State. But no law-suits can be filed against the Union or State Governments if they are entirely indifferent or negligent regarding these Directives.

According to Article 38, the State is to secure a social order for the promotion and welfare of the people. The Directive Principles lay down certain specific measures which are to be carried out in order to promote economic justice. There we find especially in Article 39 of the Constitution as follows: "The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing—

- (a) That the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;
- (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

(d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

(e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength."

The Constitution also secures economic justice in the case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement (Article 41). For women too special consideration is given and humane conditions of work secured and maternity relief. Economic justice is secured for children as well according to Article 24, and Article 39 (f) states that "childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."

Article 43 seems to be almost a Utopia in itself. It sets out to achieve through suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way "to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas."

Political justice is secured for the individual in the form of one of the most important Rights, Article 14: "The State shall not deny to any person equality before law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India." Thus every individual is justly treated as equal.

As regards employment in the State too, we find that justice is meted. Article 16 states according to Clause 1: "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State." This is indeed a great step forward since employment in government is no longer on a narrow communal basis as it was before independence, but is dependent on ability to be judged by a system of examination to be held by the Public Service Commission. Thus ability is the criterion for employment in the secular State.

According to the Directive Principle of State Policy, Article 44, "The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India." But true political justice can only be achieved

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Quit English?"

I have read with great interest the article under the above title by Prof. Kamal Krishna Ghosh appearing in the June, 1952 issue of *The Modern Review*. I quite agree with him that even in free India, the former position of English should be retained and it should be begun soon after a child begins his vernacular. He has sounded a note of warning against growing deterioration among our

in our country when Article 50 of the Constitution is put into practice: "The State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State." For a certain amount of separation of powers is very essential for the success of a newly formed Democratic State like ours.

Social justice has been guaranteed by the State fully. But here we find the State striding and marching ahead, and a somewhat baffled and ignorant people slowly waking up to find, that overnight their traditions and customs and entire set of values have been changed by the State. But justice—social—must be preserved for the good of the nation. Thus it is for the individual to undergo a process of mental revolution and adjustment, while it is for the State to give every aid through a right system of education, to be able to make him realize the full implication and significance of the tremendous social change.

Economic justice is something which the individual cannot achieve by himself. The Directive Principles are like shining stars studded in the Constitution which the common man dare not even dream to touch. The gulf between the ideal and the reality is pathetic. It leaves the individual helpless and frustrated. It is here that the State must needs don the "Seven-League Boots" in order to meet the daily common needs of the individuals. It is in the matter of economic justice that the State should stride even farther ahead of the people than it has done in regard to social justice. For though social justice was the cry of the great reformers in our land in the nineteenth and till the first half of the twentieth century, yet within these few years since Independence they are looked upon as mere superficial reforms. Thus the cry of the hour in our country as in all other parts of the world is that of economic justice, and the State must realise this justice. But we must recall to mind the old dictum which tells us that State and Society are made up of individuals. Thus it should be indeed a matter of great enthusiasm and adventure for the State and Individual to tackle together this almost insurmountable Everest in Article 43.

Justice—political—has been guaranteed and a great deal has been achieved, but not enough, while there is a grave danger that these articles might tend to become mere dead letters, if selfish interest of individuals or party power-politics is allowed to get the upper hand.

students particularly with regard to English. My experience from a long career as a teacher in Bihar is that though after Independence, the pass mark in English was reduced to 30 p.c. from 37½ p.c., the percentage of failure in English has shot up and the greater number of failure in the Matriculation Examination of the last few years was entirely due to English. If this is the fate

of the boys who had been studying English in school for eight years, what will happen to those going up for the Secondary School Examination (formerly, Matriculation) in 1954, who will have read it only for four years?

With whatever end in view, we had been so long learning and teaching English—being our rulers' language or for Government jobs—we did not fail to perceive that it had been and would remain of great benefit for us, because :

(1) English is one of the richest literary languages of the modern age.

(2) It is an international language, understood almost everywhere in the world—in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres as well as in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, and hence is most useful in world trade and world politics.

(3) It gives a wider outlook than Classics or Vernacular, and in it have been translated the best books of the world.

(4) In order to keep in touch with modern currents of thoughts, students all over the world should in addition to their vernacular, study the language of one modern progressive European nation. French or German can serve this purpose, but Indians have the best advantage to study English.

To-day independent countries are also doing this. Japan has made great progress through English education, Turkey has replaced Arabic by French. In Thailand (Siam), students have to learn both English and French, because it had been surrounded by British and French Indo-China. Multilingualism is a necessity for the day. But the common Indian student need not go beyond English for they have also to learn the Vernacular, the State Language and the Classical Language. As we cannot forget that we are Indians and hence must study the language or languages forming our cultural background, so we cannot afford to forget that we belong to the modern age and must not lag behind the modern progressive nations.

Now if our matriculates read English only for four years, from 11 to 15 years, what will they do with this meagre knowledge? They will not be able to read and understand a most simple book or a newspaper in English nor able to taste a bit of its literature nor talk with a foreigner. This would be a sheer waste of energy.

Let me say one word on the medium of instruction—a question Prof. Ghosh has evaded in his article. There will be no two opinions on the fact that in the school stage the vernacular should always be the medium. Many reformers are in favour of retaining the vernacular in the colleges too. But we already agreed to learn English as an international language. Why do we labour for it unless to get access to its rich storehouse?

Translation of any and every English book should not be allowed even if it is possible with the vast number of terms, for that is a discouragement to study the original works. It would not be proper to translate Darwin's *Origin of Species* into Hindi for our students' obtaining diploma in Biology. In the Osmania University where Urdu was the only medium, students could not follow the lectures of foreign visiting professors. Many of our students will seek higher education in foreign universities, hence education should not be too much vernacularised. Even English proves insufficient for some higher courses of the universities of England in which original French or German books have to be studied. Western thought loses much of its charm if translated into Indian languages and *vice versa*. For the same reason Sankhya, Jyotish, Ayurveda, etc., should be studied in original Sanskrit in the higher courses.

My views on the subject are quite singular. I say that neither Vernacular nor Classics nor English nor any language in particular should be the medium in the university stage. Whatever books serve best to teach the particular subject should be used, whether written in English, Vernacular or Sanskrit since the student is supposed to know all these languages. For them no particular "text-books" should be written nor any translated. The subject-matter is to be taught and not the language and the students should gather their knowledge from their professors' lecture-notes and books in any language approved by them. The individual professor's advantage to use a particular language out of the above three approved ones, is also to be looked into. If in any subject most of the books available be in English, the candidates may find it convenient to answer in English too. But it does not mean that they cannot answer in vernacular if they so like. In all non-language subjects, the candidate should previously fill in the form stating in what language he wants to answer the paper.

If we are to follow the ideal of Mahatma Gandhi, we cannot base our State on hatred, not even for the English people, far less for their language or literature. The Government of Bharat have not yet abolished English measures in space (yards, feet, inches) and weight (tons, pounds, ounces), nor have employed any clock-maker to construct clocks showing *danda*, *pala* and *vipala*, although they are not less scientific than the English system. We are still following the Christian Calendar, though Christians are a very small minority here. Perhaps every one wants to retain them for ever, for all-India matters. What harm is there in the English language, in the international numerals and the Roman Script which are at least easier to write than Devanagari?

SUDHIR CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

ERRATA

The Modern Review for July, 1953 : P. 17, Col. 2, Line 45 : Read Sri U. M. Trivedi for Sri U. N. Trivedi.
" " " : P. 18, Col. 1 Line 11 : Read 18th for 16th.



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

SHRI K. M. MUNSHI DIAMOND JUBILEE VOLUME—Part I, *Bharatiya Vidya*, Volume IX, 1948: Published by *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*, Bombay, 1949. Pp. 377. Price Rs. 15.

In this first part (all received by us up to now) of the Festschrift presented to the well-known President of the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* by his friends and admirers on the happy occasion of his completing his sixtieth year, the editors have selected, for publication in the alphabetical orders of the authors' names, thirty papers bearing on different branches of Indian history and culture. The papers are of unequal merit. We propose to take up first the best papers which may be arranged under the head 'Indian Literature.' In the branch of Vedic exegesis Dr. V. M. Apte offers a new explanation of the symbolism of the goddess Diti, while Dr. H. R. Karnik gives similarly a learned interpretation of the Brahmana legend of the *Aptya-devatas*. Mention may also be made of the paper of Dr. Enrico Gerardo Carpani listing with his running comments twenty-one texts from the *Chandogya* and *Brihadaranyaka* Upanishads which illustrate the psychology of dream-phenomena in Vedic philosophy. In the field of classical Sanskrit literature, Dr. S. K. De (*The Curtain in Ancient Indian Theatre*) makes the ingenious suggestion that the variant *yamanika* signifying 'a covering' or 'a curtain' was the original form which was afterwards lost and replaced by the two familiar forms *yavanika* and *javanika*, of which the former has often been wrongly taken to be a proof of Greek influence on the Sanskrit drama. In another paper Dr. R. G. Harshe presents the text of two interesting, but fragmentary manuscripts on dreams together with a list of their book-illustrations numbering 113 in all. The former is a Jaina work not later than the fourteenth or fifteenth century, while the latter belongs to the seventeenth century. In another interesting paper, Shri S. V. Iyer introduces us to a Sanskrit play of the rare *vithi* type written by a Kerala poet shortly before 1750 A.D. More controversial is the paper of Shri S. L. Katre in which the author rejecting the sixth or seventh century date given for Harisvamin (the renowned commentator of the *Satapatha Brahmana*) by previous scholars, assigns his work to c. 54 B.C. in the time of Vikramaditya, the so-called founder of the Vikrama Era. This interpretation, the author claims, gives another support to the historicity of Vikramaditya of the first century B.C., while it fits into "the grand Age of Vedic culture" under Pushyaditya Mitra Sunga. In the branch of medieval literature Prof. H. C. Bhayani introduces us to a striking *apabhramsa* work of the class of *Samdesakavyas* belonging to the twelfth or the thirteenth century. This

is the *Samdesarasaka* of Abdala Rahamana of Multan (?), which, according to the author, is the first known Muslim contribution to the Indian literature and influenced the well-known work of Malik Muhammad Jayasi called *Padmavati*. Of more general interest is the paper of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, in which the late lamented scholar gives a short list of parallel texts from Eastern and Western literatures under different heads. In these passages "identical doctrines have been enunciated as nearly as possible in the same terms and often indeed in the same idioms," thus suggesting their cognate origin. As regards other branches of Indian culture, social history is represented by a paper of Dr. B. C. Law on *Slavery as known to early Buddhists*, while science is represented by a contribution of Mm. P. V. Kane (*The Problem of the Introduction of Rasis in Indian Astronomy and Astrology*) and one of Dr. G. P. Majumdar (*The Genesis of the Science of Medicine in Ancient India*).

In contrast with the above the papers bearing on political history are devoid of any interest. Reference may also be made to a long and insipid paper on *Jainism in Gujarat* which is nothing but an undigested compilation of anecdotes, tales and authentic history with a distinctly chauvinistic bias and is unworthy of inclusion in the present volume.

U. N. GHOSHAL

IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA: By Luang Boribol Buriband. Translated by P. S. Sastri and A. B. Griswold. Published by the Chatra Press, 77 Rama V. Road, Bangkok, 1952. Twenty-five illustrations. Pp. 21. Price not stated.

This is an excellent little hand-book illustrated with 25 specimens of images, dealing very ably with the vexed question of the origin of the image of the Buddha. The author starts with the *chronicle* of the sandalwood image, attributed to Prasenajit, and very reasonably doubts if the tradition could have been current during the time of Asoka, though *prima facie* it is a legend coming into existence during the life-time of the Buddha. The author very frankly accepts the position that archaeologists agree that the first Buddha images were made shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, either in Gandhara or at Mathura and that the images of Mathura and of Gandhara began to influence each other, and "there is a merging of Greek plasticity with Indian ideals." Later schools adopt the same formula and gradually standardize them. With these preliminary discussions the author proceeds to examine the evolution of the various types of the Siamese schools: the Dvaravati style, the Srivijaya style, the Lopburi style, Early and Late Chiengsaen style, Sukhothaya style, the U-thong style and the Ayudhya style, demonstrated with appropriate illustrations. Altogether,

this little booklet comprises within a short compass a brilliant exposition of the evolution of the Buddha image which will be useful to scholars and students alike.

O. C. G.

RENNELL'S MAPS: 1. Bahar—(Behar) North, 2. Bahar—South, 3. Conquered Provinces South of Bahar—containing Ramgur, Palamow and Chuta-Nagpur, 4. Bengal and Bahar—in Warren Hastings' time, 5. Bengal with the Bhootan, Morung and Assam Frontiers in 1779, 6. Delta of the Ganges with adjacent countries on the East: Printed between June and December, 1779. Photogravure reprints in Six Folio Sheets by The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta 12. Price: the set Rs. 12-8.

The Book Company has done well to reproduce in Folio-sheets by photo-litho process the original Maps by Rennell which have become very rare. The Maps are not only invaluable to research-workers and students of history but also as records for the delineation of boundaries.

K. N. C.

LECTURES ON THE RAMAYANA: By the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Published on behalf of the Madras Sanskrit Academy by S. Viswanathan. Price Rs. 10 (\$4, sh. 16).

Srinivasa Sastri was well-known as an astute politician and a great statesman. But that he was a Sanskritist and an enthusiastic admirer of Indian culture and especially of the Ramayana is not known as much and as widely. The volume under review—unfortunately a posthumous one—is a testimony to this latter aspect of the character of Sastri. The volume consists of thirty lectures delivered under the auspices of the Madras Sanskrit Academy. We have here critical and analytic studies of the different characters found in the Ramayana. Though full of reverence for Rama, the learned lecturer looked on the hero as an ideal human being occasionally manifesting the frailties that are inherent in a man. He does not, like the old commentators, seek to explain away these frailties with far-fetched interpretations and he has clearly stated the reasons of his disagreement with the commentators. The lectures which are of absorbing interest contain copious quotations from the text of the Ramayana and numerous references to the commentaries with discussions thereon. It appears that the lectures were delivered extempore and the Madras Sanskrit Academy did a very good thing in making special arrangements for taking shorthand reports of the lectures, publishing them in book-form and thereby making them accessible to the reading public who will be highly benefited to go through them. One who reads the book will come to like the Ramayana and appreciate its value and importance. Books of this type and not merely dry scholarly studies are necessary for attracting the sympathetic attention of the people to Sanskrit literature as well as to the greatness of Indian culture.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BUBBLES: By Satis Chandra Sinha. With two articles of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. S. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 1-C, College Square, Calcutta 12. Price Rs. 5.

The book contains forty short articles or essays. The subjects dealt with in these essays range between social, legal, political and cultural. The author's views on these matters have been couched in easy and forceful but at times in a very caustic style. These essays have been written between June 30, 1948 and August

15, 1952 and necessarily cover the various problems that had raised their heads during this period. India has attained independence. But the country has been divided. This has given rise to many unforeseen problems. Mass-scale transfer of population has been a problem very difficult to tackle. Other problems have also cropped up. One, most vital and important from our national standpoint, was the fixing of Hindi as *rashtra bhasha* or State language, which would take effect in the early sixties. Problems confronting the Hindu social frame also demand solution. Women's position in modern Hindu society is yet to be determined. Such varied subjects as 'private endowments,' 'Debottar property' and 'censorship' also deserve to be thrashed out. The author has written on these as well as on many other topics. Some of them may seem trivial to the man in the street, but each one of them has some particular importance in our body politic. It appears from the book that the author is especially interested in matters cultural and those concerning the social position of women in the Hindu society. He has given the story of the Imperial Library, now called National Library, in a nutshell. His views on the Hindu code and other Bills and Acts affecting Hindu women, should be carefully considered by our reformers. The article on "Swayambar" is full of humour, and serves as a pointer to the problem of the marriage of modern educated Hindu girls. The two very thoughtful articles on "Compulsory Hindi" by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, given in the Appendix, weigh the gain and loss that we have got to incur in our onward march to progress. It is regrettable that the balance is heavily on the side of loss. Our leaders should ponder hundred times before the use of Hindi is made compulsory in the affairs of the State, and it is made the medium in the higher studies in our Universities. The book deserves repeated perusal.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH STALIN: By Louis Fischer. Published by the Associated Advertisers and Printers, Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 2-4.

The volume under review is an apt commentary on the universally held belief that truth is the first casualty of war—cold and otherwise. In a biography of Joseph Stalin running to more than 300 pages the author has not a single good word about the hero of his work. He has painted Stalin in the darkest hue. Yet it is a fact that the transformation of Czarist Russia from medieval backwardness to her present position during the comparatively brief span of a little over 25 years is due in the main to Joseph Vissarionovitch Stalin. The man who began with many odds against him, not the least damaging being Lenin's verdict that the former "is too rude" and his (Lenin's) proposal that he (Stalin) be removed from the General Secretaryship of the Communist Party, succeeded in capturing power after Lenin's death in 1924 and in retaining it for more than a quarter of a century, proves conclusively that he was quite a few cuts above the ordinary. Mr. Fischer would, however, have his readers believe that the success was due to intrigues, unscrupulousness, ruthlessness, treachery and the like. "Stalin's four simple rules of success," says the biographer, were—"any method is justified if it helps achieve the desired end; men must be discarded when no longer useful; alliances are made to be broken; ideas have no existence unless chained to the chariot of power" (p. 18). Few, if any, impartial observers, will agree with him.

BENGALI

MANO-BAIJANIK: By Satyen Sinha. Published by Das Gupta and Co. Ltd., 54/3 College Street, Calcutta 12. Price Re. 1-8.

A modern drama deftly depicting certain psychological complexities. The author has been able to arouse and sustain the curiosity of the reader from the start to the finish. For a new writer—this is his first published work—it is no mean achievement.

RAUDRA-JYOTSNA: By Sushil Kumar Gupta. Published by Writers' Corner, 104/14 Gopal Lal Thakur Road, Calcutta 36. Price Re. 1.

A collection of thirty-two poems, most of which were published in periodicals. The poet is neither an escapist nor a propagandist. Conscious of the incongruities of the existing social order, he dreams of a brighter day and resolves to march ahead towards it with faith and conviction. His emotion is genuine and hence comes this directness of expression. Nowhere does he struggle to pose his 'modernism' with a queer jumble of words and halting rhythm.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

MARUKUNJA: By Mathurdas Tricumji. Published by Navajivana Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 154. Price Re. 1-4.

The author suffered for a long time from the fell disease of tuberculosis. He has, therefore, turned wisely his experience and knowledge, gained additionally from books as well on the subject, into a practical handbook on how to prevent the incidence of the said wasting ailment, and if one has succumbed unfortunately to it, then how to co-operate with Nature and the doctor, together with those best of doctors, Doctor Diet and Doctor Quiet, in overcoming it.

G. M.

MARATHI

KAMALAN: By Arvind Gokhale. Published by Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 3.

Shri Arvind Gokhale has made his mark in Marathi fiction and this book maintains his high reputation. Here the reader will find a well-got-up collection of twelve short stories, most of which have already appeared in popular magazines. Against the background of the social life of Maharashtra middle class, the writer depicts uncommon moods of common persons. It is through revealing the hidden links of emotional urges, rather than weaving novelty of situation that he succeeds in holding the interest of his readers. Unlike some, who overdo this psychological technique, he maintains a sound balance between plot and motive. This as well as keen observation, rich imagination and warm sympathies appear to be the secret of his craftsmanship. The book is sure to be hailed as a rich addition to Marathi short stories.

P. J. JAGIRDAR

GUJARATI

RASHTRA BHASHANO SAWAL: By Jawaharlal Nehru. Translated into Gujarati by Nagindas Parekh and published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 43. Price seven annas.

Panditji's views on our having a National Language are well-known. He has viewed the question fairly and impartially as well as practically and comprehensively. His thoughts are reproduced here faithfully.

K. M. J.

Mr. Fischer has, however, done a very great service to the intellectual not tied to any 'ism' by revealing many facts about Soviet Russia which are blocked out or glossed over by the champions and spokesmen of the Soviet system. His analysis of Soviet foreign policy in the thirties (Ch. XIX) is interesting, pleasant and substantially correct.

Mr. Fischer points out and rightly at that, "From the Iberian peninsula, around the Mediterranean littoral, through the entire Moslem world except Turkey . . . and Israel, on to Southeast Asia, the defenses against Communism and other forms of totalitarianism are weak. It is in this mammoth region, inhabited by more than a billion persons living in the 19th, 18th, 17th and 16th centuries, that the rivalry between Russia and the West will rage with special fury for years" (p. 287). He proceeds, "Unhappiness fills the feudal regions from Spain to Indo-China and, in addition, much of Africa and Latin America. Everywhere a thin wealthy upper caste shamelessly flaunts its luxury under the eyes of the hungry, diseased peasants and shepherds who are deprived of the education, organisation, and political power to improve their lot. . . . Masters come and go, foreigners are ousted, national independence is achieved, but bread, rice, milk, medicines, water, shoes, shelter, schools remain in short supply. Loans from abroad reach the pockets of the haves; the have-nots have only their envy and hate" (pp. 287-88). Mr. Fischer points out that the only way to save this vast area for democracy is revolutionisation from below and guiding it into the 20th century. "Stalin's fate," he concludes, "is in the hands of the non-Stalinists. They can write history's verdict on him. They will determine whether his life was a success or failure" (p. 307). We agree and know what that verdict will be.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

SHOULD FATHERHOOD BEGIN AT FORTY?: By E. Orson Brower. Published by the author, 1952. U. S. A.

It should not begin earlier that seems to be the opinion of the author. Citing the cases of many famous men the author has shown that their parents were all above forty when they were born. He subscribes to the view of M. L. Steckel that "the younger the parents the less favourable is the prognosis for the intelligence of the offspring" (p. 6). In the techniques of the measurement of intelligence he has suggested a new factor 't' by which he means "ability to find the important meanings in the commonplace" (p. 23). He also attempts to find biological justification in support of his theory that the later the parenthood begins the better it is in all respects for the offspring.

The book is written in a highly emotional tone and controversial spirit throughout. It seems as if the author is standing with a club in his hand ready to smash down anyone who dares differ from him. In spite of his many quotations and references to authorities the reviewer is of opinion that he has not been able to establish his thesis and the question that he has posed (the title of the book) still remains an open one. Though the facts presented in the book are of considerable interest to all, the style adopted by the author is neither pleasant nor commendable. The book, however, is a thought-provoking one and would have aroused greater interest amongst professional psychologists and biologists had the author chosen to present his views in a more sober and dispassionate way.

S. C. MITRA

JIVATA TEHEVARO: By Dattatreya Bal-krishna Kalelkar. Printed by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 30. Price Rs. 2.

This delightful and instructive book has undergone a fourth edition. "Living Holidays" were noticed in its earlier editions. Kaka Kalelkar has added fresh material to this—the latest edition—and added new Holidays like Rashtriya Saptah and Azadi Din. Jayantis of several saints are also set out, along with their significance and the precepts they have left behind them.

(1) **AMINA** (4th Edition), (2) **ZANDEVAN-DAN:** By "Shayda" (Harji Lovji Damni). Printed at the R. H. Printing Press, Bombay-8 and Be Ghadi Printing Press, Bombay-1. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. 455: 412. Price Rs. 6 and Rs. 5 respectively.

Mr. Shayda has a long-established reputation for writing popular stories on various subjects. Amina, which has passed through four editions between 1923 and 1950, is a story of social life amongst Muslims which approximates, if not fully resembles, Hindu social life, paints the picture of a new bride going to her husband's house, sandwiched in between her sister-in-law and mother-in-law and acquitting herself creditably in winning them over and in doing so complying with her mother's parting advice—not to spoil her good name—advice which she had made to sink in her, while suckling her at her breast. There are various incidents such as of singers and others portrayed also. The second book, *Salutation to the Flag*, is written as an appeal to the Indian Nation, not to open only their temples, built of brick and mortar, to the Harijans but to open the temples of their Heart, and give them free access and equality in all pursuits of life. It emphasises the creed of Mahatma Gandhi in no uncertain terms. It is found to prove as popular as his other stories.

(1) **RAJAJI**, (2) **RAJENDRAPRASAD:** By Ambelal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Published by the Brihad Gujarat Prakashan Mandir, Bombay-7. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket with blocks. Pp. 239, 274. Price Rs. 4-8 each.

Shriji Ambelal Joshi is an enthusiastic student and writer in addition to being an Advocate. He has planned a Greater Gujarat series of Books—Granthavali—in which he desires to publish the Biographies of all eminent men and women of India. Pioneer work he has already done, and the two volumes under notice testify to the face that he has successfully passed that pioneer stage and entered on that of a practised writer. Rajaji and Dr. Rajendraprasad needed original biographies in Gujarati and Mr. Joshi has supplied that need. Almost all incidents in their lines have been set out here, with a sense of proportion and a terseness which are exemplary. He has not omitted to give due prominence to Rajen Babu's pleading for Hindi and has devoted a whole Appendix to it. We welcome his work and are looking forward to other works on similar lines.

MAHAN BANO: By Chandra Shankar Pranshankar Shukla. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay-2. 1948. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 2.

The title of the book means "Be Great," and in support of that advice Mr. Shukla has given, in simple Gujarati, outlines of the lives of twenty-five men and women, European and American, basing

them on D. Carnegie's three volumes on the subject. The object is to put before a rising generation a picture of those who have acquired a name for themselves so that it may furnish guidance and inspiration to all who care to profit by it.

GURJAR MAHILAO, Parts I and II: By A. R. Bhimani. Printed at the Unity Printing Press, Bombay 1. 1949, 1950. Illustrated jacket. Cloth-bound. Pp. 200 each. Price Rs. 20 each.

Women of Gujarat, (45+48=93 in all) young and old, of the old and the new generation figure in this work, with their photographs, an attractive feature of it. The good that they have been able to do, in their own families and in public, Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, is deservedly set-out in the sketches of their lives below their photographs. The number 93 is too small and Shri Bhimani is planning further parts of the compilation. We wish success to him and his enterprise.

1. **MAHABHARAT:** By K. K. Shastri.
2. **NAMAVALI OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FORBES GUJARATI SABHA, BOMBAY:** By Janab Mohammed Umar Kokil.

Both published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay 4. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 80, 90. Prices Re. 1-8, Rs. 2.

The Mahabharat has been rendered into Gujarati verse by more than one poet of old Gujarat. In the first of the books under notice, the verses of poets Narak and Vishnudas, comprising four *parvas*, Shalya, Gada, Sautik, and Stri are edited by Mr. Shastri, a noted student of old Gujarati. The Sabha possesses a valuable collection of old Persian MSS. Mr. Kokil, a trusted and experienced hand at this sort of work, has catalogued them with short, informative notes. It is sure to prove of great use to research students.

GANDHI DARSHAN: By Bhanubhai Pandya. Published by Fulwadi Prakashan, Khamhaba. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 7. Price four annas.

A Gandhi drama in verse played by the school children of St. Xavier's High School, Bombay. It contains prophetic verses put into the mouth of Gandhiji, when they were written (26-27 January), viz., "Take, take me as sacrifice" and within three days Mahatmaji was murdered. The *Darshan* offered is real and picturesque.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Trading Links of Old World Empires

Long before our days of swift transit and telecommunication the caravans were threading their slow and sometimes dangerous way across the deserts; and the mariners of different regions were braving the terrors of the seas. Edmund Roberts writes in *The Aryan Path*:

The history of civilization might be written around the story of trade routes between Europe and the East. During the course of centuries they have seen the camel and the packhorse followed by the age of sails; itself only to be superseded by the era of the steamship, and today the aeroplane has shortened the time of conveyance to days, as compared with the months during which goods were in transit in mediaeval days. Giant planes now cross in a few hours the very desert painfully trodden by the camel for centuries, such crossings in former days often lengthening into months.

The importance of these ancient trade routes in the story of human endeavour cannot be exaggerated, and historians and archaeologists are paying increasing attention to them.

Shortly before the last war, British archaeologists working in Lower Burma were concentrating on a study of one of the oldest of such routes, that between India and the Far East.

The route crossed peninsular Siam at the only latitude which provided sheltered anchorages on both coasts, which were at the same time connected by what were formerly deep rivers running from the narrow watershed, affording a nearly unbroken waterway across the peninsula. The ancient route begins at Takoapa (or Taikala), believed to be the site of the old mart of Takola, mentioned in the second century by Claudius Ptolemy, the famous Alexandrian geographer. The supposed site of the ancient port is an open sandy space, locally known as the "Plain of Monuments," on an island near the mouth of the Takoapa River. Several mounds were excavated, and the foundations of an extensive early Indian temple have been brought to light. Pottery and beads have also been found, proofs of habitation at some period or other.

After completing excavations in the neighbourhood of Takoapa, the expedition crossed to the east coast, following the old trade route leading to the Bay of Bandon. When this route was in use the crossing was comparatively easy, but the 20th century explorers found the task slow and difficult because of the low state of the rivers, which have silted up in the course of centuries. There were many rapids and shallows, all of which had to be negotiated with heavily laden boats. The villages along the route were reported still deeply impressed with Indian folklore and the tradition of an ancient Indian migration eastward.

South of the Bay of Bandon lies a remote city called Vieng Sva. It is enveloped by a dense thorn jungle and the archaeologists had to hack their way through this before they could reach a moated enclosure with a ruined

central shrine. There a beautiful statue of Buddha was brought to light, and it seems that in the remote past Vieng Sva was populated from India. The next city *en route* was Chaiya, which thrived about a thousand years ago and where thousands of bowls, made of porcelain, have been unearthed.

Two other trade routes of lesser importance, subsidiary to this great highway from the Far East to India, have also been investigated.

Near the western terminus of one of these, ancient stone baths carved out of the living rock, and still overflowing with hot salt water from underlying springs, were found deep in the jungle. The existence of this thermal establishment would appear to indicate the former existence of a highly developed civilization in the neighbourhood.

The few facts mentioned above show what riches remain to be revealed to us of the history and development of the ancient trade routes of the world. Up to the present, only the surface of the ground has been scratched, so to speak. There is certainly no more fascinating study than that of the growth of these ancient trade routes, along which flowed riches of gold, silver, precious stones, linen, silks, incense and spices. Trade was one of the earliest growths of civilization, and the lines of intercommunication in Europe between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, which were in existence as long ago as the Stone Age, are clearly visible.

The trade routes of the ancient world frequently afforded to explorers the only practicable routes along which to travel. This was so in the case of Marco Polo, who traversed those of Asia. During recent years explorers have been paying considerable attention to these old highways, and among those who have traced certain of them are Dr. Sven Hedin, the eminent Swedish explorer; Sir Aurel Stein; and M. Haardt.

Actually how far back in the mists of antiquity these trade routes began cannot be definitely discovered. Sir Halford Mackinder, who made a study of their evolution, suggested that some of them began as "raid routes," and in several cases the evidence seems to bear out this theory. The Norse pirates of Northern Europe, for example, sailed out every spring in search of spoil, and came back in the autumn laden with the fruits of their forays. In Africa, again, the routes followed by early European explorers were those originally marked out by the Arab slave traders on their nefarious business. Testimony given by such men as Livingstone relates to the terrible evidences of this trade that were found strewn the routes.

Long before the Christian era primitive commercial highways were in existence.

The Stone Age routes of Europe were touched upon in a previous paragraph. They came into being because the amber of the Baltic was in great demand. This led to the establishment of two well-trodden routes from that sea to the Mediterranean. Sir Flinders Petrie has proved that, further south, Gaza in Southern Palestine, mentioned in many places in the Bible, was a great mart

in ancient times, trading routes leading to it from the north and the south.

Early trade of this type was not confined to a small area, and it is astonishing to learn how widely scattered the products of the Old World countries became, undoubtedly by means of repeated exchanges. As a proof of this, what is believed to have been Irish gold has been found on the site of Troy, which was flourishing a thousand years B.C. In those days Ireland was one of the most important sources of gold in the world.

The two most powerful of the Old World empires to establish trading routes early in the history of civilization were Egypt and Babylonia.

In their cases it is possible that raids and forays marked the commencement of the interchange of goods. The fact that each had merchandise of value to the other may have been an accidental discovery resulting from the spoils of war but as time went on, it seems, the people discovered that peaceful trading was more profitable than constant fighting. Palestine lay between the two, and a great amount of merchandise passed through it, and whoever controlled that country had command of the routes leading to the east and the north, and then west to Europe. Thus for centuries there was extreme rivalry over the possession of it, which explains why the Israelites were always struggling for their freedom.

The earliest trade routes, therefore, were established, as it were, as a result of accidental discovery of the value of goods. Gradually, with the passage of time, these routes were extended further east, north and west, until both Europe and the Far East were contributing their quotas of wealth. Men became more venturesome, and the Phoenicians established the first great sea routes in the history of the world, sailing, we believe, as far west

as Britain. Overland another route traversed Asia Minor, East was brought to India, partly by the ancient route and linked up Europe. Pointing towards the East yet another route led to Persia, and the wealth of the Far East was brought to India, partly by the ancient route the British archaeologists have been exploring and then up the Persian Gulf and overland westwards.

The rise of the Greek Empire, which subdued Persia, led to changes and further developments in the routes, although their main directions were unaltered.

It was along the ancient trade routes between East and West that the riches of the world continued to flow in increasing volume. One of the routes led up the Red Sea, which was dotted with important commercial stations, and overland to Alexandria; and an alternative route from the Indian ports led to the head of the Persian Gulf, as mentioned above, from whence the goods were taken overland by desert caravan. It is believed that nearly 2,000 years ago the Greeks were aware of the sea route to China via India, for their venturesome pilots thought nothing of the crossing from the Red Sea to India, accomplishing it regularly.

These two main sea routes were supplemented by the great overland route through Asia and China, which it is believed established contact with Western civilization early in the Christian era. In times of peace this route was far more convenient and quicker for the goods of Northern India and China than the ocean routes. The cost of travelling by land was greater, but the expense was more than counterbalanced by the high value of the goods carried, which were generally light and of small bulk.

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Three notable routes stretched westwards from China overland, and they converged on the important markets of Samarkand and Bokhara.

These towns were great junctions, for there the caravans from China, traversing the silk route, met those coming from India; and there, too, the termini of the routes from the West were met. These ancient trade routes linking East and West maintained their supreme importance until the 15th century, when the discovery of the New World and the Cape route to India and the East completely altered the course of world trade and for a period the sea became predominant.

The Cape Route to the East played an increasingly important part in the commerce of Europe, and for practically three centuries it was unassailed. Not until the cutting of the Suez Canal was transport once more diverted through the Mediterranean. With the discovery and settlement of the New World came the establishment of what was destined to become the busiest world sea route, that to North America, and a little later that to South America was established. Then, towards the end of the 18th century came the settlement of Australia; and this was followed in the last century by the Australasian route. Today, strangely enough, along the routes linking East and West, traffic is being diverted back once more overland, via the air, and at the present time aeroplanes are regularly travelling over the track of the ancient trade route between Egypt and Babylonia, one of the very earliest to be established.

A First Glimpse of South Africa

Henry P. Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, New York, writes in *The National Christian Council Review*:

On this rapid round-the-world flight, I did not intend to visit South Africa. Indeed, if the whole truth be told, I did not very much want to visit South Africa. And for at least two reasons. On the one hand, while recognizing that it is never possible really to understand a situation or people without personal contact, I felt that, through *Cry, The Beloved Country* and countless first-hand accounts, one had a reasonably clear and reliable picture of South Africa which observation could only confirm. On the other hand, what could a visit to South Africa possibly lead to? What can any of us do about it?

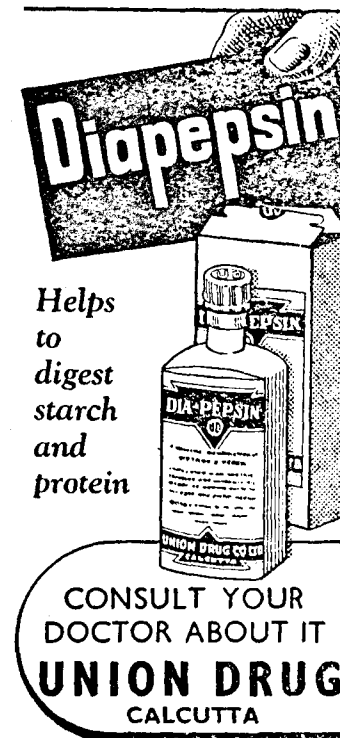
THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NATIVE AFRICANS

I have spent many hours visiting residence-areas of every type inhabited by 'non-Europeans'—the mining company compounds into which native labourers recruited from up-country virtually on an indenture basis are herded for nine-month terms and then shipped back home; the unnumbered communities of one-family homes, many of them quite new, some sponsored by government, others privately owned and operated, which seem to ring Johannesburg; some of the worst of the 'shanty towns' pictured in Alan Paton's book and film; the independent towns owned and operated wholly by Africans outside the municipal limits.

In any ideal community, the 'company compounds' and the system of labour-employment which creates them should not exist. Their worst feature is not the living conditions provided but the uprooting of young men from their communal existence in the rural 'reserves' and their transplantation into the demoralizations and dissipations of a great metropolis. Even this is not without its parallels in the life of migrant labour in the United States. The most hopeful feature of this thoroughly bad system is not the provisions for health, recreation and education by some of the more enlightened mining companies, but the fact that here, as elsewhere throughout Africa, increasing family migration is replacing individual indenture and that the increasing provision of family dwellings is making this possible. In Northern Rhodesia, I was told that close to fifty per cent of the migration from native communities to industrial centres is now by families.

Some of the communities of one-family homes for native Africans are among the most attractive 'garden villages' which I have seen anywhere in the world—well-built two or three-room dwellings with plenty of open space between and acres of open ground about, many of them with well-cultivated flower and truck gardens, adequately supplied with school and recreation facilities. By comparison, the sweltering tenements of our large cities are festering incubators of physical and moral disease. Even the 'shanty towns' struck me as far less unhealthy and undesirable living places than the tumble-down Negro shacks on the outskirts of almost any city in our own deep South.

By all odds, the most disturbing type of residence situation is the independent communities outside the metropolitan boundaries which are entirely owned, operated, governed and policed by the Africans themselves. Not primarily because of crowded and unsanitary living conditions, but because of the absence of minimal structures of law and order. These must be the principal breeding grounds of lawlessness and immorality.



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Scattered through the native residence areas are schools, playgrounds, and community centres, very largely church-sponsored, which, while far less plentiful and well-equipped than the ideal are less inadequate than corresponding facilities in many American cities. Even this present government with its futile cry of *apartheid* and vicious doctrine of race superiority is doing vastly more for its native population by way of health, educational and recreational facilities than I would have supposed; vastly more, be it confessed, than all too many American communities with congested Negro districts.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

In the States, we hear almost altogether of Dr. Malan and his Nationalist advocates of *apartheid*. Their grip upon South Africa today is far less secure than often supposed; their dominance over South Africa tomorrow is almost certainly doomed.

No one will venture a confident prediction of the outcome of the forthcoming general election, scheduled for April. Many believe the Nationalists will be crowded out by the Union Party (moderates) by a small margin. One of the leaders of the latter was quoted to me as saying he hoped his party would *not* come to power; their margin of control might be too slim to permit effective reversal of present policies.

The severest and most unqualified indictments of the Nationalists, and *apartheid* are not being framed in Europe or America but in South Africa. Johannesburg is a centre of British rather than Afrikaans influence. I have been reading every word of its two excellent daily papers. Their condemnation of Malan and all his works make Pittsburg's hatred of Truman and the New-Fair Deal seem, by comparison, mild approbation.

In any event, two facts about the future appear beyond challenge. First, the extremists within the Nationalist Party are gaining control of it. Whether they win or lose the next election, Malan will shortly retire and be replaced by a far more violent and irrational leader. Therefore, a Nationalist victory portends worse days for South Africa and the world in the immediate future. But, second, in the long run and probably not too long, the Nationalist extremism is doomed. Not only is the determined opposition of more moderate counsels and policies strong and steadily gaining strength. Extreme Nationalism is pitting itself against inexorable forces which in the very nature of the situation can be temporarily retarded but which cannot ultimately be halted. These forces are economic as well as political and humanitarian. Economic power lies largely with the non-Afrikaan elements of the population, indissolubly linked by tradition and by self-interest with foreign capital and overseas trade. Through these channels, the judgment and conscience of the world may make its influence most effectively felt within South Africa. The extremists, in the familiar Dutch figure, are desperate men, sticking their fingers into the ever more numerous and ever enlarging holes in the dyke. Many believe that, at least subconsciously, they sense this inevitability of history. The 'wave of the future' bears the cause not of Nationalism but of moderation.

Indeed, in the longer view, the most ominous current development on the African continent may be, not the temporary triumph of reaction in South Africa, but the pending Federation in Central Africa, which may impose on Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika the scheme of white supremacy dominant in Southern Rhodesia, which is itself a projection of South African attitudes and policies northward.

Even the Afrikaans leadership is by no means without its elements of light and vision. Certainly the most exciting and possibly the most promising conference I have had was with the Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas within the Union of South Africa. The Commission was appointed by the present Government. Its nine members are all, or almost all, Afrikaans. But they are scholars of competence and wide knowledge, several of whom have studied at first hand the race problem in the United States and elsewhere. They are engaged in a three-year inquiry, and expect to present their findings and recommendations by the end of 1953. Their assignment is to develop a comprehensive, long-range, and inclusive policy for the 'reserved areas,' the vast and potentially rich tracts of land mostly along the east coast which are reserved exclusively for native residence and use where five-eighths of the native Africans still live.

I have seldom met a more competent or enlightened group of highly trained and informed social scientists. They have taken as the base-line, determinative of all their recommendations, 'the human factor,' that is, the welfare of the peoples concerned. And their guiding principle is that all proposals must hold in view and be devised to further the total advance of the population, not merely economic progress but economic, educational, social, cultural and spiritual factors in their organic unity (perhaps an echo of General Smuts' 'Holism?'). The fact that the focus of their attention is upon the 'native areas' and presupposes the continuing residence of a majority of the Africans within these 'reserved' territories opens their proposals to the suspicion of being 'enlightened apartheidism.' This they fully recognize and emphatically disavow. Their workrooms are crowded with maps, charts and data on every aspect of the African people, their potentialities and their problems. For example, they have detailed evidence of the well-nigh limitless economic potential of the 'reserved areas.' And recommendations they will sponsor supply great and soundly conceived plans for the progressive transformation of these areas. We know only too well the long step between formulation by experts and implementation by politicians. Nevertheless, this Commission is a heartening evidence that some Afrikaans are seeking to conceive a worthy future for the Africans, and it may hold promise that, once the curse of white superiority dogma is surrendered, the best elements of Dutch and British ancestry might join hands in constructive measures. In any event, the forthcoming report of the Commission is worth watching for.



The Test of Democracy

Asian Opinion writes editorially:

The test of democracy lies in the quality of the citizens it produces. There can never be a strong government over a weak people. Therefore, the Parliament and the subsidiary legislative bodies will have to take into account the day-to-day difficulties of the people which create greater friction than decisions which concern only a section of some class. Thus the supply of good quality of wheat and rice is more important than the establishment of a car-manufacturing industry. The courtesy of a constable is more important than the well ordered and methodic speech of a minister. The words of an inspector from the enforcement branch mean more to the people than a debate in Parliament. For one law that the Parliament passes for the people, there should be ten laws to guide the officers who are to enforce it. This can be the only way to preserve the freedom of the people. Once it is said an old woman came to Delhi and complained that her property had been looted by some officers of the State in an outlying province of the empire. The emperor replied that that was a far-off place and he could not manage the affairs so well as he could in Delhi. "Then my lord" the woman replied, "you should relinquish your hold on that province and permit it to be transferred to some other state." The emperor thought over her remarks and sent a large body of troops to restore order in that province.

The conditions as they are today show that minor irritations are taking the form of *dark and arid mountains*. Nothing can grow on them and the soil is fast ceasing to be fertile for further progress. The ministers are also responsible for the prevalence of these conditions. They have been mentally receding from the society as it exists in the villages and cities and are living in the air-castles of their own. Casual visits and inspections mean nothing to the people. They should walk through the streets like ordinary citizens making their own sundry purchases, mixing with the people, exchanging views with them. It is these small gestures that work for greater popularity. They should personally purchase their requirements from Chandni Chowk, Kalva Debi and Harrison Road. Grandiose schemes mean little to the people till they feel their effects after a generation or so.

Mahatma Ji delivering a speech in Mayavaram in 1915 said:

"I am in a position to say that I am to be at war with my leaders. Whatever they do or whatever they say does not somehow or other appeal to me. The major part of whatever they say does not seem to be appealing to me."

In another speech he said: "I do not want to be dragged in the carriage. There is a meaning in that. Let us not spoil our public men by dragging them. A charge is brought against us that we as a nation are too demonstrative and lack business-

like methods. We plead guilty to the charge. I give you a message: Establish Ram Raja in Mysore and have your minister a Vashishta who will command obedience."

And then Mahatma Ji said in Bangalore, May 1951: "God is with those whose garments are dusty and tattered. The dream of every Indian who loves his country should be not to glorify in language but to spiritualize the political life of the country and the political institutions of the country. I think the political life must be an echo of the private life and there cannot be any divorce between the two."

These are some of the important words of our Master. The laws must not divide the members of the Parliament and the people. Mahatma Ji and now Vinoba Ji have shown that greater changes can be wrought by mass contact than through laws. There is no compulsion and friction in direct contact. There is the essence of democracy in the direct ministerial approach to the people, common citizens who love those who remain by their side. The impression of Parliament that laws will bring about the necessary changes must go root and branch the sooner the better. The maxim of Mahatma Ji that the best government is that which governs least is all important and must be adhered to.

Atharva Veda (7.12) ushers the following prayer, "May the Samiti and the Sabha, the two daughters of Prajapati, concurrently aid me. May he whom I meet co-operate with me, May I O Ye Fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled." The Vadas described Samiti and Sabha as the two daughters of Prajapati, eternal councils, and gave them the name of Narishta "mirth" or "most favourable to men." They gave the name Gramani to the leareds who attended and called them "Sayata Manva" those who wandered about, suggesting that the duty of Gramani was to wander from place to place to study the conditions of the people. Thus the members of our Parliament should learn a lesson from this. They should be wanderers like Vinoba Ji rather than the guardians of the people. They hold India in trust.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Chaim Weizmann

The passing of Chaim Weizmann, first President of Israel, removed from our midst a phenomenal personality unequalled in our generation. He was not a theoretician of the Zionist movement. He was too educated, too wise, and perhaps also too skeptical to believe that it was possible to compress a national movement that was rooted in many centuries of suffering, struggle and hope into the constricting framework of a theory or an ideology. But all those who came in contact with him sensed that he was the bearer of historical forces, the repository of memories of a great past, sensitive to the sorrows of the present and conscious of the glory of the future. Having spent most of his life in western Europe, Weizmann never lost intimate contact with the milieu of east European Jewry from which he sprang and with which he maintained a tender and profound communion.

There already exists an extensive literature on Chaim Weizmann. Now, while all Jews, and important parts of the non-Jewish world mourn his passing, is not the time to evaluate his achievements and the debt which Jewry and the Zionist movement owe him. There had been times when parts of the Zionist movement disagreed with his political orientation. There were times when Weizmann disagreed with his own orientation. He was never a dogmatist in politics. He believed in adapting political policies to existing conditions. He was not a maximalist, in the sense of believing that the major part of the ideal must become reality in his own lifetime. Indeed he was aware of the threat to existing social values in the maximalist movements of our epoch—Bolshevism, extreme nationalism, fascism. It was in this sense that he often declared during the last years of his life that "I am not of the twentieth century. I am more nearly a man of the nineteenth century. I am perhaps one of the last of the liberals still wandering about in the world." It is possible that moods like these sometimes made him misunderstand certain activities and plans of the labor leadership in Eretz Israel, though, as a general rule, he gladly co-operated with the labor movement in the country in economic matters, in the preservation of the popular character of Zionism and in the defense of democratic principles.

Weizmann's non-maximalism in political matters should not be misunderstood. He was not a compromiser. His non-maximalism implied a preference for gradualism when he believed that more radical attempts to attain the goal might endanger the Yishuv in Eretz Israel or Jews elsewhere. He may have erred in his estimate of specific political situations, but in that case his error was motivated by a profound humanism and a deep concern for the welfare, the future and the good conscience of his people.

It was the above qualities that gave Weizmann his stature and that accounted for the fact that when the State of Israel came into being he was the sole undisputed candidate for the office of first president of Israel.

For many generations to come Weizmann's memory will live in Israel and in the Jewish people. It will be

a living inspiration and a goad to higher achievements. —*Jewish Frontier*, December, 1952.

The Values of Mankind

Excerpts from the address of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the first President of Israel, at the opening of first *Knesset Israel* are reproduced from the *Jewish Frontier*, December, 1952 :

It is with a feeling of deep reverence and consecration that I rise to open the Constituent Assembly of the State of Israel, the first *Knesset Israel* of our time, in this Eternal City of Jerusalem.

Today we stand on the threshold of a new era. We leave the dawn-light of provisional authority and enter the full sunshine of orderly democratic rule. This Assembly was elected by the whole body of citizens of Israel. In this election the will of the entire people was fully and freely expressed. Thus at the outset we are building on fair and solid foundations, foundations of freedom and equality, collective responsibility and national self-discipline. It was no longer an isolated band of pioneers, subject to foreign rule, who elected this Assembly, but an independent nation dwelling in its own free country.

This nation is to be conceived as the ingathering of the exiles, for there is not a Jewish community in the world whose members have not their portion in the State of Israel. In these very days, to our heart's joy, thousands and tens of thousands of our brethren from countries near and far are entering the gates of our country that stand wide open to receive them. It is our hope and prayer that this gathering in of the exiles will go on increasing and will embrace ever larger multitudes of our people, who will strike roots here and will work side by side with us all in building up our state and making our desolate places fruitful again. We shall make this our goal before all else and devote to it our best powers of thought and action.

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Heavy indeed is the responsibility laid on us here in this Assembly. What we began this same day nine months ago we are bringing to completion this evening: the restoration of the realm of Israel. If we are using state forms that have been moulded by the experience of the enlightened nations of the modern world, we know truly that these forms contain a treasured essence of the heritage of Israel.

In the ancient world this tiny country of ours raised the standard of spiritual revolt against the reign of tyranny and brute force. The Law of Israel and the vision of her prophets founded a new ethic of the relations of man to man and led to a new ordering of human society. The authority of the King in Israel was limited by the law and by tradition. The prophets of Israel did not fear to utter rebuke and reproof to kings and princes, and with their inspired word for weapon they defended the poor and the oppressed, the stranger and the slave, the orphan and the widow.

The very principle of the institution of kingship was hateful to the spiritual leaders of the people. "I shall not rule over you, nor shall my son rule over you, the Lord shall rule over you," declares the Judge to the assembled people. The warnings of the prophet against the dangers of tyranny thunder from on high in the ears of the people to the last generation. In Israel, this rising up against the authority of one man derived from the noble conception that the people, naturally free and freely accepting the rule of law and just judgement needs no compulsion from above to live as an ordered society. The root principle of the constitution of that novel State was the limit set to the authority of the King, and it is in this sense that the ancient Hebrew policy was the mother of constitutional government in the modern age.

And now it has fallen to our generation to weld anew the links of that life of freedom that were snapped by a tyrant's force nearly nineteen hundred years ago. I know not why it is precisely our generation that has been privileged to bring about what all the generations before us longed for and cleaved to in the darkness of Exile, unless it be that we have earned it by all the hardship and weariness, the sorrow and tribulation that have been our portion for the last seventy years—years when our body was stricken limb by limb until finally one-third of the entire nation was annihilated. We have suffered torture and affliction such as befell no other nation in the world until at long last the prophecy has been fulfilled. "The remnant shall return." But because we are the remnant, no more than a remnant, a double and treble responsibility is laid upon us to fill the terrible void in our national life that has been created by slaughter of the best sons of our people, the guardians of her spirit and the bearers of her culture.

It is our people that once gave the whole world a spiritual message fundamental to civilization. The world is watching us now to see what we shall choose for ourselves in ordering our lives, in what shape we shall fashion our State. The world is listening to hear whether a new message will go forth from Zion and what that message will be.

A new message is not born without some travail of the creative spirit. It does not see the light without much toil and weariness, difficulty and pain.

Having taken part in the great battles of the human spirit, having shed our blood and given our lives for the liberation of many peoples, we have at length won the right to toil and labor in order to give expression to our distinct national identity and make our contribution as a free people among other free peoples to the spiritual treasure of the world.

First of all let us strive to strengthen our constructive resources by enhancing the position of science and research in the life of Israel. Science and research are the basis of human achievement. All the scientific capacity that we have displayed in every country in the world must now be mobilized to help build up our motherland. Yet, for all the decisive importance of science, not by science alone shall we win through. We have to build a new bridge between science and the spirit of man. "Where there is no vision, the people perish," and we see what scientific progress leads to when it is not inspired by moral vision—to the atomic bomb that threatens to destroy the entire planet.

All my life I have labored to make science and research the basis of our national endeavour. But I have always known full well that there are values higher than science, the only values that offer healing for the ills of humanity, the supreme values of justice and righteousness, peace and love.

This day is a great day in our lives. Let us not be thought too arrogant if we say that it is a great day in the history of the world. At this hour a message of hope and good cheer goes forth from this place, from this sacred city to all those throughout the world who are persecuted and oppressed and who are struggling for freedom and equality. A just struggle is indeed of avail. If we, the people of sorrows and affliction have been vouchsafed this event of today, then truly there is hope at the end for all who long for justice.

From this place we send our fraternal blessing to all our people dispersed in exile in the four corners of the earth. We stretch out the hand of peace to neighboring countries, the hand of friendship to all the peace-loving peoples of the world. Our greetings go to all the States, great and small, that have recognized Israel, and a cordial welcome to the representatives of foreign States and to the religious dignitaries who have honoured this event by their presence.

Members of this Assembly! May your first gathering be blessed. Be mindful that the eyes of the entire Jewish people are lifted up toward you, and that the longings and prayers of past generations attend your steps. May it be given to all of us to be equal to our heavy charge.

The Growth of Labor Unions in the U.S.A.

Organized labor unions in the United States claimed a membership of between 14 and 16 million workers in 1952. Although it is difficult to obtain exact membership figures, probably about one out of every three employees in non-agricultural establishments today is a trade union

আয়ুর্বেদ-বৃহস্পতি রাজবৈদ্য কবিরাজ প্রাণচর্চা
ডক্টর শ্রীপ্রভাকর চট্টোপাধ্যায় এম, এ ; ডি, এস-সি প্রবীত

ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা

এতদিন পর্যন্ত ভারতীয় কোনো ভাষায় ক্যানসার রোগের ঔষধাধিক চিকিৎসাপদ্ধতি লিখিত ছিল না। ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা সম্পর্কে ভারতবর্ষে ইহাই সর্বপ্রথম নিবান ও চিকিৎসা সম্বলিত পূর্ণাঙ্গ চিকিৎসা গ্রন্থ। মূল্য ৫/- টাকা। ডাকমাণ্ডল স্বতন্ত্র।

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১৭২নং বহুবাজার স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা—১২

member. In 1913, by contrast, there were nearly 23¼ million union members, which meant 1 out of every 15 such workers was a union member.

One hundred years ago there were few unions and they were small. The first national union was formed by the cord-wainers in 1836. Within the next few years other national unions were formed by the printers, the comb-makers, the carpenters, and the hand-loom weavers. The only one that still exists as a national union was founded by the printers in 1852.

Several times the various unions tried to get together in an over-all national association, but with no more than temporary success, until the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was formed in 1881. At that time there were only 138,000 union members. By the end of the century there were more than half a million. But the importance of labor in World War I raised membership to about 5 million by 1920, of whom 4 out of 5 were in AFL unions and the rest in independent unions.

The growth of unions resulted in clashes between organized labor seeking to help the worker through united action, and some of the employers in big industries. Nevertheless, by 1920 the unions had succeeded in raising wages and limiting the hours of work.

For example, in 1909 average hourly earnings of workers in manufacturing were 19 cents, but in 1923, after the recovery from the depression of 1920-21, they were 52 cents. Allowing for price increases, the rise was still very significant. In 1909 the work-week was more than 51 hours, but in 1923, it was 46 hours.

In spite of these gains, the 'twenties were worrisome years for organized labor, and the depression of the 'thirties increased their difficulties. Some employers set up their own company unions. The membership of trade unions dropped to less than 3 million in 1933.

The government that came in at about that time passed laws guaranteeing workers the right to organize. The unions organized workers in some big industries where there had been little or no organization before. By 1935 some of the older unions had increased to as much as four times their 1930 memberships, and new organizations were formed.

During the years 1935 and 1936 certain unions broke away from the AFL and joined with some of the independents to form a separate national body now known as the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO). The unions in this organization put their effort into signing up members by industry instead of occupation, while the old-line unions emphasized membership according to trade.

As a matter of fact the AFL and the CIO worked on both industrial and craft bases, but the one put more effort into craft unionism and the other put more into industrial unionism, at least at the start. Today this distinction is not so clear.

At first some thought that having two national federations in competition would destroy them both. Instead there was a great increase in the membership of both. Just before the United States entered World War II, in December 1941, total union membership had risen to over 10 million, more than double what it had been in 1936.

This vigorous growth of unions led to a great increase in strikes. Many of these were for the purpose of obtaining recognition of the union or strengthening its position, rather than for the union's customary objectives of higher wages, fewer hours of work and better working conditions.

Under war conditions labor agreed to limit wage demands and to refrain from striking. Most unions followed their leaders and there were few strikes.

Competition between the CIO and the AFL died down. Organized labor took an active part, together with employers and the government, in strengthening the war effort. Labor officials took important government posts for that purpose. Labor-management committees worked together at all levels, including the top defense agencies of government.

And with employment increasing in defense industries, union membership also increased. In some industries, such as shipbuilding and aircraft manufacture, membership doubled or tripled.

Going back from wartime to peacetime living did not generally result in the loss of union members, as had happened after World War I. Business remained good, trying to catch up with peacetime demands. But the number of strikes increased.

The objective of these strikes was to get higher wages, partly to make up for the loss of overtime pay, of which there had been a great deal during the war period.

After the early postwar disputes in 1945-46, both management and labor were looking for ways in which they could agree. In some industries they agreed that wages would go up or down with the cost of living as measured frequently and regularly by the United States Department of Labor. Many union agreements also provided for special old age pensions and other methods of protecting the health and welfare of the workers.

Today organized labor in the United States is stronger than it has ever been, even though many workers are still not organized.

WHAT LABOR UNIONS DO FOR THEIR MEMBERS

When a labor union is young it can do little more than fight for higher wages and shorter hours of work for its members, and spends much of its time and effort in increasing its membership. When it has more experience it is able to extend its activities. Most labor unions today are able to give their members much more in the way of service than they were able to give them ten, twenty, forty years ago.

Many labor unions publish their own newspapers and magazines to keep their members up to date on what is going on in the world both inside and outside the labor movement. Part of the newspaper or magazine is given to items of interest to the worker's family, such as marketing, cooking and fashions, and comics for the children. They report new developments in their own field of work and in their industry in general.

In many cases the labor newspaper tells its readers about what is going on in politics and labor, and explains what the developments mean to the worker. They discuss what is happening in the cities and States where the workers live so that they will be well informed.

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They discuss the problems of workers in other countries and the joint efforts of the international workingmen's federations in the free world. They thus arouse their readers' interest in the community and the Nation and urge them to register and vote.

The union holds meetings at which problems are discussed. At those meetings it might be decided to make a special membership drive in a certain plant, or to help support workers who are on strike in some other place so they can exist until the strike is settled. Relations with other unions or union locals are discussed, and officials of State and Federal labour departments are asked to visit and explain what the government is doing to help solve the workers' problems. Experienced union members make studies of living and working conditions in various parts of the city, or of how workers should be trained in new kinds of jobs. In this connection the major unions of the country have done an outstanding job of co-operation in the retraining and rehabilitation of union members returning as veterans from World War II.

Trade union leaders together with representatives of industry and the public have worked on price and rationing committees. As individuals many of them have served on committees for the selection of men and women for the armed services, and on committees for getting money for the war effort. Many labor union members today take a direct part in State and city governments.

Unions also have life insurance, health, and pensions programs. Many union-sponsored health insurance plans provide maternity benefits for women employees and for the wives of men employees. Some unions maintain homes for their retired members. Many own their co-operative stores. They finance improved housing projects for workers. They arrange radio programs and recreational activities for their members. They run summer camps for members and their families. They also conduct charitable drives, to provide expensive hospital equipment or facilities for the treatment of major diseases.

In fact the modern labour union goes into nearly every field of living in which its members are interested, and frequently into related fields which help people who are not members of the union.

UNION TIES WITH WORKERS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The interests of American labor unions go beyond the limits of the United States. They co-operate with workers in other countries, helping them to gain strength and develop into organized groups.

Shortly after World War II trade unions in many countries set up an organization known as the World Federation of Trade Unions. After a few years, however, it became clear that the Iron Curtain countries had taken over control of the organization and were using it to further Russian political objectives.

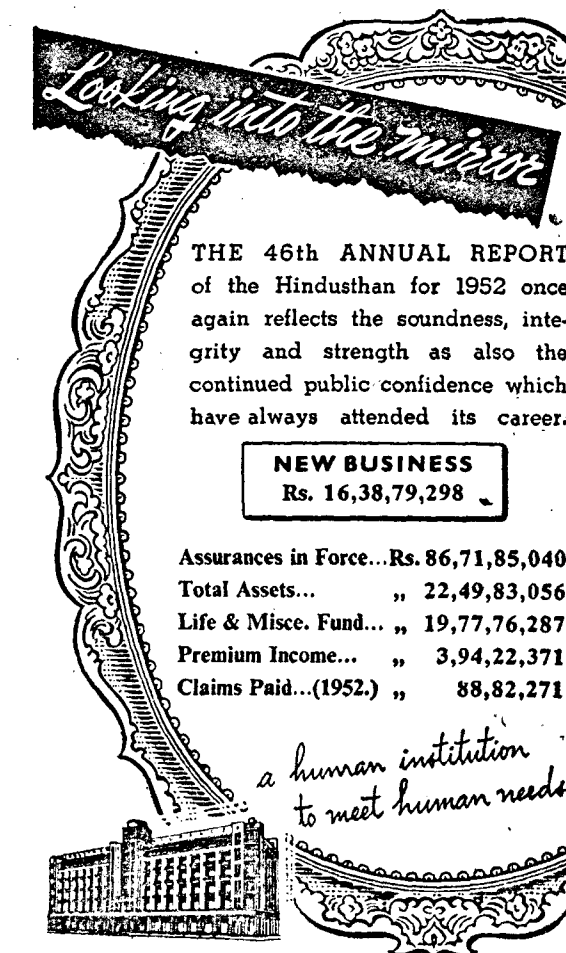
Thereupon in 1949 the free trade unions of the world which had been members quit the WFTU and set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), to support "the rights of all peoples to full national freedom and self-government" and to combat totalitarianism. This Confederation now embraces more than 50 million workers in about 70 different countries. It includes the largest labor union groups in the United States—the AFL, the CIO, and the UMW—whose leaders have been active in the organization since its inception. Members of the Confederation advise each other how to keep their unions free, and give aid, including goods and money, to help those who are not free to overcome their oppressors. They advise their governments on how to deal with other governments in labor

matters, and often take active part in advising their governments in international affairs. And they send their own representatives to foreign countries to help fight oppression.

Altogether in the past forty years organized labor in the United States has grown from childhood into manhood. It is now a powerful influence, not only in the affairs of the Nation but of the whole world.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES ABOUT LABOR UNIONS

One of the most important developments during the past forty years has been the way in which people have changed in the way they feel about organized labor. Throughout American history until about the time of the depression in the 'thirties the general feeling, as shown in both the law-making and the law-interpreting branches of government, was that labor unions interfered with the freedom and rights of employers. But these feelings slowly changed as people came to see that workers need unions, and that it is possible for labor and management to agree on their mutual problems.



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During the past twenty years or so Congress has passed laws setting forth certain limits to what employers and their workers may or may not do in their dealings with each other. It has tried to write into law what might be considered fair or unfair labor practices, and how management and labor should go about arriving at agreement about them.

These laws have had results. They are showing the way in which organized labor and employers have responsibilities to each other and the public, and how they may in time work peaceably together for the good of everybody.

Some of the present laws will probably have to be changed to meet changing conditions, but there is no question that during the past twenty years or so they have served a useful purpose. The relations between employers and employees have greatly improved, and organized labor unions today are one of the most important forces in American industry. They are a part of our national life.—*The American Labor Review.*

"Progressive" Taxes Based on Ability to Pay

When an American made a million dollars in 1900 he had just that much money to spend. Today he may earn a million dollars but he can keep only 16 per cent or about \$160,000 for himself. It is still a lot of money but no longer can he "live like a king" as his millionaire predecessors did.

Where does the remaining money go? It goes back to the Government in the form of taxes. The shift in the position of the rich in the U.S. has been striking, and the income tax is in great measure responsible for this levelling up of real purchasing power of people with varied incomes. The shift downward of the rich is socially significant. It indicates a consistent trend toward the middle, with lower income groups rising, top brackets coming down, and both groups shifting gradually into an expanding middle class. Economists the world over claim that the middle class is the mainstay of any country's economy.

The income tax—first introduced in the U.S. in 1913—at first assessed only one per cent of net incomes up to \$20,000, with a modest surtax for larger incomes. It was initially designed solely to raise revenue for the Government. Little did the Government then realize the steam-rolling potentialities of the income tax as a leveller of inequalities in the distribution of incomes. It was this realization, coupled with the idea that an individual should "pay" according to his "ability," which gave birth to the "progression" in the present American income tax system.

ABILITY TO PAY

The average citizen's "ability to pay" takes into account the number of dependants upon him, his public contributions, and expenses he incurs in procuring his income. The system is based on a sliding scale and puts the heaviest tax on those with the highest income. This is in essence the progression in the income tax structure.

To maintain a basic standard of living which is considered an absolute minimum for economic efficiency, a certain portion of the income is exempt from taxation. This exemption limit has been put at \$600 per person. For incomes above this level, a single individual has to pay taxes.

This ensures that the poorest, who is least able to pay, pays nothing. If his income is \$800, he pays only about \$40. If his net income is \$280. The tax payment increases progressively as the income keeps mounting. Thus, a man with a net income of \$10,000 pays \$2,347; if his income is \$25,000, he pays \$9,362; with income of \$100,000, he pays \$63,541; and so on. A 1953 millionaire will pay about \$840,147 tax on an income of \$1 million.

One important feature of the American income tax law is that it takes cognizance of expenses which a family head to meet in supporting family.

DEDUCTIONS ALLOWED

This is reflected in the deductions that are allowed to such a person in the compilation of his tax return.

A family head may deduct \$600 from his income report for every dependent member. For instance, a married man with a wife but no children does not pay any income tax if his income is below \$1,200. On an income of \$2,000 he pays only about \$160.

The deductions are even higher if the married couple has any children or other dependants. For instance, a married couple with two children and with an income of less than \$2,675 does not pay any income tax. Such a family on an income of \$3,000 pays only \$133. As they go up in the income scale their tax payments increase at a progressive rate but the rate is still considerably lower than those for single individuals in the same income group. For example, a married couple with two dependants and with an income \$25,000 pays only \$7,004, compared with \$9,362 which is paid by a single person. Or a four-member family with an income of \$100,000 pays \$56,032, compared with \$63,541 which is paid by a single person having the same income.

These deductions are based on the principle of ability to pay. It is obvious that married people, and those having dependants, have lesser payment ability than those who have no encumbrances.

The U.S. Government relies on each person to keep his own income records and to see that the full accounting is received by the tax department. Every year more than about 50 million Americans must figure out how much tax on their incomes they must give to the Government, and they must mail their returns by the midnight of March 15.

The actual payment of taxes is less painful to the individual American, since for the last ten years the Government has been using a "pay as you go" scheme similar to that applied by the Indian Government. Under this scheme a fixed portion of the tax is deducted from each employee's weekly wage by his employer, who turns it over to the Government. Those who are self-employed or are in business must pay their tax dues in quarterly instalments.

CORPORATION TAX

Just as the individuals pay income taxes, so do companies and corporations. If the net income of a business exceeds \$50,000, the corporation must pay a flat tax of 52 per cent of its net profit. Lower tax rates apply to smaller companies. This has the effect of encouraging the growth of small, privately owned businesses in America, which, in turn, leads to the creation of more jobs, more employment, and, therefore, a greater share of the national income in the form of wages.

In the years since the first income tax was introduced in the U.S. more and more Americans have been made subject to the tax. Only one person in about 275 was required to pay under the first income tax law. Today, more than one person in three pays a share, large or small.

At the same time, the proportion of government revenue derived from the income tax has increased and the portion derived from indirect taxes, which usually ignore a person's ability to pay, has decreased. For instance, in the fiscal year 1953 (July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953) personal and corporation income taxes yielded about 69 per cent of all U.S. Federal revenues.

America's tax structure as a whole still needs simplification, equalization, and revision, but it has come a long way toward mitigating the inequitable distribution of national income, and toward a more equitable distribution of the cost of a free democratic government.—*American Reporter.*

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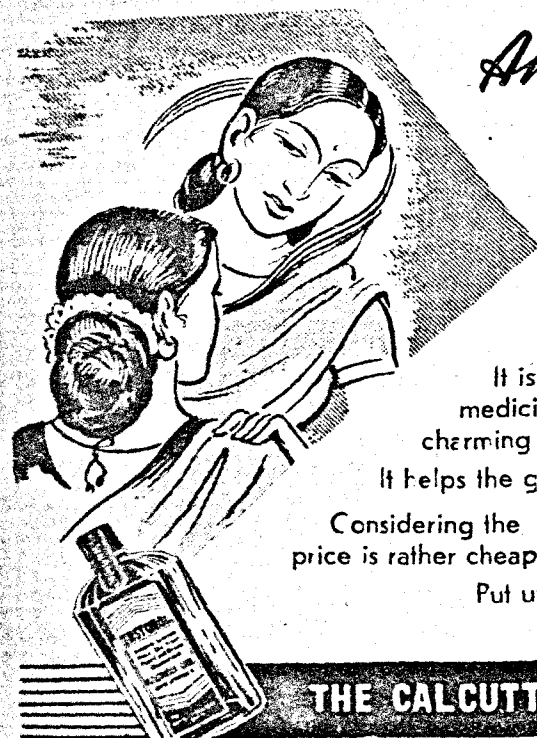
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New Horizons in Antibiotics

New York (M.P.I.B.)—Better understanding of the antibiotic drugs, and clues toward developing even more effective antibiotics, are expected to emerge from new knowledge of their highly complex make-up, outlined at a recent conference of experts here. At a meeting of the New York Academy of Sciences, three scientists, Drs. P. P. Regna, W. W. Umbreit and D. W. Wooley, described the chemical structure of terramycin, streptomycin, and chloromycetin, and analyzed the ways in which they act against disease.

The structure of terramycin, an earth-mold drug effective against more than 80 diseases, was worked out after two years of study by a team of eight scientists. These were Dr. F. J. Brunings and associates of Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., U. S. firm which discovered the antibiotic, and Dr. R. B. Woodward of Harvard University who pioneered in the synthesis of quinine and cortisone.

In "blueprinting" the structure of the terramycin molecule, the scientists found it to be unique among the antibiotics, and one of the most complex found in nature. Because of its complexity, terramycin cannot be synthesized commercially and will probably always be produced by fermentation, according to the team of chemists.

Determination of the structure of terramycin will help chemists to make minor changes in the molecule, some of which were described by Dr. Regna at the New York meeting, in the hope of producing new drugs with new medicinal possibilities. It also helps to show why

it is that terramycin goes to work in the body so rapidly and safely.

Pfizer scientists also are attempting to find out how so simple an organism as a mold can build so complex a substance as terramycin, and what raw materials it uses as building-blocks. If some of these raw materials can be supplied to the mold in already "prefabricated" form, terramycin production efficiency might be increased. —Medical and Pharmaceutical Information Bureau, New York.

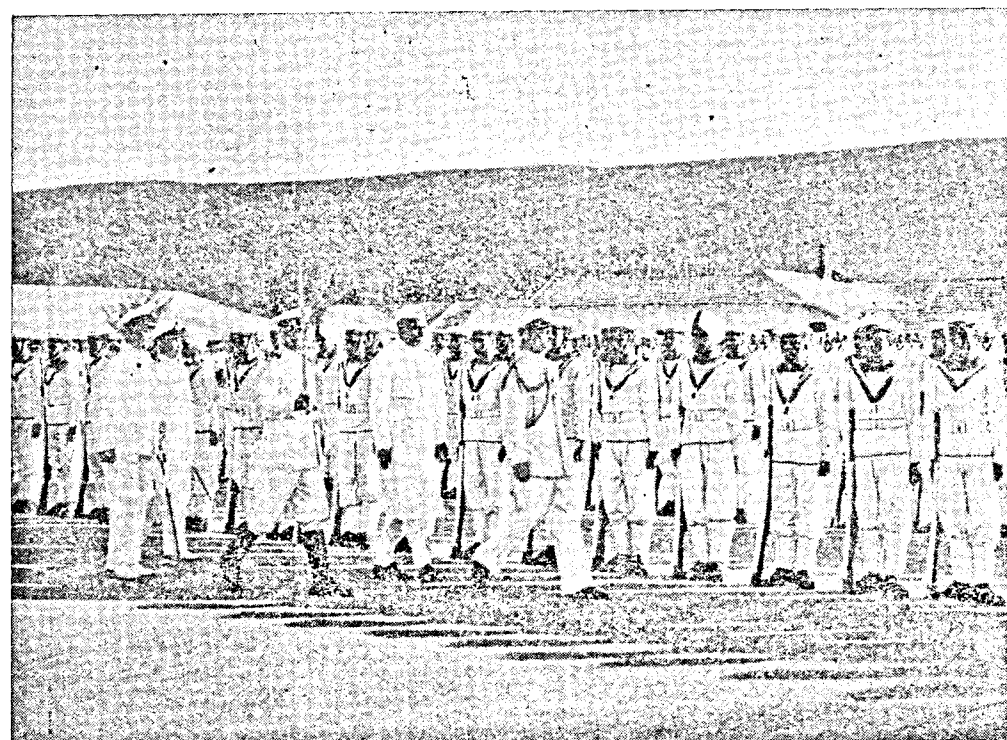
Ernest Hemingway Wins Pulitzer Prize

Ernest Hemingway won the Pulitzer Prize for his book *The Old Man and The Sea* in the 36th annual Pulitzer awards, announced on 6th May by Columbia University.

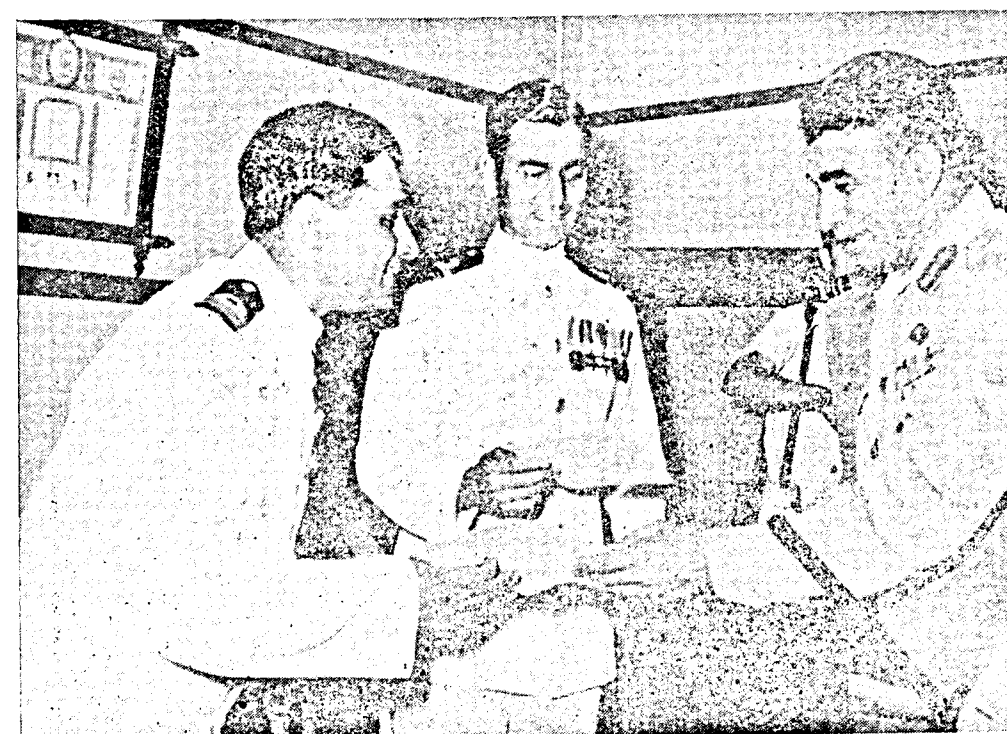
The prizes were established by the late publisher Joseph Pulitzer in a bequest to Columbia University for merit in the field of journalism and letters.

Hemingway's Pulitzer Prize was his first, although his reputation as one of America's greatest writers extends more than 25 years through recent history.

The Old Man and The Sea, in length no more than a good-sized short story, was an immediate best seller. It dealt with an aged fisherman whose efforts to land prize catch paralleled the fight of man himself against the imponderable.



President Rajendra Prasad inspecting a guard of honour, provided by the passing out trainees at the I.N.S. Circars during his recent visit to the naval base, Visakhapatnam



General Mohamed Naguib with Lt. Commander Inder Singh and Commander Kohli. During their Goodwill visits three ships of the Indian Navy, (I. N. S.) *Ganga*, *Godavari* and *Gomati*, visited Alexandria recently, where President Naguib was among those who visited I.N.S. *Godavari*

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NOTES

Unemployment

The Government of India has at last awakened to the fact that one of the major causes of the unrest and discontentment in the country is unemployment on a titanic scale. After the realisation, which has caused quite a stir, attempts are being made to ascertain its magnitude and to devise remedies for the malady. We have no doubt that figures would be forthcoming, of very doubtful accuracy as usual, and that various schemes and plans would be set on foot to waste vast sums in order to obtain minor reliefs. If the ailing party, that is the general public, takes an interest in the matter and attempts to face the problem, then that would be another matter altogether. For in the assessment of both the quantum and the causative factors, public help is essential. And without that assessment, no real remedy can be prescribed. That overrated panacea, the Five-Year Plan, would be a mere quack nostrum. Therefore, the first step would be to arouse public opinion, overcoming its lassitude.

In most States, a sense of frustration is general, which in its turn is generating resentment against and lack of faith in the Congress Government. This sense of frustration is real, and is the reaction to nepotism, favouritism and corruption that is rampant in the administration, both at the Centre and in the States. Party and parochial considerations and personal influence, to say nothing of graft, has become the main factor in almost all appointments and contracts, without exception. A man may possess the highest qualifications or be highly efficient in business, but he stands no chance against the inferior person who has the capacity or opportunity to pull strings behind the scenes. This is the root cause of all frustration.

As a result of this frustration and resentment very large numbers of the unemployed are becoming unemployable. What is more, this is affecting the Employed person as well, lowering his efficiency by warping his sense of duty and integrity. The

Employees' efficiency being lowered the business, industry or institution is affected adversely and that in its turn effectively stops expansion. Indeed in most cases the drop in efficiency is so great that the concern or institution is obliged to retrench, instead of expanding and thereby providing further employment.

There are other factors too, some of them vital, affecting smaller concerns and institutions which are by far the largest sources of employment in the country. These have to be looked into with a real interest by a better type of official than the common stiff, wooden bureaucrat who owes his office to his—or his father's—oily tongue. Today the big fish are swallowing the little fish, centralizing the concerns and institutions into restricted areas, with considerable reduction in staff and personnel. Wide areas are thus being laid bare of the sources of employment and large-scale unemployment is the inevitable result.

Then again there is the question of the *unemployable*. Prolonged idleness and loafing converts the most efficient person into a lack-a-daisical lout. And if there be no sense of discipline and a total lack of a sense of duty to start with, then such a person becomes a menace to any concern or institution in which he might be employed. Unfortunately our schools and colleges are turning out today masses of such young men. Mere provision of jobs or doles would be worse than no remedy in such cases, unless there is a rectification of their sense of propriety and responsibility.

In some States, particularly in West Bengal, there are vast numbers of uprooted humanity, with almost all moral values destroyed, leaving only resentment and greed. This human flotsam is being utilized for the basest of motives by treacherous politicians and vile human sharks for the furthering of their own designs. Thus the entire mass of refugees in West Bengal are fast becoming unemployables. Even amongst those who have been given jobs, a large majority are



SAKUNTALA WATERING THE MADHABI PLANT

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Satindranath Baha

becoming more and more inefficient and unfit for employment, due to their warped ideas on duty and integrity, and are corrupting the efficiency of such of their colleagues who are still useful. Here again stern remedial measures are called for, to prevent total corruption of a very large section of the population.

A school or a college, or any public utility concern or institution, can only produce more unemployables if the staff possesses no sense of responsibility or if there be some members of the staff who are either active disruptionists or have a degraded sense of moral values. In giving jobs to the unemployed, special care should be taken in the appointment of teachers, supervisors, superintendents and others who are likely to come into contact with or to control large numbers of people with immature or undeveloped minds. Else in giving a job to one unemployed the Government will be sowing the seeds for a tenfold production of unemployables. Now let us turn to the official reactions. First of all there is the A.I.C.C. directive as given in the news below:

New Delhi, Sept. 21.—Following the adoption of the resolution on unemployment at the Agra session, the AICC has sought the help of State Congress Committees and individual Congressmen in collecting accurate data on the subject.

The data will supplement the sample surveys which the Planning Commission has decided to carry out in certain parts of India.

Congressmen have been asked to take a personal interest in the problem and collect reliable data regarding the extent of unemployment or under-employment in their constituencies or areas.

The AICC has advised them to pay special attention in the course of their inquiry to the working of village and cottage industries which are faced with a slump and to recommend new industries which might be started in their areas to provide fuller employment.

The information collected from State Congress Committees will form the basis of schemes which the AICC hopes to prepare to solve the unemployment problem.

Needless to say the directive will be futile, the Congress being what it is today. The few, very few, Congressmen who can still rise above selfish and party interests will cry in the wilderness, unless they can rouse public interest.

Then let us see what plans the Government envisages to combat unemployment. On the same day as the above news, there appeared in the daily press the following report:

The Government requires 10 years to solve the unemployment problem in India.

Mr. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister, gave this reply in the Council of States to a question from Mr. Sundarayya, leader of the Communist Party, during a debate on unemployment which covered much the

same ground as a similar debate in the House of the People some days ago.

In Mr. Deshmukh's long written reply to the debate, notable for its academic analysis of the economic trends of the last few years, only two specific remedies to the acute problem found brief, passing mention.

One related to minor irrigation schemes upon which much emphasis has already been laid in the Plan. Their scope will now be further enlarged. The second was educating the rural masses by employing a large number of educated persons.

Mr. Deshmukh was not puzzled by the phenomenon of rising unemployment when the Plan was being executed. He explained it by the fact that, during the first two years, expenditure had been 30 per cent of the total against the 40 per cent envisaged in the Plan.

He relied on the hope that the full impact of the Plan would be felt soon. During the current year, for instance, expenditure was stepped up by 8 per cent as compared with last year. It will amount to Rs. 400 crores. During next year, it will probably be about Rs. 500 crores, even if the proposed modifications were not taken into consideration.

The Finance Minister was satisfied that, having overcome inflationary trends, Indian economy was now better equipped for intensive overall development. Conditions were favourable for increasing investment to a greater scale than contemplated in the Plan.

Earlier, members asked for a courageous approach of the unemployment problem which, according to Mr. Reddy, was approaching staggering proportions.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Sundarayya said that the Finance Minister had categorically refused the demand for relief to the unemployed. "It is not for me but for the hundreds of millions of the unemployed of this country to get angry with this Government and storm the bastion of reaction."

The way the Ministers had spoken on the problem, he added, proved the Government's complacency. How many decades did the Government want to solve the problem?

When Mr. Deshmukh replied: "Ten years."

It is useless to remind Mr. Deshmukh about the old saw regarding "Hope deferred." If things do not improve much sooner than the date put by Mr. Deshmukh for the millenium, then Mr. Deshmukh and all others of that ilk, excepting a few agile turncoats, will have to fly the country or else face liquidation. The main bulwark between Order and Chaos in the country, the educated middle-class man is facing an imminent collapse.

Urban Middle-classes and Moneylenders

The *Clarion* draws attention to the sad plight of the urban middle-class. No statistics of urban indebted-

ness had even been attempted but it would not be surprising at all if over 75% of India's middle-classes were found to be in debt, the paper writes.

Rising cost of living and unemployment drove people to borrowing. And the "ignorance of the law, the sense of shame and the urgency of the situation makes many a borrower an easy prey to exploitation by unscrupulous moneylenders. The debtors often sign a bond for very much more than is borrowed." The paper then refers to a case where a man signed a bond for Rs. 1700 for a loan of Rs. 100 only. Illegally, high rates of interest—sometimes to the extent of 25% per month—were charged. And the moneylender with his knowledge of the law knew how to evade it. He generally did not give receipts for the interest he claimed. The paper writes that cases were common where capital had been more than doubled or trebled by interest payments within a year.

As a way-out the paper suggests the Government "to assist with loans, something on the principle of taccavi loans made to agriculturists. The security offered by the debtors would be their jobs, as arrangements for direct payments could easily, we think, be made by Government. Chances of non-payment would be reduced. In this way Government would be assisting the hard-hit middle-classes, adding perhaps a little to its revenue, and ensuring that debtors pay an interest which is reasonable and fair."

We are not in love with loans, having had long experience of Refugee and Rehabilitation schemes. Loans mean bribes and degradation. It would be better to devise a modified New Deal type scheme, to expand scope for work and profit. Co-operatives might be tried on a large scale.

The Five-Year Plan

Now let us turn to the universal panacea, the Five-Year Plan. Some time back there appeared in the *Asian Review* of London in its July issue, an interesting analysis of the Plan by Sir George Schuster. Sir George's long experience of India and his very deep knowledge of Indian economics makes the short analysis highly interesting. We give the following extracts:

"The main features as I see them are :

(a) India is an essentially agricultural country—(about three-quarters of its people dependent on agriculture)—and yet at present it is not producing enough food to feed its own people even at their present very low standards.

(b) The population is increasing at the rate of four and a quarter millions every year.

(c) On a long view there is no room to absorb great numbers of additional workers in agricultural production. Indeed if Indian agricultural industry is to make its best contribution to the Indian economy a reduction in the numbers on the land would be desirable.

(d) Therefore the great bulk of the working part of the 4½ millions added every year to the

population must be placed in industry or tertiary employment.

(e) Accordingly India needs a vast expansion of manufacturing industry if only as a means for providing bread-winning employment for her increasing population. (That is not the only reason for such an expansion. A greater proportion of industrial employment is necessary if there is to be any improvement in the general standard of living).

(f) But such an industrial expansion can have no sure foundation unless there can be first achieved a vast increase in agricultural production. This is necessary for a double reason. Unless more food can be produced it will be impossible to feed the increasing numbers employed in industry. Unless the purchasing power of the agricultural producer is greatly improved Indian industry will not be able to find markets for its products. (This is not to deny the possibility that Indian industry will be able to find export markets for some of its products. But this can only be a very small proportion of the total production if there is to be an expansion of industry on the scale which the national needs demand).

It is therefore necessary to concentrate first on the development of agricultural production.

It is because such a concentration is the main characteristic of the Five-Year Plan that I regard its broad lines as right. But the first five years must be regarded as no more than the first chapter of a much longer story of development—the first act of a much longer drama.

The essential purpose of this "first act" must accordingly be seen as two-fold: 1st: to achieve the maximum possible immediate increase in agricultural production. 2nd: to be a period of preparation for a great industrial expansion. Therefore, the practical questions to be asked are:

(i) What steps can be taken to aid the most rapid and effective development of agricultural production?

(ii) What can be done to "set the stage" for the great industrial expansion which should follow in the later acts of the Indian drama?

In the case of *agricultural development*, the Plan falls broadly under two heads, first, schemes for capital expenditure on works for irrigation and communications, and secondly, schemes for achieving a general uplift of production and life in the rural areas through measures such as the Community Development Projects."

Regarding the role of private enterprise in the field of economics, Sir George says:

"Private enterprise cannot hope to survive in modern conditions and in an educated democracy unless it can convince public opinion that it is serving the public interest in the sense that it is carrying out the necessary function of production more efficiently than any possible alternative system. I speak as one who believes that it can fulfil this condition, but only if it handles all its operations with this need constantly in mind. I must express the further belief that the Government of India is right in deciding to leave a great part of the task to private enterprise. There are powerful critics in India who

argue that the Plan falls neatly between two stools and that planned economic development can only succeed if the Government has complete control of all the resources for investment, and they point to the examples of Russia and China. But India is a country in which the ruthless methods of Russia could never be accepted or work successfully. Nevertheless, the fact that such opinions are held and that the Congress Party is essentially a left-wing party makes it all the more necessary that leaders of private enterprise should accept a high conception of their role and recognize that if they adopt practices which lay them open to legitimate public criticism they may create intolerable difficulties for Ministers of the present Government who are trying to pursue policies of moderation and leave scope for free enterprise.

There is no simple answer to my question, "What can private enterprise do to earn the confidence of the Government and public opinion?" But a combination of a number of steps might gradually have considerable effect. They include a high standard of managerial efficiency in all grades; educative publicity about financial results and a fair basis of distribution; action by big industry in the public interest in such matters as encouraging the development of small industries; a proper interpretation of the functions of industrial associations; and finally encouragement for the building up of responsible Trade Unions.

It is a commonplace to say that there can be no satisfactory industrial development unless human relations in industry are satisfactory, unless there is a general will to work and a readiness on the part of employers to recognize their obligation to pay adequate wages and, on the part of the workers, to realize that the level of wages must be related to the work effort and to the productivity of labour. One of the greatest needs in India to-day is the growth of a responsible Trade Union movement. There is a long way to go before this is achieved; but, on the other hand, I saw signs which justify me in expressing the view that a hopeful start has been made. Here is a field in which there is room for much helpful collaboration between this country and India. The value of this is recognized by the Trade Union movement in both countries and I can only express the hope that the British T.U.C. will do its utmost to develop effective collaboration."

Village Industries and Indian Government

In reply to a question in Parliament on August 6, the Minister for Commerce and Industries, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari had said that "the Government was considering the recommendation of the Planning Commission for the adoption of a policy of developing the production of edible oils through the village industry and the production of non-edible oils through the oil mills. In this connection another recommendation of the Planning Commission for the imposition of a small cess on mill oil for the benefit of the village

oil industry was also under the consideration of the Government, the Minister had said.

In reply to another question on the same day Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, had said that it had been decided that hand-made paper should be purchased for all demi-official correspondence of the Government of India. Of a total value of Rs. 4½ crores of paper purchased by the Government of India in 1951-52, hand-made paper had accounted for Rs. 90,000. No hand-made paper had been purchased in 1952-53 as Government had sufficient stock from the previous year's closing balance. The total value of paper purchased in that year was Rs. 5 crores approximately.

In an article in the *Harijan* on September 12, Sri Maganbhai P. Desai writes that these questions and their answers "tell eloquently well how lightly the Central Ministry take their responsibility to encourage and promote village industries. Apart from the patent indifference that is apparent from the answers, the more serious matter is where Sri T. T. Krishnamachari says that the recommendations of the Planning Commission are still not considered by the Government. . . . The indifference and delay revealed by the answers explain to an extent why unemployment is there in spite of the Plan." Pointing to the fact that the Five Year Plan had been put forward by the Government as their chief plank for the recovery of the national economy he urges upon the Government to hasten the implementation of their accepted policies laid down in the Plan.

We refrain from further comment. New brooms are indicated everywhere.

Community Project in West Bengal

Sometime back we had occasion to ask a high—and highly paid—official of the Project as to how the plans were developing. He said that he himself did not have anything much in the way of expectations where the Community Project was concerned, and so he would say that the results were not very disappointing so far. Needless to say we put no more questions. We append *infra* an extract from a recent issue of the *Vigil* more about the project. Unless a recasting of the plans and procedure is done while there is time, this experiment is going to be a howling failure in most States.

Sri B. K. Guha, Ex-Project Executive Officer, subjects the Community Projects administration in West Bengal to a close examination and his examination reveals some very instructive facts.

The writer notes that the early popular hopes and enthusiasm about the Community Projects had died down. The people had nearly lost all faith in the administration of the Community Development Projects.

Referring to the administration of the Projects of which he had personal experience, Sri Guha writes that

the duties of a Project Officer included everything except executing things. He was to work as a liaison between the Project and the normal state departments to which all allocations of money went. "The Project Officer," he writes, "is there to see that these monies are spent according to priorities determined by various departments in consultation with the Project Officer." The Project Officer had no control over those departments, which "do their utmost to have things in their own traditional way." Though responsible for everything relating to the Projects the Project Officer "can be frowned upon by any District Officer or Sub-divisional Officer." All his complaints were never seriously taken.

Another "important function" of the Project Officer was to act as a tourist's guide to visitors, mostly American "experts," who were "at best nothing more than salesmen of American machinery."

Sri Guha writes: "The various departments by their callous indifference do their best to ignore the very existence of the Project Administration." The District Magistrate was the District Development Officer, but "if he has got not the time or shows no inclinations to co-ordinate the different departments he cannot be blamed. Meanwhile the Project Officer becomes a spectator of departmental inefficiency, lethargy and heartlessness. . . . As long as the reports are sent in time with expert window-dressing nobody bothers about anything."

He cites various instances of departmental inefficiency and official bungling. An artificial insemination centre had been started with four bulls which had proved to be immature and meanwhile ten bulls giving natural servicing had been withdrawn. Illustrating the way the Departments moved Sri Guha writes: "When the Project officer asked the opinion of the Livestock officer about the bulls, the latter was clearly instructed by the Animal Husbandry Department not to give any reply. The Superintendent of Agriculture took a month and a half just to reply that he had nothing to do with the bulls."

The Agricultural Department did nothing more than pushing up "sales of manures on behalf of certain agencies and distributing seeds which very often do not go to the fields. Agricultural loans are given when the season is nearly over and that also to a fortunate few. Small irrigation schemes are undertaken under conditions that the beneficiaries would contribute one-third, now raised to half of the total cost. Contracts are deliberately made at an inflated rate and actual work is done at a much lower rate, the balance being shown as a book-entry for local contributions."

In another case a mobile medical unit had been started with the money of the Community Development Project. Doctors and assistants had been posted in a village without any medicine being provided. On enquiry it had been revealed that the Health Directorate "had not even drawn up any plans for work. So for full one month there was the doctor minus his medicine and the people getting bitter to the core." What was more

revealing was the fact that "when the doctor does get his stock of medicine and popularises himself to the village people he is transferred on some silly pretext."

Two primary schools have been completed but they could not be given recognition "because the district quota was already filled up." Nobody knew when the next quota was to come.

In view of all these Sri Guha says that the Government might as well abolish the establishment of the Project Executive officer. It would save a recurring expenditure of nearly Rs. 3000 per month.

Estate Duty Bill

The Estate Duty bill has now taken final shape. We were the first to point out the defects in the bill as originally framed, particularly with regard to the unjust burden on estates ruled by Dayabhaga laws. Those defects have been mostly removed.

New Delhi, Sept. 22.—The Council of States today passed the Estate Duty Bill as passed by the House of the People and adjourned till tomorrow.

The Finance Minister indicated yesterday that he would have to take the earliest opportunity to amend the provisions relating to exemptions in order to prevent evasion.

Under the clause as it stands, exemptions from Estate Duty is allowable in respect of an insurance policy on the life of the deceased for a sum not exceeding Rs. 50,000 for the purpose of paying Estate Duty. Another sub-clause provides that exemption will be granted in respect of amounts, not exceeding Rs. 50,000, deposited with the Government for purposes of meeting the duty on the estate of the deceased.

The second sub-clause had been introduced to meet the cases of persons who could not insure themselves due to over-age or other factors but would like to make a provision for payment of Estate Duty during their life time.

Mr. Deshmukh said there seemed to be a possibility of these two provisions being utilized cumulatively by an individual to escape Estate Duty up to the value of Rs. 1,00,000.

"I will have to take the earliest opportunity of bringing an amendment to this measure," he told the Council, though he would not say if he would bring forward an amending Bill in the next session.

Travancore-Cochin Assembly

The Travancore Cochin Ministry failed to obtain a majority in the confidence vote, in the State Assembly, on the 23rd of September as given in the news below:

Mr. A. J. John, Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, today failed to win a confidence vote in the State Assembly.

The Rajpramukh later issued a notification dissolving the Travancore-Cochin Assembly with effect from tomorrow.

The news of the fall of the John Cabinet came as no surprise in New Delhi. According to informed quarters, Mr. John is expected to advise the Rajpramukh to order fresh general elections.

Pending this, the Ministry is expected to continue in office though it will not initiate any new policies. It will be in the nature of a caretaker Ministry till fresh elections are held.

The 47 Congress members and four Independents today backed the confidence motion. The 32 members of the United Front of Leftists, the nine TTNC members, the 10 Socialists and five Independents voted against it. One Independent abstained.

Mr. John's Ministry assumed office on March 12, 1952, though the general election did not give the Congress a majority in the 109-member Assembly.

The Congress, however, emerged from the elections as the largest single party in the Assembly with 46 members. They managed to get last year's budget passed with the support of Independents.

Now, after the fall, Congress has to try for a working majority at the elections, which have to be completed by March, 1954.

Law and Order in Calcutta

Following the deliberate defiance of law and order on the political front, serious outbreaks of lawlessness have happened in certain parts of the city, in which the ringleaders are professional criminals. Kidnapping, extortion of money by threats of violence, sometimes at the point of daggers or pistols, rape and theft have become more frequent than usual. In one case, the criminals raped the kidnapped eight-year old girl before abandoning her in a severely collapsed condition.

In a very suspicious case, a prominent upcountry businessman was found dead in a "Massage Clinic" of doubtful status. The newspaper reports said that the deceased went there in an inebriated condition and collapsed and died before medical aid could reach him. The relatives and friends were astounded at the news of the death and the circumstances under which the demise was alleged to have taken place. They, therefore, demanded that a *post-mortem* examination be made, as the deceased was not only a man of repute, but was known to his friends to be of steady and refined habits. It is said that on the examination no traces of alcohol or any other intoxicant could be found.

It has been stated in a public meeting of prominent businessmen that the deceased had expressed some apprehensions about imminent and serious troubles to his friends a few days before his untimely death. He did not state what he was afraid of nor did they attach any importance to his fears at the time.

The place of his death is said to be an ill-reputed house, and it is firmly stated by his friends that they cannot imagine his going there of his own volition. They say that the mysterious circumstances under which the death took place clearly point to a conspiracy and violence and ask for a thorough enquiry by the police in the matter.

"Coat, Necktie and Collar"

Pandit Nehru has at last removed his rose-tinted glasses and begun to see things in their proper light as the following news-item indicates:

New Delhi, Sept. 24.—Mr. Nehru today warned Ministers and officials against approaching the problems of the common worker and peasant with a "coat, necktie and collar mind."

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a conference of State Ministers of Agriculture and Co-operation in Parliament Hall, said that mere conferences would not help if the workers and peasants remained untouched by such activity.

"I am sometimes amazed about the way official work is done," he added. "There are several insitutes of agricultural and forest research doing good work. But whatever work is done there is confined to the officers concerned and the four walls of the institute. It does not reach the common peasant."

He had come to attend the conference out of just formality and to wish it success, he said. The Ministers of Agriculture and others participating knew more about the problems of agriculture than he did. It was unnecessary for him to say that the question of agriculture was a basic and necessary one for the country. It was, however, clear that the country could not develop, however advanced agriculturally it might be, unless it was industrially advanced also.

Posing the question how progress in India should be measured, Mr. Nehru said: "In our Statistics Department people make charts and blueprints. They should do more of this kind of work. It gives us some picture of our country. But, ultimately, the only yardstick of measuring the country's progress is by examining the general appearance of the Indian peasant, the clothes he wears, the food he eats and the house he lives in. We have also to see how the children of the Indian peasant are brought up, what arrangements exist for giving them education and safeguarding their health. The country's progress can never be measured by policy statements of Ministers or officials."

In the not so-very distant past, the I.C.S. man touring in State through the countryside, used to receive petitions and dictate terms and directives. He used to consider himself omniscient and omnipotent—unless a superior was in the offing. He set the example for all his underlings, and hence came the tradition of the "coat, collar and necktie." This system, which was one of the root causes of the ruin of the common man, in the streets and in the fields, has persisted though the British Raj has departed. The Ivory-Tower tradition dies hard, be it garbed in Coat and Necktie or Gandhi cap and Khaddar.

Sugar Policy Muddle

Vivek writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* that the extent of the "folly and rashness" of the sugar policy of the Government of India would be made clear even

to the uninitiated when one considered the Government's latest declaration of policy.

The Government had presented a supplementary demand for 7.25 crores of rupees for importing a lakh of tons of sugar which was necessary to hold sugar prices and maintain continuity of supplies. In this regard the Government had also announced the reduction of the import duty on sugar to a little less than half.

At the same time Government had urged the Parliament to agree to Rs. 2.06 crores for compensation to factory owners because the Government had undertaken that the sugar factories would get the previous seasons' price for the quantities they held, though a reduction of price was called for on the basis of the stock position.

Still another demand was for Rs. 3½ lakhs for payment as compensation to private exporters because 6300 tons of sugar had been exported at a loss in 1952-53.

Vivek writes: "... a government which went out of its way to spend two hundred and six lakhs to prevent prices from falling because of a large carry-over, finds itself within a few months allocating large sums of foreign exchange in order to reduce prices slightly and to hold them at the lower level! Truly a remarkable debacle, that does little credit either to Government's prescience or its ability to manage."

The policy of the Government helped the speculators. Sugar prices were not likely to remain stable by Government releases and direct sales. The import of a lakh of tons was not likely to lead to comparatively low prices and would, in any case, affect only sales in a few ports.

"In the next season, moreover," Vivek continues, "the production of sugar will probably not be high, for the cultivator is not likely to be encouraged when the price for the cane he sells is settled, while he sees the price of the article manufactured from it free, and the factory owner and the trader making even handsome profits than before."

Here, in West Bengal there is an attempt made by the Government to bring down the retail price of sugar all over the State. It is as yet too early to gauge the results of the plan, which is to persuade the normal trade-channels to accept the measure. Private feuds, cupidity of some traders, and the obvious lethargy of the consumer, are hurdles on the path. But prices are coming down.

British Goat Farm

A 180-acre goat farm in Britain which produces 10,000 gallons of milk each year from a herd of 100 goats is attracting the attention of doctors and agriculturists from all over the world, including the Far East.

Milk from the farm—situated at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, near Rugby—is sent all over England. The

farm also sends regular supplies of yoghurt bacteria base by air for manufacture in British Guiana.

Medical men visit the farm to study the potentialities of goat's milk for the treatment of tuberculosis and eczema- and agriculturists are particularly interested in the way Mr. Gilbert Harris, owner of the farm, has used derelict land for milk production, which he hopes to treble in the next few years.

The idea for starting the farm came to Mr. Harris, a former R.A.F. signals officer, when he was stationed in Southern Arabia during the war. He suffered from malnutrition and was cured by goat's milk. After demobilisation he began keeping only a few goats, but following a local doctor's appeal for goat's milk for a sick child he turned over exclusively to goat milk production in 1950.

There are many tracts in India where a similar experiment might be successful.

South Africa Through American Eyes

Emmett Murphy, a young professor of anthropology who took the place of the well-known Professor Z. K. Matthews while the latter was teaching in the United States, had a year in South Africa at the University College of Fort Hare. Because he insisted upon treating white and Africans as equals, he and his wife were ordered to leave the country 44 days before their permit to stay expired.

In reviewing his experience, Emmett Murphy has given a balanced appraisal of the difficulties in South Africa, and the racial situation there. Pointing out that even in the College there was tension between black students and white faculty members, and recounting his friendship with the students, Professor Murphy declares: "There is no area now left in the U.S. where Negroes receive treatment as stern and unfair as in South Africa."

"As the Nationalist Party and most whites in South Africa grow more extreme and harsh in their attempts to keep the blacks down," says Professor Murphy, "so the various African political organizations and most blacks get more extreme in their ambitions to remove the chains which have bound them and to assume control of their own destinies and their land. White liberals are being progressively squeezed out of power by the extremists on both sides, as are African and Indian moderates. Unless a new element enters the picture, we feel, a violent clash between the two forces is inevitable. The only thing that will be effective will be a quick granting of fundamental rights to non-Europeans and embarkation upon a huge program of social and economic progress for all the people. It is our opinion that at least 75 per cent of the Europeans are unswervingly opposed to this much."

U. S. and World-Policy

After the Korean armistice there has been a great deal of wrangling about the policy of the U.S. The following extract gives a good summary:

"Europeans are not always right, but are they wrong in believing the U.S. is too unbending? Largely for this reason, American stock is low, even among the most ardent anti-Communists. Europeans feel that Americans are unrealistic in their insistence on arming Europe, willy-nilly, before attempting to settle the cold war, or before being sure that a decent peace cannot now be pried out of the Russians. Secretary Dulles made one statement in a recent radio speech that particularly bothered Europe. He declared that even if the Russians ceased being aggressive, the European Defense Community would be just as necessary as ever. They would agree that unity ought to be pushed, but they see no reason for permanent costly armament if the Soviet Union could be brought to terms.

In Asia, the political conference to follow the truce will try to halt Communist aggression in the narrowest sense; or will undertake to find a basis for enduring peace through a solution of various questions. If Mr. Dulles means what he has been saying, the U.S. will attempt to limit the conference to issues Washington wants to settle precisely in its own way. This isn't likely to work, however, for some of the best friends of the United States will be just as eager to broaden the discussions as are the Communists. Japan is eager to renew its trade with Red China in order to bolster its shaky economy, and nations fearing Japanese imports will help it. There will be pressure to admit China to the United Nations at the expense of Formosa, not because other countries are pro-Communist, but because they believe peace will be more secure with the Chinese inside than outside. Few countries think that recognition of Red China means approval, any more than Washington thinks so in the case of Latin American dictatorships. Fourteen lands now recognize Red China: Afghanistan, Britain, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Finland, India, Indonesia, Israel, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. If the U.S. wins, by economic threats, it will suffer.

Many countries are determined not to follow what they feel is U.S. rigidity. They reason somewhat along these lines. Suppose Red China can be persuaded to withdraw troops from Korea on the assurance that South Korea will not renew the war; that a narrow buffer zone be created at the Yalu; and that a United Korea be demilitarized, under international guarantees. Suppose then that China comes into the U.N. after a cooling-off period of six months or a year, and is thus responsible, on the inside, for the maintenance of peace. This could, by taking the heat off Indo-China, give the French the opportunity they increasingly desire, of ending the war there. Japan, safe from invasion through Korea, could avoid the rearmament its people do not want, while the fear of Japan would no longer worry Asian peoples.

You may not agree with any of this, but such ideas are seething in many minds, and if Washington has something better, that policy must be polished up

and brought out soon. The U.N. Assembly is going to get into the act, and through its sessions, along with those of the post-armistice conference, American spokesmen are likely to find that mere inflexibility will not suffice. U.S. prestige has already suffered badly through its abandonment of the International Children's Emergency Fund, and its threatened scuttling of the U.N. technical assistance program."—*Workover Press*

Concessions to Oil Refineries

Mr. K. C. Reddy, Minister for Production, placed before the Parliament on August 23, the terms of the agreements entered into by the Government of India with the three foreign oil Companies, two American and one British, for the establishment of three oil refineries in India. The terms of agreement in the three cases were more or less similar.

The concessions granted included "a no-nationalisation guarantee for 25 years from the commencement of operation of the refineries, import concessions, foreign exchanges facilities and an additional duty protection to the products of the companies," reports the UPI. A guarantee exempting the refineries from the purview of the Indian Industries (Development and Regulation) Act for 25 years had also been given, if the Indian companies applied for such exemption.

The refineries would be owned and operated by what would be known as "Indian Company" sponsored by the foreign firms. Though the Indian investors would be given an opportunity to subscribe to the share capital of the Indian Company, the foreign firms would have the controlling voice.

Under the terms of the agreement the foreign companies had been assumed of fair and reasonable compensation should the Government decide to acquire the refineries after the expiry of the specified period of 25 years.

Assurance had also been given to exempt transfers of petroleum products from the "Indian Companies" to their foreign principals from sales tax, turnover tax or other tax of similar nature.

There will be no tax discrimination between these Companies and other Indian firms for ten years from the commencement of operations of the refineries or until December 31, 1965, whichever was earlier. For the same period an additional duty protection would be accorded to the products of the refineries by maintaining an import duty on motor gasoline at least annas two per imperial gallon higher than the excise on locally manufactured motor gasoline. No import duty would be imposed on crude oil and import duty imposed on any materials required for the refineries would not exceed 5½ per cent *ad valorem*. The refineries would be free to fix the prices of the products at any level higher than the landed cost and that tankers, regardless of flag, importing crude oil or products for the refineries or for marketing operations in India would be permitted to

lift products from the refinery for delivery to other ports in India.

The main object of establishing these refineries is stated to be the conservation of foreign exchange, and we have no doubt that a considerable saving will be effected thereby. But the price of petrol (gasoline) and allied petroleum products is climbing up to a prohibitive degree. We should like to be assured that a price reduction may be expected, so that the ultimate consumer, the general public, may become a beneficiary. Foreign exchange saved thus, would be spent otherwise, we have no doubt, by the spendthrifts in the Central Government.

State Managed Co-operative in Assam

The *Chronicle*, September 4, reports that textile goods worth Rs. 22687 had been stolen over a number of years from the Silchar Central Trading Co-operative Ltd., with the connivance of higher authorities. The report adds: "The Society came into being in 1948 with D. C. [Deputy Commissioner] Cachar as its Chairman. In 1949 goods stolen to the extent of Rs. 2761 was detected. In early 1950 same thing to the extent of another amount of Rs. 7300-10-2 was again detected. Finally, in the latter part of 1950 the total amount, i.e., value of the stolen, controlled textile goods was detected to be at Rs. 22687-14-1. Audit, enquiry and inspection, etc., have duly been held and persons responsible have also been found out. But strangely enough no action for recovery of the money or punishing the responsible persons has yet been taken."

Assam Approves Financial Corporation

The *Chronicle*, September 11, reports that the Assam Assembly had approved the constitution of a Financial Corporation for Assam with an authorised capital of two crores of rupees. The Corporation would have a paid-up capital of one crore of rupees to be raised in the following manner: Assam Government—25 lakhs; Reserve Bank—20 lakhs; Scheduled Banks, Insurance Companies, Investment Trusts, Co-operative Banks or other financial institutions—30 lakhs; and other parties—25 lakhs.

The Finance Minister, Sri Motiram Bora, explained that the Corporation would afford facilities for financing medium and small-sized industrial undertakings of Assam with potentialities of further development.

Linguistic Provinces

A further step forward has been recorded at the All-India Linguistic States Conference, as is indicated in the news below. We are glad that at last Bengal's case has been given some recognition.

Vallabha Vidyanagar, Sept. 27. The All India Linguistic States Conference unanimously demanded here this evening that the Government of India should proceed to redistribute the country on the linguistic basis after six months from the date of appointment of the Boundary Commission.

The two-day Conference concluded to-day. Dr. Lanka Sundaram presided. The Conference said by a resolution that there was "no question" of appointing a high-power Commission to decide about the feasibility of the linguistic States.

"The principle of the formation of linguistic States for the country as a whole is now finally settled and is no longer open to any further examination or discussions. The only question which now remains is its implementation without any further delay," the resolution said.

REPORT WITHIN 6 MONTHS

The resolution called upon the Government to appoint the Boundary Commission "forthwith" and said that the report of the Boundary Commission should be made available within six months from the date of its appointment and that the Government should immediately proceed to the redistribution of the country on a linguistic basis having regard to such factors as common economic life and geographical contiguity.

Temple Entry at Deoghar

After the assault on Acharya Vinoba Bhave's party at the gates of the Baidyanath Temple, by some fanatic *pandas*, the question of the basic right of temple-entry by the Harijans came very much to the fore. We are glad that here some firmness was displayed by the Bihar Government in the solution of the problem as the following news indicates:

Deoghar, Sept. 27.—Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, formally threw open the gates of the Baidyanath Temple for the Harijans today at 11-30 a.m.

Dressed in milk-white khadi with flowers and chandan (sandal paste) in hand, Dr. Sinha accompanied by Sri Mahesh Prasad Sinha, Information Minister, Pandit Binodananda Jha, former Minister of Local Self-Government and Sri Gourishankar Dalmia M.L.C. (Congress) and about 800 Harijans, including some members of the State legislature, entered the temple from the main northern gate.

A number of high State officials, including Sri K. Raman, Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division, Sri Mithileshwar Prasad Sinha, Inspector-General of Police, Sri Sarda Prasad Verma D.I.G., C.I.D., Sri U. K. Ghose, Deputy Commissioner, Santhal Parganas accompanied Dr. Sinha to the temple. Several thousand citizens turned out at the temple gates despite inclement weather and drizzling rain to witness the solemn ceremony when Dr. Sinha entered the inner precincts of the temple with Harijans and offered puja to the deity. The whole ceremony was conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. Elaborate police arrangements had however been made as a precautionary measure.

The issue of temple entry came to the forefront with the assault on Acharya Vinoba Bhave on September 19 when he went with a large number of Harijans to the Baidyanath Temple which had for long been the citadel of Hindu orthodoxy.

Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha took it as a challenge not only to humanity but also to the Indian Constitution and announced his decision to enter the temple with Harijans.

Since early morning batches of Harijans paraded the streets of Deoghar today shouting the slogans, "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai," "Sant Vinoba-ki-jai" and "Behar Kesari (Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha) -ki-jai."

Pak Cinemas Close Down

PTI reports from Karachi on September 19 that all Karachi cinema houses screening Urdu films would be closed indefinitely from September 21 on account of shortage of Indian films, according to an announcement by the Karachi Cine Exhibitors' Association.

Pakistan producers were not in a position to produce enough pictures to feed the Pakistani Cinemas. West Pakistan had 250 cinema houses which needed at least 100 films every year. But Pakistan could hardly produce 10 pictures a year. Therefore, she needed to import about 90 films from India but the Government of Pakistan did not allow the import of Indian films since over a year now. Hence this crisis.

U.S.-South Korea Treaty

On August 8, U.S. Secretary of State, Dulles, and the South Korean Prime Minister had signed a Mutual Security Treaty between their two countries. *Reuter* reports: "The treaty which must be ratified by the Senate in Washington and the South Korean Parliament, declared that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the signatories would be regarded as dangerous to the peace and safety of the other and both 'would act to meet the common danger'." The U.S.A. would have the right to station troops in South Korea.

The South Korean Foreign Minister had predicted on August 7 that the U.S. Senate which was the only legislative voice on such treaties would pass the pact "without difficulty."

In a Press Conference held after the signing of the Treaty, Mr. Dulles said that no agreed plan for the reunification of Korea had been decided upon but he had his own private views on the matter. He was reported to have told that if the Communists had sought to turn the 90-day limit to the conference into "fruitless propaganda," the U.S.A. and South Korea might withdraw before the 90 days were up.

Commenting on the treaty Y. Pavlov writes: "Under this agreement, the U.S.A. is to continue the occupation of South Korea with its land, air and naval forces. And the agreement says plainly that the U.S.A. assumes (1) the right to maintain its armed forces in or in proximity to South Korea. The agreement does not concretize the meaning of 'in proximity'."

"This tendency of U.S. ruling circles to maintain military bases not only in Korea's territories but also 'in proximity' to Korea is symptomatic. It lays added

emphasis on the fact that the American military circles harbour far-reaching plans for conquests in the Pacific."

Speaking at Seoul on August 14, Dr. Syng Man Rhee said that it was South Korea's "wish and determination to march north at the earliest possible time."

In a declaration published on August 7 in New York the 16 nations with troops in Korea (the U.S.A., Britain, France, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Thailand, Turkey, Greece, Ethiopia, Belgium, The Netherlands, Colombia, The Philippines and Luxembourg) had warned the Communists that they would resist any new attack on South Korea and said that in that event, they probably could not "confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea." PTI reports that though no names were mentioned the declaration "was regarded an obvious threat of action against the Chinese mainland."

Britain, however, made it clear that her signature to the declaration did not commit her automatically to war against China if the Communists broke the armistice.

In order to meet the criticism against Britain's association with the declaration, a statement was issued from No. 10, Downing Street on August 14 which stated that the terms of the declaration had been agreed upon in 1951 at the instance of the U.S.A. The declaration was concerned solely with what might be termed an 'unprovoked' breach of the armistice by the Communists. "If there were any breach of faith by anyone on our side, the Government would be entitled to reopen the whole question," it added.

Goondalism in French Indian Settlements

The *Bombay Chronicle* of September 8, reports: "Mr. Ramkrishnan, brother of Mr. R. Rama Srinivasan, President of the Karikal Youth Congress, which stands for the merger of the French India settlements with the Indian Union was bodily carried away into the French limits of Karikal on the evening of September 2 by a group of adherents of the Socialist Party, which is in power in French India."

The report adds that the family of Mr. Rama Srinivasan had migrated to India having been unable to bear the persecution by the pro-French elements. Mr. Ramakrishnan who had somehow succeeded in escaping told Pressmen that French goondas had been commissioned to carry the whole family into Karikal. He had lodged a complaint with the District Magistrate of Tanjore about the trespass of the goondas into the Indian Union.

This is by no means an isolated incident. We are beginning to wonder why this sort of thing is allowed to continue.

Anglo-Egyptian Talks

The latest news throws a more hopeful light on the Anglo-Egyptian tangle, as the following news

indicates. We hope the British authorities would show an understanding of the Egyptian Government's problem which is more a question of psychology than real-politics.

Cairo, Sept. 28.—An authoritative Egyptian source said today that Egypt had accepted all British proposals for a settlement of the Suez Canal base problem except that British technicians remaining behind should wear uniform.

The source added that Egypt had agreed on the evacuation of combatant troops in a period of 18 months, that 4,000 British technicians should help maintain the base for a period of three years and on allied re-entry to the base in the event of aggression against a member of the Arab League.

"But we cannot accept Britain's proposal that the technicians who stay should wear uniform," the source added.

"The talks which have so far been most successful may founder on this point, for we shall never be able to convince the Egyptian people that the withdrawal of British troops from the Canal Zone is complete."

The Politics of Suez Canal

Of all the great roadways of the world, the sea-road to India through the Isthmus of Suez is perhaps the most important, for it joins East and West, Asia and Europe, the two most thickly populated continents. Since its opening in 1869, its importance in enlarging the intercontinental route has been great. It facilitates access to raw materials from the uttermost parts of the earth and the opening of new markets for manufactured goods. If the Canal is blocked or efficiency impaired the whole western world is affected. Renan perhaps voiced the truth when he said in his welcoming speech to Ferdinand de Lesseps upon the latter's admission to the French Academy:

"The great sentence, 'I came not to bring peace, but a sword,' must have come often into your mind. Once the Isthmus was cut, it inevitably became a passageway, that is, a field of battle. So far, one Bosphorus had made for quite enough trouble in the world, but you have created a second which overshadows it in importance, for it connects not merely two landlocked seas but all the great oceans. In the event of a naval war, this is the point which the contending powers would struggle most urgently to occupy. You have set your seal on one of the great battlegrounds of the future."

In ancient Roman eyes, Asia was a fabulous source of riches and luxury. Trade on a truly international scale developed between the three important centres of civilization: the Mediterranean, the Hellenistic Middle East and the Far East proper (India and China). Rome imported from India perfumes, cloth, precious stones, spices and circus animals, but had little to offer in exchange. She paid in gold for an unfavourable trade balance, and eventually all the gold of the West found its way to Byzantium and India. In the Middle Ages,

the trade balance remained approximately the same. Egypt was the great meeting place where merchants from Genoa, Venice, and Catalonia met their Arab counterparts from all parts of Africa and Asia. The Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453 cut off the ancient routes to Asia, until 1498 when Vasco da Gama opened a new sea route, around the Cape of Good Hope, to India. As a result, the Mediterranean was changed for three centuries from a passageway to a blind alley and the world centre of gravity gravitated towards the shores of the Atlantic and the Great Powers which bordered upon it.

The relationship between Europe and Asia underwent a radical change when the industrial revolution came into full force and steam navigation swept the sailing ship from the seas. Industrialised 19th century Europe was no longer content with Eastern spices and other luxury goods. It required raw materials for its factories, and foodstuffs in wholesale quantities for an expanding population which it could no longer support. Its exports were transformed to mass production goods, tools and machinery which had a great appeal to an East roused by its new contact with the western economy.

The East now appeared in quite a different light—not as the legendary and marvellous region of the past but as a no less precious reservoir of cheap raw materials, and at the same time a market for the West's growing industrial production. A new system of exchanges developed: Europe imported goods in the raw and sent them back manufactured.

The passage from England to India by the middle of the nineteenth century required, via the Cape of Good Hope, 140 days by sail and 90 days by steam, and the necessity of a direct route was increasingly being felt. The problem of the Suez Canal as Lesseps saw it in 1854, when he obtained permission to construct it from Mohammed Said, Viceroy of Egypt, was not so complicated. This was the age of liberalism with free trade and enterprise, lower tariffs and with unlimited possibilities of capital, credit and competition. Lesseps was able to count on financing his project through a private company to which savings from all over the world would contribute. In those days of peace and limited wars he felt that in case hostilities broke out the underlying economic agreements would be maintained. He thought that the Canal should not be looked upon as the property of any single Power, but as an undertaking shared by all mankind. Although Mohammed Said, and Ismail after him, preferred the Canal to belong to Egypt rather than Egypt to the Canal, they however maintained a strictly neutral attitude toward the Company charged with constructing it. They offered to nationalistic arguments to interfere with the work of the engineers and administrators. Lesseps never dreamed of asking for the establishment of a "Canal Zone," or a special body of police under his control. He had no fear

that the Egyptian authorities would violate his contract with them. And indeed his only administrative vexation which arose over the issue of employing *fellah* labour, came not from the Egyptians, but from a jealous Britain. It is only in the present century that violently anti-western Egyptian nationalism appears. Before 1869 the Isthmus was a stretch of desert, detached from the main body of Egyptian territory, even though Egypt's political frontier was 150 miles to the east.

Under the circumstances, Lesseps and Mohammed Said had little difficulty in reaching agreement upon the fundamental idea of the enterprise. Its main features are (just as they exist today) written into the original concession, signed on November 30, 1854. The concession was a personal arrangement with "our friend, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps," to whom was given full power to set up and direct a "universal" company for the piercing of the Isthmus and the exploitation of a canal between the two seas. The epithet "universal" indicates that the Company was free from any national bias. Rates were to be the same for all countries, with no chance for any one of them to obtain a special favour. The concession was made for a period of 99 years from the opening of the Canal, that is, it will terminate in 1968 when the Egyptian Government is to replace the Company, paying a sum, to be fixed by arbitration, for the installations and equipments.

Lesseps' real difficulties were neither technical nor financial—but political. Notwithstanding the solemn declaration of the founders that the undertaking was international in character, Britain was profoundly mistrustful and was afraid that under the cover of the slogan of international neutrality, France was trying to obtain a monopoly of communications between Europe and Asia. Lesseps sought to raise his capital of 200,000,000 francs by public subscription. English hostility, instigated by Lord Palmerston, continued to the very end. The principles of availability to all and complete neutrality were not enough to satisfy the British Prime Minister, and Lesseps' attempt to obtain an international guarantee of neutrality was unsuccessful. Evidently, Britain wanted a privileged position, asserted by reason of the fact that English traffic would be the Canal's mainstay.

One year after the opening of the Canal, when Lesseps received a great reception in London, *The Times* wrote: "M. de Lesseps has come to a country which did nothing for the Suez Canal, but which, since the opening, has sent more traffic through it than all the other nations of the globe combined. This country supplies most of the money which will be paid in dividends to the shareholders. May this be a compensation for whatever errors we may have made at the start."

During the years 1870-80, 76 per cent of the total tonnage that passed through the Canal was under the British flag, and France which came next, had only 8.3 per cent, while the USA was insignificantly represented.

Having been outstripped by France in the creation of the Canal, England proceeded to make up for the lost time, first, by buying out the 177,000 shares held by the Khedive Ismail, and thus entering the Company's administration. Secondly, by effecting a military occupation of Egypt in 1882, Britain secured an effective rule over the country including the Isthmus.

The purchase of Ismail's shares however did not give Britain control of the Company, which had 400,000 shares outstanding. But with Lesseps' consent Britain achieved minority representation on the Board of Directors on a basis of friendly and loyal co-operation. The British occupation of Egypt seriously modified the Company's position, because the Khedive no longer held the reins. Although temporarily at least Britain accepted a status of neutrality, she intended at the same time to take advantage of the privileges gained by military occupation. Under these conditions, France all the more strongly desired an international covenant of some kind, and one was eventually adopted under the name of the 1883 or "Constantinople" Convention.

The principles of the Convention were largely based on the presupposition of neutrality or "free use." The Canal was to be kept open, in war as in peace, to warships and traders alike; no fortifications were to be built and no blockade allowed. The Khedive's Government, with the support of the Ottoman Government, to which it owed allegiance, was to insure the observance of these rulings. The validity of the Convention was not limited to the duration of the concession, but was indefinite. But by virtue of the military occupation Britain became obviously the actual guarantor.

Until 1920 this system functioned and it was Britain's chief interest to keep the waterway to India open. During the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the freedom of the Canal was respected even by the belligerents, and also during the Italo-Turkish war of 1911. Although the Canal at that time was an Ottoman territory, Turkey did not oppose the passage of 12,400 Italian soldiers and three warships.

In recent years the political complexion of the Suez has undergone change. Since the second world war, the political map of Asia has greatly altered. An independent India has emerged, while Communist China has abandoned the West entirely. In the days of British domination, India's tariff policy was determined in London and that of China through the International Customs Union, headed by the Englishman, Sir Robert Hart. More than 50 crores of people are thus removed from the economic domain of the West. Middle-Eastern oil is a new and important factor in trade along the Suez. The character of north-to-south traffic has not altered for it is still composed of manufactured or semi-manufactured goods, mostly machines, railway equipment and tools, all directed to countries in the process of industrialisation. Although traffic from north to south has considerably increased in volume, it still consists mainly of raw materials. In 1913, raw materials came to 45 per

cent and foodstuffs to 31 per cent, with 5 per cent of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and 19 per cent miscellaneous. In 1952, manufactured goods represented 7 per cent, foodstuffs fell to 5 per cent and raw materials came to 86 per cent; but oil made up 83 per cent of the raw materials and 74 per cent of the total. The large decline in volume and degree of foodstuffs are due to the population crisis of an Asia which cannot feed itself, and the increase in oil is of course, a result of the sensational development of the Middle-Eastern Oil fields. Oil is now the main commodity of trade along the Canal and the construction of pipelines leading directly to the Mediterranean may partially improve the position. Oil is the main commodity in south-to-north trade. In view of the decisive role played by oil products in both peace and war today, the freedom and security of communications through the Canal is becoming more and more important for Europe and for the USA.

The largest part of the tonnage is under the British flag—33.3 per cent of the total in 1952. Even so this represents a great decline from the figures of 51.4 per cent in 1939 and 76.1 per cent between 1870-80. Britain still uses the Canal a great deal more than any other nation, and is therefore the Power most directly interested, from both a political and a commercial point of view, in its efficient functioning. Until 1939, hardly any traffic went under the American flag—only 0.15 per cent of the total. The second world war brought a considerable increase, however, and in 1952, 7.3 per cent of the tonnage travelled under the American flag. American imports through the Canal were 6,156,000 tons in 1952 largely oil and manganese; exports amounting to 4,079,000 tons were mostly grain on the way to the famine-stricken India. The USA is present now in the Near East with an accumulation of economic and political interests. The Suez Canal therefore cannot now be solved without the co-operation of the USA.

There are two sides to the military problem of the Suez Canal—the question of the defence of the Canal, and of the maintenance of free passage through the other seas and straits along the route. At present the Mediterranean background is not what it was at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Although Britain still has nominal control of the Isthmus and the road to India, her position is precarious and the whole system calls for revision.

Although the principles of the Constantinople Convention still hold good, it has undergone important modifications. According to the text of 1883, the Ottoman Government, which then held sovereignty over Egypt, was supposed to enforce the Convention. But Britain, by virtue of military occupation, was in actual control and has been ever since, under a different title. Article 152 of the Versailles Treaty transferred to Britain the powers given to the Sultan by the Convention. And it is on the basis of an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 that Britain occupies the Isthmus. After passing in 1914 from the status of a vassal to that of a British protectorate, Egypt

in 1922 acquired self-government and has been intolerant of foreign military occupation ever since. In October 1951, Egypt abrogated the 1936 Treaty, but Britain still occupies the Isthmus and will not consent to withdraw until the present makeshift arrangement is replaced by a permanent one guaranteeing the safety of a route which is indispensable to her status as World Power. For the Canal is still a vital link in Britain's system of communications.

The two world wars have taught England that the hostility or the hostile neutrality of a single one of the Mediterranean Powers can endanger the safety of the Canal. Any enemy that has a foothold on this narrow, winding body of water, so admirably suited for ambush and intrigue, can close it. For this purpose control of the military installations is not necessary. Twice in the course of the last war, England revived Vasco da Gama's abandoned route around the Cape of Good Hope. It is longer and more expensive, but safer, at least comparatively, from attack by airplanes and submarines. Some Britons say that Palmerston was right in opposing the construction of the Suez Canal. In 1926 Sir John Marriott said in the House of Commons: "Looking back after a considerable lapse of time, I am not sure that the British statesmen who opposed the Suez Canal from the point of view of both diplomacy and power were not right . . . If the Canal had never been pierced we might find ourselves in a stronger position today. And if this is true, how necessary it is for us to keep the route around the Cape and to see that the African coast, to both East and West, is free of foreign domination."

Up to the second world war, the completely free movement of traffic through the Canal was never questioned. The first Article of the Convention of 1883 established "free use of the Canal in time of war as in time of peace," and the Company assured it. But during the recent war in Palestine, the Egyptian Government has claimed a right to stop tankers on their way to Israel. This is a violation both of the original 1854 concession and the Convention of Constantinople, which is still valid. Egypt justifies her action by Article 10 of the 1888 Convention, which states that other provisions of the Treaty "shall in no case occasion any obstacle to the measures which the Imperial Ottoman (read Egyptian) Government may think it necessary to take in order to insure by its own forces the defence of its other possessions situated on the eastern coast of the Red Sea." It was under pretext of self-defence and the the preservation of law and order that the Egyptian declarations of May 15 and 18, 1948, introduced the inspection of ships in Egyptian ports and the confiscation of goods destined to an enemy. The Egyptian plea is that she respects the idea "free use" and that she objects, not to the passage of ships, but to cargoes containing contraband goods sent to a hostile Power. But the free passage of a ship has no meaning unless it includes the passage of its cargo as well. Neither the Turkish Government, in the course of the Italo-Turkish war, nor the Allies in 1914

and 1940, raised any such arguments in order to twist to their advantage the text of an agreement truly international in spirit.

The problem of the Canal is thus a complex one, and the military occupation of the Isthmus is no solution. Although the Canal passes through Egyptian territory it has an essentially international character and cannot be run in any other way than an international spirit. In any future arrangement regarding the Canal, India should have a voice as she is now vitally interested in view of her increasing tonnage along the Canal.

World Bank Completes Six Years

It is only six years now since the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development started its operations. The Bank has achieved a fair measure of success in discharging its functions laid down by its founders, and has proved itself as an effective institution of international co-operation. The functions of the Bank are the mobilisation of world savings for making capital available at reasonable rates of interest over long periods for projects calculated to raise the productivity of the borrowing country; expansion of investment to provide capital for both reconstruction and development of the war-devastated countries, and also to organise mobilisation of economic resources in underdeveloped countries for raising the standard of living of the masses.

The Bank's Annual Report for the year ended 30th June states that with the admission of Germany, Japan and Jordan during the year, the membership of the Bank rose to 54, and along with it, the total subscribed capital to \$9,036 million. The table below indicates the trend of lending by the Bank during each of the last three years:

	1952-53	1951-52	1950-51
No. of loans	10	19	21
No. of countries	9	16	11
(In million dollars)			
Loans sanctioned during the year	178.6	298.6	297.1
Progressive total of loan sanctioned	1,591.0	1,412	1,114
Disbursement during the year	226.8	184.8	77.6
Total disbursements to date	1,103	876.5	691.7

During the year under review, the World Bank made only 10 loans to 9 countries, whereas, in the previous year, 19 loans were granted to 16 countries. Similarly, in line with the number of loans, the value of the loans also shows a decrease, from \$298.6 million to \$178.6 million. This brings the total of the Bank's loans to \$1,591 million shared by 29 countries, in the preceding year. Two of the ten loans issued during the year under review were made in support of a broad range of economic projects. Agriculture, basic industries and transport benefited from a loan to Australia. In Yugoslavia, the Bank supported a group of projects calculated to improve the country's balance of payments.

The Bank gave loans to specific key industries, such as iron and steel in India, wood products industries in Finland and for a fertiliser plant in Iceland.

The share of Asia and the Middle East is only \$187 million, representing only 17.5 per cent of the total of \$1,063 million granted to all the five regions, namely, (a) Asia and Middle East, (b) Africa, (c) Australia, (d) Europe and Western Hemisphere. A year ago, the share of this region was even less at 14.6 per cent of the total. Nevertheless, the assistance given by the Bank to this still constitutes only a fraction of its needs.

During 1952-53, the total disbursements amounted to a sum equivalent of \$226.8 million. This sum, which covers new and existing loans, was the highest reached since the Bank commenced its lending operations for development. Total disbursements to-date amounts to \$1,103 million, of which \$1,014.5 million is repayable in US dollars. Due to an improvement in the supply position of goods outside the US., particularly in Europe, the Bank is now encouraging the purchase of materials and equipment from whatever source available at the terms most favourable to the borrower. The geographical distribution of loan expenditure on cumulative total basis reveals that to-date the USA has got the 69.8 per cent of the total expenditure made by borrower countries, Canada 6.5 per cent, Europe 17.5 per cent, Latin America 5.5 per cent, Africa 0.4 per cent, Near East 0.2 per cent and Far East 0.1 per cent.

The Bank sold new bond issues worth \$71.6 million. In October 1952, the Bank issued 19 year 3½ per cent bonds worth \$60 million at 98. Nearly \$20 million of this was subscribed by investors outside the US. In November 1952, the Bank floated in Switzerland 3½ per cent ten year Bank Bonds at 98½. The bonds amounted to 50 million Swiss francs or approximately \$11.6 million. The Bank further increased its resources by selling \$13.6 million of securities from its portfolio. The Bank's resources of non-dollar funds were increased by further releases of the capital subscriptions paid in by members in their own currencies, and equivalent amount of releases is \$26.6 million.

India has now become one of the chief beneficiaries of the World Bank. It has so far received loans aggregating \$109.8 million. The Bank gave three loans to India in 1949-50, amounting to in all \$62.5 million which was finally reduced to \$58.8 million at India's own request. In 1952-53, India received two more loans—one for a sum of \$31.5 million granted to the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Calcutta, and the other of \$19.5 million for further developments of the Damodar River Valley.

F. A. O. Report

In a review of the latest report of the Food and Agricultural Organization, the *Times* writes that the report showed that, taken as a whole world food supplies had caught up with the growing populations. World food supplies and world population were both 17

per cent higher in 1952-53 than in 1939. But "this can be a misleading generalization," the paper says, "Production had expanded rapidly in the most advanced countries—most remarkably in North America—but in the less developed regions progress was slow."

The more developed regions had more to export and had accumulated stocks while the less developed regions—notably the Far East—had in many instances lower consumption than before the war. In North-west Europe, agricultural production had gone up by 16 per cent compared to pre-war and in North America by 45 per cent. Inevitably, North America now provided a much larger proportion of the world's food exports.

In the U. K., production of grains and potatoes had increased more than in other countries of Northern or Western Europe in general, but, her meat and egg production was less. The increase in her milk output also was larger but in certain countries, the average yield of milk from each cow had risen faster since before the war and that yield was higher in Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The *Yorkshire Post* writes that the report had emphasized that the undeveloped countries themselves must try to improve their position. A large part of available public funds in the Asian countries was already devoted to agriculture. But domestic capital was quite inadequate for the purpose and private and public capital from abroad must come to their help. The paper notes that such help had not been sufficient and probably less than 40 per cent of the necessary extra capital was being provided.

The paper writes: "Somehow the difference has to be made up, possibly by a special U.N. fund for economic development. If the new report does nothing else, at least it draws attention to the size of the problem and the need for swift action."

Politics in France

France has been in the throes of unstable party politics ever since the return of peace. The Communist Party in France has been trying to bring chaos by all means in its power. The latest have been country-wide strikes, that paralysed the nation's work and transport. The strikes failed without attaining the objective. Thus writes the *Newsweek* of New York on September 7:

"France came up for air last week. The strikes that had all but smothered the country in stalled trains, stranded vacationers, undelivered mail, and uncollected garbage, collapsed as even members of Communist unions defied their leaders and followed non-Communists back to work. The Moroccan crisis that had threatened to bring civil war to the strategic French protectorate in North Africa blew itself out. The United States promised to support France in voting against bringing the issue before the United Nations, and

Foreign Minister Georges Bidault presented the Cabinet with a long-delayed program of political reforms for Morocco.

"Who won the strikes? Premier Joseph Laniel failed in his effort to impose some needed economies, and, in fact, half promised some additional inflationary wage increases. The strikers failed in their effort to overthrow the government. They got only 207 of the 209 petitions from members that would have forced the recall of the National Assembly from summer recess. The French people lost a bit more of their faith in everything. One Parisian, returning by airplane from a trip abroad, summed up the situation cynically: France had suffered, he said, 'just a little catastrophe.'"

War in Indo-China

Arnaud de Borchgrave, *Newsweek* correspondent who had toured Indo-China early this year, describes the situation in Indo-China thus: "Actually, the delta, with its 10,000 villages and 6,000,000 inhabitants (with 1,500 people crowded into each square mile), is a condominium. The French rule by day and the Reds by night."

"Almost all roads into the delta are sown every night with mines, which currently cause 60 per cent of the casualties in the north. A notable exception: the main road from Hanoi to Haiphong, over which 1800 civilian trucks ply daily—many of them with Communist shopping baskets. Gaps between the scores of concrete pill boxes along the delta's outer defense perimeter are so many holes in a sieve at night. A year ago, the Reds had about 15,000 men in the delta. Today they have more than 40,000." (*Newsweek*, April 20, 1953).

"When the French approach, the Vietminh vanish below ground only to pop up again half an hour after the French have pulled out. A French intelligence report on the village Le-Loi showed that the Reds have 400 feet of tunnels and 109 individual secret hideouts. All of these are 200 yards of the village, and mostly run under the flooded paddy fields. To find them is like looking for a needle in a stack of rice straw . . ."

"The war, with 490,000 French Union and Viet-Nameese troops pitted against 400,000 Vietminh, has already cost plenty in men and money. France has the equivalent of twelve divisions tied down to Indo-China. It has lost 26,000 killed, including 1,500 officers, and more than 100,000 wounded, missing and prisoners. Tied up in Indo-China are 30 per cent of the French Army's officer corps and 43 per cent of its noncoms."

"In proportion to its strength, France's effort in Indo-China is far greater than that of the United States in Korea. So far, the war has cost about \$6,000,000,000—twice as much as the total aid received by France under the Marshal Plan. The drain is continuing at the rate of \$1,250,000,000 yearly for France. It amounts to 43 per cent of France's defense

budget. The United States pitches in to the tune of \$525,000,000.

"The Vietminh strategy is to bleed the French white, to avoid an all-out test of strength, and to run whenever outnumbered, or outgunned. Time and again, the French army chiefs believe a decisive battle is in the offing but it never materializes."

Mr. de Borchgrave writes that since 1949 the official French policy had been to create a strong nationalist government, friendly to France. "But small time functionaries have done their best to sabotage progress. 'In Saigon, our representatives have fallen into the all too tempting game of power and intrigue,' said a recent top-secret report to the government, drafted by four French parliamentarians after a trip to Indo-China." (*Newsweek*, July 27).

Lack of leaders was a reason. Nobody had the dynamic political prestige of Dr. Ho Che Minh. Bao Dai's prestige "ranges from bad to indifferent." And to make it worse Bao Dai was always at loggerheads with his Prime Minister, Nguyen Van Tam.

Speaking at a round table discussion at the annual conference of State Governors at Seattle on August 5, President Eisenhower "mentioned particularly Indonesia and India as areas which would be endangered if the Communists were able to complete the conquest of the Indo-Chinese States." (*Reuter*)

The Congress had voted 400 million dollars towards fight against Communism in Indo-China.

In an editorial on Eisenhower's statement, the *Leader* comments: "We are unable to understand how the perpetuation of French colonialism will conduce to India's security."

In an article headed "Why there is no Cease-fire in Indo-China," A. Kurov writes: "Edgar Faure, Minister of Finance and Economy, declared publicly in April of this year that 'France is not fighting for her own interests in Indo-China,' that on the contrary, France is 'greatly interested in having the war ended.'"

"The Indo-China war—and the French Ministers no longer attempt to hide the fact—is ruining France and making her increasingly dependent on the United States. Washington is taking advantage of this dependence, especially on supplies of American arms, to exert pressure on the French Government. It is not only insisting that France continue the war against the people of Indo-China, but is demanding supreme direction of the operations."

According to the writer, the American Government had also used the recent Washington talks of the three Western Foreign Ministers to obtain further French concessions on the Indo-China question. He writes: "*Le Monde* stated on July 21 that Bidault had consented to the so-called 'internationalization' of the Indo-China conflict, that is, to direct U. S. interference in the war. By this arrangement,

Le Monde pointed out, 'America is to assume the chief responsibility in the war and we will have to agree to her negotiating directly with Bao Dai.'"

It was on the insistence of the U. S. Secretary of State, Dulles, that the Navarre plan of operations in Indo-China was adopted. Mr. Kurov quotes *Paris Combat* which wrote: "The danger is so evident that one asks how a Government and an Assembly which had been alerted by alarmed public opinion can resign themselves to persisting in a venture of which we are no longer the masters. This absurd war is more and more coming to resemble a fool's venture."

The three-day conference of the Bureau of Asian Socialists during the second week of August demanded in a resolution, "cessation of fighting in Indo-China and the holding of free elections under international supervision for a constituent assembly to determine with outside interference the constitution of a free and independent Indo-China and the form of its future relationship with France and other countries." (*Hindu*, August 15, 1953).

Deposition of the Sultan of Morocco

The French Government deposed the Sultan of Morocco, Mohammed V, on August 20, for his nationalist stand and refusal to toe the French line and banished him to Corsica with his two sons. On August 15, he was deprived of his title of "Protector of the Faith" by the pro-French Pasha of Manakesh and tribal chiefs. The Sultan was accused by the French of leaning heavily on the side of the extreme nationalist movement, Istiqlal and secretly angling for American support against France. Talks of deposing the Sultan, first arose about a year ago when Marshal Juin had been the Resident.

Reuter reports that when the banishment order had been served on the Sultan, French tanks and armoured cars took up positions around the high-walled palace, blocking all roads leading to the area.

"Mass arrests were reported on the night of August 20, in various parts of Morocco including the detention of the Pasha of Meknes, a supporter of Istiqlal movement and Ben Jelloum, Secretary-General of the Democratic Independence Party, affiliated to Istiqlal.

"Some 300 people were reported arrested in Oujda scene of bloody rioting over the weekend after the proclamation of a new 'Commander of the Faithful' by 350 anti-Sultan chieftains."

The Sultan's cousin, Sidi Mohammed Ben Arafa, was proclaimed spiritual and temporal ruler of Morocco. How far he is a mere stooge of the French will be evident from *Reuter's* report from Rabat quoting French comments on the new situation in Morocco. The report, dated August 23, said that "relations between the Sultanate were said to be closer than at any time in recent years. Gen.

Guillaume, the French Resident General mentioned at yesterday's Palace reception, the word 'protectorate' which had for some time disappeared from Imperial pronouncements in Morocco."

Sixteen Arab-Asian nations had approached the Security Council for a discussion on the recent coup in Morocco but on the persistent opposition of the colonial power, U. K. and France and the U.S.A., the matter failed to be included in the agenda.

The Trieste Question

Lately the Trieste question has been very much in the news. After the conclusion of the Second World War, Trieste had been divided into two zones. Zone A, including the city itself, had been placed under Anglo-U.S. military occupation and Zone B under the Yugoslavs. It was a temporary arrangement and the whole question was to have been settled by the U.N., but so far no agreement has been possible.

The recent happenings there have not been quite clear. Fearing Yugoslav announcement of the annexation of Zone B with Yugoslavia, Italian armoured troops had moved up to the frontier at Gorizia and Italian naval movements had also been reported.

On September 6, President Tito had called on Italy to cease military operations along the border and indicated his willingness to discuss the question at a round table conference. He had declared that Trieste should be internationalized and all its surroundings given to Yugoslavia. Rejecting the Italian accusation that Yugoslavia had intended to annex Zone B he had declared that that was "unnecessary as Yugoslavia was already in Zone B." He had clearly warned the Italians that Yugoslavia would not allow Italian troops to occupy Zone A.

Commenting on President Tito's speech, the *Times* writes that the Italian Government was not likely to look upon the solution put forward by him with any favour. However, speech had dispelled fears about Yugoslavia "plotting any forcible change there." The paper says that when hard words were left on one side the substance of what Marshal Tito had said "was calculated to be reassuring." The President had proposed a conference to discuss the issue though, true enough, the terms offered made it difficult for the Italian Government to attend such a conference.

The *Times* continues: "If there is to be a permanent international regime at Trieste, as the peace treaty envisaged, it will need to control a workable territorial unit and not merely the part that Marshal Tito's troops failed to seize in 1945 (that is, Zone A—Ed., *M.R.*). If the Yugoslavs refuse to give up an inch of ground then they are, in effect, insisting upon territorial division and it will follow that the Italians in the end will get the city and the port. But though Marshal Tito put his price high yesterday, he might bring it down in negotiation. His proposal of a conference needs to be taken seriously.

British Press on W. German Elections

The *Times*, in an editorial on Dr. Adenaur's victory writes that the result of the elections indicated that the Federal Republic was a success. The newspaper considered that the result pointed to the failure of Nazi influence and suggested that the general trend was not a drift to the Right but a shift to the middle. The results provided the "assurance of a stable and moderate government in West Germany."

The *Manchester Guardian*, while welcoming the results, cautiously remarks that "the victory has perhaps, been too much personal. Its individuality may raise an echo of that old cry 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuhrer.'" Though the newspaper was sure that Dr. Adenaur had no wish to follow in the footsteps of Hitler, the same could not be said of the millions who voted for Dr. Adenaur. They did so because he was a strong man, a leader, and the one most likely to thrust Germany back to resounding greatness in the world. The victory might sound ominous to the French, the paper writes, but the French might "find consolation in Dr. Adenaur's persistent efforts to keep on good terms with them."

The growing economic prosperity and the prospect of a secure and efficient government would induce the United States to look on Western Germany as good investment.

The *Daily Telegraph* writes that the election added "one more element to the strength which the West can now bring to any negotiations with the Soviet Union; and on the other side, Russian attitude may be a stiffened realisation that the Federal Republic is firmly committed to the West."

The *Financial Times* calls the result "a tremendous personal victory for Dr. Adenaur" but adds that it was also a victory for the doctrine of free enterprise. In that regard the paper gives much credit to Dr. Erhard, Minister for Economic Affairs of Western Germany. The paper writes: "The Christian Democrat's gains have indeed been largely at the expense of the extreme Right, which in Germany has not been notably associated in the past with the support of genuinely free enterprise. It is, therefore, not fanciful to see the German election results as not only a vote of confidence in the government but also to some extent as the triumph of a doctrine."

Chou En-Lai on U.N. Resolution

In reply to the communication sent by Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld transmitting the resolutions of the United Nations on the Korean Political Conference, Mr. Chou En-Lai, the Chinese Foreign Minister, said that in the view of the Chinese Government, the question of composition of the Political Conference had an important bearing on the consummation or failure of the task of the Political Conference, and it

should not be decided by one side unilaterally, but could only be settled through joint negotiations by the United Nations and the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Political Conference, Mr. Chou En-lai said, would be concerned with a much wider task than the armistice negotiations. The Political Conference would "negotiate the withdrawal of foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question." Its outcome would be significant not only for Korea but in promoting peace in the Far East and throughout the world. Therefore, the conference should not be restricted to the belligerent nations but should include neutrals. The U.N. resolution on the composition of the conference had "made an injurious distortion to Paragraph 60 of the Korean Armistice Agreement." The General Assembly in adopting that resolution had "allowed itself to be dominated by the United States," and had deprived three-fourths of the members of U.N. an opportunity to play their part in the peaceful solution of the problem.

Mr. Chou En-lai particularly regretted the exclusion of India from the conference, because India would "definitely play a positive part in the achievement of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question."

In view of all these considerations the Chinese Government was "not in a position to give full agreement to the resolutions on the composition of the Political Conference" and instead proposed that

"(a) Participating members of the Political Conference should be all nations on the two belligerent sides in Korea, including Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea, and the following invited neutral nations concerned: The Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma.

"(b) The Political Conference should take the form of a round table conference. However, any decisions of the Political Conference must obtain the unanimous agreement of both belligerent sides in Korea.

"(c) The representatives of the Governments of China and North Korea be invited to be present at the General Assembly of the U.N. to conduct joint negotiations.

"(d) After the composition of the conference had been agreed upon, the two belligerent sides in Korea should hold consultation and make arrangements concerning the place and time of the conference."

The *Hindu* in an editorial comment on the U.N. Assembly resolution writes that "the present composition of the Assembly is such that no resolution unacceptable to the United States has much chance of success. If the Communists want the conference at all, they will have to accept the nominees of the United States."

Resurgence of Islamic Fanaticism

Mr. Avroo Manhattan writes in the *Free Economic Review* that while following the collapse of the Ottoman empire in the First World War, "Islam was made to tumble like an exhausted colossus," the second World War "provoked its sudden revival."

Following the first World War, Turkey the seat of the Caliphate, had initiated summary reforms banning almost all ancient Islamic traditions. These had been followed by many of the other Islamic countries. "The Mullahs were stripped of their influence to such an extent that Islamic clericalism, it was optimistically predicted, would disappear within the foreseeable future."

But that optimism had been belied. The conclusion of the second World War beheld the reappearance of the power of the Mullahs in an astonishingly brief period. The power of the Mullahs was no longer confined to the religious sphere. They were also now dominating the political field—a fact that portended an ominous future.

This power of the Mullahs was, in many instances, exercised for reactionary ends. To quote Mr. Manhattan, "In the domestic field, for instance, they can obstruct and often undo the work of progressive forces by cunning use of half-authoritative injunctions, e.g., by semi-officially condemning women's emancipation. This was done by a *fatwa* of the committee of the Al Azhar University, Cairo, which in June 1952, pronounced against women's right to vote."

Religious fanaticism was used by the Mullahs to enforce a veritable reign of legal and illegal terrorism. Often Mullahs having influence in the government of a country was able to mollify the opposition by the use of his religious influence, appraised in political garb, as demonstrated by Syed Kashani in Persia at whose instance thirty-five Persian Senators had been refused admission to Parliament in November, 1952.

"Often the Mullahs resort to open terrorism. Movements controlled by them 'black-list' people, condemn them to death, and often execute them. Thus in Turkey Muslim religious fanatics have death-lists of editors whom they condemned for 'organizing beauty queen contests' which are contrary to Islamic law. Turkish editors were actually shot. In Persia, the fanatical Fadayal Islam (crusaders of Islam) published in the Press list of public figures scheduled for assassination." Officials, Prime Ministers had been assassinated at clerical instigation. Khali Tahmassebi who had killed Premier Ali Razmara of Iran in 1950, was released by Syed Kashani, who embraced him with the greeting, "You are a brave son of Islam."

In Hyderabad, the President and eight other leading figures of the fanatical Muslim organization, Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen had been officially charged with 1,200 murders, 4,000 dacoities and 3,600 acts of arson,

in a conspiracy to establish an autonomous Muslim entity in Hyderabad.

Significance of the Developments in Iran

The American journal *Newsweek* wrote after the failure of the first royalist coup in Iran on August 16: "Someone, somewhere, somehow had bungled. A revolt that might have placed Iran securely in the Western camp, misfired or was anticipated and short circuited by its intended victim, Premier Mohammed Mossadegh."

The paper wrote, "Behind the coup lay a tangle of intrigue with Mossadegh and the Shah at the Centre. The basic facts were simple. The West saw Mossadegh, although personally anti-Communist, driven by economic pressure and domestic opposition into an uneasy and dangerous alliance with the Tudeh Party." The paper refers to certain incidents preceding the happenings as significant. In early July President Eisenhower had told Dr. Mossadegh that no more American aid would be given Iran unless she had settled the oil dispute with Britain. On July 25 Princess Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister, who had been exiled from Iran, had arrived in Teheran incognito. Though she had again been ordered out of the country she had succeeded in contacting her many friends in the court and in the army. On August 1, Brig-Gen. H. Norman Schwartzkof, former American military adviser to the Iranian Government, arrived in Teheran to meet the Shah. (The Communists had charged him with complicity in the revolt of August 16). And on August 4, President Eisenhower had referred ominously to the danger of Iran going Communist.

On the other hand, Malenkov had referred to Iran, in very kind terms, in his speech on August 8 before the Supreme Soviet. Moscow was willing to realise 11 tons of Iranian gold and 8 million dollars held since the war.

The immediate background of the revolt on August 16 was the refusal of the Shah to sign a decree dissolving the Parliament. On the contrary, he had secretly signed three decrees dismissing Dr. Mossadegh, appointing Gen. Fazolollah Zahedi in his place and naming Gen. Nader Batmanghelitch, Chief of staff, in place of Gen. Taghi Riahi, and had gone to Caspian coast with his half-German wife, Soraya, presumably to be "safely out of range," should anything go wrong.

But the coup failed and the Shah had to move out of Iran. Pro-Mossadegh moles swept through Teheran. But when royal statues were toppled from their pedestals, Mossadegh took fright and ordered Gen. Riahi to intervene. "But there was no ammunition. By a previous order of Mossadegh the Teheran garrison had been issued only blank cartridges.

"The army and police laid into the anti-Shah crowds with such vigor that the royalists took cheer. . . ."

And the royalists struck again and this time they

succeeded. Gen. Zahedi came out of his hiding and proclaimed himself as the Prime Minister.

The Shah received the news of the success of the second coup from Hotel Excelsior in Rome. Mr. Allen Dulles, Director of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency, arrived at the Excelsior to greet the Shah. And from Switzerland came Princess Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister.

These sensational developments in Iran had in turn engendered a good deal of speculation if a second Korea was going to be enacted there. Iran had been the object of power-politics for long. So long the struggle for domination over Iran had been confined to Britain and the Soviet Union. Now a new power, the United States of America, had appeared in the scene. This partly sprang from the assumption by the U.S. of some of Britain's strategic responsibilities. "More important," *Newsweek* writes, "it proceeds from American development of the vast oil resources of the Arab States. . . . Thus Iran is now not only a buffer in the sense of military strategy. It is also a buffer in that it lies between areas containing oil reserves that are vital both to the Russians and the West."

According to the paper, the West was sure to intervene if Iran seemed to be going Communist. The Russians, on the other hand, could not be expected to accept gracefully an anti-Communist Government there. Still many forces militated against Iran becoming a battle-ground. "Russians, Americans, and British alike realize," the paper writes, "that the chips really would be down in the event of armed conflict in Iran. The stakes would be much higher than in Korea and the danger of a local struggle erupting into a world war proportionately greater."

Thus far the American view of the picture. Now let us turn to the other viewpoint. The *People's* diplomatic correspondent in New Delhi writes that it was no longer doubted in New Delhi that the Shah's return had been primarily due to Anglo-American machinations and to the "American-bribed army, which has executed the anti-Mossadegh coup." The U.S. Ambassador to Iran, Mr. Loy Henderson, played a significant part in this affair. The correspondent writes: "Breaking every known international law, the U.S. Ambassador told Mossadegh shortly before the aged Premier was thrown out, that he could no longer be considered Iran's Premier by the United States, as the Shah had dismissed him." Undoubtedly this intervention had affected Dr. Mossadegh's position adversely. The U. S. Consulate in Teheran was being guarded by the police and Americans dared not venture out because of the popular anti-American sentiment.

The people were growing sceptical about the Americans with the realization that the millions of dollars being given by America were not really

DEFINITION OF ECONOMICS

Whether Economics is to us a subject of thrilling interest or a dismal pseudo-science depends upon ourselves. If we come to it with liberal minds, seeing what has been definitely accomplished, we find the discussions dull and the conclusions dubious. But if we come to think of man's long struggle to master his own fate, then the effort to solve economic problems, seems a vital episode in human history. And the future of economics, the question whether man will ever succeed in establishing a serviceable science of economic behaviour, becomes one of the crucial issues on which hangs the doubtful fate of human kind.³

Gandhiji regarded economics as indivisible from political, legal, social and other such aspects of life. For all these aspects of life are not really separate from one another. A man is not merely an economic machine or a political animal or a legal unit; nor is he any one of these at single point or time. He is all these things at one and the same time and all the time. Economics, in his opinion, could not be considered in isolation from the multi-sided facets of the prism of life since all these aspects have something without which life is incomplete and the conclusions are unreliable.

"I must confess," he declares, "that I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurts the moral wellbeing of an individual or a nation is immoral and therefore sinful. Thus the economics that permits one country to prey upon another is immoral. It is sinful to buy and use articles made by sweated labour."⁴

In this he is in that long line of philosophers right from Jesus Christ and Shri Krishna in ancient times up to Carlyle and Ruskin in recent times, who have preferred welfare to price and morals to money.

His definition of economics is unique and characteristic. For him economics is neither "a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life" (Marshall); nor "the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses" (Robbins). He differs from Prof. Cannan's aim of Economics as "the explanation of the general causes on which the material welfare of human beings depends." He considers Prof. Pigou's economic courtyard consisting of "that part of social welfare that can be brought directly or indirectly into relation with the measuring rod of money," too qualified and too small. For him the best political economy is care and culture of man—a combination (both horizontal and vertical) of individualism, socialism and idealism—one that will admonish its own mischief.

THE OBJECT OF ECONOMICS

Here we are confronted with the fundamental question of the object of political economy. Right from Adam Smith up to Robbins, the classical economists have

held that Economics is the pure science of money and hence it is to be divorced from all other sciences. In their zeal to maintain the purity of their science the classicists have ardently fought against any attempt of co-ordination of economics with equally important sciences of religion, sociology, law and ethics. Perhaps Senior best stated their viewpoint defining political economy as "the science which treats of the Nature, the Production and the Distribution of Wealth;"⁵ wealth being defined as scarce material goods, having the power of satisfying wants. But it made no difference whether the goods were beneficial or harmful. The science of economics was to be perfectly neutral. Rigidly carried out this concept requires the economist to be entirely indifferent to the ethical quality of a given demand. Thus Cairnes holds that "the science is neutral, as between social schemes in this important sense. It pronounces no judgement on the worthiness or the desirability of the ends aimed at in such systems."⁶ With characteristic frankness, H. J. Davenport reveals that

"Peruna, Hop Bitters, obscene literature, indecent paintings, picture hats and corsets are wealth, irrespective of any ethical or conventional test, to which they may or may not conform. Being marketable, price-bearing, they are wealth. So likewise of service, in no sense is economic productivity a matter of piety or of merit or of social deserving."⁷

After being told authoritatively by Prof. Davenport that obscene literature and indecent painting also constitute wealth, no wonder that the perplexed layman turns over the pages of the dictionary to brush up his knowledge of English, only to find to his dismay that the word wealth has been derived from the root 'weal'—meaning prosperity and wellbeing!

HUMANITARIAN ECONOMICS

The first broadside against the classical economists was fired by Sismondi, the father of the Critical School, who declared that the real object of the science should be man or at least the physical wellbeing of man. To consider wealth in itself and to forget man was a sure way of making a false start.⁸ Then followed the Romanticists, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin and J. A. Hobson in England and H. D. Thoreau in America. "Both in definition of the elements of wealth, and in the statement of the laws which govern its distribution, modern political economy has been absolutely incompetent or absolutely false"—declares Ruskin in the Preface to *Munera Pulveris*. Thoreau, the American philosopher, summed up his idea of social good in restricting material wants to the simple things in life—simple food, simple clothing and simple shelter plus plenty of leisure to philosophise. Instead of

5. W. N. Senior: *Political Economy*, p. 6.

6. J. E. Cairnes: *The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy*, p. 37.

7. H. J. Davenport: *Economics of Enterprise*, p. 126.

8. Gide & Rist: *History of Economic Doctrines*, p. 177.

ON THE GANDHIAN CONCEPT OF ECONOMICS

this idea America was building up a false set of social standards:

"We worship not the graces—but Fashion," cries Thoreau. "the head-monkey in Paris puts on a traveller's cap and all the monkeys in America do the same."⁹

In Ruskin's Essay "Ad Valorem" one comes across the magnificent Peroration: "I desire to leave this one fact clearly stated. There is no wealth but life; Life, including its powers of love, of joy and of admiration. That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of happy human beings; that man is richest, who having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of possessions over the life of others."¹⁰

Gandhiji's viewpoint regarding economics is very akin to the above. For him life is more than money and hence "that economics which disregards the moral and sentimental considerations, is like wax-works that being life-like, still lacks the life of the living flesh."¹¹ He thinks that

"That Economics is untrue which ignores and disregards moral values. The extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international trade."¹²

It may be pointed out here that the concept of such 'human economics' is not an out-dated romanticist fad. Pigou and Marshall, though essentially classicists and revelling in abstractions, had to treat economics from the point of view of human welfare. The most ultra-modern American Institutionalists following the lead given by Auguste Comte, started, what is popularly known as the 'Positivist' movement in Economics. They are welfare economists and hold that economics and ethics cannot be separated into two independent fields. As Albert B. Wolfe writes:

"Economics as the science of production, distribution and use of opportunity or of wealth and services, is essentially a science of means and ends. But ethics is also fundamentally, perhaps we should say, the science of means and ends; of their relative value and significance and their mutual functional relations. If there is a disagreement between economics and ethical valuations, one or the other is at fault. The economist's avowed reluctance to consider ethical or social value is an error of judgment, for human attitudes and human activity, the narrowly economic included, involve the adaptation of means to aims, ends and purposes."¹³

Similarly Gandhiji discussing the relation of ethics and economics clearly indicates this 'Positivist' spirit:

"The religious principle requires that the debit and credit side of one's balance sheet should be perfectly square. That is also the truest economics and

therefore true religion. Whenever there is any discrepancy between these, it spells bad economics, and makes for unrighteousness . . . But the majority of mankind do not understand this use of economics to subserve religion; they want it only for amassing 'profits' for themselves. Humanitarian economics, on the other hand, for which I stand," Gandhiji declares, "rules out profits altogether."¹⁴

The inclusion of human values in his scheme of things is one of the characteristics not only of Gandhiji's economics but of his whole philosophy. An economics based on human values is a sure and effective challenge to this world where money and profit are the sole considerations. Callous exploitation, tragic unemployment and 'sweated labour' are common occurrences in the reign of the almighty dollar. The West has tended to emphasise the ideal of material progress above everything else. The value of an individual is often judged in terms of bank balances, in terms of what he has rather than what he is. Human values are thus commercialised. Everyone talks of his rights than his duties. Honesty is only the best policy. As Prof. Kumarappa bitterly points out:

"The factory workers might be made into minced meat, but the machinery of meat-packers of Chicago could not be stopped to save the life of a labourer."¹⁵

To counteract such callous and immoral disregard of humanity, the ideal of human economics, Gandhiji declares thus:

"Khaddar economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of human factors. The former concerns itself with the human."¹⁶

It would indeed be a happy day for the world at large when we subserve economic behaviour to ethical considerations. We must admit the truth of the contention of the Archbishop of Canterbury that "Industry and Economic activity are not ends in themselves to be pursued without reference to the main ends of human society or by methods inconsistent with it."¹⁷ We must realise that the satisfaction of man's material needs which is the function of industry, ought to be ennobled by the spiritual purpose to which it contributes. Mere materialism would not pay. In spiritualism lies the fate of this dismal globe, where too much of materialism has led us to our never-ending conflicts. The principles of simplicity and non-violence as applied to economic life seem to be quixotic to an ultra-modern-mercenary world of today which intoxicated by its own genius is heading towards the path of destruction and ruin. Historian Toynbee has stated that twenty-one human civilizations known to history have gone down and if we do not turn our back to the precipice by adopting Gandhian principles ours will be the twenty-second. There is basic material for sober reflection by the destiny-holders of the world because his prescription is based upon eternal values which were the same yesterday, today and for ever.

14. Y. I., 1927, p. 316.

15. J. C. Kumarappa: *Why the Village Movement*, p. 10.

16. *Harizon*, 10th December, 1938.

17. The Archbishop of Canterbury: *Christianity and the Industrial Problem*, p. 10.

3. "The Prospect of Economics" by Wesley C. Mitchell in Tugwell's *Trends of Economics*, p. 3.

4. Y. I., 13th October, 1921, p. 325.

9. H. D. Thoreau: *Walden or Life in the Woods*, p. 156.

10. John Ruskin: *Unto the Last*, p. 156.

11. Y. I., October 27, 1924, p. 344.

12. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1924, p. 421.

13. "Functional Economics" by Albert Benedict Wolfe from R. C. Tugwell's *The Trend of Economics*.

BASIC EDUCATION AND CHILD WELFARE

By MARJORIE SYKES,

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha

THE members of an international conference in our times come literally from all over the world. The so-called "advanced" countries are represented side by side with the so-called "backward" countries, "rich" countries alongside "poor" countries. The delegates, both in their personal and in their representative capacities visualise the subjects under discussion in widely different settings—social, economic, cultural and religious. It is likely that almost every individual member of this child welfare conference has a different picture at the back of his mind of the actual children whose welfare he seeks. The children of Manchester and of Madras, of a farmstead in Canada and a village in Kenya, differ in many ways much more fundamentally than their costume and their physical features and colour. Yet if there were no common bond at all, no interests shared, an international conference of this nature would have no meaning. One of its main tasks is surely to define common concerns and to see how the experience of workers in a number of different local settings can be pooled to enrich the whole.

DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

Public discussion of a national education policy for India was stimulated by the Congress Party's acceptance of ministerial office in the Provincial Governments in 1937. The educational conference, on whose initiative the objectives, principles, and methods of Basic Education were first tentatively defined, met to confer with Gandhiji at Wardha in October, 1937. The report of the Zakir Hussain Committee which was then set up was endorsed by the Haripura session of the Congress in February, 1938, and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was brought into being in order to implement it. I quote from the resolutions of the Conference:

1. That in the opinion of this Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

2. That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue.

3. That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

4. That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

Briefly outlined the development of the work has been as follows: During the years 1938-40 work began

in basic schools planned for the age group 7-14, in Sevagram village and also in a number of Provinces under Government and private auspices. During the political crisis of 1940-42 however almost all these experiments came to an end with the exception of the group of Government schools in Bihar and the Sevagram School, which carried on with difficulty in very disturbed conditions until the end of 1944, when a new phase began with Gandhiji's release from jail.

In January 1945, after an interval of nearly four years, an All-India Basic Education Conference met at Sevagram. Its work and findings were inspired by the new vision and conviction which Gandhiji had reached after long thought during his imprisonment. The title chosen for the conference report, *Samagra Nai Talim*, is an indication of the nature and scope of this vision. Already in 1937, the Zakir Hussain Committee had made it clear that it recognised the importance in education of the first seven years of life, but that its specific plans were limited to what might be immediately possible. In 1945, the thought of the conference was focussed on two main issues:

1. That the principles which were proving their worth in the education of school children must and should be widened and applied to an educational programme covering the whole span of human life in all its aspects. It must be education for, through and throughout life.

2. That this *Nai Talim* (new education), as Gandhiji preferred to call his plan, was bound up with a new conception of the way in which society should develop; it was seen as the means to the establishment in India of a new and juster social order within whose framework a richer individual and community life would be brought within the reach of every citizen.

Neither of these issues was new to the workers; they had been raised and included in the report of the 1937 Conference. But from 1945 onwards they were embodied in new experimental work. Adult education was taken up, also the education of the pre-school child; plans were made for the adolescent period of life and in 1947-48, the first "Post-Basic" classes were started in Sevagram and Bihar. As a result of these experiences working syllabuses and plans of work have been drawn up for covering the education of parents in the home and of children of all ages from birth to eighteen. 1952 has seen the first beginnings of experimental work on *Nai Talim* principles at the University level.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The whole of this programme of education is based on a conviction that it is possible, in Gandhiji's

words, to give "a true education, which draws out and stimulates the spiritual, intellectual, and physical faculties of the children" by means of work in a productive craft for the satisfaction of one or more of the primary needs of human life. The work must be productive and useful, or it will not be fully satisfying to the child's emotional and social nature; it must be a social undertaking done in co-operation with others, or it cannot be done properly at all; and it must be thorough, honest, and intelligently planned, if it is to stimulate the intellectual faculties and train the character.

The crafts which have been used most successfully as the centre of the work programme are gardening leading to agriculture, card-board work leading to carpentry and metal work and, most of all, the entire process of cotton manufacture from the growing of cotton to the weaving and dyeing of the finished cloth. Side by side with this major centre of education schools stress the importance of a similar intelligent practice of life activities, such as programmes of sanitation, health, and the planning and the preparation of food. The co-operative life of the school also expresses itself naturally in the observance of the social, national, seasonal and religious festivals by means of which the child's imagination and social understanding is strengthened and deepened.

The development of this type of education in India has been governed at every point by considerations of the primary needs of the Indian nation. The picture in Gandhiji's mind and in the minds of his co-workers has been that of the Indian villages with their under-nourished, poverty-stricken populations, whose local crafts and social traditions are being slowly crushed out of existence by the impact of an alien civilisation and of political and economic policies, which take no account of the welfare of the primary producer. Gandhiji's social and economic teaching cannot be understood, his educational teaching cannot be understood, unless they are both seen as the outcome of his concern for the oppressed and his search for a way of truth and non-violence in social life, which would restore to them the possibility of self-respect and of true welfare. He found this message in the gospel of work and self-reliance, and he applied these principles to the teaching of children side by side with the training of adults.

AIMS AND METHODS

Let us translate this ideal into concrete terms. Child welfare in *Nai Talim* must begin with Adult Education. "All the time and money spent on child education is liable to be completely wasted if the parents of the children do not understand their responsibility for the welfare of their offspring. It is the parents who must provide the child with a happy home, meet his daily needs, look after his health and comfort and guide his moral and spiritual develop-

ment. All parents are educators whether they are conscious of it or not. Their all-pervading influence determines the direction of the child's development in the all-important years of early childhood. The education of the parents is therefore the first step in the education of the child." Adult education in *Nai Talim* does not mean first and foremost the removal of illiteracy; it means the training of village adults to enable them to provide better food, cleaner and more hygienic houses, healthy and more sufficient clothing for themselves and their children. It also means the inculcation of habits of personal cleanliness which will then be passed on to their children, and habits of social co-operation in the village community by which the children's social outlook will be moulded for good. The means of this adult education are the actual work of the villager and his daily needs and problems, his water supply, his drainage, his panchayat, his quarrels and his social and religious customs. For the village woman, education must begin with the daily round of work in her own home and show how for the sake of her children every item of it can be improved.

It follows from this that the education of a pre-school child in *Nai Talim* begins at home and centres throughout the child's home. In early childhood the child is inseparable from his home and surroundings. The school building is less important than the teacher's contact with children in their families and at their games in the village streets. The pre-basic school is less a school than a community centre for parents and children where the older children for a few hours each day work and play under the guidance of the teacher, learn how to help each other, acquire standards of personal cleanliness and self-reliance in meeting their daily needs, and then with the teacher's help carry this knowledge back to their homes. The equipment tools and playthings of a pre-basic school are in harmony with the life of the village of which the school is a part. They consist of things that can be made in the village by the villagers with local materials, and their educational value depends not upon their costliness but upon the intelligent way in which they are planned and used. The children's delight in imitation of the real work of its parents, digging, sweeping, vegetable cutting, cooking, watering the garden, is given full play as it is in the Montessori system of child education. The ideal is that the village schools should be such as the village community could build and equip for its own children out of its own resources, thus carrying out in this field also the principle of self-reliance and self-respect. Expensive material equipment such as is sometimes provided in city "Montessori" schools is out of place in our villages, where such training must and can be given by simpler and more natural means. The principles of self-reliance,

and of harmonious interaction between the development of the school and the development of the whole village community, are of greater educational importance than an abundance of material equipment.

The syllabuses of pre-basic, basic and post-basic education are built step by step, upon these foundations. It is not necessary to go into detail here; they are all centred in the provision of urgently needed goods and services, and directed to the building up of self-sufficient co-operative communities of work in which the personal talents of every individual will be developed and used. They are integrated programmes covering every aspect of rural community living, and they are based on the premise that education is for the good of all alike, not for the personal aggrandisement of a few. This in itself justifies the name "New Education" (*Nai Talim*) for the spirit of the conventional education which India has so far undergone is a spirit of personal privilege. Education for village boys has nearly always meant an escape from the problems of the village into a privileged individual position. The goal of *Nai Talim* (New Education) is identification with the life of the community for the development and enrichment of the whole.

THE INTERNATIONAL VALUE OF NAI TALIM

Basic Education was designed as education for a nation of village communities, and planned in detail for Indian village children. It is obvious that many of its detailed programmes are not for export. One is bound to ask, however, whether it has anything to contribute to the discussion of child welfare on an international level. I believe that the answer is "Yes."

In saying this I am not thinking specially of the emphasis placed upon co-operative, useful work in the educational programme. This is happily a feature of modern methods of child education throughout the world, and the nursery schools, the Montessori schools and kindergartens, and activity schools of many different kinds, are in this way recognizing and catering for a fundamental need of child nature as such. The great importance of approaching the child not as an isolated individual but as a member of a family group, a living social organism, is now also widely recognized. The distinctive contribution of *Nai Talim* lies elsewhere—it lies in the content we give to the word "welfare."

The philosophy of Basic Education is a vigorous protest against the assumption that "welfare" must be synonymous with national abundance. Perhaps more than any other system, it gives a major place to work for the supply of material needs, believes that such work is potentially the most powerful educational instrument in the world, and yet at the same time it believes with equal conviction that "man does not live by bread alone" and that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things that he possesses."

This is not a contradiction, it is a natural consequence of the motivation of work not by personal greed but by the service of the whole group. Neither child nor man can ever find true welfare or lasting satisfaction if he measures his wants and his achievements by materialist standards alone. Welfare surely must be measured by the power to achieve personal happiness and serenity, and for these things social and emotional satisfaction are of far greater importance than material abundance. The highest intellectual, artistic and spiritual development of man is possible in great simplicity of material possession; it may well be that it can be strangled by excess as surely as it can be stunted by privation. Delight in simple things, a glad acceptance of a very moderate standard of material living, is an essential of true welfare. If we are really concerned with the welfare of the whole world family of children, this is the only practicable as well as the only right way to attain it. Let us beware of the glib phrase "raise the standard of living," and ask ourselves what it really implies.

The second contribution that Basic Education has to make is closely related to this. It is of little use to adopt in the schools the methods and ideas which have been described, unless one is striving at one and the same time to refashion society on lines consistent with these ideals. A distinguished American educator on a visit to Sevagram somewhat ruefully commented that American schools all too often labour to develop the co-operative spirit, and at the same time to qualify the children to "make good" in a competitive "go-getting" society outside. Those who are concerned with the welfare of children cannot escape the responsibility to think out the implications of their concern for society as a whole, to take their decision and to act on it. It is calculated that something like 6 million children, destitute, uprooted, torn from the security of the family group, deprived of affection and robbed of any chance of stable growth, are today the victims of our national greeds, suspicions, hatreds and wars. They are the most tragic and horrifying casualty of all. This is what we do to the helpless and innocent by our failure to take seriously the greed and injustice of our common ways of living. *Nai Talim* declares that a just and peaceful society is possible and attainable by the ways that Gandhiji and his followers have described and worked for. Instead of dismissing them as "escapist attempts to put the clock back," our situation demands that we give them the most serious consideration. In *Nai Talim* education and social work are not separable: the social consequences cannot be ignored. Child welfare is a part of the welfare of the whole human race, and the one cannot be achieved on a world scale without the other.*

* Paper presented to the International Study Conference on Child Welfare, Bombay, 5-12 December, 1952.

EMPLOYMENT, MORE EMPLOYMENT !

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

It is but proper that the problem of employment is now being given the foremost place in all our schemes of national planning. It is one of the main directive principles of our Constitution that "the citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood." It is, therefore, a constitutional obligation on the part of the Government to provide gainful employment to every able-bodied citizen of India. We are glad to notice that the Government of India and the Planning Commission have recognised the urgency of the problem and have placed before the public certain schemes for finding more avenues of employment in the country. Instead of always talking of unemployment in negative terms, we prefer to discuss various points relating to the positive aspect of providing more employment to the wholly unemployed or partially employed people of India. We also deprecate the tendency on behalf of certain political parties in the country to exploit even a common problem of this nature for political or party purposes. The programme to observe the Independence Anniversary as "Anti-Unemployment Day" was, to say the least, unbecoming of any political party. Although we ourselves have been critical of the achievements of the Government and desire that the pace of progress in the economic sphere should be quickened a great deal, we are convinced that it is unpatriotic to under-rate our successes and observe the Anniversary of our Freedom as a Black Day. Our achievements in various fields of national progress compare favourably with those of any country in the world. But we do not desire to rest on our oars; the Congress and the Governments are fully alive to the economic problems and are determined to do their best to solve them to the best of their ability.

The Planning Commission have circulated to the State Governments an Eleven-Point Programme for combating Unemployment in the country. This programme includes the provision of adequate assistance to the establishment of small industries and businesses, the training of technical personnel, development of road transport, slum clearance schemes and the construction of houses for the low-income groups in urban areas, and the setting-up of work and training camps for re-orienting the outlook of the educated classes. This programme is meant to be a short-term measure and should, therefore, be judged as such. It can provide certain "first-aid" steps to save the unemployment situation from worsening further. In

order to plan for full employment, as a long-term measure, the Government will have to think of certain radical changes in its educational, industrial and commercial policies. Merely trimming the leaves and pruning the branches will not serve as a lasting remedy to the deep-seated malady of an under-developed country like India. We will have to adopt and execute a bold policy of industrial decentralisation throughout the countryside in order to absorb the idle labour-power in the rural as well as urban areas. We are not against large-scale industries as such; our basic or key enterprises will have to be on a big scale. But the consumer goods industries like textiles, oil-extraction, paper-making, flour-grinding, rice-husking, gun-making, etc., will have to be organised on a small-scale or cottage basis so that every citizen of the country may be able to find fruitful avenues of productive work and employment. All further expansion of large-scale consumer goods industries, therefore, must stop: processes of excessive mechanisation or rationalization should also be rigidly controlled by the State in order to save the people from being thrown out of employment still further. The Government must also demarcate categories of commodities to be produced by the large-scale, small-scale, and cottage industries respectively. In these days of national planning it would be short-sighted and even suicidal to allow the large-scale and small-scale enterprises to enter into unfair competition with each other for the survival of the fittest. This old doctrine of laissez faire is now dead as dodo and the Government of India must provide the fullest scope for the speedy development of small business and industry in India with courage and conviction. To try to solve the problem of fuller employment by expanding big business is like ploughing the sands. At present all the large-scale establishments in the country employ only about 3 million people with a total investment of approximately 1,200 crores of rupees. Where is the money for further investment in the large-scale sector in order to absorb a substantial portion of surplus labour in India? And even if we are able to find the money where are the markets to purchase these mill-made goods? Conquering markets in foreign countries through Imperialist methods is out of the question, and purchasing power within the country could be increased only by organising fuller employment to millions of people through decentralised industrialisation. The Government has,

of course, accepted this policy in the Five-Year Plan. But we are not yet in a position to say that there are any visible signs of the implementation of this policy.

The Commercial policy of imports and exports also needs further examination from the standpoint of providing fuller employment to the masses through the development of new industries in India. It is not an inspiring sight to see most of the New Delhi shops full of foreign articles at a time when we are seriously planning to build up the economic structure of our country by undertaking ambitious schemes of industrialisation. It is true that the people should imbibe the spirit of Swadeshi and patronise home-made goods. It is also true that the Indian manufacturers should take special care to improve the quality of their products and should not try to misuse the spirit of Swadeshi among the poor consumers. It is, however, equally necessary that the Government of India should once again scrutinise the long list of articles which are still allowed to be imported from foreign lands. It is argued that a few consumer goods are allowed to be imported so that the quality of goods may not go down. It is an argument which fails to carry conviction. If the Indian producers are given a wider scope of selling their goods, more manufacturers will enter into production in accordance with the well-known economic laws and mutual competition would tend to push up the quality of products. We see absolutely no reason why consumer goods like second-hand clothes, bottled and canned fruits and vegetables, crockery, biscuits and cakes and confectionary, artificial silk fabrics, handloom and book-binding cloth, hosiery and toilet goods, etc., are still being imported by us. We have also allowed a number of foreign firms to run consumer goods industries within the country with the result that our own industries with wholly Indian capital have suffered a serious set-back. In this connection, the Government should review the working of foreign-owned units in the manufacture of soaps, chocolates, fountain-pen inks, tooth-brushes and pastes; cold drinks like Coca-cola, etc. The Store Purchase Policy of the Union and State Governments also requires radical changes with a view to patronising Indian-made and specially cottage-made products even though they may be costlier in the beginning.

Above all, our educational policy must undergo

far-reaching changes. We welcome the scheme of the Ministry of Education to open a large number of one-teacher schools in the rural areas to absorb thousands of the educated unemployed youngmen in India. But is this enough? What about the ever-growing number of matriculates and graduates that still continue to be manufactured every year by the existing type of schools and colleges. The number of passes in the Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. and B.Sc. examinations during 1949-50 was 2,78,400. In 1951-52, the figure had swollen to 3,74,900. In Uttar Pradesh alone the number of students passing the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations was 1,50,000 in 1952; in 1953, it had increased to 2,59,000. What is the Ministry of Education doing to stop this rising flood of educated boys and girls in our country? The present type of schools and colleges imparting the so-called liberal education have had their day: they must now cease to be. It is almost a crime against society to permit their expansion further. Our new educational institutions should be in the nature of occupational institutes or Polytechnics which prepare our boys and girls for specific vocations in life. There should be the closest co-ordination and integration between our educational and industrial programmes. The Government or the Planning Commission must indicate from time to time the types of courses for which there is likely to be a growing demand for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. Admissions to various technical courses will then be adjusted and regulated accordingly by the educational institutions and the guardians. Although education is a State subject under the present Constitution, the Ministry of Education can do a lot to revolutionize the existing system of education which is wholly unsuited to the vital needs of the nation. It is, of course, risky to try to move too fast; but the risk in not moving fast enough is also a potential danger to the new type of democracy in this ancient land of ours.

Gandhiji had told us that to a poor and hungry man God could appear only in the form of bread or a bowl of rice. To millions of our unemployed countrymen, the National Plan can have some meaning only if it gives them work and bread. Instead of asking for "Light, more Light," they want us to provide them with Employment, more Employment.

YUGOSLAVIA SHAPES HER DESTINY Welcome to Her "Good Will Mission"

By AJIT KUMAR BOSE

New Yugoslavia has been successful in drawing world's attention towards her. The reception that was accorded to the recent Yugoslav "Good Will Mission" clearly indicates India's lively interest in her.

Yugoslavia is the land of the South (Yug) Slavs. It consists of six Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia and is the largest country in the Balkans having 16 million population covering one lakh square miles. There are four main languages—Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian—which, though similar to each other, have distinctive qualities.

Yugoslavia is surrounded by Austria and three Soviet countries from the north up to the east—Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, by Greece and Albania on the south, by Adriatic Sea from south up to the west and by Trieste on the west. She is rich in natural resources and beauties—rivers, forests, mountains, oil, minerals, ores, etc.—sufficient for her developments in industry and agriculture.

The ancestors of the Yugoslavs were inhabitants of the Carpathian Mountains situated in the north. They began to settle in the Balkans in the 6th century. Since the 8th century there developed the Slav civilization which reached its peak in the 13th century.

But subsequent centuries were the days of decline and darkness. The riches of the lands allured foreigners to invade. The Turks invaded Serbia, one of the strongest States. Of course, Serbians resisted fiercely, but they were ultimately defeated and their country fell in the hands of the invaders in 1389. Their invasion continued for long 500 years and the patriotic Slavs did nowhere yield without fighting. As a result, the Turks took a century to conquer Bosnia (in 1463) and Herzegovina (in 1483) and no further they could advance. During the rest of their long domination the Turks could not rule peacefully; they had to face resistance in various forms within their conquered territory even. Thus, of course, the Turks could be prevented from penetrating further ahead, permitting the rest of Europe to develop. Besides, Yugoslavia was invaded from the north by the Austrians and the Hungarians, who also occupied some parts. Italy had also an eye on the Dalmatian Coast always.

In spite of these the South Slavs retained their individuality and cultural identity, and the Montenegrins, who could never be conquered, were a constant source of inspiration for patriotism. While powerful movement for the unity of the Slavs was growing

stronger, various forms of resistance, including guerilla fighting, developed in the 16th century. Since the early part of the 19th century and onward, fight for independence had been gathering momentum. In 1804, Serbia revolted successfully. But it was only after World War I that Yugoslavia became completely independent of the Turks and of the Austro-Hungarian imperialism as well.

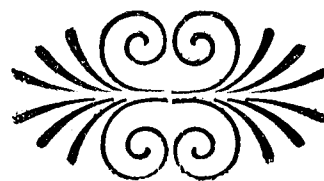
But political independence brought no change in the day-to-day life of the people; for the most part their lives remained hard. Despite her great natural resources Yugoslavia remained one of the poorest nations in Europe. Illiteracy was high, average span of life was very low and want of employment was widespread. Yugoslavia was mainly a source of raw materials at cheaper rates for the foreigners. On the other hand, of the total capital invested in industries, whatever Yugoslavia had, foreign shares were 92 per cent in cotton mills, 100 per cent in matches, copper, lead and bauxite, 70 per cent in merchant shipping, 76 per cent in sugar and 55 per cent in coal. Workers' conditions were far below human level. The Monarchy in the country, subservient to the greedy foreign investors, was impotent to solve the basic problems.

Three-fourths of Yugoslavia was agricultural, cultivation being carried on old methods by impoverished peasants. The rich peasants and the big land-owners, who made up only 5 per cent of the population, held majority of the lands. Almost half a million were landless workers and the share-croppers were also of a equal number.

Consequently, during the period between the two World Wars, a strong movement to transform the Government of the country and its economic structure for the benefit of the people developed. The Yugoslav Communist Party affiliated to the then Comintern, took the leading part under the Moscow-trained leaders like Marshal Tito. Other radical political parties and individuals, students, trade unionists, etc., joined them and formed the People's Front ultimately to fight the fascist invaders.

In the meantime, after the Moscow-Berlin non-aggression pact of alliance, Nazi-Fascist Governments began to trample one country after another till the whole of the West Europe and Balkans, excepting Yugoslavia, went under the heels of Germany and Italy within a very short period. Despondency overtook the world. The war was then on the point of taking a turn.

As stated, Hitler planned to attack Russia on



May 15th. As a prelude to that attack, on March 25, 1941, the Royal Government of Yugoslavia signed a pact of alliance with the fascist powers in Vienna and thus surrendered the country's independence. But, on 27th March, the people rose in protest; they wanted no truck with the fascists. Belgrade's streets rang with the cries: "Better war than Pact," "Better death than Slavery!" The Royal Government was overthrown and the pact was repudiated, though, of course, U.S.S.R. and the Comintern were then acting as faithful allies of the fascist aggressors.

On April 16th, 300 German bombers swooped down on Belgrade, the Capital of Yugoslavia, leaving behind them more than 25,000 dead and a ruined city. The war against Yugoslavia began on a full scale with invading armies attacking not only from Germany and Italy, but from their satellites Hungary and Bulgaria as well. Thus attack on Russia was delayed, preventing Hitler's army from reaching the gates of Moscow before winter set in. Undoubtedly it was of tremendous help to Russia.

Yugoslav people continued to fight, guerilla resistance spread everywhere. Before the end of 1941, there were 41,000 partisans, fighting at first with farm implements and such arms as they could capture from the enemies. Their number had increased to 400,000 by 1944 and by 1945 the guerillas were transformed into the regular Army of National Liberation with 800,000 partisans. As a result, Germany was forced to keep more than a million men to fight the Yugoslavs. Thus the fighters against fascists in other fronts, including Russian, were amply helped. By 1944, the Yugoslav National Army liberated three-fourths of their country mainly with their own efforts.

No help was given to Marshal Tito and his forces at the first instance. Instead, the disguised collaborators of the Germans like Mehailovick were given assistance. At last however, the Liberation Army was recognised. After suffering and sacrifice the fighters for Yugoslav freedom came out successful.

But unfortunately, Marshal Tito and his forces were cursed by the U.S.S.R. and its satellites as collaborators and "agents" of Anglo-American powers, though subsequently, by the force of events, they also fell in line with the allied powers and dissolved the Comintern at the dictates of the same Anglo-American powers.

The South Slavs are now united under one banner, the banner of the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia. A new social order has been established on a new economic and political structure. But the foundation of this republic was laid in the midst of the war. The new state was created step by step as village after village and city after city were liberated, by electing Peoples' Committees. Thus the basis of the Peoples' Government was formed, with powers to administrate and manage the entire

economic, social and cultural affairs of the respective locality. Late in 1942, the representatives of these Peoples' Committee met and formed the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia, the AVNOJ, which again met on 29th November, 1942, in the Bosnian Mountains. In this meeting a Provisional Government was formed—the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia—and a programme was adopted calling for broad social reforms and a government organised on federative principles.

On November 11th, 1945, after liberation, a Constituent Assembly was elected by secret ballot. On the 29th, this body proclaimed the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia. After two months' discussion, on 31st January, 1946, the Constitution of Yugoslavia was adopted and the Constituent Assembly became the first regular National Assembly, which would be elected by popular votes every four years. The second Assembly was elected on March 26th, 1950.

The National Assembly, the supreme body of State authority in Yugoslavia is composed of two houses, the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities, having a Presidium and the administrative agent. Each of the constituent republics has its own Assembly and Presidium. The Executive branch of the government is headed by the Prime Minister. Both are appointed and recalled by the respective Assembly.

As provided, at the meetings of the Peoples' Committee reports on current progress are made and plans for the future formulated. Local citizens are allowed to attend such meetings. They may discuss and criticise the members of the Committee openly in the public and have the right to demand explanations and pass judgments on the Committee's works. Unsatisfactory members may be removed by the people at any time. In 1949, there were 8104 village committees with a total membership of 119,804. They are helped by hundreds of thousands of members of different councils. Thus the common people of Yugoslavia participate in the political life and day-to-day social activities of the country.

Apart from trade unions, which are free to look into the interests of the workers, workers' councils are elected to participate in the management of industries. At least three-fourths of their members must be workers. In 1950, these councils were given more powers. Thus the Federal Government, in direct contrast to the Soviet bureaucratic centralism and State directorate, is divesting itself of the direct control of the major share of the country's economy and industry.

Yugoslavia adheres closely to the Charter of the United Nations and firmly believes that its principles are the only guide to enduring peace. She stands to fight for equal relations between all countries and

rejects the unjust policy of dividing the world into "spheres of influence" by the big powers. For this reason she refuses to join any contending power blocks and condemns the Soviet-sponsored idea of "five-power peace pact" which is nothing but recognition of the big powers' right to dominate over the weak and under-developed countries.

In addition to the miserable conditions and backwardness that persisted through centuries, the effect of the war on Yugoslavia was thoroughly devastating. According to the statistics of the Paris Reparation Conference, Yugoslavia had 1,706,000 casualties in the war, or about one-third of the total losses of the 18 major allied countries and the damages amount to 9.1 milliard dollars, or 17 per cent of the total damages suffered by those countries. In fact, every ninth person was killed and every three of the rest were physically invalidated and about 3.5 millions rendered homeless. Moreover, 24 per cent of orchards, 38 per cent of vineyards, 67 per cent of horses, 55 per cent of cattle, 63 per cent of sheep, 58 per cent of hogs, 50 per cent of railway trackage, 289,000 farms and most of the mines, factories and electric plants were damaged.

But parallel with the progress of the liberation struggle, the Liberation Army, with the Peoples' Committees, by the close of 1941, began to rebuild the areas freed from occupation. Since the close of 1944, full attention was directed towards reconstruction. Peasants got lands and powers through their committees and worked with the fullest enthusiasm, while the workers vigorously devoted themselves to production and various economic rehabilitations of the country. Due to their untiring efforts and sacrifice production soon attained the pre-war level, alleviating the effects of the havoc wrought by the invaders. The Constitution provides for national ownership, or control whenever necessary, of industry, banking, communications, foreign trade, etc.

In 1947, the first Five-Year Plan sets, *inter alia*, the following main tasks: The national income was to be raised from 132 milliards in 1939 to 235 milliards in 1951, *viz.*, an increase of 193 per cent and the value of industrial production was to be raised from 203 milliards in 1939 to 336 milliards in 1951, *viz.*, an increase of 180 per cent.

Trade Unions and Workers' Councils played a very significant part in executing the Plan. Want of workers, technicians, engineers, etc., was not insurmountable to the determination of the people. New hands were trained and efficiency developed. Results were remarkable. Here are some instances in the main branches of industry:

	1939	1947	1949	1950
	Index.	Per cent of production		
Coal	100	157	342	265
Lead and Zinc	100	181	330	479
Iron and Steel	100	167	260	290
lol.	100	...	6260	...

In other industries of Electric powers, Chemicals, Building materials, Timber, Paper, Textiles, Leather and Foot-wear, Rubber, Food, Tobacco, Film, etc., production increased on an average from 25.6 in 1946 to 46.1, 70.8 and 82.6 in 1947, 1948 and 1949 respectively. Moreover, motors, tractors, electrical machineries, generators, etc., are also being manufactured. Various important items that were never produced in Yugoslavia before war emerged from her new factories. In the spheres of Railways and trackage, Roads, Communication, Transport, etc., progress has been equally rapid. Side by side, new buildings and cities are being constructed.

In the sector of public welfare, provisions have been made for social insurance, pensions and medical aids including medicines and sanitariums, protection to mothers and children, conquering diseases and illiteracy, etc., which is, in reality, being enjoyed by the nation as a whole. The Constitution makes the State responsible for the protection and nurture of children and provides for free and compulsory elementary education for seven years. About 80 per cent of the students in higher education receive monetary aids from the Government. The expectant mothers receive increased facilities in every respect before and after child-birth. She also receives extra money from the Government when the baby is born.

Unemployment has been eliminated. In fact, Yugoslavia's problem is shortage of workers and not want of work or unemployment.

In respect of agriculture, arrangements have been made for training the peasants and guiding them through the State farms elaborately. Co-operative farming is encouraged. It is voluntary and co-operators remain owners of their lands. The co-operative movement in Yugoslavia was started in 1945 with only 31 societies; by April 1950, the number had grown to about 7,000, involving over 350,000 families and covering, together with the State farms, about 26 per cent of the country's arable lands. Arrangements have been made to manufacture agricultural machineries for which factories are working. Construction of dams for hydro-electric power and irrigation have been taken up.

In short, Yugoslavia's progress, within only seven years, is all-round and unparalleled in history.

On the contrary, in the case of the U.S.S.R., the entire first post-revolution decade was a decade of failure and intense suffering, famine, starvation and deaths for the people. Production in industry declined, while in agriculture, it came down to 50 million tons in 1920 as compared to pre-war years when the average harvest was of 80 million tons. As measures against such all-round deterioration and discontent, USSR had to fall back and take up "New Economic Policy," encouraging private enterprise. Foreign helps were accepted including American help and the foreign policy was so formulated as to encourage

foreign helps. On the other hand, machineries of repression and suppression were let loose; terror, mass-scale murder and concentration in slave labour camps in the name of "socialism" and "revolution" became the order of the day.

But still the brave leaders of Yugoslavia are condemned by the Soviet Bloc as "traitors to the people," as "agents of Anglo-America." Like "Trotskyism," "Titoism" has become a word for abuse in the Soviet vocabulary.

In June, 1948, the Cominform expelled the Yugoslav Communist Party which was its member since its inception. The Cominform called upon the Communist Parties all over the world and the Communists of Yugoslavia in particular to unite and overthrow the Tito Government.

In essence, the whole issue boiled down to a Soviet attempt to stop the industrialisation of Yugoslavia, in particular the Five-Year Plan, which began to gather momentum. Moscow had planned for agrarian satellites whose varied and extensive resources would make cheap sources of raw materials for Soviet factories.

Because of the importance of trade to the success of the Plan, the Cominform instituted its *economic blockade*, which was the Soviet answer to Yugoslavia's determination to maintain her independence and develop her economy on her own way. Prior to that 60 per cent of Yugoslavia's trade was carried on with the Cominform countries.

But the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and her government refused to be intimidated, as she refused during the war. In spite of continued political pressure, diplomatic incidents, border provocations, unceasing propaganda and economic blockade, the people of Yugoslavia have remained unshaken and stepped up the tempo.

Recently very bold steps have been taken towards further democratisation and decentralisation of power, both political and economic. From base to the national level the formation of councils of workers has been provided in the country's constitution. Only the workers directly engaged in the process of production are entitled to be elected in these councils. In the levels of legislation they constitute the third House of Representatives and no budget can be effective unless it is passed by this House. And in the production level at the base the entire authority of the management of the factories—authority of employment and dismissal and drawing up of plans and budgets, etc.—has been transferred to the respec-

tive councils. Thus the authority of disbursement of surplus values, the only measure-stick of Socialism, is now in the hands of the actual workers. Whereas, in the Soviet Union and countries within its grip, it is entirely in the hands of the all-powerful Soviet Government of the Communist Party, membership of which is strictly restricted and scrutinised by the ruling group.

As regards the party structure in the popular level, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is no longer a political party; it has now been transformed into a cultural organisation so to say. It will not run any candidate in the country's elections. It will only preach the basic principle of Socialism. A broad-based Socialist platform has been created to facilitate proper and open discussions on political and various other national issues to determine the course of action. The people of Yugoslavia, having faith in the independence and sovereignty of their motherland and Socialism, irrespective of their various shades of opinion, may unite under this political organisation—the 'Yugoslav Socialist League.' Members are free to differ and discuss openly to build up public opinion. Undoubtedly, it is a step forward towards the establishment of democratic rights of the people—steps new, bold and encouraging enough as against the systems prevailing in the rest of the world, including U.S.S.R., America, etc.

Evidently, therefore, new Yugoslavia is a source of newer inspiration for the suppressed nations in their struggle for emancipation, while for the newly independent under-developed countries she indicates a definite line of action for progress, prosperity and strength.

But it should not be forgotten after all that alike in Soviet Russia, there is no right of association in Yugoslavia. Excepting under the Socialist League of Yugoslavia, the Constitution of the country provides no right for the people to organise, or to be organised under, any political party. It is one of the few fundamental questions relating to the basic rights of man. On it depends the ultimate security of the individual and of the nation as well, nay, of the whole human society. At present, of course, there are great differences with Russia in the nature of Yugoslavia's working out her plans, which helps the people, as reported, to develop initiative and free judgment. Let us hope that Yugoslavia will ultimately be able to lead the suppressed people of the world in their fight for collective well-being and individual freedom as well.

SAGA OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

By Prof. DIP CHAND VERMA, M.A.

I

THE career of Napoleon Bonaparte has been a fascinating subject for biographers. Historians have dealt with it from diverse angles. But even today the name of Napoleon not only arouses interest but grips the imagination. Goethe typically summed up the reactions on the minds of most readers when he said:

"The story of Napoleon produces on me an impression like that produced by the Revelation of Saint John the Divine. We all feel there must be something more in it, but we do not know what."

It is likely that for all time to come the genius of Napoleon will remain controversial, hard to define, provoking but delusive, beyond real grasp. Napoleon was not only the representative man of his age—his life was a running commentary on the great revolutionary period of which he was the product—but succeeding generations have been left bewildered at his truly amazing career. The dilemma however remains unresolved, the dilemma of his miraculous success and no less disastrous failure. Both in the magnitude of his success and the tragedy of his fall, Napoleon remains to date an enigmatic figure, defying the meticulous labours of historians and research scholars to solve the riddle.

II

The broad facts of Napoleon's life are easily told. He was born as second son to Charles Bonaparte in the town of Ajaccio in the small island of Corsica, on the 15th August, 1769. His father at one time adjutant to the Corsican hero Paoli, though of a noble descent, was of a flippant disposition. Napoleon seems to have inherited all his great qualities from his mother who was a very remarkable woman. Madame Letizia gave birth to eight children, five sons and three daughters. They are known to history by the simple incidence of their being related as brothers and sisters to the colossus that in his day shook the world. More through accident than design Napoleon got admitted at the military school at Brienne and after a year's training at the Paris Cadets School, he became a lieutenant at 16. His first attempts were to capture power in his own homeland Corsica, alternatively by joining hands with Paoli against the French and later by siding with the French Government against Paoli. Both attempts were unsuccessful and nearly ruined the Bonaparte family. Napoleon's own position was rendered most precarious and he was driven to such straits as pawning his watch and at one time actually thought of suicide.

He got associated with the Jacobins which was the rising faction but the death through guillotine of the elder Robespierre sent the young Napoleon also to jail for a short period but was saved as the charges were not substantiated.

Napoleon steps into history by his part in the siege of Toulon. This is Napoleon's first victory although he is not the official commander. The real opportunity comes when he is offered the command of the army of Italy which puts him on the world-stage as it were to play the great part. For a score of years from this day onward, he rises higher and higher reaching a pinnacle with few historical precedents, suggesting comparisons to celebrated names like Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, almost within reach of world-power and then suddenly the meteoric career is snapped. Napoleon is devoured by the forces he himself produced. He awakened to the danger when it was too late.

What are the landmarks in his great career? He engaged during his short and busy life in nearly sixty pitched engagements. Some of his battles mark him out as the greatest strategist and captain of all time. His military genius remains to date unrivalled and unsurpassed. Napoleon not only conquered nearly the whole of Europe and ruled a larger part of it for a dozen years but was actually on way to world conquest and just missed it.

Marengo, Lodi, Arcola, Austerlitz, Wagram, Jena and a dozen other places scattered over Europe and Asia reaching the far-flung steppes of Russia and the far-off deserts of Egypt—these are a testimony if a testimony is needed to the military genius of Napoleon.

Original and in a way incomparable as Napoleon appears as commander, his real greatness consists in the imagination with which he remoulded the age, rightly called the 'Napoleonic Era.' As consul and Emperor, administrator, diplomat, reformer and law-giver, Napoleon looms large in world-history. Code-Napoleon continues not only to be the basis of the judicial system and social institutions of France but has influenced the growth of law and government in all lands that came directly or indirectly under his rule.

Napoleon's career was possible mainly because of the age in which he lived. He was the son of the Revolution. He created order out of the chaos in which France was thrown by the revolution of 1789.



As first Consul his record is not only unblemished but admirable. He brings about important changes in the internal administration of France, modernizes her agricultural and industrial systems, directs the revolution to constructive channels and above all makes repeated attempts to give peace to Europe. Napoleon is so far fighting defensive wars. The revolutionary ideas which the First Consul symbolises in his person are a standing dread to the world of Legitimacy and the European rulers spurn all his approaches. Partly to stabilize his own position and partly to appease and disarm the hereditary kings of Europe, Napoleon himself dons the crown and becomes Emperor. No body is deceived. He is still regarded symbolizing the dreaded revolution. He attempts to dominate Europe by raising his own brothers, relatives and marshals to thrones carved out of conquered territories. His first thoughts had been to follow in the footsteps of Alexander the Great and establish an Empire in the East, in India and had conquered Egypt as a half-way house. This was frustrated by the destruction of the fleet at Aboukir-bay. His next thought was to restore the Western Empire with himself as the chief potentate. He succeeded to a great extent but the destruction of the grand army in the Russian campaign gave the first mortal blow from which Napoleon never recovered. The campaigns of 1813 and 1814 were again fought in the old style and there were several opportunities for honourable compromise but till the last Napoleon thought that he could undo the reverse and regain the lost position. After the Dresden defeat, he could have retained France for himself with 1793 frontiers but he thought it more honourable to step down from the Imperial throne rather than give up his conquests. After a brief stay at Elba to which place he was confined by the allies Napoleon returned to France once again to rule for another 100 days. This return from Elba is a most astounding performance even for Napoleon whose whole career runs like a ballad. So great is the awe inspired by his very name that the Bourbons who had come in the baggage of the foreign rulers, escape once again across the channel and the romantic hero occupies Paris amidst the ovations of the people to play the final part in the great saga. Immediately on assumption of the Imperial office once again he liberalized the constitution giving it a democratic and parliamentary form and issued appeals to his enemies to leave him in peace so that he might complete his life-work interrupted by his defeat in 1814. So great is the distrust and fear amongst the allies that almost in a panic they outlaw him and prepare for his final overthrow. His own father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria and his wife Marie Louise—who had already sullied herself by her scandalous conduct—are a party to his outlawry. Napoleon wants to repeat his performances of twenty years ago when he took the world by storm by his brilliant campaigns in Italy

and once again plans in his masterly style to defeat each enemy separately before they have time to prepare. His first strokes are successful. He defeats and annihilates Blücher but is overcome and finally crushed at Waterloo because he is not able to attack Wellington in time, his orders are not given in his usual crystal-clear style, leaving so much to his subordinates in which they bungle and finally he calls the National Guard too late, when his main army has already been routed. Discouraged but not wholly disheartened he rushes back to Paris and appeals to the French people whom he has loved so much to rally to him once again and help in driving away the enemy. His brothers and some of his devoted friends rally round him but the enemies he had left behind in Foch and Talleyrand, his erstwhile employees, have already undermined his position and they subtly work for his downfall. He is still popular with the masses; the soldiers are as devoted to him at this hour of defeat as they were at moments of his most glorious victories but his generals and marshals on whom he showered so many favours are unwilling to risk their positions and some of them actually betray him. Marmont, one of his earliest comrades, who rose with the Emperor, proves to be the greatest traitor and is responsible for the final rejection by the allies of Napoleon or his successors to the French throne. His cause ruined beyond redemption, Napoleon attempts to escape to America. Having wasted too much time he is surrounded by the British navy to which he voluntarily surrenders making an eloquent appeal to Prince Regent for a treatment and asylum worthy of a great and generous foe. While his fate is being decided his ship is anchored in the Plymouth harbour, a great surge of people crowd the coast and when Napoleon appears on the deck spontaneously all heads are uncovered as a mark of reverence. The crowd offer flowers to the defeated hero. This was the great tribute of the British Nation, the general masses, the ordinary people who knew no politics but were instinctively drawn by the true greatness which Napoleon represented. The allies decided on the cruel and hard punishment of exile to the rocky island of St. Helena. Napoleon protested strongly for he was not a prisoner of war and had surrendered voluntarily. For the remaining 6 years of his life which he spent as a prisoner on this forsaken unhealthy place Napoleon busied himself in preparing a record of his great career as he had promised the National Guard while taking leave of them at the time of departure for Elba. The accounts left by the companions who had followed the exiled emperor have helped greatly in reconstructing the great events of his age. Within a few years of the Eagle's death the whole Europe was talking of him and so strong was the revival of the Napoleonic cult in France that the July Monarchy was forced by public opinion to bring back the remains of the Emperor from St. Helena

and over them a grateful people have constructed a noble mausoleum, becoming the hero.

III

What sort of man was Napoleon? What was it that brought him to supreme power? Having achieved this power how did he use it? What was it that he really achieved and left for posterity? Why did his supremacy last for so brief a period? Finally why did he fall? What is the great lesson of his miraculous career?

To these questions we must now turn to size up the man and his work. Physically he was short-statured, with a prominent forehead, bright blue eyes whose glare few could stand and in whose great depths one could have a glimpse of his whole life, a breast soft and padded almost like a woman, thin fine handsome hands impeccably neat, somewhat short legs, and during later years, a tendency towards obesity so that he appeared somewhat fattish. Inside this human dynamo was a will that no human power could bend, a determination that could overcome any obstacles, a mind that worked mathematically like a clock but could soar to great heights; he was a poet and mathematician, a realist and idealist, a man of figures and one whose imagination could penetrate to greatest depths and survey the highest altitudes. Skilled administrator, subtle diplomat, clever negotiator, he was equally at home both on the battlefield and his study. His mind is original and sharp like the edge of the sword, so comprehensive and quick that in a trite he can grasp a situation in its entirety and take final sweeping decisions, essentially constructive and productive. Rightly remarks Goethe:

"So divine an illumination is always linked with youth and productivity, and in very truth, Napoleon was one of the most productive men that ever lived."

His chief traits were imagination, self-confidence and energy, this last almost inexhaustible and super-human. This combination explains his success first in the battlefield and later in politics and diplomacy. He was remarkably modern, rational, just and fair-minded but also had belief amounting to superstition in his own lucky star, his fate and destiny. About Sydney Smith who checked him during the Turkish campaign, he said, "That man made me miss my destiny." At the fall of Moreau, his one time rival and later banished by him to America, who returned to take part in the campaigns of 1813, when Napoleon is meeting with reverses, he exclaimed, "My Star." About his own end, he said, "St. Helena was written in the book of destiny." He confessed that it was luck that brought him to supreme power. His self-confidence helps him to face enemies outnumbering him by 2 to 3 and yet by impromptu combinations he can beat them. When during the Russian disaster he

was asked, who in spite of all would defend him in France, he replied: "My name."

Napoleon's achievements were unique, unparalleled before or since. Just within twenty years, rising from obscure origins under most trying and difficult circumstances, he rose to supreme power in France, conquered nearly the whole of Europe or effectively controlled it, engaged in 60 pitched battles most of which he won against great odds by sheer supremacy of tactics, reformed France out of recognition and left abiding influence over the whole of Europe. In point of military genius the only comparable names are those of Alexander the Great, Hannibal and Julius Caesar but Napoleon's place is his own, without rivals. He was the greatest man of action ever born. Even in the matter of thought his grasp was amazing. While voyaging enroute to Egypt he was carrying with him the most noted scholars and scientists, a sort of travelling University with him. He held regular debates and meetings and the savants are astounded, for the commander-in-chief interrogates them minutely about their own subjects and seems to know everything. While on board on the "Bellerophon" in custody of the British after defeat the ship captain is greatly surprised by the technical knowledge shown by Bonaparte on naval affairs.

Napoleon was fond of power but not grossly ambitious. He was ambitious because he wanted to do great things and achieve results on a grand scale. "My age has produced nothing great. Let me set an example," he at one time exclaimed. His first aim, after he was set on the path of military glory, was to found an Empire in the East, in India, on the model of Alexander the Great. This was foiled by defeat on the sea but he never completely gave up the idea; till his final break with Alexander, Tsar of Russia, he continued hobnobbing with the plan for the conquest of the East. While invading Russia he was thinking of establishing a common system of Government and institutions thus forestalling all later ideas about the United States of Europe. He was in fact, the forerunner of President Wilson of America as he actually thought of founding the League of Nations. His ideals were good but he attempted to realize them through gross means. He himself admitted the supremacy of these spiritual powers over the physical forces but it was too late to reverse the course of history. Napoleon once said that he would live to be ninety for his work could not be completed in lesser time. But he failed to curb his impatience and craze for speed and ended his active life when he was hardly 45. Napoleon's age lasted very short, but in that brief period he has left behind a blaze of glory and immortality that will last till humanity. Untold generations will read the story of his great deeds and marvel how all that could be achieved by one man single-handed. He was so much ahead of his age and his ideas were so

original and inspired that a careful study of his career will help in tackling the problems presented by the 20th century. Napoleon belongs to the 19th century the main events of which he could foresee but he was so modern that he seems to belong to us, to this age. William M. Sloane, an American historian, remarks in his *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, Vol. II:

"The creative ideas of the revolutionary era with which Napoleon's name is so closely connected are no longer called in question; his own career was now verging to its decline but in his fall the fundamental conceptions of the epoch were firmly established."

Napoleon fought against the system of Legitimacy and his greatest mistake seems to be, to have attempted to appease it or compromise with it. The establishment of the hereditary empire was also a mistake for by these attempts he moved away from the principles of the Revolution of 1789 which made his very career possible. He was careful throughout his life to promote his soldiers and marshals on merit and merit alone but he made exception in the case of his brothers and sisters whom he raised to thrones, which they never deserved. He admitted that this was a mistake and contributed to his downfall. The treaty of Vienna which had imprisoned the son of the Revolution and restored the world of Legitimacy which Bonaparte had torn to shreds, was repudiated by the major developments of the 19th century. Nationalism and Democracy were the dominating forces of the 19th century and strangely speaking they fed on inspiration received from the Napoleonic era.

IV

"To every man, be he whom he may
There comes a last happiness and a last day."

So wrote Goethe on Napoleon's fall, whom he had shortly before declared invincible. Nothing lasts for ever in this transient world and at last even a Napoleon is defeated. He could have easily saved the throne for himself by accommodating with the allies in time, he could possibly have saved the Empire itself if he had followed Carnot's advice and declared himself dictator for the emergency and disbanded the legislative bodies which he himself had founded and entrusted with constitutional powers. He refused to do either because the first compromised his honour and the second would have given him a bad name in history. So punctilious was Napoleon about his sense of honour and so sensitive was he about his position in the eyes of posterity that he decided to end his career rather than besmear his name.

Napoleon's end was tragic and the fact that such greatness should have perished under such dismal and

pathetic circumstances is a sad reminder of the vicissitudes of life. Talking to Las Cases, one of his companions at St. Helena, the Emperor reflected:

"Adversity, too, has its heroism and its fame. Had I died on the throne, surrounded by all the emblems of power, I should have remained a riddle to many. Today the wrappings have been stripped from me; thanks to my misfortunes, every one can judge me in my nakedness."

When he hears of plans of his return to France he coldly analyses the situation and comments:

"But what can they hope from my return? That I should again conduct wars? I am too old. That I should seek for fresh glories? I am sated with them . . . It will be much better for my son that I should stay here. If Christ had not died upon the cross, he would not have become the Son of God. My martyrdom will give the crown to my son, if he lives."

Subsequently he says:

"Misfortune has its good side: it teaches us truths . . . For the first time, I am able to contemplate history as a philosopher."

Finally he confesses:

"No one but myself can be blamed for my fall. I have been my own greatest enemy, the cause of my own disastrous fate."

And, "I wanted too much . . . I strung the bow too tightly, and trusted too much in my good fortune."

Reviewing his whole career in a flash as it were he explained to Las Cases:

"Every future historian will have to allow me my share . . . Facts speak for themselves. I closed up the chasm of anarchy, and put an end to chaos. I cleansed the revolution from the filth it had accumulated, I ennobled the peoples, I stabilised the thrones. I encouraged all those who had talents, rewarded every merit, and widened the boundaries of fame and glory. . . . Could not historians protect me against many grave charges? If I am accused of despotism, they can claim that dictatorship was necessary in the circumstances. Is it freedom I attacked? They can answer that anarchy was still threatening on our very threshold. Love of War? I was never the aggressor. Striving for world domination? This arose accidentally, because of the conditions of the time. Too ambitious? Yes, true indeed. But my ambition was of the sublimest: to found the kingdom of reason, with full development and unrestricted enjoyment of all the human faculties. The historian may deplore that such ambition could not wholly attain its goal." "There, my dear fellow," he concludes, "in a few words, you have my entire story."

So the mighty Napoleon passes into legend and the saga of his great deeds would continue to be narrated in countless ways to the ends of the world and when credits and debits have been balanced on the immortal ledger of history, all would marvel that such a one as this ever existed.



Dancers
By S. Khastgir



Old refugee
By S. Khastgir

the mode and means of his service to the country. Was he to continue to devote himself more or less exclusively to managing the affairs of the University, or was he largely to concentrate his attention upon the political sphere? Or was he, in the figure I used in the beginning of this article, to have one foot on the moving staircase and the other in the lift?

What would be best for the people? That was the question he seemed to be pondering at the moment.

As I discerned from the outset, his thoughts were not at all for himself—but all for them. How could he conserve freedom in jeopardy—how could he make his maximum contribution to the country's welfare? By going on much as he had been going, or . . . ?

It was evident that he could not occupy the Vice-Chancellor's chair for ever and a day. At the moment of which I am writing he was coming towards the end of his second term of office. When he vacated it he would no doubt continue to supervise and to develop the Post-Graduate studies. That was the lever of the greatest potency. So long as he could operate it he could render invaluable service to the University and through it to the people of Bengal.

But he was greatly dissatisfied with the way things were going in the country. Only recently a new craftsman had voyaged to India and had taken his place at the imperialist loom in Delhi. The Marquis of Linlithgow had come to it with a pattern in his hand. That pattern was largely of his own design. It had taken shape when he was the Chairman of the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 1935.

One portion of the federal structure had come into being. Under it Syama had been elected to (what may, in the circumstance of that day, be termed) the people's house. The other had, however, been marred by the Earl Willingdon, who, not long before, had quit functioning at that loom of destiny. So at least his successor must have thought.

The Rajas were supposed to have accepted Federation. There were murmurs—rumours. Nobody in his senses expected, however, that when the hour struck any member of that exalted order would have the temerity to shun the parliamentary parlour specially provided for them.

Much to everybody's surprise the Jam Saheb of Jamnagar—the famous cricketer "Ranji"—had openly refused to knuckle under.

The revolt had taken place at an open session of the Prince's Chamber—the "Narendra Mandal," in the phrase of that Maharaja of Alwar who had been broken by that very noble Lord.

As a consequence, the accession of the "Princes of India" to the Union as settled by the Linlithgow Fourteen, could not be quietly secured through the vote of the Chamber. The new Viceroy hoped that, despite his immediate predecessor's bungling, he may be able to persuade the Rajas to change their minds. "Ranji" had died within a few days of the tussle in that Chamber and, as everyone thought then, as a direct consequence of the insult his proud spirit could not bear. That was true enough. The revolt had not seemingly died with him.

Linlithgow had, however, the supremest faith in his skill as a political angler, particularly because he had it in his power to manufacture bait that, in his view, none of their Highnesses would be able to resist. Disillusionment lurked round the corner.

According to the imperialists' calculations, the coming of the Rajas into the Federation was the surest way by which the British could avowedly give away power and yet, in reality, retain it. Weightage had been claimed by the representatives of the Princely Order as their price for entering the proposed union. It had been conceded to them by the spokesman for what then was called British India in contradistinction to Indian India or India of the Rajas.* This weightage, coupled with the mutable legislators that are to be found in any assembly in the world, would enable the Britons who pulled the strings, to defeat any move that they may deem dangerous to their monopoly. It is contended on authority that seems to be indisputable that "Ranji" defied Willingdon because he would be no party to the eternal enslaving, through this device, of his brethren of British India.

Important as the gilt strand was for the completion of the pattern Lord Linlithgow was weaving at the imperial loom set up in the Viceroy's House (as the magnificent pile was then, with British modesty, called) at New Delhi, there were other threads that would serve his purpose equally or nearly as well. There was, for instance, Mohamed Ali Jinnah's Muslim League, with its ramifications all over India.

* See my book *The King's Indian Allies: The Rajas and Their India*. (Sampson Low, London, 1915).

Bengal that then absorbed Syama Prasad Mookerjee's energies, though, in his thoughts, there was plenty of room for the broader issues affecting the Motherland, had become the hotbed of separatist activities. These had been whipped up, sometimes with scandalous flagrance but generally under the rose, by Britons placed astride the Province and their bureaucrats.

This had been going on for decades. Sorely tried by the Bengalis, the Earl (later the Marquis) Curzon had hacked it into two in 1905. Rallied for his bias against the Hindus, Bamfylde Fuller, while ruling the newly constituted East Bengal with the Muslims predominant in its population, likened himself to a man with two wives, who favoured now one, now the other. To still agitation the two Bengals were reunited in 1911, but India's capital was removed from Calcutta to Delhi and the western districts, rich in coal, iron, manganese and other minerals, were lopped off.

Disparate increase in the population had, in time, placed the Muslims in a small numerical majority even in united Bengal. Though inferior in education and wealth, this majority, petted by officials and secretly working in concert with them and unashamedly backed up by the vested British interests, acquired dominance. To any one who had the eyes to see, this combination of alien imperialists and Indian separatists constituted a terrible menace to Indian nationalism and even honest, decent administration. Such was the case in the 'thirties when I returned to the Motherland from my protracted world wanderings and soon after Syama Prasad Mookerjee formed a deep attachment for me.

As he surveyed Bengal, in which, save for 20 months or so, he had lived since birth, he was sick at heart. His eye lighted on none who had the character, courage and wit effectively to counter these anti-national tendencies. In this event, he felt that it would be wrong for him to go on hugging the life that had given him, in his early manhood, position, power and no small opportunity to hasten the pace of progress, and to refrain from doing what lay in him to fight down these evils.

It would be wrong to say that he was sucked into politics. No. His choice was deliberate. It was made with much searching of heart. This not because he would have to give up something certain for something uncertain. He did not have any doubt that he would succeed in the political sphere as he had done

in the educational one. Success or failure, in fact, did not matter to him. Not personally. His concern was only that he must not hang back when the call of duty rang in his ears—call from the mother in anguish at the misdeeds plotted and perpetrated by an unholy alliance of indigenous and alien forces. And he did not.

V

During the brief few years when the educational administrator was turning into the political crusader, I saw or heard from him at fairly frequent intervals. Three things about him impressed me most during this period, his

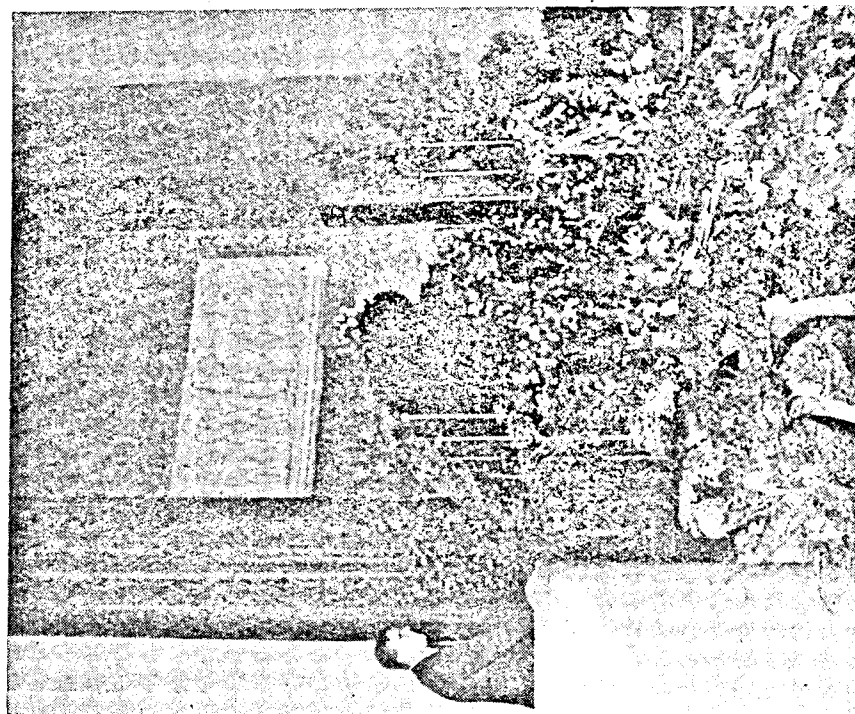
- (1) love of the University and concern for its steady, accelerated advancement;
- (2) anxiety about our civil liberties and determination that he should leave nothing undone to defeat the destroyers of freedom; and
- (3) longing for keeping green his father's memory, particularly through an imaginatively written memoir of that illustrious parent.

In a letter that he indited in his bold, legible writing from the Senate House, Calcutta, on March 18, 1937, he had this to say about "our students":

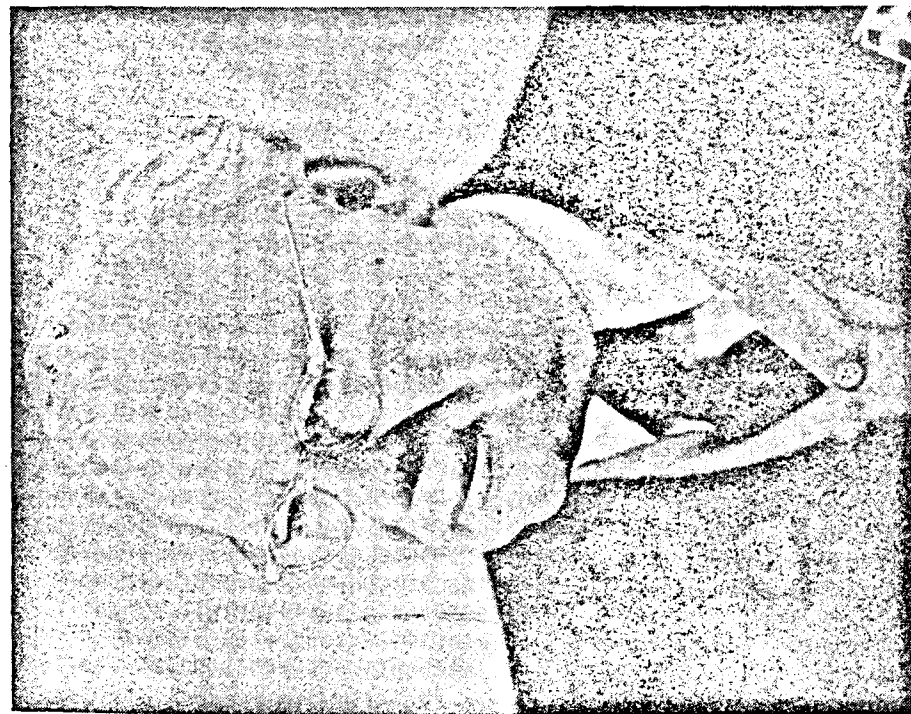
"We shall be delighted to welcome you here during your visit to Calcutta. We are however closing for Easter holidays and it would be convenient if you came here early in April . . ."

"You must keep one afternoon free for us. I would like you to give a short address to our students. I would also like you to go round the different University buildings, which we may do one morning."

How clean-cut were his ideas and how openly, tersely he expressed his wishes! As I drew these conclusions my glance fell upon the seal in the left-hand, top corner of the stiffish sheet upon which he had written. Between the words "Calcutta University" and "Advancement of Learning" there was the "*Dieu Et Mon Droit*" device with its ever so familiar British Crown interposed between a rearing lion and a steed—ever so familiar and yet ever reminiscent of our psychological as well as our political subordination. At sight of it trooped into my mind episodes connected with our long-drawn-out struggle to shake off the shackles put upon our intellect, just about a century earlier, by Macaulayan casuistry spun to serve the slaying intent of an imperialising Governor-General—the Lord William Bentinck. A shadow was cast athwart these recollections of the expunging, at the behest of petty-minded separatists, of certain emblems and words from the University seal, though they had come out of the crucible of our culture, old—old, yet ever new. I could



Prof. Lesny's last journey. Dr. Prusek, present director of the Oriental Institute in Prague, delivering a speech



Prof. Vincenc Lesny

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

Article Two

CHANGING THE VEHICLE OF PATRIOTIC SERVICE

[Specially written for *The Modern Review*]

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

IV*

THE staircase seemed to be moving. The whole of it. How? By some invisible mechanism. All one had to do was to plant the feet on the nearest step, stay there till the landing above was reached and then get off. There was no climbing, step by step. No effort was involved.

Way back in the early years of this century, when my eyes first lighted upon this contrivance on the Pacific coast of the United States of America, it impressed me as being a marvel of applied science. A little later, when moving staircases were installed in some of the Underground Railway ("Tube") stations in London, I noticed that boys and men—and a few women—were not content with being carried up without physical effort on their part, but that, to save time, or to use up a little of the abounding energy within them, or perhaps unable to resist the temptation to show off, they jumped from step to step and arrived at the top earlier than diffident slow-coaches like myself.

To Syama Prasad Mookerjee came, almost as an item of his inheritance, the moving staircase of educational administration. Hardly had he passed out of the University portals when he, without ado, planted his feet on the step that came near him without any exertion upon his part. This, as stated in the preceding article, was his election in May, 1924, to the Syndicate.

Had he been of a phlegmatic temperament he would have stood quietly upon it, sure in the knowledge that he would be carried right up to the top. Being dynamic—I use the word designedly and in preference to "ambitious"—he would not let the mechanism that he was confident, worked noiselessly, faultlessly, carry him, in its own time, to be the Vice-Chancellor.

By dint of his own motive-power he jumped up and up and, in 1934, to the surprise of those

who had not rightly assessed his character and capacity, he, at 33, was installed as the chief administrator of his Alma Mater.

But—and that but is important—this was not the only hoist that he fancied or that to him was accessible—easily accessible. There was a lift (or elevator, in American phraseology) in addition to the educational moving staircase. It led into the legislature.

Some urge, some impulse within him, made him enter this lift in 1929, while he was only a syndic of the University. By a trick of Fate (shall I say?) it carried him into the "upper house," while the "lower house" more or less monopolised such power as Britons, noted for their possessive propensities, passed on to it. In the circumstance of the day the Council, as it was designated, was not a very important or influential organ. It nevertheless provided opportunities—opportunities for self-expression and possibly for patriotic service.

The Congress, in behalf of which he had stood and had been elected by the University, decided, the very next year, to non-co-operate with the "Satanic Government." It called out the legislators. Syama had his doubts about the move: but he, without question or delay, resigned. Having satisfied his sense of honour, he stood as an independent and was re-elected to the Council.

In 1937, while well into his second term of office as Vice-Chancellor, a new chapter opened in his life. Elections were held under the Government of India Act of 1935. He stood from the University constituency for the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Even in the spring of that year, when he began throwing tendrils round my heart, he was using this legislative lift without giving up the moving staircase of educational administration. As I indicated in the preceding article, a tumult seemed to me, however, to be raging in his breast. With this I purpose to deal now in some detail.

It was caused by the mental conflict over

* The section numbers run on with those in Article One, printed in the September, 1953 number of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.

visualise the difficulties bred by prejudice masquerading as religion that Syama, in administering the University, must have been encountering.

What joy would it be for me to be taken round the various faculties by a man who was almost born in the University and who, in addition to being its Vice-Chancellor, was President of the Post-Graduate Councils in Arts and Sciences! I could not help feeling, too, that, to borrow the phrase from the railway-man's cant, the point had been set that would take Syama's coach from the educational to the political track. Of this I wished to learn from his own lips.

While Syama was taking me round the University I casually mentioned to him the desire to revisit Chandernagore. Since I had been taken there previously, during one of my 1921-23 visits to Calcutta, by a young Chandernagorean who was an artist to his finger-tips, I had spent a whole year on the Continent, mostly among French-speaking peoples. This had made me all the keener to peer, if possible, into the minds of our countrymen in French tutelage.

I had barely gone back to my "palace on wheels" at Howrah Station when the Professor who taught French at the University called and handed me this missive from Syama, again in his own hand:

"This letter will be taken to you by Mr. Chandra who has very kindly arranged for your visit to Chandernagore. I hope you will enjoy your trip."

I never have had, anywhere in the world, half so capable and considerate a guide as Mr. Chandra proved to be. He took me home after a long interview with the Administrator and showing me the sights and there his kindly wife, who had come from Calcutta specially for the purpose, had spread a luncheon fit for a king.

Syama fell seriously ill soon after my pilgrimage to the University. I use the word "pilgrimage" advisedly: for most of the men who helped me to mould my mind way back in the concluding quarter of the XIX century

came out of that temple of learning. Northern and North-western India owes to it an irredeemable and ineffaceable intellectual debt.

When Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I returned to our "Suryasthanam" in Dehra Dun after our next visit to Calcutta, I wrote to Syama:

"It was a great disappointment to Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and me that we could not see you during our last visit to Calcutta. Brief as it was, I enquired over the telephone more than once about your health and was told that no visitors were permitted. Gurusadai Dutt,* who called on me and with whom we subsequently dined, told me that he, too, had not been permitted to enter your room.

"Pray relieve our anxiety by letting us have a line to assure us that you have been restored to normalcy. We are very fond of you, not only because you are your father's son and he was very good to us, but also because you are you—because of your affectionate nature and your intentness upon forwarding Bengal's—and India's—cause. We expect great things from you, educationally and politically, and we hope that you will not be prodigal with your physical vitality, as, I am afraid, you are inclined to be . . ."

By return of post came his reply:

"Thanks very much for your kind letter. I am much better now. I am sorry to have missed you when you were in Calcutta last time. With best wishes to you both. . . ."

This assurance was reinforced by his hand-writing, as firm and clear as ever. Though he gave no indication in this letter, he must have noticed that in my view he had entered the political field—for good. At that time I hoped that he would be able also to go on with his educational work: but as we shall see, politics proved to be a jealous mistress, admitting no rival.

[Article Three will appear in the November issue of *The Modern Review*.]

* At that time the most senior Indian Civilian in the Presidency, holding one of the highest appointments in the Bengal Administration. I knew him from his early manhood. Born in an humble home, he, mainly through his exertions and through the loving, efficient co-operation of his highly educated wife, Srimati Saroj Nalini Dutt, herself the daughter of a pioneer Indian Civilian, had made his way in the world. Yet he never forgot the woes and welfare of the lowly. He helped his wife to build up a magnificent institution for serving women and children and himself tried to regenerate the youth of India through his Brattachari drills and camps. Possessing a keen sense of artistic perception, he further sought to revive folk-songs, folk-dances and the crafts and arts of rural Bengal.

† Letter dated Dehra Dun, U.P., September 26, 1937.

§ Letter is dated 28.9.37, but bears no address—no doubt 77 Asutosh Mookerjee Road.

† This letter was dated 23.4.37 and bore the address, 77, Asutosh Mookerjee Road, Calcutta.

TAXATION STRUCTURE OF INDIA

Problems Before the Taxation Enquiry Commission

By SURESH PRASAD NIYOGI, F.R.E.S. (Lond.)

IN the economy of every modern capitalist country taxes play a very important role. In fact, taxation structure is the corner-stone upon which the fiscal edifice stands. This is because every modern State has to undertake welfare activities which require adequate finance. Moreover, in modern times taxes play a very important role in eliminating disparities in the distribution of wealth. Even in the economy of Socialist Russia which is based on the principle of equitable distribution of wealth the importance of taxes could not be washed out altogether. The problem also assumes special importance in our country particularly at this dawn of planning era. For, finance, the ever-dreaded nightmare to all developmental activities in any under-developed country, is now a puzzling problem before us. On the satisfactory solution of this financial handicap depends much of the success to be achieved in treading the unfamiliar path of the mixed economy.

When to meet the increased war expenditure and other expenditures of immediate nature due to the partition of the country, the Government was introducing new taxation measures, the need for appointing a Taxation Enquiry Committee was felt. It may be pointed out that in 1924 a Taxation Enquiry Committee was appointed in this country for the first time. After that in 1935 an Income-tax Enquiry Committee was appointed. Due to the excessive profits made during the war when tax-evasions were on the increase, an Income Tax evasion committee was appointed. Dr. John Mathai as Finance Minister first spoke of appointing a new taxation enquiry committee. His proposal had the enthusiastic support of informed opinion throughout the country. Our present Finance Minister in his last budget speech announced the appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Commission with Dr. John Mathai as chairman. The present Commission have to make recommendations with regard to the modifications required in the system. In particular, the Commission have to examine the incidence of taxation on different classes of people and in different states and to consider the tax system in relation to the objective of reducing economic inequalities. They have also to consider the bearing of the structure and level of income taxation on capital formation in dealing with inflationary and deflationary situations. Finally, the Commission have to examine the suitability of the tax system as a whole with reference to the resources required for the country's development programme and to suggest, if necessary, fresh avenues of taxation.

In analysing the taxation structure of a country we should know first of all: (i) How far the taxation

structure is effective, (ii) How far it can effect production and enterprise, and (iii) How far it is effective in redistributing wealth in the country. It appears from an examination of all these criteria that unlike the tax system of some other countries the only object of the Indian tax system is the production of revenue. No attempt is made here to remove or modify, through its system of public finance, the inequalities that exist in the distribution of wealth among the different classes of society.

Our Central and State Governments in framing their budgets do not professedly adhere to any of the current theories of the apportionment of taxation. As a matter of fact, however, so far as the income-tax is concerned, they have definitely accepted the principle of progressive taxation.

It can categorically be asserted that the Indian tax system is not unitary, i.e., it does not make any reliance on single tax. It rather inclines to the opposite extreme, viz., the multiple tax system. For, the taxes are collected from a fairly large variety of sources.

Just like all other modern countries India also has a mixed tax structure composed of both direct and indirect taxes. The land revenue and the assessed taxes are direct whereas the customs and excise duties are indirect. Opium revenue partakes more of the character of profit from commercial transactions than of a tax. It must be remembered in this connection that it is hardly possible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between direct and indirect taxes.

Empirically it has been found that the tax structure of a country is more or less fixed. Mrs. Hicks opines that except in the wake of a revolution it takes years to switch over from a commodity tax structure to an income-tax economy. A study of the history of taxation in capitalist countries, shows three distinct trends: first, swing-away from indirect taxes to direct taxes, secondly, return from direct taxes to indirect taxes and finally, swing-away towards direct and indirect taxes. A careful examination, however, reveals that the Indian tax structure has a strong bias for commodity taxes. Recent history of the Indian tax structure is marked by two broad movements—the one is a swing-away from the commodity taxes and the other a return to the commodity taxes.

During World War I, direct taxes amounted for a very small proportion of the total tax revenue. The Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1924 came to the conclusion that the total burden of taxation was not oppressive on any particular class but its distribution was unequal. So it affected the poorer section of the



people proportionately more than the richer classes. This will be evident from the table given below:

Heads of revenue	Burden on	Burden on
	the rich	the poor
Customs	29	21
Land Revenue	20½	21½
Railways	33	60
Municipal	3	10
District Board	—	10
Income-tax	20	Nil

(K. T. Shah's figures)

The actual incidence was Rs. 6-1-8 pice per head in 1922 according to the calculation of Sir Purusottam-das Thakurdas and it came down to Rs. 4-12-11 in 1937-38 according to the Government of India.

But since World War II, drastic changes have taken place in our tax structure and direct taxes have become an important item in it. The following table gives the position:

	In crores					
	1911-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47
Total direct taxes	44.48	86.32	129.91	192.21	180.25	162.06
Indirect taxes	122.52	118.28	150.91	204.83	260.72	278.06
Total revenue	167.00	204.63	280.83	397.05	440.98	431.66
Per cent of direct tax to total tax	26.3%	42%	46.3%	48.3%	40.8%	37.5%

From the figures given above it appears that in 1938-39 the contribution made by direct taxes constituted nearly 22.6 per cent of the revenue of the Government of India. Due to the exigencies of war, the increasing need for tax revenue led to a rise in the rates of direct taxes that accounted for a considerably large proportion of the total revenue in 1944-45 (i.e., 68 per cent). It was about 48 per cent of the total tax revenue. This increasing importance of direct taxes may be ascribed to political reasons as well as economic reasons such as the difficulty of balancing the budget. During the War years the balance decidedly tilted in favour of direct taxes and this led to some economists' approbation. Some were of opinion that the importance of income-tax was commendable on the ground of distribution and maximisation of welfare as well as from the standpoint of productivity. The late Mr. N. R. Sarkar in presenting the West Bengal Budget for 1950 made a plea for moving the income-tax much higher. The combined effective rate of income tax and super-tax on incomes over Rs. 30 lakhs was nearly 85.7 per cent while in the U.S.A. the maximum combined rate was 77 per cent. In India, a man with an income of Rs. 1 lakh had to pay 48.2 per cent in tax, whereas in the U.S.A. a man with an income of \$1 lakh had to pay 45.64, provided the assessee was married and had only 2 children. Mr. Sarkar made a plea for the reduction of income tax rates mainly with an eye to stimulating investment and attracting foreign capital. As a matter

of fact, countries with economies comparable to ours (Canada, Australia, etc.) have reduced their rates of income tax in the post-war period. In Australia there has been a 23 per cent reduction in this respect with 67 per cent tax on the highest slab of income. Canada has also reduced her income tax rates by 16 per cent in 1945.

A comparative statement of revenues of some countries in the world during the post-war period is given below:

Country	1938-39=100			
	Per cent of			Highest per cent reached in 10 years
	Growth of Revenue	Income-tax 1938-39	In 1948-49	
U. S. A.	851	43	76	79 (in 1944-45)
Canada	530	28	49	57 (in 1944-45)
South Africa	468	36	42	52
U. K.	405	45	46	59
Australia	373	13	44	54
India	393	22.6	49.7	60.9
New Zealand	...	24	48	44.45
Ceylon	...	18	21	21

Furthermore, Mr. Sarkar emphasised the need of relating the fiscal policy to the existing state of affairs.

It has been argued by some that a high rate of income tax reduces saving and capital formation and produces a very unfavourable effect on the incentive to invest. The *Eastern Economist* have even argued that a high rate of income tax has actually led to dissaving in India. But on theoretic grounds it may be contended that dissaving should be accompanied by concomitant disinvestment. Mr. Ranganekar has pointed out successfully that no disinvestment has occurred in India at the present time. Therefore, the dissaving thesis so ingeniously brought forward by the *Eastern Economist* cannot but fall to the ground.

That high income tax kills the incentive to invest and leads to dissaving is but one side of the picture. On the other side, however, there are serious considerations which should not be ignored at any rate. A steep graduation of income tax leads to a shift of income from the saving class (high income brackets) to the spending class. Thus with a high propensity to consume nobody can expect that investment will be unfavourably affected. A policy of graduated income tax cum social expenditure will more decidedly give an impetus to the progress of investment.

Furthermore, under the existing situation of inflation one very significant question may be posed in this context: Does not inflation by itself distribute the income in favour of the rentier class? Most certainly it does. Hence, what the Government takes away in the shape of taxes from the high income brackets can be justified.

On the other hand, the slackening of investment in India at present might be ascribed to other reasons as follows:

(1) Investors in post-war years nourish an expectation of profit which stands at unduly high pitch. The earning of war profits has made them too greedy to readily accept the peace-time economic conditions.

(2) In view of the inflationary situation there has been a psychological tendency on the part of the investors to expect future rise of prices. Hence, there has been a tendency towards long-term investments.

(3) The lack of any incentive to invest may also be ascribed to the tug-of-war between the investors and the Government.

(4) The lack of saving may also be due to the prevalence of high prices. Rise of prices increases the propensity to consume with an increasing flight of money towards goods because of the progressive decline in the value of money.

Of course, it cannot be denied that the real burden of income tax in India is much higher due to the presence of widespread evasion. Large-scale evasion is a pointer that tax rates are too high.

Now let us turn to the detailed analysis of the budgets. In the beginning of the post-war age we find the priority of indirect taxes. In the Rowland Budget of 1945-46, the rates of direct taxes were reduced. After that Janab Liakat Ali Khan introduced some new direct taxes and of these the capital gains tax may be mentioned. But in later years Mr. Chetty and Mr. Deshmukh, in order to give an incentive to savings and capital formation reduced the rates of direct taxes. The abolition of capital gains tax and business profits tax in the budget of 1949 and 1950 are remarkable facts. The imposition of duty on cotton by Dr. Mathai in 1950 clearly indicated that the trends were towards indirect taxes. Mrs. Hicks opined that in the post-war years, the burden of direct taxes has been considerably reduced as compared to indirect taxes and the high income groups receive much relief. But in the budget of 1951-52, the Finance Minister introduced both direct and indirect taxes. In the colourless budget of 1952-53 we find the shadows of the past budgets. In the budget of 1953-54, income taxes have been reduced but postal rates have been increased. So from these budgets it clearly appears that in the Indian tax structure the importance of both direct and indirect taxes and the scope for new taxes are on the increase.

In the Five-Year Plan we find that out of the total planned investment of Rs. 2,069 crores in the public sector Rs. 738 crores are expected to be available from revenue surplus of the Central and State Governments. The revenue surplus is to be secured by additional taxation and the sources to be tapped for the purpose are higher incomes from land, estate duty, wider coverage and better administration of Sales tax, Betterment tax, Motor Vehicles tax, etc. The financial position of the Central Government is becoming worse day by day. A review of the Central Budget will show that the Centre has been producing deficit budgets for

the last 16 years or so. One way of achieving surplus is to reduce expenditure on civil administration but experience shows that expenditure on this account has been mounting higher and higher since independence. In 1951-52, there was a revenue surplus of 93 crores. In 1953-54, it is a deficit of 140 crores.

But the chronic budget deficit during the last few years, especially in the Budgets of West Bengal and Bihar, have led the authorities to increase taxes; and the taxing capacity has reached the maximum in most of the States leaving no room for new or higher taxation. Now let us take the case of taxes proposed by the Commission. Sales tax in Part A and B States taken together contributed about 14.6 per cent of the total revenue of the States. The yield from this source in course of a few years has increased to about 60 crores which was about 17.24 crores in 1947-48. This is due to the fact that the schedules of exemptions to sales tax have been curtailed and a few more additions have been made in the schedule of taxable items in most of the States, particularly, Bombay, Bihar, West Bengal and Madras. Other taxes contributing to the revenue of the States are, Excise 11.4, Stamp 5.5 and Land Revenue 14.6. The yield from entertainment tax has also increased due to the increase in the rates of the tax in most of the States. The yield from the betting tax has increased in West Bengal and Bombay but declined in U.P. and Madras due to the policy of the Government to discourage betting and gambling. How can this tax be increased?

The average taxation per head in India is very low. By comparing these figures with the relevant figures of countries like Australia, Canada, etc., it is sometimes sought to prove that the burden of taxation is not heavy as is sometimes imagined, that is, there is scope for increasing the taxation on consumption. While it may be accepted that there is some scope for minor readjustments as a whole it may be said to have reached its fullest limit under the existing state of our economy. Comparison between India and other advanced countries is rather misleading, for the general standard of living in these countries is higher and hence the lower income groups in these countries are in a better position to bear higher taxes on consumption.

Again some say that as the proportion of tax revenue to national income tax here is lowest in the world there is ample scope for further taxation. As for example, the Planning Commission has pointed out that in India it is only 7 per cent. The proportion of tax revenue to national income is as high as 35 per cent in U.K., 22 per cent in Australia, 23 per cent in U.S.A. and Japan, 27 per cent in New Zealand, 19 per cent in Canada, 20 per cent in Ceylon, 16 per cent in Egypt, 15.5 per cent in Cuba, 14.4 in Chile, etc., and 14.4 in

Brazil. But in a backward country like India, where a vast majority of people do not have enough money even to get two meals a day, where only less than 8 lakh persons out of a population of 38 crores pay the income tax and where national savings are not more than 5 per cent of the national income, the taxable capacity is much lower. If we take the percentage of taxation to national savings we find that the taxable capacity of the people has almost reached the maximum, that there is no scope for further taxation.

The people are already paying more direct (28 per cent) and indirect taxes than they can possibly afford. If direct taxation is increased and the prices of goods rise the already harassed consumer, who has suffered all the consequences of super-inflation, would not be able to stand the strain. If direct taxation is increased people who pay the income tax would be forced to reduce their savings still further and to contract the output and their effort in industry.

SUGGESTIONS

(1) Since the whole process of direct taxation is unscientific and also gives rise to some anomalies and gaps, the reform of direct taxation is long overdue. Within the same scale the principle of ability to pay is not fully taken account of. Therefore, some sort of allowance on the British model should be provided (e.g., allowance for children, etc.).

(2) Again, the method of income taxation should be extended more and more to the agricultural sector. In fact, agriculture contributes 54 per cent of the national income, but pays only 12 per cent to the Government revenue. If the burden of taxation is properly distributed and if more revenue is derived from agricultural income tax then the burden will not fall so heavily on wage-earners.

(3) The desirability of reimposition of the salt tax may be considered. As it is an old tax the effect of the tax on the payee is not likely to be very much.

(4) Land revenue at present contributes only 8 per cent of the total tax revenue as compared with about 25 per cent in 1939. There is scope for further upward revision of land revenue.

This revision, it is hoped, will yield more revenue to the Government but the reorganisation of the tax system may mean some loss. To quote Prof. P. C. Jain:

"These sources would yield some additional revenue but the much needed rationalisation of the tax structure as between different classes of people and a proper balancing of the direct and indirect taxation would mean some loss of revenue to the Government. It may be possible that if all these changes are made the Government's revenue surplus may increase by a small amount but it can not possibly be expected to fill a substantial portion of the gap."

II

QUESTION OF REDUCING ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

The most important point in regard to the terms of reference to the Commission is to consider the tax system in relation to the objective of reducing economic inequalities. It is well-known that the Indian income structure is today far from satisfactory. It is now generally agreed that a more equal sharing of the national product by the different income brackets are necessary not only from the point of view of social justice, but even for full mobilisation of the productive resources of the community. It is, therefore, essential that this inequality of income should be removed in any planning.

There are three basic causes of unequal income distribution. These are: (1) Unequal distribution of capital ownership, (2) Too large portion of national income paid to capital owners, and (3) Unequal opportunity for acquiring skill and getting adequate nutrition and medical care.

One way of changing the distribution of income within a capitalist society is to redistribute incomes through taxation. The percentage of income available to the low income brackets can be increased by decreasing the taxes. Also the relative income of those in the high income brackets can be increased by decreasing their taxes.

There are various methods of redistribution of income but we are specially interested in the redistribution of incomes between groups of families. The grouping of families can be effected according to a number of criteria such as types of income, industry, occupation, size, etc., but since the mobility between industries, occupations, districts and regions are comparatively free we are more interested in redistribution of incomes between groups classified according to the standard of living. The latter type of redistribution is called vertical.

Now-a-days in England a very significant part is played by horizontal redistribution, i.e., redistribution from families with smaller number of dependants to those with greater number of dependants. Under Britain's system of food subsidies, families with a large number of dependants reap the greatest benefits.

A close scrutiny of the British and American taxation reveals that the percentage of income paid as taxes shows a steady increase from the lowest brackets to the highest in U.K., whereas in the American tax system the percentage of income paid as taxes is less for the middle and the lowest income brackets. The British tax system is progressive throughout all income brackets, whereas the U.S. tax system is regressive in the lowest income brackets, approximately proportional in the middle income brackets and progressive in the highest income brackets. However, the tax systems of both the coun-

tries decrease the portion of the total national income available to those in the high income brackets and increase the portion available to those in the low income brackets.

Now let us consider the economic consequences of redistribution of taxes. These are:

1. *Corporate Tax*: The corporate income tax is largely paid by persons in the upper income brackets. It is a revenue measure well-suited to reducing the disparity in income distribution.

Recent study shows that corporate savings form an important portion of the total national savings in a community and that it plays a very important part in financing national development programmes in highly advanced countries like U.K., and U.S.A. This has also various advantages in financing economic development programmes over the other forms of domestic savings. Hence, in India, some have opposed the tax. But the needs of public exchequer at the present moment are paramount and it will, therefore, not be desirable to reduce the rates of this tax. It is, therefore, suggested that corporations who will use the undistributed profits for the purpose of the Plan should be exempted up to a certain percentage from taxation.

2. *Sales Tax* collects a larger portion of the income of the lower income groups than it does of the upper income groups. This can be made progressive by laying the tax only upon certain articles consumed to a great extent by those receiving the larger incomes, e.g., expensive liquor, cigar, cigarettes, etc. Savings of upper income brackets should be taxed. This is particularly necessary to reduce the gulf between the poor and the rich. We should also see that savings are not taxed twice—once at the source and again when savings yield income. Four remedies have been suggested to remove the difficulty. We shall consider only the last one, i.e., the exemption of future investment income from taxation. This seems to me the best remedy in this country. But there is one administrative difficulty inasmuch as no Parliament can bind its successors. If a definite period is specified after which future investment income would be taxed, then this method will avoid many undesirable repercussions.

3. *Property Tax* can reduce the wealth of individuals obtaining larger incomes. But the tax will not have so great an income-equalising effect as the individual income tax because it is not levied at progressive rates. However, its effects even with proportional rates would be similar because of the concentration of property ownership in the upper income brackets.

In our country property tax should also be introduced. But there is some inherent weakness in the tax as regards assessment, collection, etc. The Commission should give their careful consideration to the

problems. The Commission should also examine the desirability of exempting (1) Government-owned property, (2) Property owned by religious, educational and charitable organisations, (3) Homestead up to a certain limit should be exempted from the tax. In this connection the imposition of tax on bricks by certain local authorities may also be examined.

4. *Social Security Taxes*: It is assumed that the contributions made by employers are passed on in higher prices, as they are during a period of a prevailing sellers' market; these contributions are paid largely by the workers in the middle and upper income groups whose share in the nation's total consumption is the highest. Also it is likely that social insurance tax payments made by employers for upper income wage-earners are most readily shifted backward in lower wages. For, the wages received by those workers include a surplus above the requirements of subsistence which can be reduced more easily than money income required for subsistence.

5. The collection of *Death Taxes* reduces the wealth and income of the beneficiary and not of the descendant. Death taxes reduce the concentration of wealth in the future, but they do not affect the current distribution of wealth and income. These taxes are particularly desirable because they do not cause the reduction of total satisfactions and individual initiative through a reduction of income earned. This makes these taxes particularly desirable in maximising satisfactions and reducing the concentration of wealth and income. The Government of India have already introduced the Estate Duty Bill. Those who oppose the bill say that the enactment of the bill will reduce capital and savings in the country. But it may be pointed out that death duties are seldom paid out of capital. Taxes as a rule, even though based upon the capital value, are met out of current income or at least income not yet converted into capital plant. In any case, in this effect it is comparable to high and progressive income tax. While it undoubtedly reduces large estates, it does not mean any destruction of the existing capital as such. The remarks of the Colvin Committee are very relevant in this connection:

"Though death duties are assessed on capital, they destroy no existing capital, at most they absorb potential capital by diverting to the payment of the duties, income which would otherwise have gone into new savings. In this they do not differ from income tax or any other tax of comparable magnitude. The property sold must eventually be bought by someone who has free income seeking an investment and the only effect is to divert this income from the creation of a new to the purchase of an existing investment. There is no reduction of actual capital."

As regards the effects of death duties on savings, there are divergent views. It is held that it reduces the incentive to save, in a very deterrent manner.

Here again, there is comparison between income tax and death duties. Highly steep income tax reduces the incentive to savings to a certain extent. The same is true in regard to death duty. The Colwin Committee, however, considered that "Taking physical and psychological effects together, we think that the estate duty is distinctly more damaging to saving than the income tax (although we do not suggest that the difference is great)." This result is due in part to the fact that under the existing scale the bulk of the duty is drawn from the largest estates. We doubt whether the estate duty is more damaging than income tax to enterprise. On the whole, we are inclined to think it is less so. Prof. Pigou, however, holds the contrary view. He is of opinion that

"Death duties have no deterrent effect and are rather a good form of taxation in that people are probably not discouraged from saving by thinking of the death duties as they are by thinking of an income tax on unearned incomes."

In his evidence Dr. Dalton was also of opinion that

"The prospect of heavy death duties will stimulate those who are waiting for a windfall of inherited wealth to work harder and to save more than they would do otherwise."

6. The individual income tax with progressive rates has a levelling effect on the distribution of

incomes of a nation. The incomes of the high income receivers are reduced by a greater amount than the incomes of the middle and low income receivers. This effect is desirable in a democracy, for political equality is much more difficult to maintain under conditions of neat economic inequality. Also a tax resting with greater weight on an individual obtaining a large income enables the Government to obtain required revenues without pressing on the necessities required for a healthy and efficient population.

A very important point in the redistribution of wealth which deserves special attention of the Commission is the too much concentration of economic power in Banking and Insurance companies. In India, now-a-days the entire economy is controlled by a few families. This is against the social ideal envisaged in the Constitution which wants to establish a social democracy for India. The Constitution also disfavours concentration of wealth in a few hands. The only effective remedy of eliminating this concentration of economic power is to nationalise these concerns. But, as nationalisation will face some difficulties at the present moment, my suggestion is to impose a high rate of taxation on the incomes of these monopolistic anti-social business concerns.

It is hoped that the Commission will give their careful consideration to the problems raised above and suggestions made.

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THE ART OF SUDHIR KHASTGIR

By SUMANTRA SEN GUPTA

An exhibition of paintings and drawings by the eminent artist S. Sudhir Khastgir was recently held in the Salon of the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta.



Spring-dance.
By S. Khastgir

Opening the Exhibition on the 1st of August, 1953, His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, paid handsome tributes to the artist. Although Dr. Mookerjee, in the outset, remarked that he was not one of those who had any claims to criticising art, his speech, when completed, proved that he was a real connoisseur of art. Dr. Mookerjee's assessment of the works of S. Khastgir revealed his close intimacy with the artist's works.

Dr. Mookerjee was much impressed by the realistic subjects chosen by the artist for his compositions. S. Khastgir was essentially an artist of the people—the ordinary people. The artist derived inspiration from such simple sources as the life of the country-folk. Rather than neglect these people near the earth he keenly observed them and created his work around them. Indeed they were his own people. It would, therefore, not be wrong to say that there was no place in his art for sophistication. The pompous, the fashionable, the ostentatious, held no inducement for him. His work reflected warm humanity as the story he had to tell was

that of life in its simplest and most genuine form. Khastgir was not only a great painter but a great sculptor as well. One of his masterpieces was *Winter*.



A sketch in crayon
By S. Khastgir

To the field
By S. Khastgir

work was varied and refreshing as he had attained a great freedom of expression, never being bound to one particular mood or subject at a time. The artist possessed compositional adroitness, psychological insight and discreet symmetry. His general treatment was charmingly bold and vigorous. His work was infused with freshness and vitality.

However, in the opinion of Dr. Mookerjee the most outstanding feature of the artist's work was the versatility of his genius. S. Khastgir's efforts ranged from drawing with pencil, ink, charcoal to oils and water-colour. He worked with equal facility through all these mediums; this was indeed, the true expression of the artist's greatness. He was not bound to one style or one medium of manifestation, but there was constant variation. The colours used in his paintings and drawings were in keeping with his vigorous treatment. These colours were often bold, yet these radiated a feeling of softness. But the artist triumphed in the beauty of his lines whether he worked in colour or in monochrome. These "pure" lines lifted his pictures to a state of absoluteness.

Dr. Mookerjee noted with pleasure the fact that S.



Gossip
By S. Khastgir

depicting an old woman sitting in front of a fire, warming her hands. The expression on the old woman's face conveyed a sense of helplessness; old age was captured so very vividly that it made the model almost living. Concluding, Dr. Mookerjee said that it was the joy of creation and nothing else that supplied the motif of all the artist's work. His creations were not something deliberate—but spontaneous—coming out, as it were, from a great urge of the inner self. The artist had chosen this line, which was not very remunerative, because of the great pleasure and joy that he derived from it.



Baul
By S. Khastgir

Dr. Suniti Chatterjee also spoke a few words in appreciation of the artist, whom he knew for a long time. Speaking of him, Dr. Chatterjee gave the details of the artist's life. S. J. Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir was born on 24th September, 1907. He was a disciple of S. J. Nandalal Bose of Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan. He toured extensively over India and Ceylon to study ancient Indian art and architecture. His works were exhibited in the big cities of India, mostly in one-man shows. In 1937, an exhibition of his paintings was held in London. He toured over England and the continental countries, visiting their art-centres.

Dr. Chatterjee remarked that in 1927, S. J. Khastgir along with Sri Ram Kinkar Baij, started working on an

entirely new form of sculpture at Santiniketan. From the very beginning S. J. Khastgir surprised everyone by producing some masterpieces. *Daughters of the Soil*, produced in the same year, was an example of the greatness of the artist's creation even in the initial period of experiment. Dr. Chatterjee considered S. J. Khastgir as one of the greatest artists of our times. Dr. Chatterjee was, however, of the opinion that his sculptures rose above his paintings and drawings. It was Khastgir the Sculptor that he admired more than Khastgir the Painter.

I have been fortunate enough in knowing S. J. Khastgir



Tejesda's hut
By S. Khastgir

intimately. It was my pleasure to accompany him to no less a place than the famous Sun Temple at Konarak in Orissa. During the trip, I discovered to my joy that he had a very affectionate disposition, always ready to share one's thoughts with a charming smile. In the ruins of the Sun Temple the artist's face was transformed into a mirror of agony; he suffered within himself for the decay that was creeping into the temple. His extremely sensitive mind seemed to rebuke Nature for the grave injustice she was doing to the exquisite man-made Temple.

I have been acquainted with the artist's works for quite some time. The portrayal of ecstatic figures—specially of dancers—is one of the artist's favourite

subjects. This has resulted in some of his finest compositions. The ecstatic figures, in many of his paintings, attain a height which makes one feel that these figures are, in a way, in tune with the infinite. The restless self in the artist finds true expression through these figures—bold and vigorous, yet so sublime and absolute. Real beauty has been captured by the artist in the human form in movement—beauty that is fascinating.

Coming to his sculptures, I would venture to add that his work with the chisel is as great as his work with the brush. Both bear the hallmark of his unmistakable power. To choose between two really great things is a very difficult proposition. The versatility of the artist

has made his position unique in the field of Indian art. Such a prodigious worker both with the brush and the chisel is rarely to be found.

Ever experimenting with new styles and expressions, S. J. Khastgir has made his work very dynamic. Of late, there has been a marked tendency on his part to attempt "abstract" pictures. This is a bold and laudable attempt and may well be the evolution of a new style. Even in his new efforts the artist is completely at ease. The gradual inclusion of the abstract motif in his paintings is probably a pointer that the artist has at last found his goal—the culmination of his true genius. All we can do is to wait and see.

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PROF. V. LESNY AND INDIA

By MILADA GANGULI

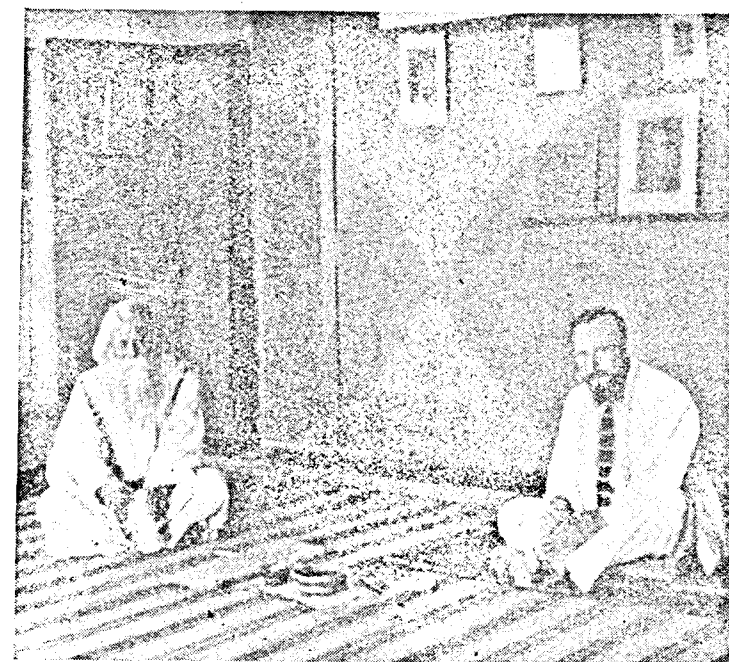
WHEN I, during my first visit to Santiniketan, was introduced to Gurudeva and he had learned that my home was Czechoslovakia, he said: "Oh, we have a good friend there, Prof. Vincenc Lesny. He spent several months with us here and we were very fond of him. He knows Bengali quite well."

And, indeed, India had a good friend in Prof. Lesny,* perhaps one of her greatest, most devoted friends. Those who knew Prof. Lesny could feel it from his attitude, from his enthusiastic talks, others from the many books on India he had written and from his innumerable translations and contributions to both learned and popular journals at home as well as abroad.

Prof. Lesny became interested in Indian philosophy, religions and Indian languages already as a student. As early as 1917 he published his first scientific treatise, *The Developmental Degree of Prakrit Dialects in Bhasa's Dramas*.

Perhaps the most comprehensive work is his *Spirit of India*, published in 1927 and its enlarged edition *India and the Indians—A Pilgrimage through the Centuries*,

published in 1931. The first page of the book bears a picture of Gurudeva with Prof. Lesny and the second page a translation of a poem by Gurudeva: "Oh, India, my dear Motherland."



Prof. V. Lesny with Gurudeva in Santiniketan

In this work the author takes us through the ages from the oldest Harappa culture to the fight for national freedom, and makes us acquainted with the main currents of Indian thoughts, religions and literary achievements.

* Prof. Dr. Vincenc Lesny, (born April, 1882, died April, 1953) was Professor of Indology at the University of Prague. Through his scientific work he belongs to the most outstanding orientologists of the world.

of these efforts the Government concerned modified the rules of emigration for the mitigation of their miseries.

But an association of the mid-thirties deserves special mention. Bangabhasaprakasika Sabha was originally a cultural body, and its deliberations were conducted in Bengali under the presidentship of Pandit Gaurisankar Tarkabagish. At one such meeting held on 8th December, 1836, the scope of its discussion was extended by a resolution moved by Kalinath Roy Chaudhury of Taki to matters political. The actual resolution was to the effect that "the Society should petition Government or take other matters with a view to prevent a national grievance."¹ The Society included the gentry as well as the litterati.



Debendra Nath Tagore

At this time the question of the "Resumption of the Rent-free lands"² was uppermost in the minds of our leaders. The Society took up the matter in hand. It held some sittings in which its members took an active part and thrashed out the *pros and cons* of the governmental action. Ramlochan Ghose, an influential member of the Society (father of Monomohun and Lalmoahun Ghose), supported the Government and placed cogent reasons in favour of his contention. But the majority of the Society, including the editors of *Sambad Prabhakara* and *Sambad Purnachandrodaya*, Kalinath Roy Chaudhury, Gaurisankar Tarkabagish

and Munshi Amir, protested vehemently against the measure. They also proposed to arrange a public meeting in protest and send a petition to the Government stating therein their views. But this proposal did not materialise. Because a more representative body was needed for concerted action.

THE LANDHOLDERS' SOCIETY

This need was supplied by the Landholders' Society, in which the leaders of both the progressive and the conservative section of the community joined. It was purely a political body. The leading landholders of Bengal met in a conference at the Hindu College Hall on 11th November, 1837. It was proposed here to form a society on the lines of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to discuss the governmental and other matters from a political view-point. The Society would also see that people's interests in land were particularly safeguarded. A provisional committee was formed with Radhakant Deb, Ramcomul Sen, Tarinicharan Mitter and Prasanna Kumar Tagore. According to *The Reformer*:

"The only instructions with which the members of this provisional committee were charged was, that in preparing the rules they should bear in mind that the association was intended to embrace people of all descriptions, without reference to caste, country, or complexion, and rejecting all exclusiveness, was to be based on the most universal and liberal principles: the only qualification necessary to become its members, being the possession of interest in the soil of the country."³

The provisional committee prepared rules for the proposed society. They must have taken the views of the European leaders beforehand. The latter also wanted to act jointly, because they had acquired considerable interests in the land since the Charter Act of 1833. So we find in the inaugural meeting of the Society on 19th March, 1838, leaders of the European community take prominent part in the discussion. Radhakant Deb presided over the meeting. In his address he laid bare the objects of the society in the following suitable words:

"... circumstances pointed out the expediency of forming a society the benefit of which would be felt not only in Calcutta but all over the country. . . . Representations were always necessary to be made to government; in these proceedings if anyone adopted an erroneous course, the society afforded a ready means of correction, and through it grievances could be easily brought to the notice of the proper authorities. It was a common saying among the people that straw could be easily broken by the finger when in separate blades, but if several blades be united together and formed into a rope, it was capable of confining even a wild elephant and reducing it into subjection. Union among the people was therefore highly necessary, and the establishment of such a society was much called for in order to keep a

watch over the measures of Government and its functionaries and for the purpose of making representations to it."

Resolutions were passed, formally inaugurating the Landholders' Society and adopting the rules framed by the Provisional Committee. An influential executive committee was constituted with Raja Radhakant Deb as president, and Prasanna Kumar Tagore and John Cobb Hurry, Editor of *The Englishman*, as secretaries. The members of the committee included such notables as Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy Chaudhury of Taki, Raja Rajnarain Ray of Andul, Raja Kalikrishna, Asutosh Deb, Ramratna Ray of Narail, Ramcomul Sen, Satya Charan Ghosal of Bhukailash, Munshi Amir, a prominent Mahomedan of Calcutta, Theodore Dickens, Bar-at-Law and George Prinsep. David Hare took a lively interest in the formation of the Society. But the main impetus came from Dwarkanath Tagore. It was not a little due to him that the Europeans were induced to join the Society so actively.

The immediate object of the Society was to fight the 'Resumption' measure of the Government. But it was subsequently so broad-based as to include matters pertaining to the welfare of the country. The Society wanted improvement and reform in the civil administration. The Government could not but recognise the Landholders' Society as a representative body and treat it in the same way as they did the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dominated by the Europeans. They used to send draft bills for opinion to the Society. The Society, in its turn, criticised them and often offered suggestions for their improvement.

In the annual report for 1838-39, the secretaries gave a brief account of the national activities of the Landholders' Society in the country. The committee of the Society submitted memorials and appeals to the Local and the Supreme Government. The memorial on the resumption of *Lakheraj* tenures did not elicit any favourable reply from either of them. They now proposed to appeal to the Government of England, the 'land of liberty, humanity and justice.' The committee expressed satisfaction at the extension of the vernacular language in the proceedings of the Courts of Justice since the beginning of 1839. They also considered some other matters, such as, revision of the Stamp Act, the comparatively high duty charged in England upon Indian and Canadian tobacco, etc. They suggested an equalization of the duty.

We have a full report of the second anniversary of the Landholders' Society which came off on 30th November, 1839. The Society had appointed an agent in England, named John Crawford. The annual report, above mentioned, referred to his zealous exertions. The committee kept up a regular correspondence with

4. *Samachar Darpan*, 24th March, 1838.

him. Mr. Crawford, so says the report, was the "channel of communication between this Institution and the British India Association of England." This Association was newly started, and the committee of the Landholders' Society, says the report, "strongly recommend you to co-operate with the British India Association, the object of that Institution being so identical with that of your Society." At the end of the report, the secretaries, on behalf of the committee, called particular attention of the members "to the



George Thompson

nature of the institution (the Landholders' Society), to its national character, and the great objects of national improvement which form its basis, to the number of those who are likely to be benefited by it, and to the amount of the revenue they contribute in support of the Government of the country."⁵

Several resolutions were passed in the meeting. The main resolution was regarding the resumption of rent-free lands. In another resolution, the Society welcomed the formation of the British India Society of London and appointed a sub-committee to correspond with them. It was directed to correspond with the London Society, particularly, on the following subjects: (1) the prevention of the resumption of rent-free tenures, (2) extension of the permanent

5. The full proceedings of the Second Anniversary of the Landholders' Society will be found in *The Bengal Hurkaru*, December 14 and 16.

1. *Samachar Darpan*, 17th December, 1836.
2. By the Regulation II of 1819 as modified by the Regulation III of 1823 the Government started resumption of rent-free lands which were computed to be one-third of the total area of the Bengal Presidency.

3. Quoted in *Samachar Darpan*, 18th November, 1837.

settlement,⁶ (3) reform of the judicial, police and revenue systems, and (4) the granting of waste-lands to occupants on equitable terms, so as to encourage the application of capital to the soil of India.

The Landholders' Society continued its work vigorously for some time. It succeeded partially in the modification of the "Resumption" question. Up to ten bighas of land were allowed rent-free to an individual. The British India Society, of which I shall speak presently, took up its cause and worked for the good of India at the very seat of the British Government. The pioneer efforts of the Landholders' Society could never be over-estimated. Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra later referred to its achievements as follows:

"He looked upon it (the Landholders' Society) as the pioneer of freedom in this country. It gave to the people the first lesson in the art of fighting constitutionally for their rights, and taught them manfully to assert their claims and give expression to their opinion. Ostensibly, it advocated the rights of the Zemindars but as their rights are ultimately bound up with those of the ryots, the one cannot be separated from the other."



Tarachand Chuckerverty

THE BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY, LONDON

The London Society of the above name played an important role in our nascent constitutional struggle, and deserves separate treatment. The Society was established in the middle of 1839. W. W. Adam, a friend and disciple of Raja Rammohun Roy and a close associate of Dwarkanath Tagore, took initiative in forming this Society. Previous to his departure for England, he had even consulted Ramgopal Ghose, one of the 'Young Bengal' and induced him to supply materials regularly regarding Indian affairs. Since its formation, the Society was largely assisted by the Landholders' Society of Calcutta.

6. This item formed the Omnibus Resolution of the Indian National Congress for a good many years.—J. C. B.

7. Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra's Speeches (S. K. Lahiri, 1892), p. 25.

Even during the first year of its existence, the London Society was able to enlist the active sympathy of such a humanitarian as George Thompson, the famous worker for the liberation of slaves. He was also a finished orator. Along with a few others Thompson toured important centres in England and delivered speeches on various Indian topics in especially organised meetings. The Society got them printed in book-form for distribution. Sir Charles Forbes, a true well-wisher of India, subscribed five hundred pounds to the Society.

In its first annual meeting (July 5, 1840) the Society passed several resolutions, drawing attention of the Government to the different aspects of the maladministration of India. The main resolution, which might be regarded as embodying the real object of the meeting, was comprehensive, and ran as follows:

"That this meeting is of opinion, that the oppressive and fluctuating amount of the land revenue, the general resumption by the Indian Government demand on lands hitherto held rent-free, the imperfection and corruption in the administration of police and justice, the maintenance of vexatious monopolies, are evils which ought to receive the immediate attention of the Government of this country, as tending to produce distrust and discontent among the native population, to unsettle the tenures of property, and endanger the public peace, to cramp the exertions of industry and the progress of improvement, to lessen the production of exportable commodities, and by necessary consequence, the capacity of extending commercial relations with Great Britain and other nations, and to diminish the force of the example which England has set by the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and thus perpetuate the existence of slavery in the other parts of the world."

The Society published the *British Indian Advocate* from January, 1841. William Adam edited the journal:

"One of the ends contemplated is," wrote the Editor in its very first issue, "to make the journal a medium of communication between the people of England and the people of India, faithfully representing the sentiments of each to the other on all the great questions that affect their rights and interests."

The relation between the Landholders' Society and the British India Society were all along cordial. And even when the former showed signs of languor, the other was active. In the meantime there had been some forces at work in Bengal itself which require a little elucidation.

TWO SOCIETIES OF THE YOUNGER SCHOOL

The Landholders' Society was, really speaking, a society of elders. The younger section, or the 'Young Bengal' as they were popularly known, did not join this Society either individually or *en masse*. The objects of the Landholders' Society were mainly political. But politics formed only a part of our

8. *The Friend of India*, 1st October, 1840.

9. Quoted in *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India*, etc., by Ram Gopal Sanyal, Vol. II, p. 25.

national life. Other aspects, especially the educational and cultural aspects, required to be properly attended to for strengthening the morale of the people. These, in other words, might be called the constructive aspects of our national activities. And the 'Young Bengal' began to attend to these aspects more zealously than before.

The Society for the Acquisition of General knowledge, rather a longish name, and the Tattwabodhini Sabha were almost contemporaneous of the Landholders' Society. The former was started even a few days earlier, on 12th March, 1839. The Tattwabodhini Sabha came into being on 6th October, 1839. Both of them were mainly cultural institutions, one having for its object the spread of higher knowledge and newer experience amongst the ex-students of the educational institutions and through them, to the generality of the people. The object of the Tattwabodhini Sabha was the cultural regeneration of the people on the lines of the Brahmo Somaj of Raja Rammohun Roy.

But both these institutions contributed largely to the growth of nationality, based on national culture. The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, had, for its President, Tarachand Chuckerverty, considered at that time the foremost leader of the younger section. Ramtanu Lahiri and Peary Chand Mitra were its joint secretaries. Such eminent public men of later times as Ramgopal Ghose, Dukshinaranjan Mukherjee and the Rev. K. M. Banerjee sat on its committee. David Hare was unanimously elected 'Visitor' of the Society. Discussion ranged between history, literature and science and could be conducted both in English and Bengali. The newly educated had already spread throughout the Bengal districts and even beyond the Bengal Presidency. Some were posted as Deputy Collectors in those places. They read papers on the condition of the respective places, based on knowledge and experience. Local history, topography, social condition of the masses—everything came to be discussed and debated upon. Thus a bond of fellowship was growing between the classes and the masses, at least on the intellectual plane. Papers were read and addresses delivered both in English and Bengali, giving the mother-tongue the same status as English.

Debendra Nath Tagore (later, Maharshi), the eldest son of Dwarkanath Tagore, was the founder of the Tattwabodhini Sabha. The Sabha did not confine itself to discussion only. Just after its start, it took up the work of the proper dissemination of Indian culture through educational institutions, started on 'national' lines. The Sabha ran a Pathshala where instruction was given on useful subjects through the medium of Bengali. The study of Sanskrit was a special feature of the institution. To keep pace with the time, English was also later added to its curriculum.

The school was transferred to Bansberia early in 1843—a village in the Hooghly district. Schools were opened in the mofussil after the model of the Pathshala. People were imbued with nationalism through these 'national' schools even in those early days of transition.

Tattwabodhini Patrika, organ of the Tattwabodhini Sabha, started in August, 1843, became the forum of discussion on different aspects of our national life. Besides the religious subjects, those on literature, science, education, culture, health, economic condition of the people, intrusion of the Christian missionaries in our body-politic—all came to be discussed and thrashed out in different articles. Akshoy Kumar Dutt



Ramgopal Ghose

was its editor; and Debendra Nath Tagore, Rajnarain Bose, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Pandit Iswarachandra Vidyasagar, Pandit Ananda Chandra Vedantabagis, were amongst the valued contributors of the *Patrika*. Nationalism was to be based on our national culture. This fact was brought home to the minds of the people in those days through the writings of this journal. The *Patrika* rendered immense service to the country in the 'forties in combating the anti-national activities of the Christian missionaries.¹⁰

THE BENGAL BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY

In the early 'forties the Landholders' Society began to show signs of decay. Two reasons may be

10. Facts about the Tattwabodhini Sabha, etc., have been elaborately dealt with in my *Debendra Nath Tagore* (Sañitya-Sadhak-Charitmalā), pp. 19-40.

assigned to this. The Europeans gradually withdrew, because their interests came to clash with those of the Indians. The younger section also kept themselves aloof from this society. But Dwarkanath Tagore, the principal founder of the Landholders' Society, reposed enough confidence in the 'Young Bengal' and expected much from them. While returning home from England, late in 1842, Dwarkanath brought with him the famous philanthropist and friend of mankind, George Thompson, and introduced him to the leaders of the 'Young Bengal.' At a meeting of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, held on 11th January, 1843, the latter extended a cordial welcome



Pearychand Mitra

to George Thompson and requested him, while in their midst, to benefit them with his mature advice for the improvement of their motherland. Thompson's subsequent speeches inspired the young and old alike. The Landholders' Society grew active. They even appointed Thompson agent in England to speak and act on their behalf. But the most useful work during his sojourn here, was the foundation of the Bengal British India Society on the lines of the British India Society of London, by the leaders of the 'Young Bengal.'

The Bengal British India Society was formed at a meeting held in the Foujdari Balakhana Hall,¹¹ Calcutta, on 20th April, 1843. George Thompson presided. The elite of the city attended the function. But most of the elders refrained from joining the

Society, perhaps for its more progressive character. George Thompson spoke very highly of the younger leaders, especially of Tarachand Chuckervetty. There were six resolutions in all, passed at the meeting. These related to the aims and objects of the Society, the programme of work it would follow as also the committee of management. The third resolution speaks of the aims and objects of the Society, and is given below:

"3. That a Society be now formed and denominated The Bengal British India Society; the object of which shall be the collection and dissemination of information, relating to the actual condition of the people of British India; and the Laws and Institutions, and Resources of the country; and to employ such other means of a peaceable and lawful character, as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects."¹²

A provisional committee was formed with Chandrasekhar Deb, Tarachand Chuckervetty, Ramgopal Ghose and Pearychand Mitra (Secretary) to frame rules of the Society and prepare an address to the public, based on the resolutions. A strong executive committee with these and other persons was constituted. There were only three Europeans on the committee. Like the Landholders' Society, this Society, too, was a political body. But it differed from the former on two principal points: (1) The new Society laid more emphasis on work in this country rather than in England and (2) this was mainly Indian in character. Besides political questions, the Society included matters, social, cultural and municipal in its programme of work. From this point of view, the Bengal British India Society may also be rightly called the first national political organisation of the country. In *The Bengal Spectator*, started during the previous year, the Society had its own organ. The paper was turned into a full-fledged weekly.

Even from its start the Society incurred odium of the European community for its unstinted efforts of a progressive type. Its conservative section did not at all like the speeches and movements of George Thompson which, they thought, were too radical and advanced for the country. They spouted venom over the proceedings of the 'Young Bengal.' They went so far as to nick-name the party as "Chuckervetty Faction," after the surname of their leader Tarachand. In spite of these hostilities from the European quarters, the Society was able to do considerable work according to programme during the first year of its existence. In his first annual report, Secretary Pearychand Mitra narrated the various activities of the Society. The Society gave opinions on several acts of the Government, sent memorials to the House of

Commons and Court of Directors, and petitioned the Government of India on the subject of proposed Small Causes Court in Calcutta. The Society attended to another important subject, namely, "Compilation and publication of evidences relative to the efficiency of Native Agency in the administration of the affairs of the country, with a prefatory notice of the offices held by the Hindoos during the Mahomedan administration and of those to which they are now eligible." The object of this compilation was to support the petition sent to England on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta 'praying for effect being given to 87 Clause of the last Charter Act.' The Committee also sent a questionnaire on the condition of the Ryots to the mofussil leaders.

The first anniversary of the Society was held at the Foujdari Balakhana Hall on May 2, 1844, before which the above report was presented. The office-bearers for 1844-45 were elected as follows: W. Theobald, Vakil of the Supreme Court,—President; G. F. Remfrey and Harimohan Sen—Vice-Presidents; Pearychand Mitra—Secretary; Ramgopal Ghose—Treasurer; Brajanath Dhar, Gobinda Chandra Sen, Dukshinaranjan Mukherjee, Tarachand Chuckervetty, Chandrasekhar Dev, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Shyama Charan Sen, Ramchandra Mitter, Satcouri Dutt, G. F. Speed, and E. Colebroke—Members.¹³

During the second year, the Society applied its attention to the municipal improvement of the Metropolis. It collected information respecting the rural population. The Society's attention was directed to social matters. According to the president, "Native polygamy was one of them . . . He valued much the expression on the part of Hindoo members, a strong disapprobation of the custom. . . . With equal propriety, the re-marriage of Hindoo widows had engaged the attention of the Society. . . . The Society had applied for the opinions of the highest Hindoo living authorities. . . . With still greater satisfaction he referred to what the Society had done on the subject of Hindoo female education."¹⁴

Since 1845, the Tattwabodhini Sabha took up the social matters in right earnest. The Bengal British India Society began to bestow more attention on things political, as it had done during the first year. Both these associations supplemented each other's work and became a force in the land. Ramgopal Ghose became the President of the Bengal British India Society in 1845-46 and continued in the post till the end of the decade. Meanwhile another movement started which induced various sections of the community to act unitedly.

THE ANTI-MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

The onslaught of the Christian Missionaries against the Hindu society and religion grew intense in the mid-forties under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff. Conversion was resorted to in the towns and the mofussil. The free schools of the missionaries turned into places of conversion. Leaders of the Hindu community headed by Debendra Nath Tagore could no longer tolerate this state of affairs. They wanted to start free schools for indigent Hindoo boys. With this object a huge public meeting was held on 25th March, 1845. The meeting resolved to establish a model free English school as the first practical step to counteract the missionary plan. A strong committee was formed with Raja Radhakant Deb as president, and Debendra Nath Tagore and Harimohan Sen, the eldest son of Ramcomul Sen, as secretaries. This was almost the first event when the elder and the younger section met for the first time for the realisation of a national purpose. As a result of these efforts the Hindu Charitable Institution was established on March 1, 1846. Motilal Seal, the Rothschild of Calcutta, had also started a free school of his own initiative in the meantime for the same purpose. The services of *Tattwabodhini Patrika* should be gratefully mentioned in this connection. The paper in its editorials unravelled the evil intentions and doings of the missionaries and their baneful effect upon our national life, education and culture.

The anti-missionary movement, sponsored by Debendra Nath Tagore under the auspices of the Tattwabodhini Sabha and carried on with unabated zeal up to the middle of the 'fifties, contributed largely to the growth of our national unity. It was considerably successful in stemming the tide of the proselytising activities of the Christian missions.

During the 'forties the Tattwabodhini Sabha and the Bengal British India Society rendered immense services to the community by their political and cultural endeavours. Bhudeb Mukherjee, the great thinker and litterateur, offered these felicitating remarks on their far-reaching effect:

"The Tattwabodhini Sabha determined the sort of religion the young educated should follow. The Bengal British India Society, under the chairmanship of a patriotic Bengali (Ramgopal Ghose) began to pay exclusive attention to its political work. It is usually said that the Bengalis cannot do anything of their own initiative, and what they do, is the copy of some other's work. But the Brahma Sabha (here, the Tattwabodhini Sabha) and the Bengal British India Society are not another's copy, nor have they received any foreign help. The seeds of future changes in the Hindu community were sown by these two societies."¹⁵

13. *The Friend of India*, May 9, 1844.

14. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1845.

15. Translated from *Banglar Itihas*, Part III, pp. 41-42.

11. A house on the junction of the Lower Chitpore Road and the Colootolah Street, no longer in existence.

12. "Bengal British India Society"—*The Bengal Hurkaru and the India Gazette*, 24th April, 1843.

A GLANCE INTO THE POSITION OF THE TEA INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By JYOTIRMOY ROY, M.A.,
Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

TEA is no longer a luxury. Apart from being the source of bread for a good number of our brethren it also fetches substantial foreign exchanges to the country. Recently there has been a hue and cry that the tea industry is in peril and as such demands sympathetic attention from every quarter. This article is not concerned at all as to why the industry that earned a bumper profit during the war years is now in need of spoon-feeding. It aims at giving an overall picture of the tea industry in India with the help of readily available statistics.

The plantation of tea varies greatly in size from State to State. Before the partition, the total number of plantation was 6,551. In Assam, 1,128 plantations are reported to have had a total area of 440,278 acres which gives an average of 390 acres per plantation while in Bengal the average size of 413 plantations was 515 acres, in Travancore the average area of 220 plantations was 351 acres, and in Mysore the average area of 15 gardens was 297 acres. In Cochin, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madras the average was much smaller being about 186, 155, 134 and 37 acres respectively. In the Punjab, where the plantation of tea is carried on a small scale, the average area per plantation was only 4 acres in the pre-partition days. The above figures relate only to the tea-bearing areas and excludes the area not under tea though in occupation of the planters.

No statistics are available after the period 1949-50 which were published only by the latter part of 1952. The following table shows the production of tea in different States up to the year 1949:

States	1942	1948	1949
Assam	308,879*	311,089	314,357
West Bengal	152,999**	150,238	166,136
South India	95,153	107,406	95,616
North India	4,927	3,333	3,123
Bihar	2,101	1,989	2,123
Tripura	Not available	3,752	3,675

* Including Sylhet dist. ** Pre-partitioned Bengal.

The average production of tea per acre varies widely in different districts. In 1942, the highest being 960 lbs. in Jalpaiguri and 955 lbs. in Goalpara, while the lowest figures were 184 lbs. in Ranchi and 51 lbs. in Garhwal (U.P.). The average for the whole of India was 724 lbs. per acre.

Tea occupies a prominent place in our export trade and the United Kingdom is the best of the buyers. The table given below shows the distribution of our foreign trade in tea between the different countries:

Countries	1942-43	1948-49	1949-50
United Kingdom	78.2	69.3	62.6
Rest of Europe	0.3	10.6	8.5
Asia	6.8	7.9	5.6
Africa	1.2	0.7	4.0
America	9.4	9.4	15.2
Australia	4.1	2.1	4.1

During 1949-50, 7,983,287 lbs. of waste tea alone was exported from India. Of the total quantity of Indian tea exported to the U.K. a considerable amount is normally re-exported to other foreign lands. A certain amount is also imported in India; and before the year 1942-43 Burma was the chief importing country; that position is now usurped by Ceylon.

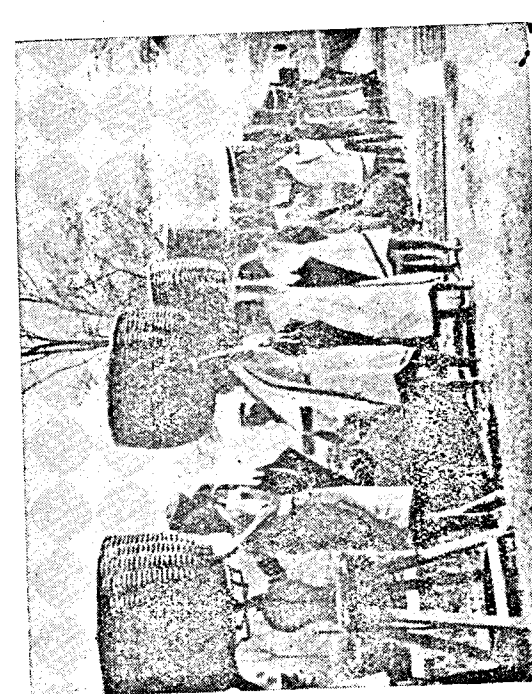
It is very difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the per capita consumption of tea in India because the figures quoted above are not quite accurate as they were supplied by the planters themselves voluntarily. Moreover, no accurate data of land frontier trade are available. So, in a very vague way, deducting the amount of export and the stock left at the end of the year, and summing up the previous year's stock and the current import, the following figures are obtained which give a rough indication as to the internal consumption of tea in India:

Years	
1936-37	81
1938-39	93
1941-42	112
1947-48	217
1948-49	159

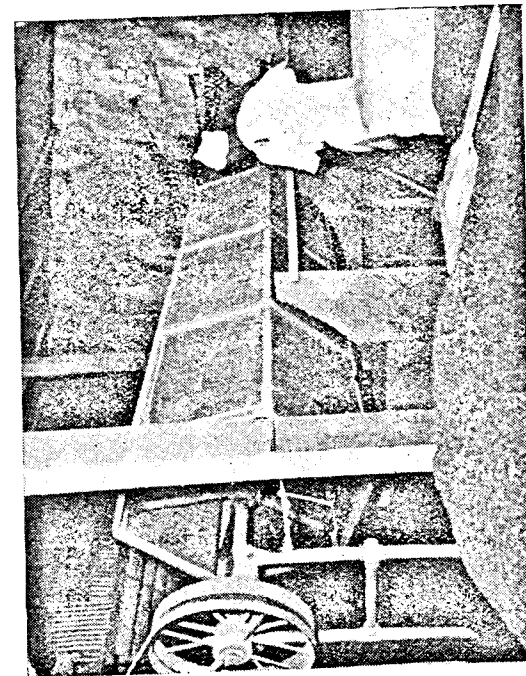
[Figures up to 1947-48 refer to undivided India]

For facilitating the export of tea, India imports a huge amount of tea chests and other accessories from foreign countries besides the purchase of machineries. Table No. IV records the distribution of the above amongst the three important exporting countries:

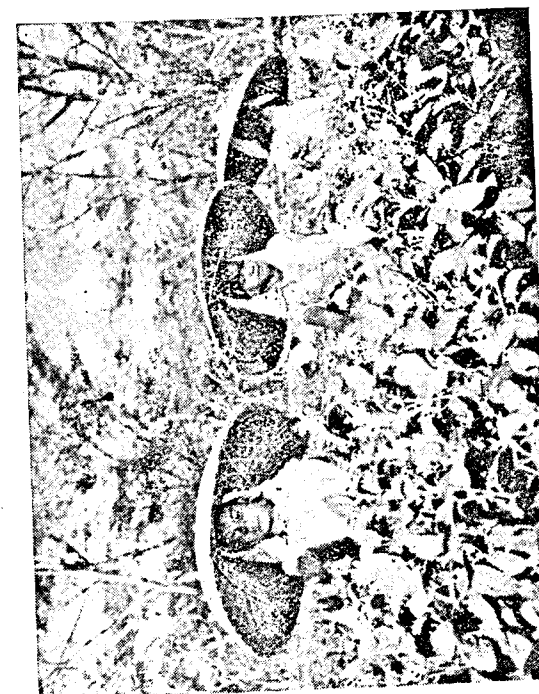
Countries	1947-48	1948-49	1949-50
U. K.	1,510	11,703	5,34,206
U. S. A.	1,01,72,836	1,10,63,515	10,35,349
Canada	1,35,216	27,95,018	1,66,687
Total	1,08,77,403	1,88,76,937	1,26,59,847
	Machineries		
U. K.	54,56,027	55,25,153	69,26,098
U. S. A.	....	12,987	....
Canada	....	....	....
Total	56,28,828	56,93,841	70,47,316



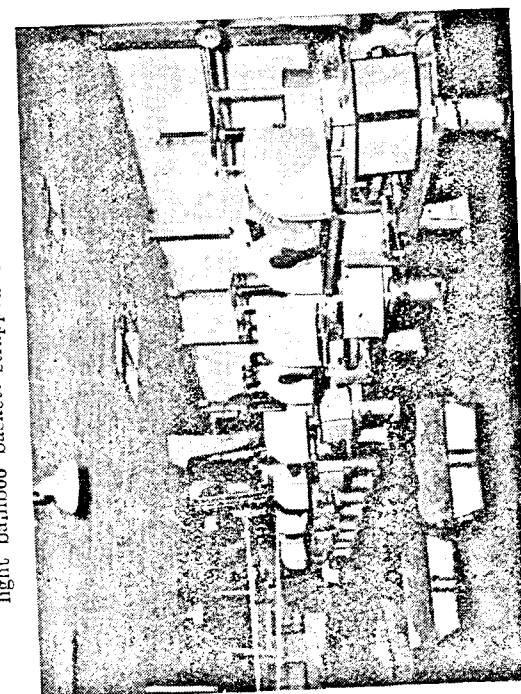
Weighting : Baskets loaded with picked leaves are carried by workers to the weighing centre before being taken to the factory



Sorting and Grading : The leaves are sorted according to their size and quality before being packed into paper-lined chests

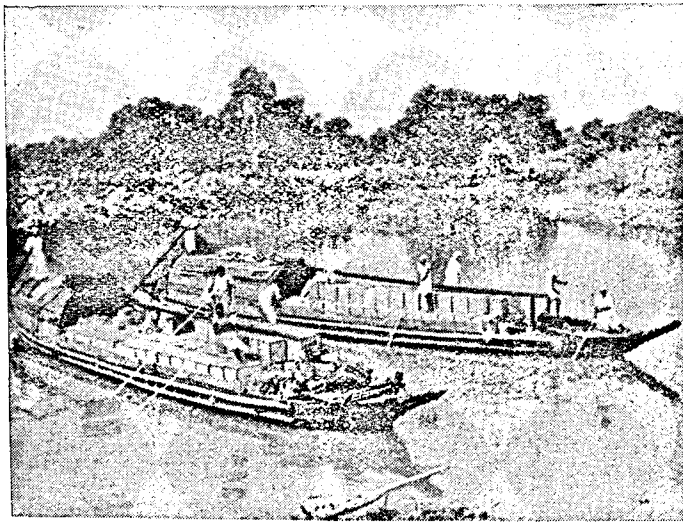


Plucking : Two leaves and a bud at a time is the secret of fine plucking. This work is done chiefly by women who carry light bamboo baskets strapped to their backs



Rolling : The rolling machines process the withered green leaves which are twisted, breaking open the cells containing the stimulating juice of tea

Tea plantation in India is a potential source of employment and the condition of the labourers are far from being satisfactory. It is, however, a good sign that the National Government's attention has been diverted to this direction also. Labourers are mainly recruited through Sardars (middlemen) who approach the villagers in far distant lands and promise them all possible earthly pleasures in return of their leaving the homestead and joining the tea gardens where even the children are paid! The poor villagers fascinated by these alluring promises come to the garden *en bloc* only to realise that their future is sealed.



Transport: Tea chests are being loaded on to river boats. Considerable difficulty is experienced over getting the tea from the producing districts to the market at Calcutta. Tea chests are required to be carried by men, lorries, bullock carts or water transport.

The number of persons employed in the industry in 1942 was returned at 923,742 which rose to 985,616 in 1949 in spite of the fact that certain tea-producing areas acceded to Pakistan. The following table gives the number of persons in different categories employed by the industry in recent years:

TABLE V
(Daily average)

Years	Garden labour	Outside labour (permanent)	Outside labour (temporary)
1948	863,915	52,416	53,399
1949	880,774	53,180	51,662

Below is another table to show the average monthly income of plantation labour in different years:

TABLE VI
Class of Labour

Settled labour—	Men Rs. as p.	Women Rs. as p.	Children Rs. as p.
1941-42	10 7 4	9 12 9	6 4 4
1945-46	11 14 6	10 7 1	7 5 11

	Men	Women	Children
1946-47	18 4 1	15 9 7	9 9 6
1947-48	21 14 3	19 6 11	14 8 1
Fattu or Basti labour—			
1941-42	9 7 11	8 11 5	5 13 8
1945-46	11 13 8	10 11 0	6 10 3
1946-47	16 1 10	15 4 6	9 0 0
1947-48	22 11 9	18 15 1	11 0 10

The above wage rate has been modified with effect from December, 1951. An adult male labourer now earns a cash wage of Re. 1-3-0 per day which is farther supplemented by an income of two and a half annas per day in gardens with more than 500 acres under plantation and two annas in gardens having less than 500 acres under plantation. The daily wage of a female and a child labourer now comes to Re. 1-1-0 and 13 annas respectively.

In 1903, an Act known as the Indian Tea Cess Act IX of 1903 was passed at the request of the trade for the promotion and manufacture of tea. Under this Act a duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ pie per pound was levied on all Indian tea exported up to the 30th April, 1921, after which the duty was raised to $\frac{1}{2}$ pie per pound. By increasing the duty gradually in March, 1939, it was fixed at one rupee and annas six only per 100 lbs. and in May, 1946, it was subsequently reduced to rupee one. It was again raised to one rupee and six annas per 100 lbs. on 10.1.48 and the final enhancement took place on 5.11.49 when it was made one rupee

and annas ten only. The whole of the amount collected was credited to the India Tea Cess Fund which was governed by a committee appointed for the purpose. The Indian Tea Cess Act expired on August 1, 1949, when the Central Tea Board Act came into force. The total amount collected in different parts of India in 1948-49 was Rs. 58,09,000 against Rs. 41,97,000 in 1947-48 and Rs. 35,73,000 in 1946-47. This shows that the industry is in a prosperous condition in spite of losing some tea-growing areas which acceded to Pakistan.

Excise duty in respect of tea brings approximately an annual revenue of Rs. 14 crores to our national exchequer. Every pound of tea must be duty paid before it is allowed to come out of the factory and the present rate of excise duty is as follows: If exported—annas four per pound, if not exported—annas three per pound.

The tea industry in India is mainly conducted with foreign capitals. Table No. VII given below

illustrates the capital structure of the tea industry in India:

Years	TABLE VII (in thousand of rupees)		Total Rs.
	Companies incorporated in India Rs.	Companies incorporated outside India Rs.	
1942-43	...	...	4,92,413
1944-45	1,50,572	26,877	5,08,932
1945-46	1,50,691	26,687	5,06,518
1946-47	1,61,218	26,703	5,17,258
1947-48	1,77,272	26,072	5,24,899

The living condition of labourers in tea gardens is bad, which in Indian-owned industries is worse still. The war brought an unexpected boom to the industry; the profit was practically consumed by the management and the shareholders who did not even see the necessity of creating an adequate reserve fund to tide over unforeseen contingencies. The peril that the industry is now facing is mainly due to the above-mentioned factor. The labour got practically nothing out of these bumper profits and there are hardly any cheap canteen in the tea gardens to supply hygienic food to the labourers. The only amusement provided by the management is the installation of a radio set in the office building from where occasionally programmes are broadcasted. Arrangement of sports and games is more on paper than in reality and almost all the gardens are operated on "no work no pay" basis. Hospitals are meant for governmental

inspections while the outdoor dispensaries are in chronic dearth of medicines.

There are several well-known organisations of the planters whose aim is to bargain as much benefit as possible for themselves while there is practically none to look after the cause of the poor labourers. Trade Unions are run on the whims of the party bosses and they are more political than economic; this type of trade union activities do not cover even all the gardens. As such whenever necessary the management purchases a section of labourers to suit its own objects and the last general election furnishes immense proof as to how the labourers can be bribed to suit the cause of the capitalist owners.

There have been some legislations aiming at the welfare of the plantation labour but the situation as it is will convince even a casual observer that those legislations are honoured more in the breach than in their observance. Strictest possible measures must be adopted to enforce the spirit of those legislations if the welfare of the toiling masses is really aimed at.

These are not to be mistaken as generalisations. The writer who lives in a place surrounded by tea gardens claims to have an intimate knowledge of the state of affairs in the tea industry and whatever he has said in this article is the outcome of his first-hand knowledge.

Illustrations: By courtesy of the Central Tea Board.

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THE CHALLENGE OF ANGLICISM AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN BENGAL

By NANIMADIHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

It is reported that a history of the Indian Struggle for Freedom is going to be written. We do not know on what lines this history is proposed to be written; whether the facts of this history will be restrictively selected and interpreted in the light of a particular school of thought or facts will be impartially selected and objectively treated to tell the full story how the nation's endeavour for attainment of freedom has been again and again halted or delayed by obstacles created by alien and native opponents of Indian nationalism, by the people's own weakness or by the shortcomings of leadership. We shall have, perhaps, no opportunity to know all this before the history, if the proposal to write it materialises, is published.

When the report that a history of the nation's struggle for freedom is proposed to be written reached us our eyes rested for a minute on the face of Bengal

today, pale, anxious and deeply furrowed by agonies and sufferings of the last half a century and then slowly wandered through the realm of forgotten memories and settled down on the face of Bengal as it was more than a century back.

Those were the days of the new awakening of India and it was on the soil of Bengal that the awakening took place. Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) inaugurated the new era of awakening.

Through the united efforts of Rammohun, David Hare and others, the Hindu College was established in 1817 and English became the medium of instruction in India in 1835. The first effect of English education had an unbalancing effect on the majority of those who received it. For nearly thirty years from 1817 a great mental ferment marked by loss of self-possession seized a large section of the middle class

English-educated Hindu Society in Bengal. It was the age of the challenge of Anglicism and rise of the Young Bengal School.

A perusal of the contemporary records of the exploits of the first generations of the Young Bengal School will now provoke a laugh. But they were serious-minded people, though somewhat ostentatious. They were possessed by a mania for destruction and hurled indiscriminately their blows of criticism against Hindu religion, Hindu society, Indian languages, customs, manners, dress, etc. Their words and deeds breathed an exaggerated rage against and contempt for the society in which they were born and betrayed infatuation for things foreign. They cultivated Anglicism in everything with a vengeance. The following extract throws interesting light on the time:

"Indeed the rage for Anglicism went so far among the first generations of English-knowing men that a giant of English learning of that time used to sprinkle brandy over his children's rice saying, take your rice with the milk from the English cow, it will make you strong. . . . Some English-knowing men of that time thought the manners and customs of the people of India were Satan's devices while others regarded them as Brahminical devices. With them it was manliness par excellence to hate those manners and customs. Yes, that proved moral courage and independence. And the English-knowing youth who behaved in that way were applauded as wise by the Englishmen of that time."

While the British well-wishers of India were still gloating over their easy success in the task of anglicising the Bengalis, furnishing incidentally in their eyes one more evidence of the superiority of Western civilisation over the Eastern, and the challenge of Anglicism threatened the contemporary Bengali society, something unsuspected was shaping itself beneath the surface of that society.

While adopting English dress, English food and drink and English manners the Young Bengal also memorised Bentham, Bacon, Thomas Paine, Byron, and Shelley and studied the political history of the English people, the history of the French Revolution and American struggle for independence. They became anglicised in mind as they had become anglicised in manners and dress. The direct result of this intellectual anglicisation was that they completely shed off the inferiority complex of a conquered people. They regarded themselves as belonging to the same level with Englishmen in education and culture. And they started demanding to be treated as such.

The challenge of Anglicism evoked a retort not realised by India's rulers.

And by this time a fresh wave from Europe had reached the shores of India, helping to put the Young Bengal again on their feet.

In Germany, France and elsewhere scholars were carrying on researches in Comparative Philology and Vedic and Avestan studies. They proclaimed to the world that the Hindus of India, though dark-skinned, were distant kin of the European Aryans. The Young Bengal were astonished when they heard it; their exultation knew no bounds and their thoughts began to follow a new track. It was the track which the great Rammohun had shown.

Little by little the attention of many of the members of the school turned to the ancient religion, literature and philosophy of their country, to the ancient glories of their ancient land. Things of their own country which they had learned to despise revealed themselves as possessing a new significance. Those that had turned their face towards Europe from a sense of frustration and despair, thinking that a people held in subjection for long centuries they had nothing to be proud of, now looked back to their own country. They realised that they had indeed a proud heritage of ancient wisdom and learning, they were descendants of far-famed ancestors. The first unhealthy mental ferment began to subside; the spell of anglicism was broken.

On the soil thus prepared a cultural revolution of the greatest significance took place in Bengal. It opened the epoch of a new awakening in India. It marked the beginning of national renaissance in India after seven centuries of political subjection, moral stagnation and intellectual somnambulism.

The claim for equality with the English and demand for equal treatment with them presaged a clash between the English-educated young Bengalis on the one hand, and, on the other, the new feeling of pride for the ancient glories of their country and deep regret for her present fallen condition roused them to devise means for her uplift.

The clash was the first phase of revolt declared by the English-educated middle class Bengalis against British administration in India. The voice of revolt became distinctly audible after the Sepoy Mutiny.

It was at this time that a section of the Young Bengal school led by Ram Gopal Ghose and assisted by some landholders and wealthy men founded the British Indian Association (1851) for securing the right of greater participation in administration for the children of the soil. It was the first political organisation in India.

Shortly after this the great Mutiny broke out.

TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By S. N. RAY, M.A., Ph.D.,
Delhi University

If an English teacher today thinks of planning for the future education in this country, he has to satisfy himself whether he has any future for himself. In other words, he has to assure himself if there would be a legitimate place for the study of English in the curricula of the Boards and Universities of this country. That assurance I think is not difficult to give. It will be clear to anybody who happens to wander through the collections of books in the libraries of any school or college devoted to the teaching of Medicine, Engineering, Military Science, Forest Research or Geological Survey. Are these books, he will ask himself, mere junk to be scrapped or useful? If higher education is impossible without them, how are we to get them in our own language? Will the books on military strategy, histories of wars, biographies of great soldiers, accounts of how wars were won or lost, now to be found in the Defence Academy, Dehradun, be ever translated into Hindi, or if so, how long will it take, and how about the cost? Coming nearer home, is research in Indian history possible without acquaintance with the original findings of the great European scholars of Indian archæology? An attempt of course is being made to bring out textbooks in Hindi as quickly as possible. But is the newly coined terminology with its flexible connotation good enough for exact science, or even for law where each term must have a fixed meaning well-known to all? A dispassionate consideration of these problems is sure to impose a restraint on the enthusiasm of the people who would discard English, say, at the end of ten or fifteen years. If to dislodge Persian, at one time the language of culture in this country, took about a century, how long will English which has struck a deeper root in our soil, a root more widely spread and intimately interwoven with our mental life than Persian? A time-limit for the exit of English from the cultural life of this country can therefore be set only by a facile optimist.

Here is the justification of our existence and ground for continued usefulness in society. We must realize that our days are far from nearing an early end. Even when English will be squeezed out of its strong position, it will continue to serve a very great purpose in this country. English is the language of every port, and is spoken or understood over at least half of the world. The demands of commerce and diplomacy, if not the need for international contact on personal level, will make it incumbent on us to acquire a good knowledge of it.

If I am taking the liberty to rehearse these well-known facts, it is to remove the misgivings of some of our worried friends, and to look ahead with a clear conscience and knowledge of our place in the new dispensation of our country.

It is true English one day will go out of the syllabus as a compulsory subject of study, and its place will be gradually taken by Hindi. We must not forget that at one time our grandfathers took their young people out of the *maktabs* and *pathshalas* (*tols*) and sent them to High English Schools, for the knowledge of English was the *sine qua non* for Government employment. The same paramount necessity will drive the future generations to the cultivation of Hindi, even in regions where it is not known or taught.

But the reasons mentioned above will remain, and English will have to be studied by all who would look forward to higher education. It is possible that this will be done with a split mind and ever-waning purpose. The time which was given to its acquisition hitherto will perhaps not be available. Yet as much of it must be learnt as would help the future generations to use it, *if not for writing or speaking, at least for reading and understanding*, with as much facility as their predecessors.

The task of the future English teacher will grow more difficult and involve greater responsibility than now, but it would not be impossible if approached with a well-prepared plan. This must save much frittering away of energy of the present system and ensure progress in a much shorter time than before.

The question therefore is at what stage should a student be introduced to a course of English, where he will end it, and how shall we conduct it so as to produce the most effective results.

At present the study of English commences even from the lowest class. Each student has to give up the greater part of his time for about ten years in acquiring a good knowledge of the language. But it does not end there. It continues for another two years at least, if not four. Still a confident grasp of the language is nowhere in sight. Perfection no one can claim. And all this at what cost? This early imposition of an alien tongue on a young learner, deprives him of much valuable time when he could have gained a good deal of useful knowledge. For example, at present he finds very little time for geography, drawing and common knowledge. He has very little opportunity of knowing the history of any country but his own. Scientific and vocational subjects cannot have place on the time-table for the same reason. He has to sacrifice all interests in life because he has no time for them.

A young student whose mental horizon has not widened beyond his home and his immediate neighbourhood, wonders why he should be subjected to the torment day and night for the acquisition of something whose value is of doubtful significance to him. If it is so now, would it not appear more futile to him in the future? Formerly he was at least aware

of the physical presence of the Englishman in his own country and saw his life at least from a distance. In course of time, the Englishman will become as legendary a figure as Alexander, Chengiz Khan or Nadir Shah. If this is so, the young learner will have no chance of discovering his contact with, and realize his interest in, the West before he starts upon the scientific subjects, and this will not happen before he comes to the last lap of the Middle School stage. If I were to plan for him, I would introduce him at this stage for the first time to the rudiments of the English language. This may be in Class VI or Class VII, probably the latter. I have reasonable grounds for hoping that he will now take to it with an awakened interest and delight. Just for the sake of novelty, and perhaps with some puzzled amusement, he will romp through the alphabet and the mystery of the English vowels.

What shall we do now not only to sustain this interest but also to stimulate a sense of wonder in his mind? I would put before him those very English words he has been using all his life under the guise of his mother tongue. Thus he would be amused to know that bat, hat, pan, fan, pin, tin, line, fine, boot, shoot, ball, goal, kick, back, bowl, catch, shirt, photo, rail, train, light, and numerous other words in daily use even by the illiterate, are really English. These and their uses will keep him occupied in the first year of his new venture.

It is claimed by the supporters of basic English that one can express oneself with eight hundred and fifty selected words. I would therefore ply the novice with a little more than two hundred new words every year for four years from Class VII to Class X. Indeed, I would set my target a little higher. It would be twelve hundred or three hundred per year. In addition to the words with whose sound he is familiar already, I would introduce him to the names of objects he is surrounded by at home, school and in the neighbourhood. I would perhaps begin with the kitchen and the dining room and move out to the neighbourhood and the school and onwards. Like the star, his mind must be kept moving, though not perceptibly perhaps but in effect. By daily repetition, he will thus remember the names of animals, their sound and simple behaviour, and also the names of inanimate objects and the verbs to describe them with. Stage by stage he must go forward according to a plan acquiring more vocabulary and its uses. Wave after wave with a calculated rate of attainment, the student must reach the predetermined goal. If he fails, he must not study English. Let him try something else, and not aspire after University education which, as far as I can see, will not be within the reach of those who would not possess the knowledge of some European language. All over Europe, a student has to learn a modern language which is not

his own. In some States, he has to acquire three or four languages.

At this stage, I would not harass the young learner with any poetry or drama, nor with the grammatical definitions. Indeed I would not scare him with such forbidding terms as Orthography, Etymology and the names of the Moods of verbs. Rather than making an attempt with the abstract rules of grammar, I would initiate him to the mysteries of grammar by means of simple sentences with known words showing their relationship with one another. Only in the final year, of the Matriculation, a simple grammar showing the various uses of words should be put before him so that he learns systematically what he has known before.

Should he not study any literature all this time? Of course he will, but only the one written for him with the words he has already been acquainted with. As his vocabulary increases, the volume of his literature will increase in the corresponding manner. If he proposes to go in for science, I would put into his hands such writings of scientific nature as would familiarize him with scientific language. Should he think of literature, he must do some poetry and stories, in addition. Indeed I would prescribe for him an additional paper consisting of poetry, drama, essays and stories.

But specialization cannot be thought of at the Matriculation stage. It really begins at the Intermediate. A student then makes up his mind what he is going to study in the future. Here therefore the course of English syllabus should be so framed and enforced that he is not thwarted in his later studies by his inability to understand the books in English that he wants to consult for a more comprehensive knowledge of the subject he might perhaps be studying in an Indian language. Such books should be put into his hands as deal with science if he is a science student, or if he pursues an Arts Course he must familiarize himself with a diction sensuous and speculative.

It must sound as a tall order, because books have never been written or selected with a purpose. But a beginning must be made, and there is no dearth of people who are capable of this task. The Bihar Text Book Committee has already begun this laudable work according to its needs and plan. This should be emulated everywhere and we shall have all the books we want.

This is my scheme for Secondary Education. I am profoundly interested in it because I have to shoulder a heavy burden at a later stage. Possibly there is nothing in it that has not been thought of or said before. I have made bold however to set them before my readers for a discussion. I shall be amply rewarded if it results in a clarification of thought.*

* Read before the All-India English Teachers' Conference (1952) held at Ajmer.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN

By PROF. N. VENKATA RAO, M.A.

"UNLESS philosophers become rulers or rulers study philosophy, there will be no end to the troubles of man." Such was Plato's conception of a ruler. With the help of the Light of Reason the philosopher is able to guide the destinies and affairs of men. Asoka, Akbar and Marcus Aurelius were the philosopher-kings of yore who administered their countries wisely and justly. They were no mere dreamers that lived in the abstract world of ideas. They were practical enough to bring their philosophy down to the Assemblies and Council Halls. It is just that a philosopher like Radhakrishnan should have been chosen as the first Vice-President of the Indian Republic. With his long and varied career as Professor and Administrator, Preacher and Diplomat, he richly deserves the place.

Born on 5th September, 1888 to orthodox parents at Tiruttani, Radhakrishnan enjoyed neither the advantages of wealth nor birth. From the early years he dreamed of the things of Eternity and had a firm faith in the reality of an unseen world behind the flux of phenomena. By nature, shy and sensitive, he loved silence and solitude. He always lived in the world of books and made companions of poets and philosophers. His pursuit of the world of ideas earned him a reputation for coldness and indifference. But, to quote his words:

"I am capable of strong and profound emotions, which I generally tend to conceal. I am nervously organised, sensitive and high-strung."

Radhakrishnan had his education in the Christian Missionary Schools where he early imbibed the teachings of Jesus. But his pride was wounded when he heard Christian Missionaries attacking the Hindu beliefs and practices. As a zealous young man, inspired by the work and eloquence of Vivekananda, Radhakrishnan determined to clear the cobwebs of prejudice of these missionaries and vindicate the spirit of the Vedanta. Steadily and ceaselessly, he worked up to his dreams, became the interpreter of the East, and carried the greatness of the Vedanta to the Western world.

Radhakrishnan drank deep of the wisdom of the Upanishads and the Gita, the epics and the Puranas, the great teachings of the religions and philosophies of the East and West. His acquaintance with the literatures of the world is deep and profound. He tempered his mind with scientific knowledge and earned a reputation for precise thinking. Thus he acquired a wide knowledge of human affairs, a broad outlook, religious tolerance and successfully and harmoniously blended the Eastern and Western cultures in his teachings. His mind is a fine flower of culture, a synthesis of all that is true, good and beautiful.

Radhakrishnan's early thesis on the *Ethics of Vedanta* shows his bent of mind. It was a reply to the charge that

the Vedanta had no room for ethics. It won high praise from his teacher. His main argument is that

"Religion must express itself in a reasonable thought, fruitful action and right social institutions."

To him religion is not a dogma or a ritual. It is essentially a personal experience, a concern of the inner religion, for which faith and hope, spiritual labour and life which lifts man above the meaningless existence and dull despair. The sense of the infinite is the basis of moral activity are essential. The ethical aspect is vital for the purification of the mind and communion with God. With this end in view, Radhakrishnan maintains that Hindu Religion is not other-worldly, that conduct is supreme, and the doctrine of Maya belongs only to the phenomenal existence and does in no way conflict with the ethical seriousness. Thus his view is spiritual and non-dogmatic. In this light he has interpreted the East to the West. His writings bear the stamp of a creative artist with lucid style, clear insight, fertile imagination and sympathetic understanding.

Radhakrishnan is not blind to the weaknesses of Hindu Religion. It has fallen on evil days, lost much of its old vigour and vitality, become dull and listless. Many of our practices have disgraced our religion, blocked the way to progress and social reconstruction. We have mistaken tradition for Truth and the household gods are dethroned by the tin-gods of fashion and vanity. These gross abuses must be eliminated ruthlessly. We have to learn much from the West—its vitality and courage, its science and technology.

"After a long winter of some centuries, we are today in one of the creative periods of Hinduism."

It is not without misgivings that Radhakrishnan looks upon scientific progress and industrial civilization. Science helps us to build up our body and mind. But the cultivation of the spirit is equally necessary. In spite of our tremendous progress in knowledge and scientific invention, we are not above the level of past generations, in ethical and spiritual life. Mechanization is the death of the spirit. Void within, we are reduced to mere atoms in a community, members of a mob.

Radhakrishnan sees abnormal inequalities in modern society and pleads for social justice and rational distribution of wealth. Today luxury and starvation dwell side by side. He thinks that

"The Russian experiment, whatever we may think of it, is at least an honest attempt to secure for all an equal share in things which constitute the physical basis of life. The glaring contrasts of poverty and wealth are not accepted by them as inevitable."

Society has become intensely selfish and greedy; love of humanity is replaced by love of power and the

lure of position. Physical efficiency and intellectual alertness are dangerous if spiritual illiteracy prevails. Loss of faith and indifference to ethical discipline have resulted in the crisis of modern civilization.

Radhakrishnan deplores the lack of spirit in the modern civilization and its pursuit of the glittering bubbles of life. The trouble with our civilization is its neglect of the enduring things of life and the preoccupation with the fleeting. It is sacrificing Life for the sake of life. Our civilization is emptied of its spirit-content. Politics and economics do not take their direction from ethics and religion. Our society can be remoulded only by sincerity and understanding, by ethical discipline. Only integrated personalities can save us by their inner strength and sincerity.

"They by their self-sacrificing will contribute to the reign of God, of love, of virtue on earth. The stronger individuals help the weaker ones until all are saved."

Radhakrishnan is a Hindu to the core. We find the spirit ruling him at every step. A spare, light figure, keen alert face, bright brown eyes, his personality is arresting. As a Hindu preacher delivering sermons from Christian pulpits at Oxford and Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, he made a profound impression on the audience. With a melodious and beautifully modulated voice, he conveyed his thoughts in a series of exquisitely turned phrases thus revealing his mastery of English language as well as Hindu metaphysics. His lectures were spontaneous outpourings of a soul that gazed at Eternity. "The audience swayed at times to his chant; and one felt as if the barrier between the East and West was gone." Referring to his sermon on "Revolution through Suffering," an Oxford Daily observed:

"Though the Indian preacher had the marvellous power to weave a magic web of thought, imagination and language, the real greatness of his sermon resides in some indefinable spiritual quality which arrests attention, moves the heart, and lifts us into an ampler air."

I had the opportunity to hear his Gita Lectures delivered at the University of Benares during his Vice-Chancellorship. Every time I heard him I was lifted into a rarer and diviner atmosphere.

Radhakrishnan is a Hindu not only in his thoughts and outlook, but also in his dress and habits. His food is simple and frugal without the touch of an ascetic; his dress too is simple and immaculate; his hair is never combed (now he has grown bald). He entertains his guests on a strict vegetarian fare seasoned with brilliant talk. He is accessible to all and sundry. He undergoes a severe self-imposed discipline.

The detachment of Radhakrishnan is really remarkable. A beloved husband to a devoted wife, an affectionate father to brilliant children, servant to all, he leads the life of Janaka with detachment, simplicity and humility. He is not an ascetic but he attaches little

importance to the joys and values of the earth. Authority sits lightly on him. The choicest delicacies of the dinner room at All Souls were not an attraction to him. "Some say that he used his private key to go out of the college by the back door when he found the front door jammed by celebrities."

Radhakrishnan has made this wide world his own home; mankind his kith and kin. Like a bird of passage he constantly moves from one part of the globe to the other, meeting and addressing people of different types and creeds. Whether lecturing to a class or addressing statesmen his burden is invariably the same—the re-establishment of the Indian outlook of life in the heart of the human family. Society must live in peace and toleration. Hatred and ill-will must cease; intolerance and violence must go. Love and compassion must rule the world. Catch-words like socialism and capitalism do not appeal to him.

As a teacher Radhakrishnan came into contact with many young men pulsating with life. He educated them to a belief in a spiritual and ethical universe, stressed the importance of prayer and a frequent withdrawal to oneself from the machinery of existence. A genuine teacher is a living lamp that kindles light in his pupils, quickens them to the ideas of Truth and Beauty. Through suffering we grow and obtain grace. With the shedding of ego, love reigns supreme, and love is greater than law or justice, learning or fame.

"The touch of a compassionate hand," writes Radhakrishnan, "often illuminates one like lightning-flash in the darkness. Profound influences are wrought by creative minds by a light gesture or a brief conversation."

Radhakrishnan is not a pedantic scholar or cold dispenser of thought. He is intensely human and is alive to the value of emotions. He has a capacious heart and sympathetic understanding. He suffers fools and criminals. The infinite pathos of life, he says, call for infinite understanding. He sees in the sinful, the mystery, the beauty and the sadness of life. He has the magic gift of confidence and his correspondents include all and sundry craving for help and advice.

"It pleased me to know," he writes, "that to some lonely or enslaved souls I was perhaps the only or the first person to show any sympathy or understanding."

Radhakrishnan is an apostle of culture, an ambassador of love. He works for sweetness and light to make the will of God prevail. Blessed are they that spend their lives in dispelling ignorance and mitigating misery. Great souls like Buddha, Christ and Gandhi strove to lighten the burden of humanity by suffering and love. "If we are to imitate in some small measure their example, we must help the weak and comfort the unhappy." A little help, a kind word, or even a smile may go a long way in alleviating human misery.

THE LATE MR. T. R. VENKATRAMA SASTRY

A Personal Tribute

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, ADVOCATE

THE passing away of Sri T. R. Venkatrama Sastry, the doyen of Indian liberalism and a Constitutional lawyer of considerable erudition and noted for his moderation and caution marks the end of an epoch in the public life of our country. As a faithful disciple of the late Rt. Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, he lived up to his faith to the last breath of his life. Like most of the public men of his generation, he took to the legal profession and soon made his mark as a great jurist and an eminent advocate. The Advocate-Generalship in Madras came to him in the normal course. Though he succeeded Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer as the Law Member in the Governor's Executive Council, he could not remain in that position for more than 48 hours consistent with his notions of dignity and self-respect as the Police Portfolio was suddenly removed from the control of the Law Member. His exit opened the door to yesmen who were awaiting an opportunity.

Whatever his politics were he espoused the just causes whenever and wherever they cropped up. When Rev. Paton, the Christian Missionary, was unjustly beaten by the Police during the Satyagraha Movement, he lodged his protest. Again when the Madras High Court sought to take action against Mr. Vaidyanatha Iyer of Madurai for defying the ban imposed on him by the executive during the Quit India Movement of 1942, Mr. Sastriar stood by him and described the conduct of Sri Vaidyanatha Ayyer as a symbolic protest against an order which he considered to be unwarranted. The then Chief Justice Mr. Lionel Lach who was both imperious and hot-tempered cooled down and closed the matter with a censure. The tragic end of Mahatma Gandhi sent the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh into disgrace. Many were grieved to find this brotherhood of Hindus built upon sustained service and sacrifice disintegrating. In the fitness of things Mr. Sastriar came to its rescue and rehabilitated it in the eyes of the public and the Government alike. The instances are merely illustrative and not in any sense exhaustive.

He touched life at many points. He was an ardent social reformer. He was the earliest champion of equal rights for women. As a member of the Sir B. N. Rao's Committee on the codification of Hindu Law he rendered yeoman's service. He was interested in the cause of higher education and was intimately

connected with the various academic bodies of the Madras University for a long time. He also officiated as the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. Above all, he was a Sanskrit scholar and was responsible for the upkeep of the Kuppaswami Sastri Sanskrit College and Research Institute. He also enjoyed his share of club life till the end.

Above all, he was unassuming and fast in his friendships. As one known to his master the late Rt. Hon'ble Sastri, I required no introduction to him and enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. He always received me with great warmth. We exchanged notes on public problems. I differed from him often and even gave publicity to such differences. But it never affected our personal relations. I always admired his enthusiasm for the study of public problems. He expressed himself on every crucial issue. When I met him last in April, though signs of senility were apparent, his mind was mobile. Though the atmosphere was surcharged with ill-will, animosity and prejudice on account of the impending formation of the Andhra State, we talked to, instead of talking at, as Indians. We discussed all the topical issues at length and in detail, with impartiality and detachment. I wish that all my contacts were at such a high cultural level. He was definitely distressed over the formation of States on linguistic basis before we consolidated our freedom and developed the spirit of Indian citizenship. He was also apprehensive that the separation of Andhra would let loose the forces of communalism in Tamilnad. When I asked him why did he not at least agree to the conversion of Madras into a C class State, he replied with a spirit of resignation that the lot of Madras was after all cast with Tamilnad. But the Indian in him desired that the residuary State should be known as the Madras State, where the non-Tamils also would feel at home. He told me that some of his well-meaning friends (since they are distinguished Tamilians, I do not want to disclose their names) criticised him for saying that Madras should be part of Tamilnad. They wanted him to say that Madras would not be part of Andhra and leave it at that. He had settled views on many problems. He felt that there was more politics than music in the Tamil Isai Movement. He was all admiration to the inherent musical potentialities of Telugu. In the event of a clash between the two power-blocs on the international scene, he was confident that India would be

neutral. He was an invaluable link between the older and the younger generation.

He passed away full of years and honours. But his death has created a void which cannot be easily

filled up. I salute Sri T. R. Venkatrama Sastry, the liberal, patriot, scholar, educationist and philanthropist who passed away from mortality to immortality.

—O:—

AN OUTLINE OF A SCHEME TO ATTRACT YOUNG MEN OF MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES To Adopt Agriculture as a Profession

By DEBENDRA NATH MITRA

It is high time that earnest endeavours should be made to encourage young men of middle-class families to adopt farming as their main occupation. But prior to it, it is important to demonstrate adequately that farming, on an area of land, 10 to 15 acres, which may be readily available in the countryside to some young men, is a paying proposition. With this object in view an area not more than 15 acres in suitable localities may be acquired or taken on lease by Government and a cropping scheme adopted in order to demonstrate abundantly that farming on such a small area pays sufficiently to enable a young man to maintain his small family. The farm will be run on absolutely economic lines and the buildings, sheds, etc., constructed on it should be as simple as possible, fitting in with the conditions prevailing in villages, with such improvements which may be effected within the means of a villager. The methods adopted to run the farm should also be within the reach and means of an average cultivator.

A young man of the locality, preferably a Matriculate, with a bias towards agriculture and possessing some capital, should be entertained at the farm as a learner, but he should be required to work on the farm with the labourers doing with his own hands all the operations of the farm. The training should be so arranged as will give him an insight into the working of the farm in all its sections in-

cluding cropping, accounts, balance sheets, etc. He should be given a wage of Rs. 65 a month.

A farm of this type should be run in a locality for 3 or 4 years entirely at the cost of Government and under the spot supervision of a competent agricultural officer. In course of this period the Agricultural Department should be able to demonstrate that the cropping scheme worked out at the farm is suited to the local conditions and is a distinct improvement over the local methods. If they cannot demonstrate it within a reasonable period, the farm should be abolished.

But if they can demonstrate that the farm is sufficiently paying to enable a young man and his family to maintain themselves it should be offered to the young man to run it on his own account. If he has funds, he may purchase the farm at a reasonable price or the farm may be leased out to him on a reasonable rate of rent. If the farm is paying the young man is likely to be attracted to enter into an agreement with the Government under suitable conditions to run it on his own account.

The above is only an outline of a scheme to attract and inspire suitable young men to adopt agriculture as a profession. Details may be worked out.

A number of farms of this type will also serve as an object-lesson to the cultivators of the locality.



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 TEACHINGS OF THE UPANISHADS: By Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya. University of Calcutta. Pp. vi + 326. Price Rs. 10.

Sri Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya, who has utilised his retirement from an exalted post under the Government of India, gives in the volume under review a summary of his convictions, based on wide reading, concerning some of the fundamental conclusions of orthodox Hindu philosophy and religion. The key to his position is to be found in the last chapter, namely, "Complete Truth in Vedic Religion," in which he tries to establish the superiority of Hinduism over other religions, indigenous and foreign. In the chapter preceding he gives a summary of "Other Schools of Hindu Philosophy" and attempts to prove the superiority of Vedanta over other systems of thought, orthodox and heterodox alike. In the chapter of "God and the Soul" he tries to show that Ramanuja has given a better interpretation of Vedanta than Sankara.

The reader can now expect what the general aim of the author would be like: it is to establish the superiority of the theistic position with the help of the Upanisads. This objective has narrowed the scope of the enquiry by practically limiting the treatment of the Upanisadic materials to their bearing upon the nature of the soul, its spiritual training, and its ultimate destiny. The book is therefore not a comprehensive study of the Upanisads like that of Deussen or Ranade nor a critical account like that of Keith or Belvalkar and Ranade. In fact, the introduction of Vedanta and Bhagavadgita materials has tended to obscure to some extent the exact Upanisadic speculation. Conversely, the inclusion of the big penultimate chapter on other schools has somewhat widened the scope of enquiry though it has tended at the same time to deflect the attention from the Upanisads proper. The book is, therefore, to be regarded more or less as a critical examination of the Vedanta as interpreted by Sankara and Ramanuja with the help of Upanisadic texts and as an attempt to establish the validity of the traditional Hindu view as against the criticisms of modern scholars, both Eastern and Western.

But within the limits set by himself the author shows intensive study and deep meditation. His spirited defence of the Hindu view of life with its doctrine of karma, its eschatological speculation, and its scheme of spiritual discipline and his vindication of the Varnashram Dharma make him a redoubtable champion of Hindu orthodoxy. It is obvious that on some of the positions taken up by him it is possible to join issue with him, seeing that divergence of opinion is present

within the orthodox texts and interpretations themselves and an historical evolution of thought cannot be lightly set aside in favour of an eternally fixed canon. A wholesale support of ancient texts runs the obvious risk of ignoring evolution of human thinking in all parts of the world with the growth of critical faculty. Naturally, arguments have sometimes to be twisted to support a personal view-point.

The salient points that the author wishes to make out are that the Upanisads did not condemn or abandon unequivocally the performance of ordained duties and the invocation of the gods in the Vedic fashion and that they did not make the practice of morality difficult, illogical or superfluous. He naturally justifies the use of images for worshipping God, but wisely permits sectarian difference on temperamental grounds, and even supports syncretism and synthesis. He holds that the Smritis and the Puranas can be relied upon to supplement the Upanisads in spiritual matters as being ultimately based upon the Vedic tradition. He has no difficulty in showing that Sankara's philosophy is neither Vijnanavada nor Berkeleyan idealism, though it is not a better guide than Ramanuja's, and that it is not impossible to reconcile the two statements that Brahman has no parts and that the *jiva* is a part of Brahman. He has used his mathematical knowledge to establish that space and time can be proved to be limited and false in an ultimate reference. Naturally, philosophies that take matter as equally important with soul find no support from him though he does not favour Sankara's *vivartavada* as an explanation of matter and finite souls.

This short review does not do full justice to the wealth of materials to be found in the book nor to the simple and forceful style in which the author defends his view-point. It is a matter of great regret, however, that due to very bad proof-reading a large number of mistakes should manage to linger on in the text and need correction in the next edition. His spelling of Sanskrit words is not free from mistakes and the diacritical marks have not been properly used in many places. Seeing that it is a Calcutta University publication, expert aid should have been placed at his disposal for removing slips and checking references. The author's own mistakes are very few as compared with the errors in printing. If these are ignored, we have in this volume a unique spectacle of a highly cultured Hindu not afraid or ashamed to own publicly his allegiance to the much criticised and much maligned culture of this ancient land that has weathered so many storms in course of its long career and shown renewed vitality when all seemed to be lost through the hostile attack of outsiders and the wavering faith of its adherents.

HARIDAS BHATTACHARYYA

MYSTIC APPROACH TO THE VEDA AND THE UPANISHAD: By M. P. Pandit. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library, 369 Esplanade, Madras. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 3.

This book is a collection of six papers contributed by the author on special occasions to the Annual Numbers of Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay and Sri Aurobindo Pathamandir, Calcutta. These papers are, according to the learned author, governed by a unity of purpose which is to test and see for ourselves how far the claim made for the Vedas as revealed scriptures is justified and also to appraise the soundness of the mode of symbolic interpretation. The main principles of mystic interpretation of Sri Aurobindo are enunciated in the first paper and application of this method and the results it yields are illustrated in the subsequent chapters and on the legend of Shunahsepa. The last chapter emphasizes the need for a new approach to the Upanishads. The author observes that Upanishads do not constitute a departure from the Vedas but they draw upon and continue the spiritual tradition of them. He asserts that they are not philosophical texts but essentially living guide-books to the seekers of Truth. There is in the Rig-Veda a Sukta named after Rishi Shunahsepa. Shunah denotes bliss, and sepa, a ray. Its literal meaning is, therefore, a ray of bliss. The Rishi finds himself bound by a bond and aspires after release and to be restored to Aditi. The legend recurs in the Aitareya Brahmana. Some Western Indologists conclude from this legend that *narabali* or human sacrifice is mentioned in it. Like Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, Colebrooke, Wilson and Rosen, the present author challenges their false conclusion and refutes it with strong arguments.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR (A Study): By Haridas Mukherjee. Dasgupta and Co., Calcutta, 1953. Pp. 75. Price Rs. 2.

The late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar deeply impressed himself upon his contemporaries at home and abroad by the amazing richness and versatility of his talents, the originality and boldness of his ideas, and the extraordinary fruitfulness of his literary output. It is therefore in the fitness of things that an attempt should be made in the present monograph to do justice to his remarkable career with special reference to his manifold activities spreading for nearly half a century over different branches of thought and action in connection with the Indian liberation movement. To the present reviewer, the work is specially welcome as it gives him an opportunity of paying his homage of affectionate regard for the memory of one whom he had learnt to esteem as one of his most valued friends since he was a fellow-student at the Presidency College at the beginning of this century.

The book consists of three chapters of which the first gives Professor Sarkar's life-sketch, while the second and the third deal in detail with his services to Bengali literature and with his contributions in the field of comparative study of Eastern and Western cultures. It is adorned with a portrait of Mr. Sarkar and it concludes with a number of appendices consisting of appreciative extracts from his friends and admirers in and outside India. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, as a senior fellow-worker of Mr. Sarkar for many years, contributes an appreciative Foreword. On a few minor points we may offer our criticism of the present work. The author's treatment suffers from a certain amount of duplication, the material of the second and the third chapters being anticipated

to a slight extent in the first chapter. The author, again, has fought shy of the question, why such a highly gifted person, to quote an extract from the Foreword, "did not get his dues in life which was somewhat marked by a subdued sense of frustration?"

U. N. GHOSHAL

BENGAL VILLAGE IN WOOD-ENGRAVING: Engraved by Haren Das with a foreword by R. N. Chakravorty and Introduction by L. M. Sen. Ten examples, two in colour. Published by G. C. Laha and Co., 1 Dharmatala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 12.

This is a fine collection of wood-engravings representing typical scenes from Bengal village-life, of considerable charm and beauties. Wood-engraving is not yet a popular art though it has immense possibilities in the realm of illustrated journalism, particularly, in the Sunday editions of our dailies, still addicted to the pernicious habit of using clumsy, smudgy half-tone blocks which could be easily replaced by wood-engravings which will help to keep alive a group of artists, specializing in this art. The price is prohibitive and will prevent a large circulation.

O. C. GANGOLY

RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE STATUS OF THE INDIANS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: By H. K. Junckerstorff. Published by Book Land Limited, 1, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta 6. Price not stated.

"Africa is on the march . . . The crucial question governing the future of the Dark Continent is the problem of the racial, religious and linguistic minorities incorporated in the old States and the new ones to be created."

Dr. H. K. Junckerstorff of St. Louis University gives in the volume under review a terse, yet on the whole clear, account of the plight of the more than three lakhs of South Africans of Indian origin. He knocks the bottom out of the Union Government's contention that the Indian problem is the domestic concern of South Africa by clearly demonstrating that Indians in the Union of South Africa are a national minority in international law, one which "includes only those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics materially different from those of the rest of the population." (Definition by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities established by the United Nations). Specially brilliant is Chapter VI which shows how the South Africa Government has denied to the Indian minority the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The rulers of South Africa should remember—more in their own interest than anybody else's—that the suppression of the minorities "will bring internal trouble and revolution." A policy of tolerance, mutual understanding and mutual help will usher in an era of peaceful progress in that benighted land.

The learned Doctor should have been more careful, however, about some of his statistics. Thus, according to him, Indians in South Africa number 282,500. In reality they are now more than 300,000. Again, in one place (p. 25) he puts the number of Indians in Durban at 113,400, and in another (p. 56) at 128,241. Both cannot be correct at one and the same time. These and similar inaccuracies and contradictions should be removed from the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

WHEELS ROUND THE WORLD: By Alan Hess. Published by Newman Neame, London. 1951. Pp. 94. Price 15 shillings.

This exciting little book narrates the daring exploits and the quixotic adventures of the pioneers of motor traction from the end of the last century down to our times—of men battered, twisted, thrown about, but never vanquished or thwarted by the unspeakable hazards of the road. Here we read about the three-ton contraption—painted bright yellow—of Dr. E. E. Lehwess christened "Passe-Partout," which, after a flamboyant announcement of a round-the-world circumnavigation, lumbered its way from London through an interminable succession of dinners, receptions and festivities, and finally ended up ignominiously by getting bogged in a snowdrift near Nijni Novgorod. Then there was the three-car race from Peking to Paris organised by *Le Matin* in 1907. The winner was Prince Borghese who reached Paris in 60 days. 1908 saw an even more ambitious race from New York to Paris. The journey was initially planned via Alaska over the frozen Bering Strait. But this part of the programme was abandoned at the last moment. Andre Citroen's Sahara expedition in 1922-23 in an aluminium car, which took 22 days to make the crossing, was another mile-stone in the life of the "horseless carriage." Also remarkable were Michael Terry's dash across Northern Australia's "Never Never Land," in 1923, through 200,000 square miles of bush and desert country and the desperate ingenuity displayed by the men of the Court-Treatt Cape-to-Cairo expedition during 1924-26. Equally spectacular were Captain T. Yates-Benyon's race from London to Calcutta in 1932, the Sleigh expedition from Algiers to the Cape in 1938 and, finally, the author's own air-cum-overland circumnavigation of the world in the record time of three weeks in June, 1951. Numerous beautiful sketches from the pen of George Bass and eight pages of illustrations covering Hess' round-the-world trip enhance the value of this exceedingly well-produced book.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE WEST BENGAL SECRETARIAT CLERKSHIP EXAMINATIONS: By B. Sanyal, M.A., B.L. Published by the author from 106, South Sinthee Road, Calcutta 30. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 5.

Questions 1947-52 are included with answers besides a very useful Appendix at the end of the book. Rules of the Examination together with the syllabus are also given for the benefit of the examinees. This is the fifth and up-to-date edition of the book and shall prove a useful guide to those for whom it is intended.

DIRECTORY OF THE BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS, 1953 (Parts I and II): Compiled by Dewan Ram Prakash. Published by Bookwala Brothers, Calcutta 17. Pp. 214. Price Rs. 10.

Part I contains names and addresses of Booksellers and Publishers in India and Pakistan, alphabetically arranged according to places of business. Part II contains names of Newspapers and Periodicals similarly arranged. Although a useful publication, the price fixed seems to be a bit too high.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

BANGLAR BARSALIPI, 1360 (B.S.): Edited by Sisirkumar Acharyya Chowdhury. Published by

Sanskriti Baithak 17, Pandit Place, Calcutta 29. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a Bengali Year-Book dependable and up-to-date. Its popularity is proved by the fact that this is the tenth year of its publication. We have no hesitation to remark that from a schoolboy to a businessman, particularly, those who cannot make use of Year-Books in English, this handy volume will prove extremely useful.

A. B. DUTTA

KRISHI-BIGNAN, Vol. II (Fasal Sabji-O-Fal): By Rati Rajeswar Das Gupta Bahadur, I.A.S., M.R.A.S. (Eng) and edited by Ramesh Das Gupta. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 607. Price Rs. 10.

The book deals with a subject, applied agriculture, which is throbbing with life to-day and is in the forefront, now when India is making a bold bid to be self-sufficient in food. The book is of interest because it is written by one who in the earlier part of the twentieth century instilled the life or the spirit of research in agricultural enterprise in Bengal.

Agriculture in India, then, was just a by-word. The Government sent men abroad for agricultural training and on their return gave them magistrateship or something like that, while the state of agriculture in the country was getting worse and worse. The author felt the distress of the cultivators and was determined to improve the condition of agriculture. He invented improved agricultural implements and found out more scientific and economical methods of agriculture. It is a pity we lost him early, but we are fortunate enough to be left with his masterly views and ideals, in his books.

The book under review is a part of the author's encyclopaedia on agriculture. In every page of the book we feel his keen passion for improvement of agriculture in India. This particular book deals with crops, vegetables and fruits, from economic, practical and theoretical aspects. Whatever the author has dealt with he has done exhaustively and in lucid style to be understood by anyone with an elementary knowledge of the Bengali language. The book is indeed an asset—the first of its kind in Bengali language. The book has kept up with the modern views and facts in the fast developing science of agriculture. This reflects much credit on the author's knowledge and farsightedness. The book has been admirably edited and revised by Ramesh Das Gupta with his thorough knowledge of the subject. There is a chapter on popular sayings to interest the general reader and an appendix containing cost of cultivation of important crops, vegetables and fruits to help the wise and thrifty farmer. The author has dealt with the subject in several well-classified chapters and has given all the information that the reader may wish to know. He has dealt separately with the insect pests, and plant diseases, and their prevention, manures, cultivation, seed required and nett yield per bigha, for each item. In the chapter on fruits he has dealt at length with the procedure and use of different types of grafting.

This sumptuous Volume of about six hundred pages embodies the experience and observation of an enthusiast and specialist in agriculture.

Now that the national government have come to realise the importance of improved agriculture in India the book ought to be the text-book for students in agricultural colleges and schools and in the hands of all officers entrusted with agricultural improvement.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

HINDI

HINDI SAHITYA KI PARAMPARA: By Hansraj Agarwal. Published by Sahitya Prakashan Mandir, Lashkar, M. B. Pp. 436. Price Rs. 5.

A handbook of Hindi literature tracing its growth from the beginning to the present day, briefly but informatively, against the triple concurrent background of political, social and cultural influence and environment of each period. As such, it will be found very useful by students but it could be used with advantage also by all those who desire to have ready at hand a helpful reference book on the subject. But the handbook is more than a history of Hindi literature; it is a delightful interpretation and assessment thereof as well.

KALA KI KALAM: By Raghuvir Sharan "Mitra." Published by Akhil Bharat Rashtriya Sahitya Prakashan Parishad, Meerut, U.P. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 3.

A collection of sixteen stimulating critical essays on Art, Literature, Beauty in Poetry, Literature and Society, Mysticism and other allied themes. The author is a well-known litterateur and critic, so he has written with intellectual acumen and literary flair and felicity. G. M.

GUJARATI

SHI K. M. MUNSHI-NI PATRA-SRISTHI: An Album of pictures drawn by Ravi Shankar Rawal and published by Guzerat Sahitya Sabha, with a dedicatory page signed by C. M. Divan, K. K. Sastri, D. D. Shah, Ballantyne Haveli, Tm Darvaja, Ahmedabad. 1953. 32 colour plates. Price Rs. 25

This is a respectful tribute offered by his countrymen to the Hon'ble K. M. Munshi, the distinguished son of Gujarat, on his 60th birth-day. Such *Fechtiche* volumes of tribute have become quite fashionable in India. But generally such tributes are in the form of a bunch of learned essays and articles from the pen of scholars and savants. But this is a new departure as it avoids the trodden path of literary contributions and takes the form of a bunch of Water Colour Paintings, specially painted by Ravi Shankar Rawal, the famous artist and journalist of Ahmedabad. The 32 pictures, each mounted on cartons, with a descriptive note in Gujarati and Hindi, are in three sections: Vedic-Pauranic (14), Historical (14) and Social (4). The pictures are imaginative presentations, not always happy in their designs, draughtsmanship and colour scheme, the best pieces being Kartavirja-Arjun, Daddanath Aghori, Dhodha Bapa, Chaula, Muhammad of Ghazni, Prasanna, Ranak Devi and Kirtideva. The unspecified portrait pasted on the Album is a powerful study of an unidentified historical figure. The famous Gujarati artist has set a new precedent for the forms of Prasasti volumes which it is hoped will be followed by later pilgrims on the same path.

O. C. GANGOLY

1. **SHRI KRISHNI AN OR AT THE MONTH OF THE GUN**: By H. D. Dave.

2. **GITA SAPTARATNA SAPTATI**: By Babubhai Ichcharam Desai, B.A.

Both published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay 1. 1950. Cloth-bound. Paper-cover. Pp. 176: 171. Price (Rs. 4-12, Re. 1.

The weekly paper Gujarati presents to its subscribers at the end of every year, a novel or other book for the last sixty-six years. Book No. 1 is its present for the sixty-seventh year. A man called Bhandas was, through jealousy, unfairly shot, by Maharaja Khanderao, at the month of the Gun. Later he

repented and honoured in open Darbar his widow and daughter-in-law. The book sets out that story and is based on the archives of chroniclers (Bahroti). The second book contains the Sanskrit text and Gujarati translation of the first Part (Shlokas 1-40) of the 18th Adhyaya of the Gita, with useful explanations and comments based on the sermons of Godse Shastri-Babubhai is a close student of the Gita and has propounded its principles very well.

MAHASABHANUN BANDHAN: Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 17. Price As. 8.

This is a Gujarati version of the contribution of the Hindi Rashtriya Mahasabha as adopted at Bombay on 24th April, 1948.

SATYAGRAHA MIMAMSA: By Maganbhai P. Desai. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 294. Price Rs. 3.

This is the second edition of a book first published in 1934, when Satyagraha was being practised at its highest. Its significance, its object, its limitations, its *ahimsa* character, and every phase relating to it was given there. During the course of fifteen years after 1934 many occurrences have taken place, to which Shri Desai has referred in his extensive Introduction. He has noticed that Sangathan-Union can be based on jealousy, envy, hatred and falsehood, instead of on love and truth, and gives us an instance, the union of Muslims brought about by the late Mr. Jinnah. Kaka Kalelkar's second Introduction, i.e., Introduction to this edition, entitled "The Direction in which Hope Lies," is a valuable guide to workers in this line.

ARTHASHASTRANI PARIBHASA: By Vithaldas Maganlal Kothari. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 65. Price As. 14.

In these days of economic upheavals a sort of Dictionary, giving synonyms and explanations of economic terms and phrases was necessary. Mr. Kothari has met the need, by this small volume, where he gives the meaning, significance, and trend of nearly 500 English words and phrases, and explains them, e.g., cornering, currency, dumping, socialism and many more. K. M. J.

GOPALAN: By Natubhai Solanki. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir. May, 1953. Price Rs. 3.

Natubhai Solanki has been trained in Sabarmati Gandhi Ashram working on cow-keeping, and has produced a book on Gopalan in Gujarati covering different aspects of the problem. He has carefully studied Shri Satish Das Gupta's well-known book as well as the special issue of the *Kalyan*: *The Romance of the Cow*, Sri Valjibhai's *Go-Raksha Kalpataru*, and he has in course of seven chapters produced a handy book showing how the cow was held in great request in our ancient books. He has described the different breeds, milk and milk products. He has also treated ordinary cattle diseases and easily available remedies and *pinjrapoles* for the old and infirm. He has assessed the value of cows against buffaloes, bullocks against tractors, and in a few appendices he has shown how records are to be kept regarding cows and how the various forms of Vanaspathi and similar products are to be balanced against ghee, concluding his books with miscellaneous interesting side topics. The book is sure to be very useful to all interested in our cattle wealth, and surely their number should be large enough to embrace all rural welfare workers.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Professor Girindra Sekhar Bose

Dr. S. C. Mitra writes in *Science and Culture* :

Dr. Girindra Sekhar Bose, D.Sc., M.B., F.N.I., the first Professor of Psychology of the Calcutta University and one of the founders of the Indian Psychological Association, passed away on 3rd June last at the age of 67 years. He had a stroke in 1949 and since then he had been practically confined to bed till the time of his death.

We had the privilege of living in close association with Dr. Bose for more than 30 years and thus had the opportunity of witnessing the gradual development and unfolding of the rich and varied powers of his mind. We first came in contact with him in 1917 when he was our teacher. What struck us most at that time was the keenness of his intellect, his novel methods of teaching, and his original ways of interpreting the phenomena of mind. Above all, the rigorously scientific bent of his mind fascinated us. Everything that he said and did, even the routine of the daily activities of his life was based on strict scientific principles. Through close contact we gradually realised the versatility of his interest and his capacities in different fields of intellectual and social activities.

Girindrasekhar was a son of Dewan Chandrasekhar Bose and was born in Darbhanga on January 30, 1886. He is survived by three elder brothers, one of whom is Rajsekhar Bose, a former manager and a present director of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works; a master of Bengali humorous prose who writes under the pen name *Parashuram*.

Graduating in science in the year 1905 with Honours in Physiology and Chemistry in both of which he obtained First Class and stood first, Girindrasekhar entered the Medical College. Passing out all medical examinations with great credit in 1910 he began his career as a medical man. By this time he had already mastered the techniques of hypnotism. From a very early period of his life he was deeply interested in the workings of the mind and had a burning desire to study these in a thoroughly scientific way. The creation of the Psychology Department in 1916 gave him the desired opportunity, and he at once took advantage of it. He joined the Department as a student and acquainted himself thoroughly with all that the leading psychologists of the day had to say about mind. He passed the M.Sc. examination in Experimental Psychology in 1917 in the First class. He however was not satisfied with what he learnt about psychology from the authorities and found serious gaps in the theories about many of the mental phenomena. At that time Sigmund Freud's revolutionary theories had begun to agitate violently the scientists, the religious men and leaders of society of the Western countries. Storms of protests and personal vilifications were the order of the day. Dr. Bose however, was convinced of the truth of Freud's discoveries and found them extremely helpful in explaining much of the hitherto unexplained mental phenomena. He was bold enough to adopt and preach Freud's theories and began practising psychoanalysis himself. It was a great step taken in the history of the progress of psychological

studies in our country. To-day psychologists, anthropologists, historians and even fashionable leaders of our society refer to Freud and speak of his psychoanalytical theories but let us remember that it was Dr. Bose who introduced Freud to India and it was he who was the pioneer of psychoanalysis here.

Dr. Bose was not content merely to discuss and disseminate Freud's theories. He began his own investigations on the unconscious regions of the mind and soon made contributions which attracted the attention of Freud, Ferenczi, Jones and other foremost psychoanalysts of the day.

It was these researches which won for him an international reputation and Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose was asked to be a collaborating editor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. In the meantime he obtained the D.Sc. degree of the Calcutta University in 1921 by submitting his thesis on "The Concept of Repression." In the general psychology too he made a number of origin contributions and Spearman in his famous book *Psychology down the Ages* quoted long extracts from Dr. Bose's article on Illusion and elaborately discussed the views expressed therein.

During the course of his psychoanalytical researches, however, Dr. Bose's versatile mind soon realised that there were parallelisms and similarities between the psychoanalytical view and the ancient Indian conceptions about the mind. Accordingly with his characteristic zeal he began with the help of Pandits to study the ancient Sanskrit texts, philosophical, mythological and historical. The products of his devotion to these studies are his well-known treatises *Puram Prabesh*, *Gita* and other articles. The manuscripts of another book had been completed before his death but unfortunately had not been published as yet. With the help of a German tutor, Dr. Bose learned the German language and acquired considerable proficiency in it. His studies on the psychology of language, Bengali technical terms, are authoritative ones. The pages of many journals, English as well as Bengali, have been enriched by his valuable contributions. It was his book *Swarna* written in plain, easily intelligible Bengali language, which first introduced the theories of Freud to the intelligent lay public of our country. As such it was a definite contribution to our own literature. Juvenile literature also did not escape the touch of his hand and his *Lal-Kalo* will always occupy a distinctive position in this field.

Apart from these versatile intellectual activities he had many other solid achievements to his credit. For wider propagation of psychoanalytical knowledge he founded the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, the first of its kind in India, if not of Asia, in the year 1922, long before many other countries of Europe and States of America thought of doing so. He remained the President of the Society, which was affiliated to the International Society, till the last day of his life. Another notable achievement of his was the opening of the Applied Psychology Section in the Department of Psychology of

our University. He considered it humiliating that whenever we had to discuss anything about the child mind or any other topic of Psychology, we had to rely on observational data of other foreign countries. While our students know many things about the I.Q.'s of the British and American boys and girls and the temperamental qualities of the children of Germany and Switzerland they did not have any reliable scientific data about the children and youths of our own country. In order that this serious defect could be overcome the Applied Psychology Section was started with the main object of collecting data and carrying on researches. A scheme was formulated with the help of Dr. Myers, the Founder of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, and Dr. Spearman, the then Professor of Psychology of the University of London, both of whom happened to be present here at that time at the invitation of the Indian Science Congress. The late lamented Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University gave full support to the scheme and the section was inaugurated in 1938. It was the earnest desire of Dr. Bose that this section would gradually be converted into a full-fledged Postgraduate Department of Applied Psychology and Dr. Mookerjee assured him that there would be no difficulty in doing so.

It is a matter of deep regret that even after fourteen years, this undertaking given to Dr. Bose has not been implemented by the responsible authorities. Even now efforts have to be made every year to induce authorities to extend the life of the Applied Psychology section. It will be a fitting recognition of Dr. Bose's efforts in this direction if finally a separate Applied Psychology Department of the University be established. To Dr. Bose goes the credit of starting this completely new venture in our country.

The most important activity of Dr. Bose in the social sphere was the starting of the Lumbini Park Mental Hospital.

Bengal did not have any hospital, Government or private, run on strictly scientific lines for the treatment of the mentally diseased persons. The Lumbini Park is the only hospital in Bengal where all the latest methods of scientific treatment, physical as well as psychological are meted out to patients suffering from diseases of the mind. Starting with 3 beds in 1940 Dr. Bose had raised the hospital to its present position where 80 patients can now be accommodated. It is still a completely private institution and receives no help from the Government.

Dr. Bose's radiant appearance, his magnetic personality, his winning smile attracted everybody towards him. His deep insight and his wide sympathies had considerable influence on his friends, acquaintances and patients. As he was versed in so many subjects it was always a treat to listen to his discourses whether in the academic circles or in drawing room parleys.

Lastly, I cannot refrain from mentioning one thing which has made a deep impression on me. The way he bore his illness during the last 4 years of his life was wonderful indeed. Not a single day did I hear him making any complaint or fretting about his illness. Unless asked he would never voluntarily speak of his ailments and of the pains and troubles he had been suffering from. This spirit of calm resignation is seldom met with now-a-days. If I be permitted to use such an expression, I would say that while other persons read the Gita, our Dr. Bose used to live the Gita.

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H. J. Massingham

THE CRAFTSMAN AND SOCIETY

John M. Todd, a Britisher of Pacifist convictions and Gandhian sympathies, writes in the *Aryan Path* appreciatively of the late H. J. Massingham's contribution to agricultural and industrial reform:

There has died recently in England a man whose great concern was to see the restoration of the intensively cultivated small farm, and the revival of the myriad rural crafts which are needed by it. H. J. Massingham was no sentimentalist. He knew that agriculture and rural society generally must adapt itself to and take advantage of industrial power. So sure indeed was he that the day of the old craftsmen had gone that he made a collection of representative agricultural instruments and craftsmen's tools, to make possible the study of techniques which had ceased to be practised. This collection has now become a permanent museum situated at Reading, in Berkshire, England, useful to the student of history, the economist and the sociologist.

But Massingham knew that any healthy society must be based on a thriving agriculture and must have a responsible attitude towards every bit of work that any man or woman does. He held up the achievements of the past in England, and put a spotlight on the modern abuses of the natural world. He was a prophet, though a minor one. Like most prophets he was detested or laughed at by entrenched opinion for his central message, whilst he was equally adulated by a following of men unknown to fame.

His literary fame in England rests on a collection of books describing the English countryside, *English Downland*, *Cotswold Country*, *Chiltern Country* and his last book, *The Southern Marches*. These fine books are the fruit of his early work at London University as an anthropologist who also studied geology, combined with an increasing interest in the relationship between society and religion. The result is a quite remarkable ability to convey the "feel" of a countryside. Massingham knew the underlying physical nature of it, and the historical processes, social and spiritual, which it had seen.

But all this was ultimately only the happy overflow from his most substantial work and his deepest convictions. It was these convictions which enabled him to convey the sense of wholeness, of harmony, of unity in diversity, in his descriptions of the limestone hills, the stone villages which they nurtured and the craftsmen who lived there, of the chalk downs with their treeless pastures, and religious monuments.



Like most prophets, Massingham was a fighter. He was not content merely with making careful historical surveys of country craftsmen. He did make many of these; though through them could always be seen Massingham's own passion for good work, for beauty wedded to usefulness. But, further, Massingham felt the need to take up controversial positions on contemporary questions. Thus he became known as a bitter critic of the policy of the Forestry Commission in England in planting great areas of hill-sides exclusively with conifers. He became known also as almost fanatically opposed to the use of artificial fertilizers, at least as a virtually complete alternative to organic manure. And Massingham became known too as one of those who maintained that the wholemeal loaf should be the loaf to be subsidized, not that made from flour from which the germ and the outer skin of the grain had been removed.

There has been a spate of books in the last few years about world food shortage and soil erosion, and most of them go to one extreme or another on an exclusively material level in propounding solutions.

One will advocate compulsory birth prevention. Another will advocate the exploitation of natural resources on a vast scale. For Massingham either of these answers is an attempt to make a short cut past the most fundamental considerations. He maintained that any approach will be doomed to failure if it looks on nature as something "to be conquered." The materialist approach forgets that man is a creature, set amongst creatures. It ignores the fact that God made the world, and ordered it in a system of love. Man thus has no right to treat the natural world just as he thinks fit. His proper attitude is indicated in a phrase which Massingham used to describe the peasant: he is wedded to the natural world in husbandry.

Massingham presented his own thought most methodically in a book published in 1943, *The Tree of Life*. It is a historical survey of religion, society and literature in England. In it he quotes a key passage from T. S. Eliot's *The Idea of a Christian Society*:

"A wrong attitude towards nature implies, somewhere, a wrong attitude towards God, and the consequence is an inevitable doom. For long enough we have believed in nothing but the values arising in a mechanized, commercialized, urbanized way of life; it would be as well for us to face the permanent conditions upon which God allows us to live upon this planet."

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In a short article of this sort it is impossible to indicate the full scope of the theoretical background to Massingham's thought which *The Tree of Life* provided. But one can indicate its purport by practical examples from his other works. Massingham observed that few men have lived so well and so happily and with such benefit, in the ultimate sense, to others, as the peasant and the craftsman. So he travelled far and wide observing the last inheritors of their traditions. Here were men who had clearly fulfilled the conditions upon which God permits us to live on this earth. Here were what the modern philosopher calls the "synthetic criteria" by which we could judge modern society.

In 1942 Massingham wrote *The English Countryman*. This was again a historical survey and perhaps the greatest of Massingham's works, illuminated with his own personal acquaintance with contemporary craftsmen.

At the end of Chapter III, entitled "The Craftsman," he wrote:

"I have known many craftsmen of various types and trades and I possess many of their works and implements. Is there a family likeness between them as there certainly is between their tools? Since their personalities are probably more diverse than those of an equal number of mechanics or factory-workers for the simple reason that their work gives them latitude for self-expression, it would seem that a family likeness, say between an Oxford saddler, a Dorset thatcher, a Cotswold slatter, a Yorkshire hurdler and Sussex wheelwright could not possibly exist. From my experience which is not small, it does exist, this shared quality of being, and, for want of a better word, I shall call it serenity. . . . This equanimity of temper, exceeding rare in an age of schizophrenia, is conferred upon them by the nature of their work and their intimate contact with Nature herself. It is not insensibility but poise, and, if it owes something to inheritance, still more to lack of frustration, more yet to consciousness of service and even more to the small green world in which they live, it owes most of all to an attunement with the will of Creation itself."

The "will of Creation" is an ambiguous phrase and typifies Massingham's principal fault, that of verbal inexactitude. Yet the principal meaning is clear. He had been elaborating the virtues of the craftsmen in the preceding pages. He described the training of son by father, and referred to Arthur Bryant's description of this sort of education as "a mental and spiritual discipline," Massingham went on:

"Tradition became variable within certain limits because the human element, nourished by skill and personal responsibility, was always replenishing it It fostered rather than fettered individual treatment and so was inevitably antipathetic to mass-production But it is impossible to understand this interplay between tradition and individuality except by watching a craftsman at work," and Massingham here goes on to describe the Cotswold dry-wallers.

The complex traditions of the old crafts, bound to no time-sheet united with a regional self-sufficiency, and acting by an interchange of goods and services rather than money, were the pillars and arches of a social structure whose core of soundness was no less ethical than economic.

Many times during his life Massingham made his basic attitude to the machine clear, although, as we shall see later, he failed to apply his attitude to the industrial world. In *The Tree of Life* (p. 157) he wrote:

"It is not the machine itself which has been responsible for this degradation, since electricity and the internal combustion engine could and should be of the utmost service in the diffusion of property. It is the machine in combination with a predatory philosophy which has degraded work and finally gone on without it, and this is the work of the economic system which has degraded property and has gone on into a functionless finance."

From there he goes on to quote from R. H. Tawney's *The Acquisitive Society*, about the morally satisfactory nature of mediaeval economics. Massingham sums this up:

"The peasant's relation to the land is symbiotic by nature, and so the reverse of predatory. . . . The hallmark of every peasant society is that of integration between nature and religion, freedom and tradition, responsibility and ownership, social service and individual rights. That such wholeness was commonly realized in practice would be too much to claim; what is incontrovertible is that it was the normal and familiar pattern of peasant society."

Massingham emphasized "wholeness" as an essential characteristic of the craftsman. His is a synthesizing work. A master of his own craft, the craftsman is also skilled in understanding his material from its first natural setting to its final use, whether it be from tree to chair, osier bed to basket, stone to house, or sheep to serge. He is in a sufficiently close relationship to the natural setting and to the ultimate consumer to produce an article which is perfectly fitting; he moulds its natural beauty into efficient utility, the result of an under-

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standing, in love, of the created world and of the men and women for whom he works. Part of the craftsman's particular virtue, then, is to be situated in this organic position. He cannot function in the abstract.

In the craftsman Massingham sees the perfect example of man coming to God through nature, man finding beauty through the ordinary processes of his craft, man expressing truth, by fitting harmoniously in with the laws of the natural world.

There is material here for the theologian to consider. But there is material also for the sociologist and the economist. How can the virtues of the craftsman, these supremely fine developments of the best in human nature, be educed in the modern industrial world? To what extent should it be a long-term aim in industry to make it possible for the majority of workers to have an opportunity to be craftsmen in some sense of the word?

Massingham did notably fail to attack this central problem of work in the industrial world. His thought never attained a full engagement in England. Yet the work he did achieve may in the end prove to be of wider import; and, in any case, encouragement of the old traditions, and efforts to enable craftsmen to adapt themselves to modern conditions, are valuable and important. Massingham did much in this sphere; in England the Rural Industries Bureau also has done very much.

In *The Wisdom of the Fields* (p. 136), Massingham cites as a typical instance of adaptation the case of a Somerset wheelwright:

"Sid Poole uses a bandsaw and so presented me with one more example of the utility of the small machine to the master-craftsman. He maintained that it not only freed him to devote more time to the artistry of his handwork but cut out the shapes of the fellows more accurately than by hand."

In 1947 Massingham edited a book called *The Small Farmer*, a principal theme of which was the need for small agricultural machines. One of its chapters, "Small Machines for Small Farmers," by L. T. C. Rolt, dealt with the subject exclusively.

Can we say anything about industrial mass production in the light of Massingham's work? There is no question of doubting the goodness of using the power of steam or electricity or atomic energy. What might, however, be questioned is the wisdom of concentrating the work of design itself solely in the designer of the machine. Can the love of a Christian, can the personality of a human being, be properly exercised in producing the stock responses required in minding a machine which not only has its own power, but also the ability to complete an article within itself?

Mass production has sometimes to produce articles of doubtful quality, to last only a short while, in order that there shall be a continuing demand for the products of the mass-producing machine. On the other hand, we live in an age which is developing its understanding of

the natural world so rapidly that it could be unwise to commit oneself to objects that were going to last a very long time. But these considerations do not humanize work that is essentially inhuman.

As industrial organization is increasingly considered from the point of view of the human being, Massingham's witness will be increasingly of value as a yardstick.

Eventually it should be possible to talk quite realistically about the machine being used by human beings.

The revival of rural society and the increasing use by it of the machine may serve as an example here of what will enable industry to develop in the most human way. In England at the moment a great increase in agricultural production is being planned. In the last ten years a great revival has already taken place. And the work of Massingham and many others like him has been a part of it. At last it is again being widely understood that no society can be healthy, economically and spiritually, if it has not got its feet firmly on the agricultural ground.

The earth is provided by God for the provision of basic necessities. It is ignored only on pain of many troubles. On the most realistic level it has been obvious since the middle forties that it would become necessary for England to alter very considerably her "workshop of the world" economy. It is now becoming clear all over the world that man and the earth are in a relation to each other which has certain rules—there are quite definite conditions under which we are permitted to live on this planet.

Massingham is one of the minor prophets who have been recalling men to an understanding of these conditions. His thought and writings will enable man not to go slavishly backwards in time, attempting to copy the exact patterns of a past age which can never be revived, but to use these past achievements in developing the natural world today in the most human way possible.

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Goa and the Problem of Merger

M. N. Wagh writes in *The Indian Review*:

We in India have the strong feeling that if a referendum is taken in Goa, the Goans, one and all would plump for a merger with India. This view is held not only by the proverbial man-in-the-street, who is a weather-van without an opinion of his own, but also by those who profess to be experts on the Goanese situation.

From the newspaper accounts of terrorism in the form of arbitrary imprisonment and whipping of those who talk, or are alleged to be talking against the Portuguese Government, we have come to take it for granted that the Goans if called upon to vote, would unanimously vote for a merger with India; that India, or Bombay in particular, is a heaven for them. This is a delusion, and the sooner we get over it the better.

There is no doubt that Goa is out and out a police state. It is beyond doubt that the Portuguese are interested only in making the maximum out of the manganese and wine industries that flourish there, that they do not want to utilise these resources for the general good of the colony. It is also true that Minister Rodrigue's promise to redress the grievances of the people was a sham to postpone, or if possible to evade altogether, what is a desideratum. It is also true that the ugly incident that occurred when the Minister toured the pocket reverberated through every nook and corner, and lingered many a day after its occurrence.

But—and that is a big 'But'—in spite of all these bad features of Portuguese colonial rule, which would normally have strengthened the embryonic desire of the subject people to cast off the shackles of slavery and be free, the problem of merger does not hold much attraction to a Goan. It is a paradox no doubt, but a paradox which can be easily explained only if we examine closely the back-ground of life that the people in Goa lead.

Poverty does not necessarily mean discontent and unhappiness. Poverty fomented discontent only when it verges on starvation and destitution. It is then that he people manifest their discontent with revolts and revolutions. A Goan is poor, economically or clearly, monetarily poor. He has no bank account, nor does he invest his money, for he has no money to invest. But he gets without difficulty what every human being in a civilised society should get, food, shelter and clothing. In the absence of stream-lined publicity and mass advertisement the temptation to struggle for luxuries is more or less nil. Hence the contentment and sense of security. An average Goan family with five to six children cultivates rice and if possible supplements its income from land by a wine shop called a taverna, or grocer's. From father to the youngest member of the family everybody is engaged in his or her piece of work and six to eight hours to toil and moid leave little or no time for thoughts of freedom and politics. The family lives in a shell of its own. The Minister's tour was merely a ripple in the otherwise smooth, monotonous stream of its life. Nobody understood the significance of the visit; nobody cared to know. Nor does anybody really feel that reform is necessary. The people are not only poor, but illiterate—insouciantly illiterate.

This is a vital fact. It is essential to look at the problem of merger in the light of this vital fact. The delusion under which we labour stems from ignoring it.

If after a study of the life of the people in Goa, we turn our eyes to our shores, we will find that Goa and Bombay are Poles apart. If Goa has no major food

problem, and rice though insufficient for home consumption can be imported conveniently, we have got a tremendous food problem to tackle. If Goa has adequate housing supply many of us here have to sleep in garages and even foot-paths. If crime is conspicuous by its absence in Goa, we are getting more and more worried over our mounting crime graph. And above all, if wine is the tea of Goa, we here have to rest satisfied with pure water, or what for our consolation we call, Adam's ale. What have we got to offer the Goans in exchange for the peaceful, happy life that they lead there? Ave, there is the rub. "Goa might be a frying pan, but do you think we are eager to jump from the frying pan into fire?"

That was the answer, more like a rhetorical question that I had to take when I asked a man in Assolna, a village three miles from Murgao: "What do you think about a merger with Bombay?" In Kanakona also I pointed out to a policeman named Caroz with whom I had made friends the absence of educational facilities in Goa, and the charm of education in Bombay: "Is your damn education going to get me food, shelter and wine?" The answer was as convincing as the answer that a lady is reported to have given, when a journalist asked her if television would replace newspapers: "We can't wrap herrings in a television!"

Such answers as these are not rare. They are a common feature. They clinch the issue; they leave one speechless, stunned. In short, they reflect the attitude of the Goans towards merger. We have to realise that the problem of merger is not as easy as all the experts argue it is. The necessity of awakening the people is of utmost importance; it comes first and foremost. In carrying on propaganda there is one grave danger of hurting the conservatism or susceptibilities of the people. The problem is as delicate as the problem of birth-control, or the problem of enlightening an adolescent mind. Here we can very well imitate the method of door-to-door indoctrination carried on by the communists in our country. This method has yielded good results to the communists. By constant repetition of the fact of slavery, by making the people aware of the injustice of their life, public opinion can be mobilised. Such intrepid leaders like Brute De Costa are striving to do that.

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In the *Jewish Frontier*, July 1953, Ben B. Seligman tells the interesting story of one of the most romantic and gigantic industries of the modern world, viz, the motion picture industry and startles us by revealing that it is the Jews who came to Hollywood and built the movie industry in America:

The history of Jewish enterprise in the Diaspora is largely a history of peripheral industries. Developed by entrepreneurs who were compelled to seek their fortunes in untried pastures, these industries acquired non-Jewish respectability only when their high profits were well established. During the Middle Ages money-lending and banking were the only occupations open to Jews, and later it was foreign trade that permitted them to display their commercial talents. But these pursuits were viewed with disdain by the populace, and the authorities did not mind letting Jews extract the initial profits. This pattern of industrial development holds true even in America: and the motion picture industry is the classic example.

The motion picture industry is young—its commercial beginnings go back to but 1896—but it has already passed through all the major phases of capitalistic growth. Innovators forcibly took the industry away from unimaginative inventors and promoted it into a fantastic money-maker. Expansions and mergers marked its history during its first three decades, and once financial success was firmly established, Wall Street moved in quietly to capture another bastion for finance.

The potentialities of the motion picture were not recognized by the first promoters and inventors. They were anxious to protect patent rights, and did not seek a mass market. The task of development was undertaken by hard-driving, aggressive nickelodeon operators willing to shoulder the risks of an infant industry. They did their own financing; they wrote their own scripts; they built their own scenery; they developed the films and exhibited

the pictures in their own primitive theatres. They had a capacity for work that only those on the periphery of the business world possess. These entrepreneurs were glove salesmen, pharmacists, furriers, clothiers and jewelers. They were innovators, arrogant and often vulgar, but they knew what the people wanted and they created a form of entertainment within the reach of all. Responsive to the demands of a hungry movie-going public, they created the feature picture and the star system. Their names were Zukor, Fox, Lasky, Loew, Mayer, Selznick and Goldfish.

In the beginning the movie industry was shunned by respectable business men. They thought it a low form of amusement that would only ruin reputations. The public, however, felt no such qualms and demanded more films. Studios mushroomed all over the country and anyone who could rent or steal a camera became a producer. By 1909 competition had become so intense that the larger manufacturers formed the Motion Pictures Patents Company as a measure of self-protection. Independent producers, however, refused to be intimidated by the patent combine's legal tactics, and economic warfare raged unabated.

The bitter struggle between the patent combine and the independents continued until in 1914 the MPPC

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ceased to be a dominant factor. Carl Laemmle had formed a powerful protective association; William Fox, faced with a shortage of films for his theatres, began to produce his own pictures; the Lasky organization became too important to be suppressed. Men of that calibre did not accept easily the restrictive dictates of the early movie monopolists. Leading a shoestring existence, they did not mind an occasional hasty trip to Mexico to avoid an injunction suit.

The need for quick escapes from the patent combine's process-servers compelled the independents to seek movie locations close to the Mexican border. Southern California became the ideal place, for here one found superb replicas of the deserts of Africa and of the wilds of India. Continuous sunshine permitted all-day shooting and cheap labor made mob scenes an inexpensive undertaking.

The experience of the patent combine proved to alert movie entrepreneurs that distribution and exhibition were the keys to absolute control. Adolph Zukor, William Fox and Marcus Loew began to dispose of their nickelodeons and acquire more dignified theatres. The extremes to which the early magnates went in their search for dignity is illustrated by one of Loew's theatre purchases. He bought a closed burlesque house in Brooklyn that had been often raided by the police. When acquired, the building was being used as a storage place by the Salvation Army. The decrepit theatre was fumigated physically and morally; for several months it was used by a troupe of Italian Shakespearean actors. Loew then opened it as a respectable family movie house.

Marcus Loew was a conservative business man in an industry marked by flamboyant extravagance. He started life as a newspaper boy on New York's East Side and by the turn of the century had become a fairly successful furrier. Peep-shows, the latest rage in low-cost, high-profit entertainment, offered a more attractive field, however; and together with Adolph Zukor, Loew began to build a chain of penny arcades. Zukor and Loew were very unfriendly partners: each wanted to run the business his own way. When the firm rented new office space, Loew conveniently forgot to provide his colleague with a desk and chair. Zukor could not overlook the insult to his dignity; he left to become an independent producer of films.

Throughout this early period of Loew sought to exhibit a better kind of picture. But he soon found it difficult to obtain good films, for Zukor, his erstwhile partner and now an important producer, stubbornly refused to exhibit in the Loew chain. In 1920 Loew decided to make his own pictures. He bought out a moribund producing company called Metro Pictures, and in 1924 added the Goldwyn Picture Corporation and

L. B. Mayer Company. Thus was formed the alliterative MGM; Loew's producing subsidiary.

L. B. Mayer, born in Poland, came to the United States in the late 1890's. A member of the original group of Jewish furriers, jewelers and nickelodeon operators who built the movie industry, he became MGM's chief. Mr. Mayer's fantastically high salary testifies to his shrewd bargaining powers. When Loew wanted to buy his firm, Mayer inserted a profit-sharing clause in the contract—a clause that has often brought his yearly earnings close to the half-million mark.

After Marcus Loew's death in 1927, the enterprise was directed by Nicholas Schenck, a hard-headed business man who followed the conservative practices of his predecessor. Schenck had come to America in 1892 with his brother Joseph, and together they had operated an amusement park at Fort George, N. Y. One day Marcus Loew came there to show movies and the Schenck boys were imaginative enough to forget the amusement

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park game. Nicholas joined the Loew organization and Joseph became a movie producer. Nicholas Schenck soon won the reputation of knowing best where to build theatres. Thus, although the Loew chain is much smaller than the Paramount or Fox group, its income is markedly increased by the fact that about half of its houses are first-run theatres.

It was Adolph Zukor, however, who established the pattern for expansion in the new industry. Emigrating to America with \$40 sewed into the lining of his coat, he sought his fortunes in the novelty-fur business. Penny arcades were more exciting, though, and in 1905 Zukor transferred his energies and his \$200,000 profit in furs to that outcast branch of the entertainment world. When motion pictures became an important addition to the line of arcade gadgets, Zukor immediately realized the potentialities of the new entertainment form, and they soon became the sole attraction.

Exhibitors in those days had very poor fare to show. Skirt dances, a dare-devil ride in a barrel over the falls, or the pounding of surf on the coast of Maine made up the twenty- or thirty-minute program. Zukor wanted pictures that told a coherent story; the unprecedented success of Sarah Bernhardt's *Queen Elizabeth* strengthened this desire. After his split with Loew in 1912, Zukor went into picture production and formed the Famous Players Company.

Within four years he was at the top of a brawling infant industry. Motion pictures in those days were distributed by so-called exchanges. Zukor did business with the Paramount Picture exchange, headed by a

W. W. Hodkinson. Dissatisfied with the financial arrangement imposed by Hodkinson, Zukor suggested a merger. The former indignantly refused, but he failed to reckon with Zukor's pertinacity. Zukor quietly bought up most of Paramount's stock and within a year was able to oust Hodkinson.

Zukor reasoned that control of the market rested upon control at the source; if the best actors belonged to Paramount, he thought, the exhibitors would be at his mercy. Within a few years Zukor assembled a great collection of talent. Film rental fees increased sharply and block-booking was forced upon the reluctant independent exhibitor.

The latter, however, did not willingly accept this situation. In 1917 several theatre circuits formed First National Pictures, a producing company. With their own supply of film, they could exclude competitors' pictures from their theatres. Soon First National had 5,000 members and Zukor began to worry about theaters rather than talent. For two years he watched First National's tactics and then decided that it was time to set up his own distribution and exhibition outlets. Convinced that theatres were a good investment, he sold ten million dollars' worth of securities through Kuhn, Loeb and Company and began to build the Paramount movie chain.

The technique by which a theatre circuit was welded was not a soft one. An independent exhibitor was approached and bluntly told either to sell his property or suffer the competition of a newly constructed theatre. Independents screamed that the industry was

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being "raped," but Zukor went his way, disposing of First National's individual members one by one. By 1921 he controlled over 300 movie houses and in 1926 his acquisition of the Chicago Katz-Balaban circuit completely destroyed First National's importance in the motion picture industry.

With more than 1,600 theatres exhibiting the Paramount product, Zukor felt safe in the face of the depression. But the quiet ex-furrier discovered that even so depression-proof an industry as motion pictures could not carry the heavy fixed charges imposed by Wall Street financing. Paramount began to hit the financial reefs and for two years 53 assorted law firms, banks, investors' committees and experts scowled and quarreled over the ailing corporation. Involved in all this high legal bickering were the Chase National Bank, the Royal Insurance Company, American Telephone and Telegraph, and the Atlas Corporation. Paramount was finally reorganized in 1935. Of the old officers only Zukor and George Schaefer remained; the new board of directors was composed of bankers and real estate men. John Otterson, head of A.T. and T.'s Electrical Research Products, Inc. (ERPI) became president.

The early movie pioneers were quite aware of their humble origins and their thirst for industrial power was perhaps motivated by an unconscious urge to be treated as equals. But not all of them felt that it was necessary to create financial monstrosities; some preferred to be known as artistic picture makers. Such a man was Samuel Goldfish.

Goldfish left his native Warsaw at the age of 10 and arrived in Gloversville, N. Y., one year later. At 15 he began a successful road-salesman career in the toughest itinerary in the glove business. One day he walked into a Herald Square nickelodeon and became fascinated by the notion of owning a theatre. He soon discovered that it was cheaper to produce and sell films. Together with his brother-in-law Lesse Lasky, a vaudeville producer, and on a capital of \$26,500, he organized the Jesse Lasky Feature Play Company. Goldfish soon acquired the reputation of a man who did things his own way or not at all. When Lasky merged with Zukor in 1916, Goldfish stepped out to create a new production unit. His partners in this venture were the Selwyn Brothers.

The new business was called after the founders, Goldwyn Pictures. Goldfish thought so well of the title that for the first time in the history of corporate enterprise a man named himself for a corporation: Goldfish became Goldwyn. And despite Zukor's hope that it would fail, the new company became a factor to be reckoned with.

Goldwyn's great contribution to movie making was his emphasis upon quality. In 1919 he conceived the notion that the key person in production was the writer. Before this a scenario had been nothing more than a rough outline to guide the director. Of course, this elevation of the writer to an important position may have been but a shrewd competitive device turned against Zukor, who had cornered the market in acting talent. Goldwyn hired such writers as Rex Beach, Gertrude Atherton and Maurice Maeterlinck. While he failed to obtain many usable scripts, he did get a good deal of valuable publicity thereby.

When MGM was formed in 1924, Goldwyn tried to establish himself as production chief. Here, however, he suffered one of his rare defeats and was forced to withdraw. Not at all disturbed by this unfavorable turn of events, he organized another movie company, Samuel Goldwyn, Inc., Ltd. Here he was absolute boss and the responsibility was all his own. He continued to emphasize the quality of his pictures; in no other way could they have been exhibited. Then when the sound film made dialogue an important feature of the movie, Goldwyn's faith in writers was vindicated.

Most producers also tried to duplicate Zukor's tactics. They realized that their pictures possessed value solely in proportion to the number of theatres they controlled. Movie-making could be enlarged only by tapping an extensive market, and the need for a continuous outlet soon overshadowed the processes of production. Distribution and exhibition became the major means of eliminating rivals and of acquiring control of as large a segment of a highly competitive market as one could grasp.

The struggle for the movie market produced gigantic interlocking corporations whose complexity paralleled the complicated corporate structures in utilities, finance and automobiles. Independents were ruthlessly eliminated; production, distribution and exhibition became the functions of a few large corporations.

With the battle for theatres increasing in intensity, Eastern bankers began to recognize motion pictures as a legitimate enterprise. As Leo Rosten says, Hollywood shifted from the Arabian Nights to Dun and Bradstreet. The bankers, however, could think only of box-office receipts and this markedly influenced movie-making policy. In the early days producers exercised their ingenuity without any financial inhibitions; but with the advent of big business, Wall Street supervisors replaced the Hollywood genius. The supervisor's job was to protect his employer's investment; players and directors were selected with both eyes on the box office. A motion picture had to have "production value," "picture sense" and "box office appeal." And, of course, the best way of assuring these was to imitate the smash-hit formula of another company. Forced into this orientation, the motion picture as an art form began a steady decline.

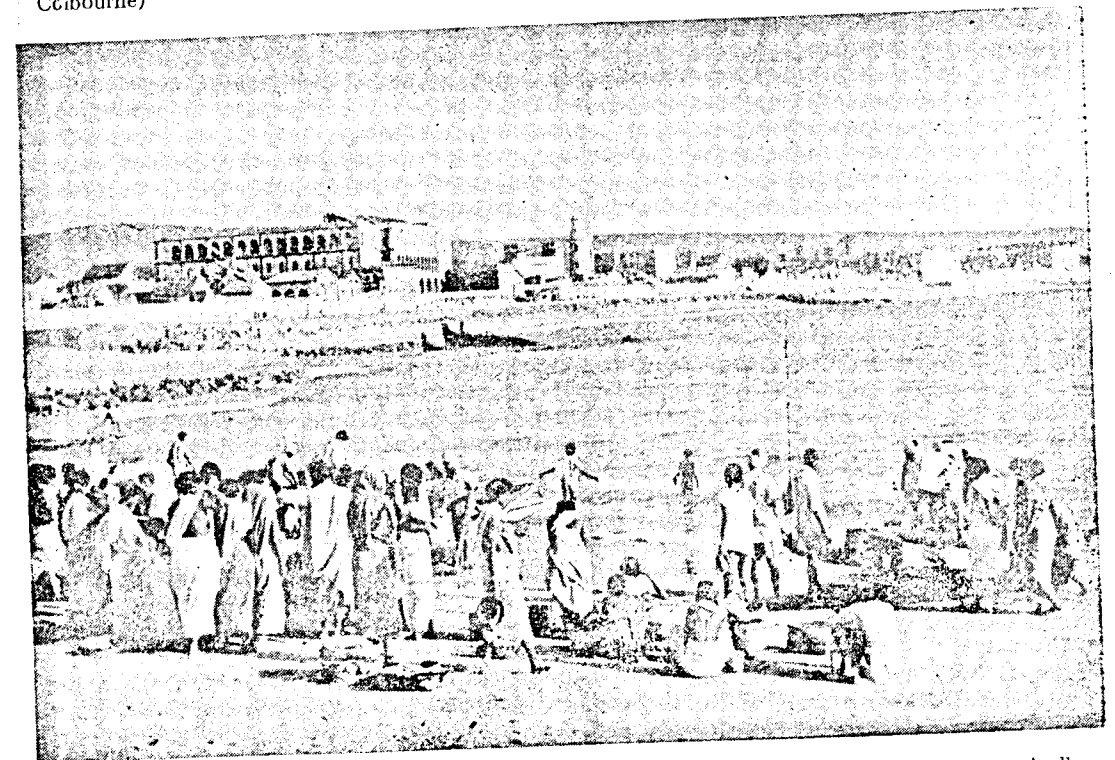
Wall Street men as well as Wall Street money entered the movie industry. W. C. Durant, of the General Motors Corporation, and Harvey Gibson, of the Liberty National Bank, became members of the board of directors of Loew's. The Duponts and the Chase National Bank sponsored the formation of Goldwyn Pictures. The financiers reorganized the larger movie companies and mergers were effected. Soon the public began to recognize the signatures of these new movie-makers.

Into the midst of all this, the sound film broke with an impact that further shook the hold of the old-timers and strengthened that of the financiers. While most industries were prostrated by the depression, the motion picture industry remained financially healthy. Wall Street gazed at this astounding example of economic health and resolved more than ever to secure absolute control.

(To be continued)



The Life and Death of King John by Shakespeare: King John (Donald Wolfitt); The Earl of Pembroke (Roderick Lovell); Prince Henry (Cavan Malone); The Earl of Salisbury (Maurice Colbourne)
Courtesy: B.B.C.



Fisher-folk engaged in their trade on the Vishakhapatnam beach. Vishakhapatnam, Andhra State, is seen in the distance

produced are the best feature of this popular hand-book and is a very opportune publication for which the enterprising publishers deserve high praise and gratitude.

O. C. G.

A SURVEY OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONALISM: By P. Rajeswara Rao. With a Foreword by Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Published by the author. 1950. Pp. 304. Price Rs. 6-12.

The book purports, if its title is any guide, to make a survey of the evolution and development of Indian constitutionalism from the dawn of Indian History to the present day—a rather too ambitious a project to be attempted in a book of less than three hundred pages. The inevitable result is extremely scrappy, cursory and superficial treatment of the subject all through. Then again the book is characterised by a complete lack of unity of purpose. The author does not stick to his theme indicated in the title beyond about one-third of its contents, because chapters XVIII to XXXIII are devoted to narration of events and circumstances leading to the making of the new constitution and chapters XXXIV to XXXIX to a descriptive analysis of the provisions of the new constitution, neither of which has much relation to a survey of constitutionalism.

The book containing in all two hundred and eighty-three pages excluding the Foreword, Contents, Index, etc., has been divided into as many as forty-one chapters, giving each chapter hardly seven pages. Actually some of the chapters contain even less; for instance, the chapters headed "Regime of the East Indian Company," "Under the Crown," "War and the Montford Reforms," "The Role of the Civil Servants," to cite only a few, contain 2½, 2½, 3½ and 2½ pages respectively and it can be left to the readers what justice can be done to subjects indicated in the title of the chapters within the space given. The titles of some of the chapters also are misleading. For instance, in Chapter IV "Medieval and Moghul Period," one would naturally expect a discussion bearing on how far constitutionalism was present or absent in Moghul system of administration, but there is nothing of the sort in the chapter. The same criticism applies more or less to Chapter III, "Puranic and Buddhistic Era" where we are only treated to some views and opinions expressed in ancient literature such as Mahabharata, Kautilya's Arthashastra, Kathaka Sanhita, etc. instead of concrete historical facts bearing on constitutionalism.

But perhaps the principal defect of the work is this that the author does not seem to have a clear conception of his theme. He cannot quite make up his mind as to what he would mean by "constitutionalism." Usually in the literature of political science the term implies Government limited by certain fundamental rules deriving directly or indirectly from popular will as distinct from autocracy and rule of law as distinct from rule of men. He begins by quoting from two distinguished writers on the subject which supports this notion of the concept which he calls "Western", suggesting thereby that the Indian brand of "constitutionalism" is something different which is also suggested by the title of his book. He actually remarks: "Its (constitutionalism) course may change from region to region and period to period. We cannot say that particular course is wrong. We can only say that it is different and distinct" (p. 17). He then goes on to observe: "A close study of the vicissitudes of constitutionalism in a country spread over its long history will be conducive to

better understanding and improvement." The reader will be left wondering what he means by "vicissitudes of constitutionalism" and to ask, "better understanding and improvement" of what? But that is by the way, just to show a sample of lack of clarity of thought and expression of which there are plenty of instances in the book.

To come back to our point, constitutionalism may take different forms and expressions under different circumstances whether in the same country or in different countries, but basically it can have only one meaning as indicated above and we are not sure that there can be an English brand, another, an American brand or yet another, an Indian brand of constitutionalism. But far from developing his thesis of Indian constitutionalism he has subsequently attempted to produce evidence of constitutionalism in the Western sense in different periods of Indian history, although the evidence is very meagre and sometimes of doubtful value. He laments that "things have come to such a pass that it requires very great effort to believe even when sufficient evidence is forthcoming that institutions which we are accustomed to look upon as of Western growth flourished in India" (p. 18), because even Indian scholars like S. Srinivasa Iyengar and the great orientalist Max Muller lent their weight of authority on the opposite side. His object seems to be to produce convincing evidence as to the existence of institutions of Western growth in India in the past to overcome the prevailing scepticism. But that does not strengthen his thesis of Indian constitutionalism. Incidentally, it is difficult to understand how the discussion on the alleged attack on the caste system (p. 19) is relevant in the context in which it occurs.

Further, the author does not stick to one consistent notion of "constitutionalism" throughout. Reference may be made in this connection to Chapter X on "The Role of Civil Servants" and Chapter XII on "The Government of India Act" in connection with federalism. Considerations of space prevent us from going into details.

There are some serious spelling mistakes which should have been detected. It is strange that the names of some very renowned personages have been misspelt in a number of places in the book. For instance, "Laski" has been spelt as "Lasky" (p. 206 and Index), "Panikkar" as "Pannicker" (pp. 60, 78 and Index) and "Montagu" as "Montague" (pp. 50, 58, and Index). The number of repetitions of the mistake in each case makes it difficult to put them down to the printer's devil.

A. K. GHOSAL

COMBINATION MOVEMENT IN INDIAN INDUSTRY: By Dr. M. M. Mehta. Published by Friends Book Depot, Allahabad. Cloth-bound. Price Rs. 4-8.

This book is the result of an explanatory enquiry into the connection of ownership, control and management in Indian industries. This is not a new attempt. Asok Mehta's *Who Owns India* must be mentioned in this connection. There is ample room for further research into this interesting as well as extremely useful subject. Dr. Mehta says that a more important motivation underlying the combination movement is the desire to eliminate wasteful competition through regulation of productive activity, prices or allocation of markets. He has cited the view of the U. S. Industrial Commission and the British Committee on Trusts in support of this theory. He says that for the achievement of these objectives, viz., the reduction in costs or elimination of wasteful competition, the individual

units organise themselves into some kind of association or organisation. In practice, however, it is universal that all such combinations, whether they may be gentleman's agreement, market pools, or full-fledged Trust, cartel, ring or a syndicate, tend towards the same motive—monopoly profits and exploitation of the consumer. The Indian Managing Agency adds two more vices, viz., depriving the shareholder of his legitimate profit and the state its taxes. Dr. Mehta has given a mass of data, very illuminating and useful data, but the book is incomplete. Little attempt has been made to go deep into the subject.

D. B.

1. CREATIVE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN INDIAN SCHOOLS: By K. D. Ghosh, M.A. (Oxon), Principal, David Hare Training College, Calcutta. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 4-8.

2. AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS IN TEACHING INDIAN HISTORY: By K. P. Chaudhury, M.A. (Lond.), Central Institute of Education, Delhi. Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi 6. Price Rs. 4.

It is a truism to say that History is not a bare narration of facts, not a catalogue of events. Yet History is taught as such in our schools, colleges and universities. Within a comparatively short compass of less than 250 pages, Principal Ghose in the first ably deals with the various problems of History as a subject for examination, viz., the curriculum, methods of teaching, the manner in which young learners should be examined in the subject and the like. The learned author rightly points out further how history-lessons can be made lively and interesting with the help of poetry, apparatus and appliances. He further tells us what a teacher of History should be and what he or she should do. We agree with him when he says that a teacher of History should be open-minded, first and foremost. The last chapter of the book deals with the curriculum of various Indian—and Pakistani—universities and suggests improvements thereof. The suggestions, we feel, should have been made with more attention to the average intellectual capacities of our students. The author's suggestion that the B.A. examinees of Calcutta University should have one paper of 100 marks in European History from 1453 to the present day—"to be studied in broad outlines," however—for example, will not have the approval of many who actually handle the Under-graduate classes of that University. More instances might be cited. Principal Ghosh's book however is a welcome addition to our educational literature. Teachers of History in Secondary schools will find it very useful.

The second volume under review, as its title indicates, is much more limited in scope than the first. The author discusses a number of devices—more than a dozen and mostly inexpensive—which will make History quite an interesting subject. These are intended to appeal simultaneously to the eyes and ears of young learners. The book is written in simple English and contains a number of illustrations. The get-up is attractive.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

INDIA—THE PEACE-MAKER: A SOLUTION OF THE KASHMIR PROBLEM: By Paul Richard. Published by Ganesh and Co. Ltd., Madras 17. Pp. 35. Price eight annas.

We are glad to receive this booklet from a publisher who had at one time during the second decade of the Christian century made a name for themselves as publishers of Nationalist literature. The author was

co-editor with Sri Aurobindo of the *Arya*, first published from Pondicherry on August, 1914. This magazine was the dynamo of high thoughts and mystic intuitions that have helped mould many of our ideas on world problems, secular and spiritual.

What Paul Richard writes on "the sacrifice of narrow nationalism, of their egoistic, anarchical, anachronical sovereignties" and their being put under the supervision of "higher up federated units," echoes what Rabindranath Tagore wrote on his "Nationalism." The development of these nation-States, once welcomed, appears to cut across the "Manava Dharma" of Arya idealism. And India is naturally expected to play this part. But the question remains—Will India find conditions favourable for this ideal State? On reply to it depends Paul Richard's whole argument. Kashmir is only a symptom of a world-wide disease. Seers and saints have yet to find a remedy to it.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HINDU CULTURE: By K. Guru Dutt. With a Foreword by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 254. Price Rs. 4-12.

It is a very good collection of sixteen addresses and essays of the author delivered and published some years ago. They deal with a wide variety of popular topics and are so interesting that this volume has now run into third edition. The author who is the Director of Public Instruction in Mysore State elucidates in these essays and speeches the important ideas underlying various aspects of ancient and medieval Indian thought. He has successfully brought to bear upon these his profound knowledge of our literature and philosophy.

In an inaugural address delivered before the Sanskrit Association of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, in 1936 he has beautifully pointed out the genius of the Sanskrit language. Therein he poetically observes that like the stream of the holy 'Ganga', the river of this Sanskrit, whose remote source we have not the temerity to explore, flows past our homesteads and fields sustaining and purifying our work-a-day life and leading us without haste and almost unknowingly to the very shore of the Infinite.

The author in another essay thoroughly examines and fully answers the serious charge and challenge of the late V. Subramanya Iyer who was a Registrar of the Mysore University and a Reader in Philosophy to the former Maharajah of Mysore. In an article in the *Triveni*, Mr. Iyer tried to show that India at present has no philosophy as such of her own. Refuting this charge point by point practically by irrefragable arguments the learned author concludes: "For these, specially philosophers (like the critic concerned) who in the name of Science and scientific method would deliberately avoid all other avenues of knowledge, Nemesis is lying in wait. The only reply to them is in the words of Oliver Cromwell, 'My brethren, by the howels of Christ, I beseech ye; bethink ye that ye may be mistaken!'" This remark is a quite suitable and sound reply to the false charge.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

MANGALA-CHANDIR GIT: By Dvija Madhava. Edited by Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya. Published by the Calcutta University. 1952. Pp. 77 + 303. Price Rs. 8.

Professor Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya's edition of the Middle Bengali poem—*Mangala-Chandir Gita* by Dvija Madhava which goes back to the third

quarter of the 16th century and is a contemporaneous work with Kavikankana Mukundarama's better known poem on the same theme—presents modern Bengali scholarship at its best. Dviya Madhava's work is well-known from histories of Bengali literature, but it was so long lost sight of as a complete poem, and interested students knew it only from extracts or excerpts. An edition was published long ago, over half a century from now, and this is no longer available. The present edition has been very carefully prepared by collating some 21 MSS. of this work and the printed edition (from its second printing), and this gives us as good a text of an important Middle Bengali Classic as can be prepared now with proper critical apparatus. Before discussing the work itself, its variant readings from MSS., its authorship and its language, the editor has contributed a section on the cult of the Devi which forms the theme of the work, and in this connexion he has presented to us some striking suggestions and speculations on the history of a popular form of mediæval and modern Brahmanical Hinduism, as derived from the Sanskrit texts and from Anthropological observations. The University of Calcutta which has brought out the edition can be congratulated on sponsoring such a handsome edition of a Middle Bengali Classic, handsome both from the point of view of its scholarship and its outward get-up.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

PRABAHA : By Bibhutibhusan Gupta. Published by Bharati Library, 145 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta 6. Price Rs. 8.

Bibhutibhusan Gupta, till now known as a short-story-writer, whose delicate touches leave a fine impression on the mind of the readers, has turned his hands to novel-writing. Gupta has succeeded in his attempt. He has not crowded his canvas with multifarious characters, but the characters he has introduced in his novel are drawn with an able hand. Mrinmoy is the hero, but Manju, the heroine of the novel, draws all our sympathy. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee remarks in one of his great novels that there is a hidden curse in youthful love. In *Prabaha*, Mrinmoy and Manju who are attached to each other and has loved each other from their very childhood are not destined to be united in marriage and live together happily ever afterwards. It is not love turning itself to something else. It is fate. Through the machination of a so-called friend whose selfish character is marked by an unforgivable meanness, the two lives are rent asunder and both are drifted apart in the storm-tossed sea of life. The great self-abnegation of Nanku, a real friend, brings them closer. Though not a problem-novel, at the close of the story we meet with a problem, whether the uncompleted ceremony of the marriage of Manju and Nanku is a real marriage, a marriage that is upheld by society. The writer does not answer the question directly. He leaves it to the imagination of the readers. Manju and Nanku are well-drawn. The interest in the story never flags. The style is charming. Readers will find the novel very interesting.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

SWAPNA-O-SANGRAM : By Amiyaratan Mukhopadhyay. Sadhana-Mandir, 55, Narayan Ray Road, Barisa, Calcutta 8. Price Rs. 2.

This is perhaps the Poet's second published book of poems. It is a mature work, free from misty sentimentalism or weak experimentation. The poet is a worshipper of humanity, not deluded by 'catchwords.' His love for truth and beauty has found expression in rich melodious language.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

THE MODERN HINDI TEACHER : By Captain C. L. Vasudeva with a Foreword by General K. M. Cariappa. Published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 105. Price Rs. 3-8.

The very fact that the Army Headquarters of India have approved the book as a text-book speaks of its quality and usefulness. It is divided into four parts, the alphabets, grammar, conversational exercises and glossary. The main object of the book is to make the reader an adept in conversation in a short time, and that object has been achieved by the author. The bold-type neat printing is also commendable. General Cariappa's remark in the Foreword of the book, "I commend this book to all those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi, as it has been written especially for them," is fully justified.

B.

GUJARATI

AGAMONUM DIGDARSHAN : By Prof. Hiralal R. Kapadia, M.A., Surat. Printed at the Mahoday Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 5-8.

A well-known scholar of Sanskrit and Ardha-Magadhi, Prof. Kapadia's is a familiar figure in literary matters, verse and prose, specially to those connected with Jaina Philosophy. "Agama" are highly technical, metaphysical works bearing on the philosophy of that community. He presents to the reader, a picture of what they are and himself raises certain questions and problems and seeks their solution at the hand of some one more erudite than himself. Only Pandits can follow the text of his book, the result of deep study and strenuous labour, ordinary readers cannot, specially as it provokes thought, which the latter are unable to put forth.

GUJARATI BHASHA VYAKARAN ANE LEKHAN : By Prof. Mansukhlal M. Jhaveri, M.A. of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay 2. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 294. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is the Second Edition of Prof. Jhaveri's work called for in a year and a half. Being a teacher himself and being a writer too of many literary works he has become familiar with the difficulties of learners and the shortcomings of teachers, the consequence of which is a slipshod study of Gujarati in respect of the language, its grammar and the way in which it should be written. It furnishes a very valuable guide in this direction.

ACHARYA ANAND SHANKARBHAI : JIVAN REKHA ANE SAMSMARANO : By Principal Ratilal Mohanlal Trivedi, M.A., Ahmedabad. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay 2. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 126. Price Rs. 2-8.

The late Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University was a gift, made through Gandhiji's exertions, by Gujarat to Pandit Malaviyaji. How the distinguished scholar justified the choice and raised at one bound the status of the University, and made it famous not only in India but outside, has now passed into history. While a Professor in the Gujarat College at Ahmedabad, he had by his private goodness, changed for the better the life of his numerous pupils and each and all of them feel grateful to him in their after-life. One such pupil was Principal Trivedi and in addition to giving a sketch of his life, he has reproduced reminiscences, which throw a vivid light on the exemplary life lived by a scholar and all his life a student, pure and simple. They would prove of great help to anyone who thinks of writing his biography, including Principal Trivedi himself.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN INDIA (1937—1952) : Published by the International Labour Office (ILO). Indian Branch, Cochin House, 3 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi. Price Re. 1.

A valuable compendium on the problems of labour and workers in India and enactment of laws for labour welfare in conformity with the advanced countries of the world.

THE FIFTH YEAR (15th August, 1952) : Published by the Publications Divisions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Pp. 276. Price Re. 1-8.

A very useful publication for the general public, containing in two parts, a brief account of the more important activities and achievements of the Central Government of India and of the Governments of the States during 1951-52.

CIVIC LIFE IN BIHAR : By Dr. Biman Behari Majumdar. Selling agents—Motilal Banarasidas, Patna. Price Re. 1-4.

The book gives in brief a statistical account of civic life in Bihar. It contains all the necessary information in a nut-shell about the civic and political administration of the Government of Bihar.

HASTINAPURA : By Amar Chand. Published by the Secretary, Jain Cultural Research Society, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras 5. Price Rs. 2-4.

ERRATA

The Modern Review for February, 1953 : P. 126, read By Dr. D. B. Singh for By Dr. D. M. Singh.

" " P. 129, col. 2, line 22, read 1855 for 1836.

(The first catalogue of the Library was published in 1855.)

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Science, Society and Health

The following article, as published in *Science and Culture*, is based on Dr. Mahendralal Sircar Memorial Lecture delivered by Dr. A. C. Ukil at the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, Jadabpur, on the 23rd February, 1952 :

BERGSON declared many years ago that "man hardly realised that he could shape his own destiny." The ancient Aryans also believed in this but they approached it from a metaphysical angle.

From the earliest times, man has been actuated by the principles of self-preservation and the natural impulse of life-interest and life-protection, which has been expressed in various ways, such as the raising of food by agriculture and its storage, the domestication of animals, the use of metals and evolution of certain crafts and trade, shelter, water supply, land drainage, irrigation, removal of refuse, and the avoidance of pain, disease and death.

The blending of Greco-Roman craft-based science and philosophy took place in the 15th century. The basis of modern science was laid in the 16th century. The 17th century science cleared the way for approaching the fundamental facts of physics and chemistry and marked the transition from the amateur to the professional scientist. The progress in the 18th century in the fields of chemistry, geology, botany, zoology, physics, mathematics and astronomy made a deep impression on the learned world, and ultimately led to the industrial revolution. Newton's discovery of gravitation, the inductive method of Bacon and the logical geometry of Descartes, which took place earlier, led people to believe that by reason and calculation based on observation men could succeed in solving all their problems. The discovery of the steam engine and the lightning conductor were not only the forerunners of the industrial revolution but it had a profound influence on social re-groupings and cultural trends. Science became a necessity in the 19th century and it became an integral part of civilisation. Its anti-social applications, however, led to imperial expansion and wars. The nineteenth century was marked by rapid discoveries based on the inductive and experimental methods and was marked by the dawning of social consciousness in the western world. Political and economic advance progressed at a rapid rate, followed by social advance at a slower pace.

The first half of the 20th century has seen enormous advances in many fields of scientific knowledge, which reacted on society and statecraft in diverse ways. Each of the new discoveries opened up a new vista of possibilities for applying them to the well-being of man.

The most outstanding discoveries in recent years have been in the field of radio-electronics, nuclear energy, synthetic chemistry and antibiotics.

One of the incidental by-products of the splitting of uranium nuclei in the atomic pile relates to radio-

active isotopes of elements with unstable nuclear structure. Atomic piles in some of the advanced countries are now providing increasing quantities of these substances, and with the development of apparatus for rapid assay, radioactive tracer techniques are being used for a variety of purposes, particularly in the diagnosis and the treatment of certain conditions. Thus radio-cobalt isotope has been found to be as good as and probably better than radium in producing gamma rays valuable in medicine for radiation from outside. Both radio-active phosphorus and radioactive iodine have been found useful in the control of certain pathological conditions. Tracer techniques have been made use of in the detection of certain other conditions. For example, radio-dyes have been utilised for the location and determination of the nature of brain tumours. Several isotopes, notably phosphorus 32, iodine 131 and sodium 24, have been used for diagnosis of pathological conditions by external exploration technique. One of the outstanding achievements of metabolic tracer work has been the tracking of the precursors of creatine, one of the important constituents of muscle. Another concerns the synthesis of uric acid in the body. The use of isotopic tracers has led to a new conception of cell metabolism within the animal body. The cyclotron can also be used to produce radio-active isotopes of a whole range of elements.

It may be noted that while piles liberating energy in hundreds of thousands of kilo-watts are needed to produce material for atomic bombs and probably for primary power stations, relatively small amounts of no military value suffice for the production of isotopes for the peaceful purposes of medicine and research. The question which faces us today is whether these gifts of science should be used for the welfare of mankind or for frightening and destroying all human life and achievements which have accrued since the dawn of history.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

Society has been defined as a group of people united together more or less closely by sentiments, ideals, traditions, customs, folklores or other ties which define the interests and purpose of the people belonging to that group. Science has a transforming influence on society. "Science reacts on society unconsciously and indirectly through the technical changes it brings about, and directly and consciously through the force of its ideas." It opens the possibility of indefinite improvement in social structures and function. Theoretically, it can give more plenty and leisure, and better health of body and mind.

It has been stated that the development of man's ideal and man's mind has not kept pace with the speed of scientific progress. In our quest for material progress and comfort, we have neglected to study the human mind and human society.

Knowing that dynamite can be utilised as a fertiliser to increase cultivation of food, why do we employ it for destructive purposes? Knowing that steel can be used in manufacturing plough-shares for food production, why do we use millions of tons in

preparing cannon balls? Knowing that atomic energy can supply a cheap means of power and can alleviate human suffering by diagnosing and treating diseases, why are we tempted to utilise this brilliant discovery of 1939 to destroy large tracts of land and wipe out human civilisation?

It is difficult to believe that scientists are responsible for these anti-social activities, but the fact remains that they are made pawns in the game, thus interfering with the ideal of scientists to pursue knowledge for the sake of truth and for human welfare. Is the society responsible for it or are the ruling authorities on whom society has no control to be blamed for this attitude of mind?

Society has reached to scientific discoveries in a different way in different countries. Some countries have organised themselves along capitalistic lines, some on socialistic lines, while others along varying combinations of both.

Some countries support democracy, while others support dictatorship. Why is there so much suspicion among and intolerance between these divergent groups?

I venture to make a plea for a scientific study of these problems from a sociological angle. Sociology is the science which deals with society (man in his social relations), its origin, development, activities and functions. As the human body has to be studied from the point of view of structure (anatomy), function (physiology), dysfunction (pathology) and preventive treatment, so also social groups can be studied likewise.

The main purpose of sociology is (1) to understand society at its particular stage of development, and (2) to work out programmes and policies which direct this understanding towards social betterment. It is closely related to all fields of science, and specially to the social science—economics, political science, history, philosophy, psychology, eugenics, euthenics (the provision of an environment whereby each individual will have the opportunity to develop to the limit of his latent powers), and education. Social problems furnish sociologists with opportunities for studying human association under varying and changing conditions. The results of their studies help in working out programmes and policies of sound social adjustment. The study and solution of group conflicts, whether in the economic, political, social, religious or cultural fields fall within its domain. Some of the examples of facts which mitigate group conflicts are:

(1) In the *economic field*—wide improvement of standard of living and employment; labour laws which enable settling of disputes between labour and capital, provisions for safeguarding the health, old age and unemployment insurance or other devices which reduce the hazards to each of them.

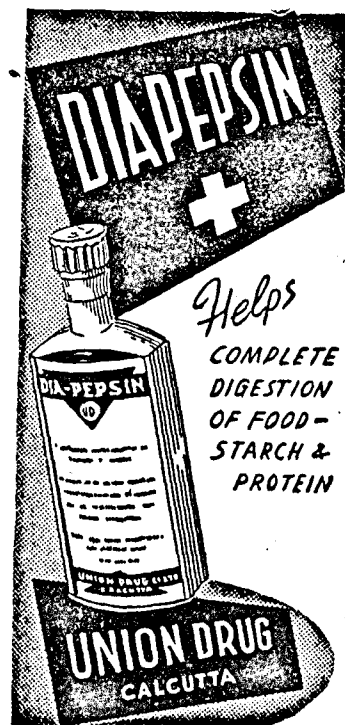
(2) In the *social field*—widespread educational opportunity; inculcating a scientific method of thinking; transferring the focus from emotional prejudices and hatred to social fields of wider application, such as social and civic service, pursuits connected with art, literature or philanthropy; widening democracy and political opportunity; equality before court and law; and socialising religion, i.e., suiting it to the needs of the common man and adapting it to the social problems of the day.

Civilisation has always presented to society two great inequalities—inequality of knowledge and inequality of material wealth. The main purpose of

society, guided by its degree of moral growth, has been directed towards the reduction of these inequalities and to put forth a continual effort to improve materially and morally. Moral progress has, however, lagged behind material progress. The central problem is, therefore, to direct our efforts to adjust our social life and social institutions, so that as individuals and as communities, we may use and enjoy the largest measure of civilisation possible, and promote further progress in harmony and peace.

SCIENCE AND HEALTH

A human being is one of the most expensive things we can rear and develop. Hence, from the strictly economic view point, national health is of the greatest importance. Health is a major basis of human progress, and its lack is one of the causes that lead to national decay. Other things being equal, good health makes for physical efficiency, bodily comfort, a sense of well-being and develops energy, alertness and keenness. The energy for creative enterprises depends upon it and the inventiveness that develops our civilisation is closely related to it. On the other hand, sickness and death bring many evil results, such as poverty, crime, laziness, inadequate output of work, broken homes and hopelessness and despair. The improvement of personal, semi-public and public health must, therefore, be a problem of national importance. Public health truly belongs to the domain of social welfare. Consideration of health can seldom be divorced from economic, demographic and social factors. To quote Prof. J. D. Bernal, "It is probable that an overwhelming majority of diseases that occur throughout the world are due directly or indirectly to the lack of primary necessities, generally food, and many of the remainder are attributable to bad working



Croce's Philosophy

Italian Cultural Digest reproduces an article by M. A. Venkata Rao on Croce's Philosophy from *Mysindia*:

The death of Benedetto Croce, just announced, at the age of 86 removes from Italian life one of the colourful personalities of the present generation. Croce was not merely the most outstanding philosopher of his time and country. He was also a many-sided personality with a singularly catholic cultivation and breadth of interests. He was an acknowledged leader of taste and opinion in many fields, viz., historical investigation and interpretation, literary and artistic criticism and theory, logic, technical philosophy, and current political and economic thought. He lived in Naples and built up a position of influence among his contemporaries as a private scholar, only serving for a period as minister of public instruction before the Mussolinian era.

In politics he was a convinced liberal. Growing up in the era of Italian unification and freedom, Croce absorbed by indefatigable industry and sensitive enthusiasm the higher currents of European thought in the closing years of the nineteenth century, and found himself equipped with an extraordinarily enlightened and broad-based wealth of scholarship, enabling him to sift the grain from the chaff in the confused growth of ideas and aspirations of the time. He was one of the few who kept themselves free of the "romantic decadence" symbolised by Nietzsche. He kept himself uncorrupted as well by the scepticism and hasty materialism of the Spencerian epoch.

SPIRITUALISM AND MATERIALISM

Before the war of 1914 broke out, Croce was already a full-fledged philosopher and leader of culture. The rude shock of disappointment occasioned everywhere in Europe by the failure of higher hopes occasioned by the "German" war turned many minds with anxious interest to the teachings of the Italian philosopher who maintained such a serene consciousness of conviction in the values of the spirit. Indeed from this point of view the thought and work of Croce will remain a source of stimulus and encouragement for generations to come. For the issue of spiritualism *versus* materialism is still with us and will remain in its present shape and physiognomy for a long time to come.

One reason is that the crisis in world culture is the outcome of science. The other is that the materialist interpretation of history and of nature has become bound up with the colossal experiment of Communist Russia. And in both of these fields, theoretical and practical, Croce's reflections have been fruitful and suggestive.

Croce has understood the currents of the present time in all their length, breadth, and depth, and has reacted with intelligence, conscience and grasp of events.

conditions." A failure of the social machinery to ensure to every individual in the community a standard of living and education adequate for the maintenance of health is responsible for much preventable ill health. The discoveries of science and the impact of the technological age on the agricultural civilisation of medieval times created new problems in the organisation of community life. The application of the knowledge, at successive periods however, to solve these problems has helped the development of the social services, but there has always been a lag between modern knowledge and its community utilisation.

Today the scientist is not satisfied with merely wresting secrets from Nature but he wants to see its application for the betterment of human society.

The growth of technology and technocracy has led to the emergence of a new branch of medicine, called Industrial Medicine. New techniques of manufacture and the use of new substances are creating new industrial diseases. Some have direct action on the skin and mucous membranes, some have injurious effect on the kidneys or liver, while the inhalation of dust or fumes may lead to diseases of the respiratory tract. The latest is concerned with the application of radio-active isotopes. It has been necessary to lay down safety limits of exposure of laboratory workers to radio-activity and also of packing and transportation of the same.

THE HEALTH OF THE MIND

Of recent years, it is being increasingly realised that the health of the mind is inseparable from that of the body. This is nothing but a reiteration of old principles enunciated in Latin and Sanskrit. The development of technology and technocracy in the post-industrial revolution era has unfortunately fostered a mental attitude which leads to undue ambition, greed and selfishness and accentuates exploitation of men and countries. The result is that with increased plenty and leisure one does not find the happiness which comes from a poised and satisfied mind. The consequent emotional imbalance, worry and unsatisfied mind are probably responsible for a steady increase of certain types of heart disease, which now ranks as the most frequent cause of death in the industrialised countries. A similar trend is already noticeable in India. The development of a balanced mind and personality, through scientific education, is of fundamental importance in any country, particularly in India, which has glorious history and cultural heritage. The science of psychology, which is not yet a highly developed science, has hitherto occupied itself with the study of abnormal variations. It is time that psychologists devoted their attention to devise methods of education and practice for developing a balanced-personality citizenship. We leave too much to chance at the present moment.



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From this point of view, the first appeal he has to the instructed student and those anxious for the spiritual values of human life, lies in his philosophy. In philosophy Croce is an unrepentant idealist. He is aware of the full force of scientific naturalism and agnosticism, of Spencer and Comte, evolutionism and positivism. But he takes his departure from Hegel. He has written a fascinating volume on Hegel called *What is Living and What is Dead in the Philosophy of Hegel*. Croce holds that the central idea of Hegel regarding the synthesis of opposites is sound and of far-reaching significance. Taken broadly without technicalities, the phrase refers to the nature of reality as consisting in a rhythm of activity. It expresses itself in continual activity. The activity is not the motion of matter but the self-expressive development of perfect consciousness. Croce agrees with Hegel in holding that such spiritual activity implies the phases of being and non-being, affirmation and negation, spirit and matter. Croce separates what he holds to be vital of Hegel from what he thinks are misapplications and confusions external to it.

THOUGHT AND ACTION

Croce develops his idealism in his own way and expands his thought into a system of his own dealing with the great problems of philosophy in a new and fascinating form. Instead of the time-honoured triad of eternal values, truth, beauty and goodness, coming from the days of Plato and revived by Kant and Hegel in recent times, Croce arrives at a twofold pattern and action. Spiritual activity (which is all there is) has two moments, thought and action, each distinct from the other. But thought is prior to action. Thought is autonomous and contains action implicitly within itself, but action is dependent on thought, though its nature is distinct. And each of these phases again is twofold in a similar way.

Thought occurs in two distinct phases, intuitive and intellectual. Intuition grasps and makes the real in a definite and individual way. It is the first utterance of spirit. It is not mere feeling. It is a form of apprehension. Intuition passes into the work of the analytic and synthetic intelligence. Intuition is autonomous and self-dependent. But intelligence needs intuition for its material.

The work of the mind or spirit is a cyclic rhythm passing from intuition to intelligence and

back again, in which successive riches of experience are created, formed and illuminated.

Similarly the second moment of practice or action has two levels or phases, the economic and ethical. All action exhibits the two phases of utility and morality. Utility expresses individual interest, while ethics expresses universal interest. The individual phase has the universal implicit in it, both in the realm of thought and of action.

THOUGHT AND REALITY

Any adequate realisation of the full implications of such a metaphysic will involve an exposition of detail not possible in the space at our disposal. Only the main drift can be indicated here. Croce does not shrink from the consequences of such an extreme position. He defends his central idea that the real is spiritual, that spirit exists in and through its activity, that activity is self-expressive and perfect in the only sense of perfection, *viz.*, passing from one phase to another through opposition and cancellation of opposition.

To the objector that on such a view the external world of nature is dismissed as an illusion, Croce replies by a theory of the nature of scientific ideas. Scientific laws, whether of the material sciences like physics and chemistry or of the mathematical sciences like geometry, he regards as half-ideas or pseudo-concepts giving only schematic pictures, fictitious in nature. They are the results of the economising activity of the classificatory judgement. Croce agrees with the positivists that science gives only phenomena, averages, sensory impressions, etc. But he adds that phenomena are not all. Behind the appearances of science, there is the concrete universal apprehended in integral thinking, in intuition and conception. The procedure recalls that of Sankara who agrees with the Sunyavadins but adds that behind the Maya of world-illusion there is the reality of Satchidananda or pure, joyous, perfect consciousness. Nature is spirit misunderstood.

Croce shares in the Hegelian view of religion as experience of reality relegating dogma to the realm of fiction and elevating philosophic contemplation to the dignity of religion with the capital R. Religion in the ordinary sense of worship of personal gods (or God) together with belief in particular revelations, *avatars*, miracles, etc., is set aside as fiction. Croce goes a step further than the Hegelians in rejecting the mystical

element of religion. If by religion is meant a consciousness of spiritual reality through spiritual action in thought and practice, Croce is religious. But it is truer to his position to characterise it as an acceptance of spiritual values than to term it religious.

ART IS EXPRESSION

Another special line of thought for which Croce is famous is the aesthetic. His philosophy of beauty created quite a sensation and became the talk of critics, art writers and philosophers in the early years of the century. His aesthetic centres round a fresh exposition of intuition as the essence of art as an activity. Croce rescues art from obscurantism.

Croce holds that intuition which is expressed in art forms is no unintelligible mystery but an activity essentially intellectual in character, consisting in apprehension.

Art then has knowledge value. It is not merely a matter of subjective feeling. Mere feeling is the raw material of art. Art consists in creating form. Intuition and expression are the two sides of the art activity. The first gives insight into things, the other shapes it into form. The two work in a single throb. Expression and Intuition are identical, according to Croce.

Croce therefore holds the two sides of insight and expression in a vital balance in his aesthetic theory. It is wrong herefore to identify him with the expressivists, who neglect intuition and knowledge in the work of art.

Croce applies his theory to many phases of culture, such as the writing of history and the meaning of language. Plenty of discussion has taken place on many aspects of his philosophy, but it cannot be said that its full suggestiveness and value have yet been widely and adequately realised in contemporary thought.

POLITICAL IDEAS

The political thought of Croce is of encouraging interest to us. Croce lived through the National Socialist age. He condemned totalitarianism frankly as contrary to the liberal statesmanship of modern Europe. He re-exposed the liberal philosophy in accents of vigour even after Mussolini took power in 1926 in his own country. But it became necessary for him to assume silence. It is to the credit of Mussolini that he was allowed to remain unmolested in his home at Naples. Croce refused to serve as Minister of Education in the Fascist regime. His younger colleague Gentile took up the position he refused and became the philosopher of Fascism.

Further he studied and refuted the fallacies of Marxism. In his essays published from time to time we can trace his answers to the fundamental perversions of the Marxian creed and his reassertion of the liberal faith. He separated the liberal doctrine from its accidental association with the *laissez faire* economics. He founded it on his spiritual philosophy.

But his idea of spirit is different from that of Buddhism or Advaita Vedanta, for its nature is activity, struggle with opposing forces, overcoming them with its inherent power and imbuing them with its own meaning and purpose.

Croce then was no philosopher of the ivory tower or nirvana, but one whose thought penetrates the inmost currents of his time and illumines them with the light of a safe idealism.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sociological Issues in Israel

Sh'lomo Riemer observes in the *Jewish Frontier*, November 1952:

Israel is the classical contemporary example of a nascent pioneering society whose existence as an independent social organism is measured in decades alone. Of the 1,491,696 Jewish inhabitants who lived in Israel on December 31st, 1951, no fewer than 1,051,000, or over 75 per cent, had been born outside its borders. 284,275 of these, or nearly 50 per cent of the total Jewish population, had immigrated into the country since the re-establishment of the Jewish State, that is to say they have lived in Israel less than four years. These facts have had a massive impact on the strength of social cohesion in Israel.

Each society implants into the minds of its members its own particular value norms. Where all the members of a given society were nurtured in the same society, the operative behavior norms in their minds are more or less identical, or, as far as different social strata are concerned, complementary. The resulting value integration makes for understanding, trust and harmony in the dealings between its members. Willing consent as a form of social control, and organic social cohesion are at a maximum.

While it may be argued that all human society has at its base similar fundamental moral values, it cannot be denied that the actual, concrete, socially sanctioned behavior norms emanating from them vary enormously as between different societies both in space as well as in time. Accordingly, the normative concepts of what is right and wrong or good and bad, which different societies introject into the minds of their members are widely divergent.

Israel is the case of a society whose members have been recruited literally from all the ends of the inhabited globe, from societies representative of divergent human cultures at different stages of social evolution. There is therefore a conspicuous lack of unity among the normative values which these people have brought with them to their new homeland. The resulting faulty integration gives rise to attitudes of strong in-group feeling and of corresponding suspicion and mistrust, directed at ethnical "outsiders." Overt behavior in public places tends to be harsh and full of callous, social disregard. Society becomes steeped in an atmosphere of constant social tension and of latent conflict. Consent as an agency of social control sinks to a minimum and has to be replaced by the coercive instruments of State power, the army, police, judiciary, etc., which gain in prominence not only as social defences but as daily regulative organs.

The incidence of this faulty value integration is by no means distributed uniformly throughout the country. There are residential districts. Rehavia in Jerusalem, for instance, which compare favorably with English suburbia. Nahariya on the northern coast is

famed for its congenial atmosphere of an old German Spa. Yet to preserve that atmosphere, and with it its holiday appeal to certain sections of the Haifa and Tel-Aviv public, it is trying hard to insulate itself socially against the huge *ma'abara* sprawling right up against its back-door. Even in a nationwide organization like the Histadrut, one of the great power hierarchies in the country, things generally run smoothly because there the Russian-Polish workers' "aristocracy" still predominates in the key posts and sets the general tone and pace by its peculiar mentality. Finally, *kibbutzim* must be singled out for mention as catalysts of social integration by virtue of their ideology and mode of living. Different ethnical groups are socially fused in a surprisingly short period of time.

But apart from the communes and away from the population and power centers of the old *Yishuv* the picture changes abruptly. Tel-Aviv in this respect perhaps epitomizes the whole country. Here the Yemenite from the burning desert of Arabia lives next door to the taxi-driver from a central European metropolis, and the products of North-African Ghettos rub shoulders with the graduates of Anglo-Saxon Universities. The range of colors of skin is matched by the babel of tongues and vernaculars which in turn is indicative of different cultures, modes of living and value norms. The Central Bus Station at Tel-Aviv is a seething human volcano of wails, shrieks and shouted commands.

However, the ideal model of social estrangement in urban surroundings is provided by the Arab-abandoned and now Jewish immigrant towns such as Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh, Beersheba. Lydda, for instance, formerly a small Arab town 22km. south-east of Tel-Aviv, was inhabited by some 18,000 Arabs. Of the present population of close to 14,000, only about 1,000 Arabs have been left. The rest are Jews, all of them new immigrants, 54 per cent from countries of Eastern Europe (Ashkenazim) and the rest Sephardim (16 per cent from Bulgaria, 16 per cent from North Africa, 12 per

cent from Turkey and the rest from other old corners of the world). Owing to language difficulties there is little if any non-economic social interest or contact between the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim. While the common tongue of the former is Yiddish, the vernacular of the latter is Ladino or Arabic. WIZO (Women International Zionist Organization) has established a community center in the town which carries out an ambitious program of social, educational, vocational and welfare activities among its inhabitants. Of the 509 women enrolled at the Center practically none hail from the East European countries although they represent more than half of the local Jewish population.

A great deal of faith is placed by some in the army as an agency of social integration. It would be well-nigh impossible to verify this claim by objective statistical measurements. Two positive circumstances stand out however: the army gets hold of *all* new immigrant youth up to the age of 29 for a period of two years (18 months for those above 26); whatever influence it does exercise is therefore diffused equally among all newcomers. Secondly, the army teaches the immigrant at least rudimentary Hebrew which is a natural prerequisite for his social integration in post-army life. As against this must be put the fact that just as the utterly voluntary character of life in the *kibbutz* makes it such an ideal social integrator, so the essentially compulsory nature of the army with its enforced community living mitigates against its effectiveness as social catalyst. While the army is no doubt very successful in teaching the technologically backward Oriental youngster the use of complicated machinery, it probably makes little if any positive impact on those deeper recesses of his mind where his value norms are embedded. This vital distinction between machines and morals, means and ends, civilization and culture, is absolutely decisive to our analysis.

Since the outbreak of World War II, some 450,000 Jews have immigrated into Israel from the continent of Europe, the great majority of them after 1945. These are poor, wretched, scattered remnants of the once mighty and prosperous European Jewry. Most of them spent the war in the hell of Hitler's Europe experiencing on their bodies the abominations of Nazi Labor, Concentration and Annihilation Camps, or living an underground existence of disguise in constant terror of discovery, often without adequate means of livelihood. The sum of deprivations and sheer subjective sufferings which these people went through pro-

bably exceeds in magnitude and intensity that of any comparable group of human beings during the recent war. It has been said that suffering ennobles. This is not quite true. Suffering, if exceeding given limits of intensity and duration, particularly when it is felt to be unjustly imposed, may be likened to a fire that either hardens a man's moral fibre or else destroys it altogether. It is the majority who succumb and only the chosen few who come out of the ordeal strengthened. Those whose moral stature was impaired or broken by the impact of suffering openly exhibit the scars of their experience in their behavior. As harrowed fugitives in Hitler's Europe, law to them had meant death; survival therefore became a function of the ability to circumvent the law. This main may have crystallized into a fixed mental attitude towards all law irrespective of who decreed it and where it is practised. But law in a civilized community prescribes the minimum conditions on which men can live peaceably together in society. In the absence of law—the limitation of individual freedoms in the greater interest of social freedom—the foundations of society would crumble.

Or again, the barbarous treatment meted out by the Nazis to innocent Jews may have shattered the latter's belief in humanity and their erstwhile moral values and left them bitter, hard, self-centered men, full of rancor towards their fate and mistrust towards their fellow men.

It must be stressed that these reactions towards past suffering are neither necessary nor universal, but factors that cannot be left out of account in enumerating the forces at work in Israel which tend to weaken consent as a force of effective social control.

For nearly 2,000 years the Jews have lived a strange abnormal existence, always an alien body, often despised pariahs and social outcasts, on the fringes of Gentile society. This experience has left its indelible marks on the Jew physically and psychologically. Physically it is responsible for the familiar Ghetto physiognomy. Psychologically it has afflicted him with a peculiar habit of social non-identification or estrangement from the wider social environment in whose midst he was living. The great French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, coined in a different context a special phrase for this state of mind: he called it *anomie*, and it is perhaps no accident that E. Durkheim was an assimilated Jew, the son of an Alsatian rabbi.

The Jew of the Galut has generally not identified himself emotionally with those around him. His attitude is characteristic of an exclusive clan morality in contradistinction to inclusive social morality. The social

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consciousness of the Galut Jew was centered mainly around his immediate family circle. This accounts both for the intimacy of Jewish family life so characteristic of the Diaspora, and also for a certain lack of deep feeling *a priori* towards wider social environs.

The incidence of *anomie* is of course not spread equally over all countries of the Dispersion at all periods of time. Rather, it may be said by way of generalization, does it tend to vary in inverse proportion to the measure of recognition and acceptance as an equal accorded to the Jew in every country. It is perhaps most conspicuous in the modern world among the Jews of Turkey who to this day speak Ladino, a kind of Sephardic Yiddish which their forefathers had brought with them from Spain some 450 years ago. The present generation of Jewish children is the first to learn Turkish at school thanks to Ataturk's educational reforms. The Jewish community of Turkey, or what is left of it today, is a completely alien element in Turkish national life, and it would appear that the Moslem religion, as in the Arab world, remains an effective insurmountable barrier to mutual cultural and social rapprochement. At the other extreme, *anomie* is at a minimum among the Jewish communities of the Anglo-Saxon countries whose culture, ways of life and even national aspirations have been accepted by the Jews in such a great measure. History is not even lacking in examples (in Germany at the turn of the century) of Jews who tried to out-do their Gentile fellow-citizens in patriotic fervor. But usually healthier national sentiments prevail. In Europe before the advent of Hitler, and excluding the Soviet Union, it may be a true approximation to say that the state of *anomie* increased as one moved from West to East across the continent. It certainly was very strong among the teeming millions of Poland who had succeeded in building up a specifically Jewish culture on Europe's eastern plains and whose fellow-feeling with the Polish peasants was of a very tenuous nature.

Such is the social background of the people who are the raw material from which Israeli society is built. National rejuvenation becomes a function of our ability to overcome the physical and psychological handicap which our past national homelessness has inflicted upon us. It is easy enough to eliminate the physiological traits. There is nothing like plenty of fresh air and hard physical toil to straighten bent backs and to infuse new strength into underdeveloped limbs. But to straighten out distorted minds is a more difficult and subtle process. To make people, with different upbringings, experience and tradition, identify themselves with their society and State requires much more time and relentless effort. The aim is to induce the Galut Jew of yesterday to discard his anomic mentality like an old skin and to embrace his society emotionally as his own and to think of it in terms of the pronoun "we" instead of the hitherto accepted pronoun "they."

It would seem that we have yet a long way to go in infusing into the minds of all the people an adequate sense of civic duty and responsibility towards their own society.

We have so far dealt with those issues arising from the multifarious cultural background of Israel's predominantly immigrant population. One basic feature underlies these issues: they were imported from abroad; they are the results of experience and circumstance from beyond Israel's borders. The question arises: what about the Sabras, the native-born Israelis? Being born and bred in the country one would assume that

they have a more or less homogeneous cultural background; not having lived in the Diaspora, they are immune to the traits of Galut Jewry. On which side of our sociological balance-sheet do we have to enter them? Are they instrumental in strengthening or weakening organic social cohesion in the Israeli society?

At the end of 1951 there were 344,000 native-born Israelis in the country, or 25 per cent of the entire population. About 100,000 of these were above the age of 15. These figures do not include the considerable number of people who had come to Israel as young children, were educated there and are to all intents and purposes Sabras. From our sociological vantage point the Sabras cannot be regarded as an unmixed blessing, though for reasons other than those enumerated above.

For those who believe in Jung's archetypes and the collective unconscious, there exists at least the possibility that *anomie* has become an inherited trait of Jewish mentality, and that the native-born Sabras are equally burdened with the heritage of 2,000 years' Diaspora existence of their forefathers.

Whether we accept or reject the possibility of direct biological heritage, there is no denying the powerful mechanism of psychological heritage which is handed down from parents to their children.

The prevailing moral standards of society are introjected into the minds of all its newly born members. The principal social agents to perform this invisible operation of moral control are parental love and parental authority. The moral values which the child receives are therefore in the first instance the values of their parents and not necessarily those of society, the implicit assumption being that the parents themselves were reared in the same society so that their moral standards are representative, by and large, of those prevailing in society. This fundamental assumption does not hold true in an immigrant society like Israel. What the parents succeed to introject into the minds of young Sabras is their Galut mentality containing values which may have stood them in good stead in the Ukraine or even in Yemen, but which are completely at loggerheads with the reality of the new Jewish society. This may become a fertile cause of social maladjustment and conflict. But in reality something else happens. The young native generation sense that their parents' moral values are "old-fashioned, outmoded" and unsuited to Israeli society. Being products of that society they revolt against the moral authority of their parents and reject its tenets out of hand. But in the absence of parental authority there is no equivalent social agency which can accomplish the vital task of moral value introjection. The nearest substitutes would be *Madrichim* in youth movements,



teachers at school and even fellow classmates, and these are very poor substitutes indeed. The result is that the first generation of native Israeli children tend to grow up in a moral vacuum. This really is not surprising; it could hardly be otherwise.

Frequently the heroism and spirit of self-sacrifice displayed by the Sabras in the recent war are cited as examples of their moral stature. But there must be no confusing cause and effect. No one can dispute their courage and heroism in battle, even against hopeless odds. But this did not always stem from moral conviction as from the fervent nationalism with which they had been imbued, and in some measure was due to the contempt the average Sabra had for the Arabs that attacked them, the Arabs they knew for their squalor and vice.

It may be concluded that the first native-born generation of Israelis (in common with the experience of other immigrant societies such as America where the problem has been exhaustively studied) is lacking in moral values as backbone to personality and guides to social conduct.

Every society creates a network of social institutions to match the moral standards of behavior introjected into its members' minds. All old, well-integrated societies create a luxuriant growth socially sanctioned patterns of an informally binding nature such as customs, conventions, etiquette, mannerisms, etc. These pervade and regulate the entire realm of social life down to the smallest detail. They are signposts mapping out safe pathways through the perplexing jungle of social existence. They are no more felt to be limitations and restrictions on human behavior than a well-tailored suit is to the conventional movements of the human body. They minimize the potential areas of friction and discord. They are indispensable aids to cultured living.

Israel as a pioneer society has not had time yet to evolve these social signposts; it has not been able yet seriously to get down to the task of polishing off its rough edges, to acquire those social graces that adorn older and maturer societies.

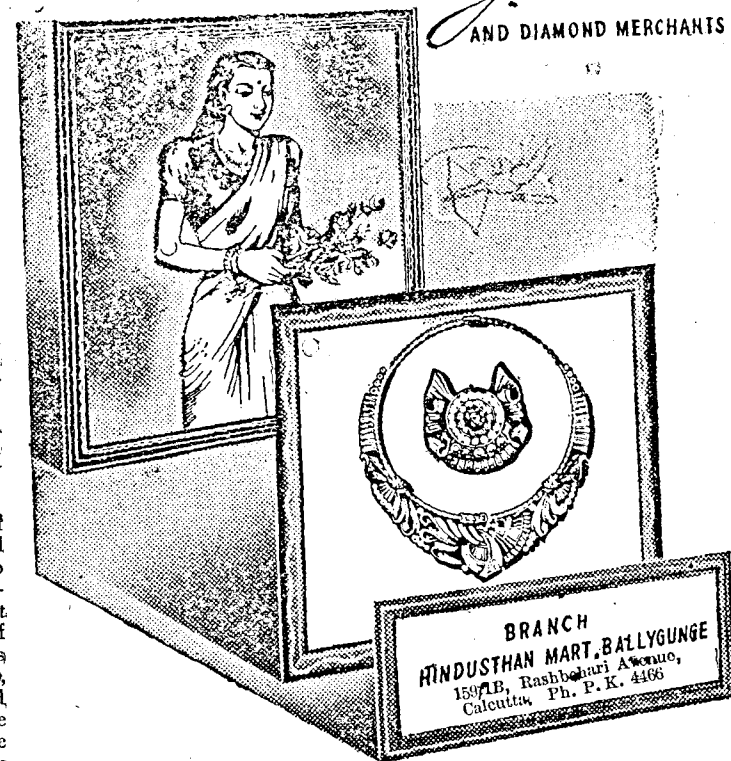
The White House

When the new President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, moves into the White House after his inauguration on January 20, he will be its 33rd occupant since the nation's second president, John Adams, moved into the partially completed structure in 1800.

Although the White House has always been the home and office of the presidents, it is the property of the people, and as such, it is the people who select the occupants of the famed house by exercising their right

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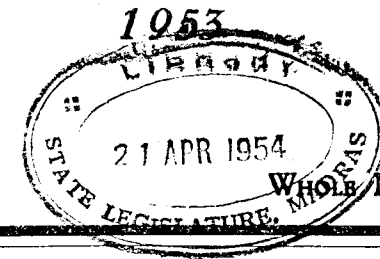
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THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



Vol. LXXXIII, No. 3

NOTES

The Welfare State

The Central Government's Budget for 1953-54 came out in the papers just when the final lines of the editorials were being sent to the press. Obviously no considered comments can be presented at such short notice and therefore that will have to be deferred to a later issue.

At a first glance the "Five-Year Plan" Budget, as it is termed, is more or less like the Plan itself, neither inspiring nor excessively disconcerting. It seems to be a humdrum budget, not likely to cause any major alteration, either way, in the meandering and miserable state of the Union or its nationals. Concessions have been made to the Commercial and Industrial interests and also to the tax-payer of the middle-classes, to a minor degree. But there is little of an attempt to tackle matters with vision and courage.

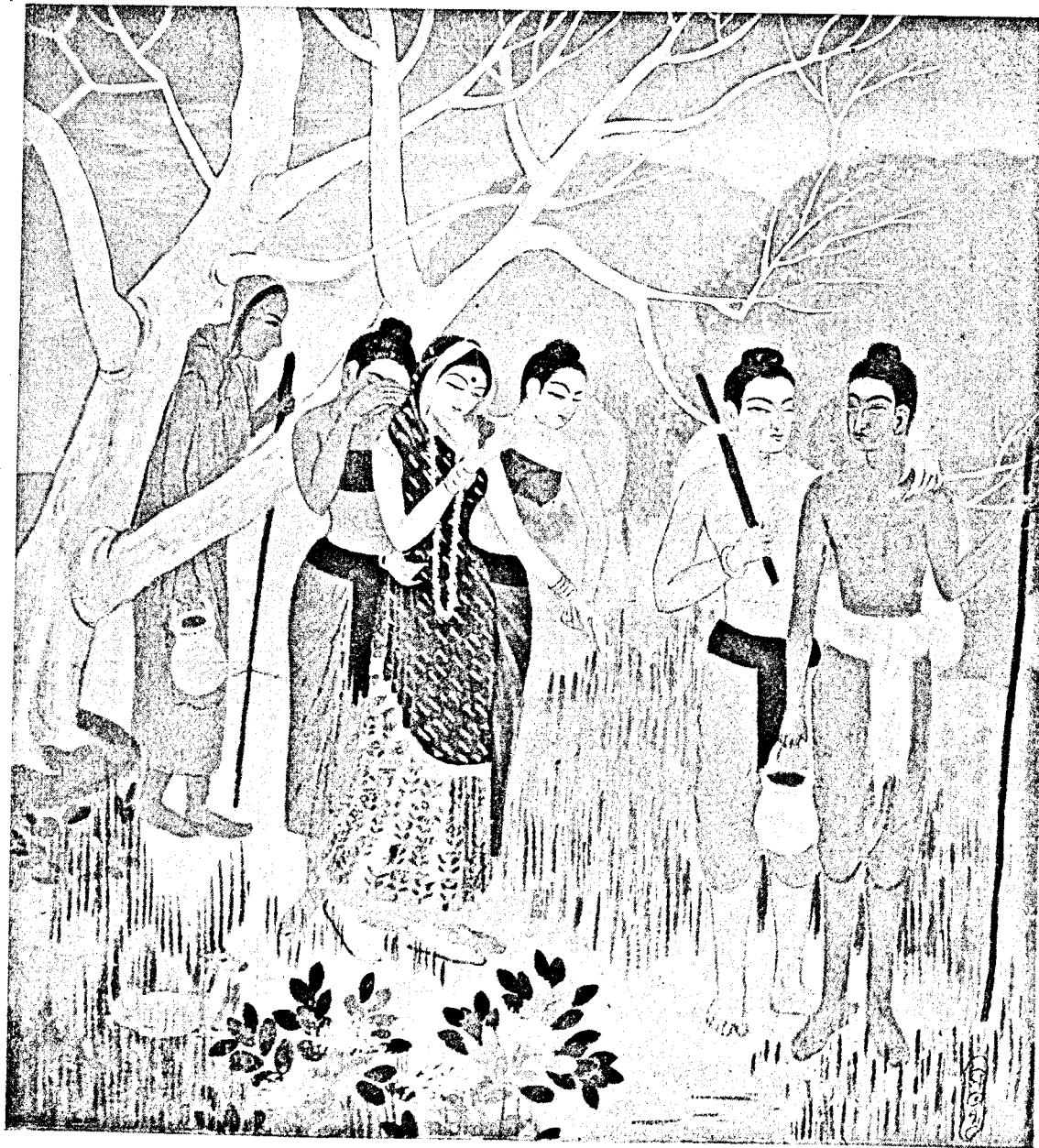
There is one point about the proposed increments in certain postal charges that deserves mention at this stage. These days, the transit of packets through post having become more uncertain than they have ever been in the last fifty years, as we can say from our own experience, books and packets that were formerly despatched through plain book-post are more often being sent per registered post. Therefore an increase of 33 per cent in registration charges will be a serious imposition on the already heavily handicapped publishing and book-selling business. Indeed as most of the registered packets emanate from the book-trade, this enhancement will be in the nature of a tax on education. We do not suppose this will count in any way with our government but it has to be mentioned all the same. Unjustifiable paper prices, both open and black-market, have already brought publishers to the verge of ruin, and this might be the last straw. Paper prices abroad are tumbling down, but our paper monopolists, safe under protective tariffs, continue to exact

extortionate prices without let or hindrance. It does not cause the behemoths of the government any loss of slumber. What matters a few cupfuls more of misery to the common-man when whole streams are flooding the country?

And why worry about education? Look at the unemployment figures amongst the educated, and listen to the fatuous remarks like those uttered by Shri Krishnamachari in the Council of State in reply to Shri B. C. Ghose's question as to whether the Government was aware of unjust discrimination being practised against experienced and competent Indians employed in foreign firms in India. Shri Krishnamachari is evidently ignorant of the fact that no self-respecting government allows any foreign firm working for profit in its territory to discriminate against its nationals in any way. Of course, it may well be asked as to whether our Government considers self-respect of any consequence. Look at its emasculated foreign policy and look at the figure it cuts in the comity of nations.

Nowhere is this androgynous attitude so well marked as in our dealings with Pakistan. Take for example, the Jute agreement. In all our previous deals we were befooled and mulcted to the last limit, though our profiteering bag-barons, Indian and foreign, benefited vastly, to the tune of about 10 crores of ill-gotten rupees. Finally came the discriminating levy on the jute exports from Pakistan to India and that caused a break in the State-level trade in raw jute. We were told that now we ought to strain every nerve in order to attain self-sufficiency in jute.

The peasant and the small holder responded bravely to the Government's behest, particularly those of West Bengal. Jute production went up by leaps and bounds, and self-sufficiency was very nearly attained. Unfortunately a depression set in soon after, in the world-trade in jute, and the poor small-holder peasant,



SAKUNTALA STARTS FOR THE KING'S PALACE

By Satindranath Laha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

as citizens to vote for the man they want to be President. In the last election they cast more than 60 million votes, 33 million of which went to Eisenhower, thus assuring him of at least a four-year stay in the White House.

Outwardly the White House has changed little in appearance since John Adams lived there, but the new President will find that within the past three years it has undergone the most complete interior renovation in its history. Total cost of the project was \$5,761,000. Those in charge made certain that the new White House retained the appearance, feel and atmosphere of the old house, but in rebuilding the interior they made the room space half again as large as before.

The house is situated on 17 acres of land and is surrounded by many shady trees. It has three floors, two basements, two office wings, comprising 197 rooms, of which 21 are bedrooms. There are 40 corridors, 19 bathrooms and 12 lavatories.

President Harry S. Truman, who preceded Eisenhower, uncovered structural defects in the White House, and in January 1947 he asked a group of architects and engineers to examine the building carefully. Their findings led to the complete rebuilding of the interior.

This was the first major overhauling of the White House since it was rebuilt after being burned on August 27, 1814, during the British invasion in 1815 and completed in 1817 under the supervision of its original designer James Hoban. The damaged sections of the walls were taken down and rebuilt, partitions replaced, a new roof constructed, and all the mill-work renewed.

George Washington, the nation's first president, helped to decide on the location of the President's house in 1791 while making a survey of the new city of Washington. An early account said that "the house will stand on rising ground, not far from the Potomac River, with a view of the Capitol."

It is not definite whether the name "White House" was derived from the white sandstone of which it was constructed or from the coat of glistening white paint it received after its reconstruction in 1817. However, the name "White House" became an official designation in 1902 during Theodore Roosevelt's administration, and since then it has been used on all executive stationery and documents.

Here is the famous Lincoln room into which the Civil War President's seven-foot bed was recently moved. It was in this room, which Lincoln used as a study, that he signed the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery.

Lincoln's bed is only one of the historical pieces of furniture to be found in the House. In the Green Room on the first floor, for example, a gilt bronze clock with a figure of Hannibal is still in use. It was purchased in France by President Monroe.

The furniture is English, French, and early America period pieces. The China Room contains nearly 300 pieces of chinaware, silverware, glassware and miscellaneous objects of historical interest which belonged to former occupants.

The real estate value of the White House is estimated to be about 60 million, but to the people of America it is more than wood, stone and steel. It is the symbol of national freedom and liberty.—*USIS*.

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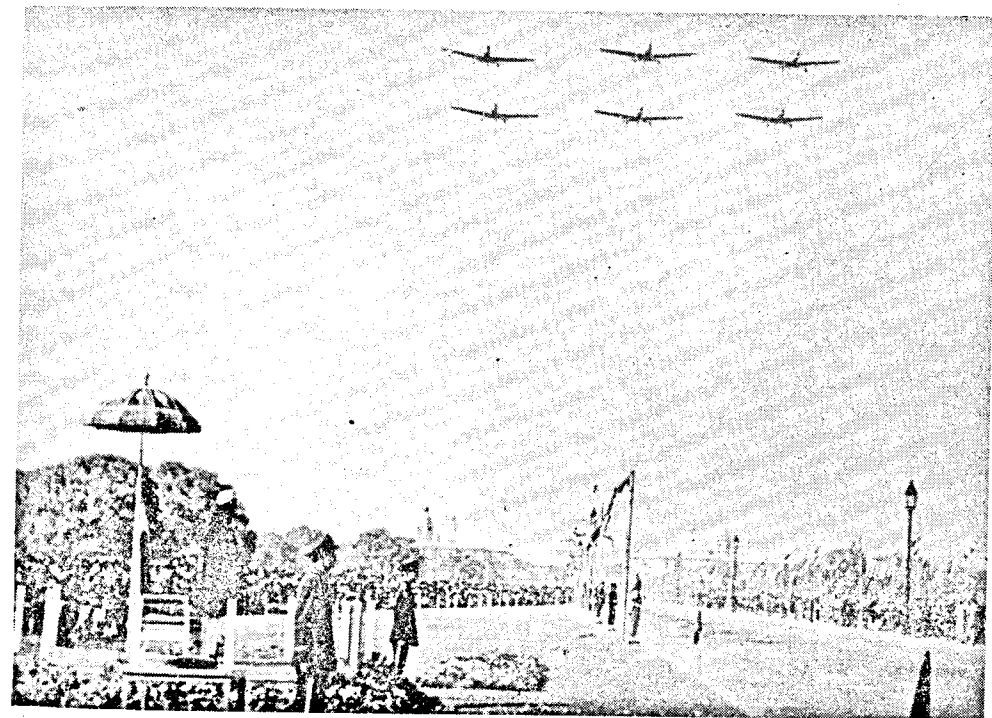
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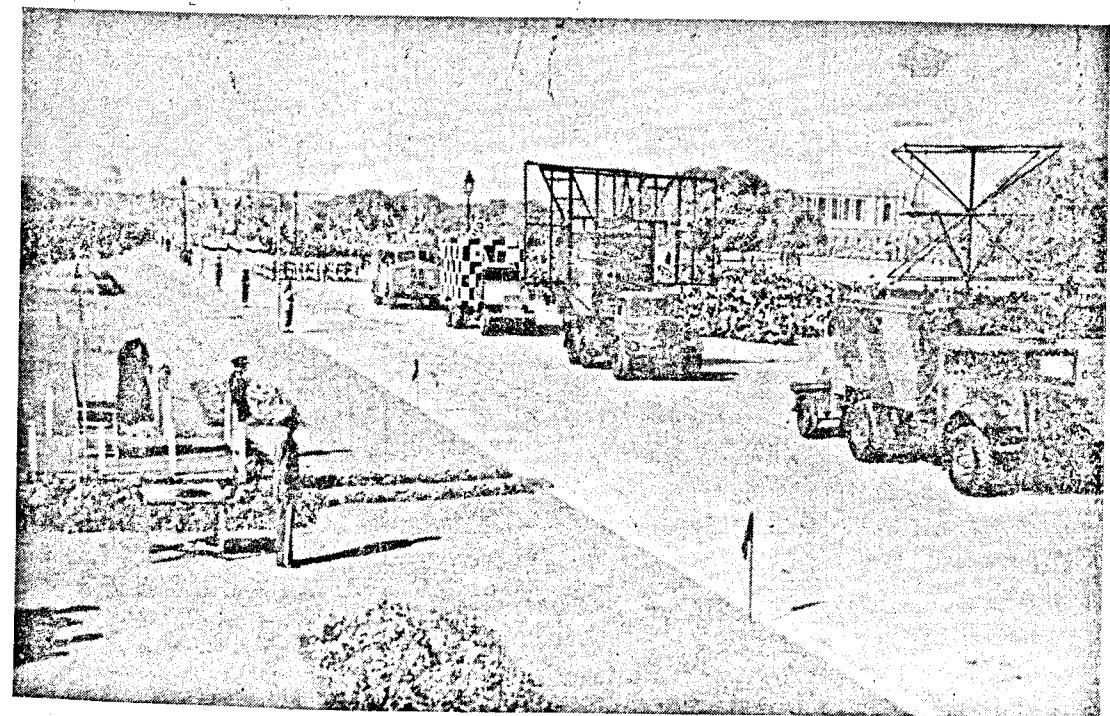
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A flight of six Hindustan Trainers aircraft designed and built in India was given the honour of leading the Armed Forces Parade to celebrate Republic Day in New Delhi on January 26



Republic Day Parade in New Delhi on January 26. Picture shows portable radar and other modern signals equipment on wheels used by the front-line I.A.F. units

much to his dismay finds that the fruits of his toil are not anywhere as satisfying as they should have been where prices are concerned. Still there is a small margin for those who till and toil and wash their own jute, though the bigger tenant-farmer, who employs labour, is facing sizeable losses.

Now comes this new negotiation, re jute, with Pakistan. If those flood-gates are opened, through the crassness of the Government, then the millions of bales of unsold Pak jute would swamp the small farmer as well and bring ruin and disaster to the toiling millions in the fields, despite all that the nimble-witted corrupt officialdom may say at the instigation of the profiteers.

Pandit Nehru with his myopic vision may wax eloquent at minor achievements as at Tilaya, but India is the reverse of a Welfare State for the honest toiler.

Deeply as we feel the shortcomings of the Congress Government we frankly confess that our disappointment over the performance of the Opposition is deeper still. We can understand the exhibitions of extramural loyalty by the "extreme-left" members through their incongruous statements and arguments, which are sometimes downright disgraceful, as in the case of Prof. Hiren Mukherji's totally absurd statement regarding the supposed three thousand odd military plane landings, by the Anglo-American Bloc, forces at Dum Dum airport. But we are frankly puzzled by the attitude of the other groups and individuals in the opposition. Does their duty to their constituents and the country as a whole merely consist in going 'agin the government' by sheer hot-air, devoid of any consideration as to whether what they are opposing is good, bad or indifferent? Do they not have to take into consideration the immediate needs and problems of the people they represent, and put forward concrete constructive suggestions? We can understand their blind lust for power—which can only be got by displacing those in office—and their greed for publicity, which they can obtain cheaply by supplying sensational material for the Press, which again is unfortunately almost totally devoid of any discrimination—or for that, of any consideration but for what will bring forth an increase in circulation.

Sound criticism is of great value undoubtedly. But it must be based on fact and there must be suggestion of workable alternatives or realistic basic proposals. And further they must be logically in line with a comprehensive programme for the betterment of the People and the State. King Stork jousting with King Log for the possession of the power for good or evil over suffering millions; is no inspiring sight for us at any time or under any circumstances.

Tilaiya and Bokaro

India's largest multipurpose development scheme—the Damodar Valley Project—went into partial operation on Feb. 21 when the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, opened

the dam at Tilaiya and the thermal power station at Bokaro.

Mr. Nehru emphasized the importance of these units and of the whole project to India when, in opening the Tilaiya Dam, he said: "Today, as I look upon this completed Dam, my heart is filled with joy because this is one step forward towards achievement of this country's economic prosperity."

"Lakhs of people in both Bihar and West Bengal suffered extensive loss and misery every year because of floods in the Damodar river. But today, by our own efforts, we have constructed this dam which will not only control floods but generate much needed hydro-electric power."

"The people in the villages need no longer be afraid of famine and drought. They are assured of an ample water supply throughout the year. Cheap electricity will not only illuminate their houses but will go a long way towards the industrialization of an important area. Mills and factories will grow and flourish and help in solving the unemployment in the country."

"There is no magic formula that can solve the problems confronting the 360 million people of India today."

Such a solution could only come from hard work on the part of the people themselves, and would take time to achieve. The Government were doing all they could to ease the problem and for this reason they had framed the Five Year Plan. The plan was not intended to benefit any particular sect or community or to favour one State more than another.

India, he said, had achieved political independence five years ago, but the people were still far from their goal of real freedom. Such freedom could only come when they attained what was generally known as economic freedom, when they had wiped out poverty, illiteracy, and hunger from among the masses and had raised the standard of living in the country.

Persisting in the same vein, Mr. Nehru said that Swaraj did not mean the putting up of one of their own countrymen on the gadi hitherto occupied by a foreign ruler. "Why am I the Prime Minister today; I have not come here of my own wish. I hold this position because you, the people of India, have shown your love and affection for me and have put me in this position of trust. If tomorrow you ask me to vacate, I will gladly do so."

He went on to explain that likewise the different things that were constantly being put up, such as dams and power stations, were not the property of any particular person but of the general mass of the Indian people. They owned everything in India, and it was they who must always strive to work in such a manner that the interests of the country as a whole were not impaired. Only by such co-operation could they remove the present poverty in the country, and what was perhaps the country's greatest enemy, unemployment.

The Prime Minister warned the people against provincialism and communalism.

Growing Unemployment

"With tears in their eyes University graduates came to me begging for jobs, and I can only sympathise with them; for the applicants are many and jobs are few," said an official spokesman of the U.P. Government to the special correspondent of the *People*.

But the situation is not peculiar to the Uttar Pradesh. The rise in the number of the unemployed is an all-India phenomenon. While the number of applicants has increased the number of vacancies has a tendency to diminish indicating a very bad state of affairs obtaining in the country. Had there been real progress in the country at least there would have been an increase in the placing of a good few of job-seekers. But the facts are otherwise. To quote the *People* of February 24, in India, "in 1951 there were 1,375,351 registrations and 416,858 placements, while in 1952 the figures respectively were 1,476,699 and 357,828."

In the past the employment exchanges could provide jobs to no more than 30 per cent of the applicants each year. But the true extent of unemployment cannot be gauged by merely considering the employment exchange figures alone. Again, to quote the *People*, "The registers hardly give any idea of unemployment in rural areas, in fact, the exchanges are only for urban population because in the existing arrangement they have to approach only the employers in cities and towns."

Though there has been a rule that all appointments to Government departments should be made through the employment exchanges, the rule is observed in the breach only. The Government attitude to this question of unemployment is that of total indifference.

New Wine in Old Pots?

Prof. S. N. Agarwal, Congress General-Secretary, has said that from now on the Congress would select candidates both for legislatures and party offices on the basis of the work done by them.

Prof. Agarwal said all active members would have to submit quarterly reports of their work to the AICC. The selection of candidates would be made on the basis of these reports.

"If any member fails to submit his report for six months he will automatically cease to be an active member of the Congress," he said.

The Congress Working Committee will appoint a constitution subcommittee to suggest amendments to the Congress Constitution, in order to put an end to malpractices in Congress elections.

Prof. Agarwal said the AICC would shortly issue a pamphlet about the "Constructive programme of the Congress," which would be a guide for all Congressmen in their day-to-day work. The programme would include the organization of co-operatives among kisans and particularly, co-operative marketing societies, in order to ensure that the producer got the maximum out of the marketing of his products.

We have grown somewhat sceptical about these declarations and formulations. When is there going to be a clean purge in the A.I. C. C. itself as a preliminary?

Levy Anomalies

Under the above caption, the *Hindu* writes that in view of the report of a poor outturn of *samba* crop in Tanjore and the fact that even the second crop also might prove to be a failure, the Government should pay a sympathetic consideration to the reasonable "plea that the exemption limit should be raised, the slab rates should be reduced and generous remissions and more time for payment of *kisti* should be granted." The compulsory levy rates were much too high and were bound to operate harshly on the smaller ryots and the "reduction in the rate by one bag per acre decided upon in consideration of the damage done by the cyclone was very much less than what was needed if the rates were not to prove oppressive."

Even under the procurement system, the ryot did not have to surrender more than he was now doing under the Levy. The artificial division of surplus and deficit areas had also contributed no less towards the anomalies. As the paper puts it, "When the non-producer in the rural areas of Tanjore hears that large quantities of Tanjore rice are being transported to Madura, while the fair price shops on which he depends supply no rice at all but only wheat or millets, he must wonder at the anomaly. Meanwhile conditions in Madura and Tirunelveli were much worse and they were facing the prospect of famine."

Here in West Bengal there is an outcry against the levy system. But this is of a different nature. This year there has been at least a better than average crop, if not actually a bumper one. And the levy system only affects those farming 10 acres or more. But some small part of the crop was affected by insect pests due to heavy rains, late in the season, in some very restricted areas. The opposition parties, particularly those under the P.S.P., raised a tremendous howl that most of the crop was destroyed and that levy under the circumstances would be an oppressive extortion. Fanciful figures were given by the opposition, and even the very modest government figure of 13 mds. of paddy per acre being the normal yield in Nadia was vehemently challenged, although every truthful man knows that 15 mds. per acre is more nearly right.

That the crop is more than fair is clearly shown by the fast-falling prices of rice in the districts, where free sale is permitted now. Indeed, prices today are lower than they have ever been in the past four years in certain areas. And yet this false outcry persists. This has led a Bengali weekly, the *Murshidabad Samachar*, to remark that this year's rice crop must have been of the camphor variety!

The Graham Mediation

The Kashmir talks, which officially ended in Geneva

on February 18, have achieved no substantial progress towards a solution of the problem, it was reliably learned.

After conversations, which have been going on for a fortnight, both the Indian and Pakistani delegations are reported to be merely referring back to their respective Governments the new proposals put forward by Dr. Graham, U.N. Kashmir mediator.

The talks have centred round the question of the demilitarization of the area and the number of troops each side should be permitted to retain during the holding of a plebiscite to determine Kashmir's future status.

The Jammu Agitation

Acharya J. B. Kripalani writes in the *Janata* that the agitation now going on in Jammu cannot be dismissed as a move by the Hindu communal vested interests to create chaos and disorder. Nor can he approve of Sheikh Abdullah calling the organisers of the movement traitors. The Praja Parishad stands for closer association with India, extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India to Kashmir, acceptance of the Indian flag and the implementation of the terms of agreement between Kashmir and India. It cannot reasonably be said that the Praja Parishad, being a Hindu organization, is conspiring with the Pakistan Government. Another aspect of the situation was that there is a risk of communal amity being strained in the neighbouring States as a result of the action of the parties involved in the conflict.

Sri Kripalani suggests that the movement in Jammu persists because the people there are afraid. Measures should be adopted for allaying their fears, among which he suggests granting a measure of local authority to the Jammu State. An enquiry should also be made regarding the complaints of the Praja Parishad that the agreement arrived at between India and Kashmir has not yet been implemented. Even the President of the Congress and Prime Minister admits that the people of Jammu have some genuine grievances. "However, the agitation in Jammu does nobody any good and does a great deal of harm to India. Every well-wisher of the country would want the agitation to cease," concludes he.

We are in full agreement with the above remarks of Acharya Kripalani. We have carefully gone through the material issued by the Government of Sheikh Abdullah. There has been "wild and woolly" talk by the Praja Parishad champions, if the quotations are correct. Pakistan's reaction is immaterial to the question.

The most that can be said against the Parishad is that some of its moves and statements were ill-advised. But there can be no denial of the fact that there is a logical basis for their apprehensions, and that there is need for parleys and measures to soothe and allay them.

Iran and India

The Iranian Press delegation arrived in Calcutta on Feb. 2 on a two-day visit.

Mr. Abbas Masoodi, Senator, editor-proprietor of *Ettelaat* and leader of the delegation, said in an interview that they had been greatly impressed by what they had already seen in India. India, he said, was taking important steps towards national reconstruction. Everyone was earnest in making the Five-Year Plan a success.

Mr. Masoodi added that through an exchange of views between the journalists of India and Iran an abiding link between the two countries could be established.

Deneutralization of Formosa

India's official reaction to Mr. Eisenhower's announcement about the deneutralization of Formosa is not likely to be available until after mature consideration of the issues.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the present feeling here is one of concern, not of indifference, and the implications of Mr. Eisenhower's statement were being carefully assessed at the Foreign Office.

Anxiety arises from the dangerous inference inherent in the declaration that the 7th Fleet would no longer be employed "to shield Communist China."

Though India had no advance information on this new emphasis in American foreign policy—which she may have expected as the principal sponsor of the infructuous peace move at the U. N.—a general hardening of the American attitude was foreseen.

This possibility is believed to have been discussed during Mr. Krishna Menon's recent visit here when he held consultations with the External Affairs Ministry over the Korean situation.

It was then feared that, while India must not abandon her peace efforts in co-operation with other nations, the likely change in American policy did not encourage hopes of immediate success.

Objective opinion in India does not question the U.S.A.'s motives behind the new move. It is conceded that belief in a show of strength for peace is well meant. Doubts arise, however, over the risks involved.

Mr. Eisenhower's statement in his State of the Union message that he would not recognize certain "secret understandings of the past" has caused some confusion here.

The major agreements of interest today which Mr. Eisenhower may now wish to repudiate were:

The return to Russia of the southern part of Sakhalin which was taken from Russia in 1904 by Japan; the internationalization of the commercial port of Dairen; restoration of Port Arthur as a naval base for Russia; joint operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchurian Railway by a Sino-Soviet company; handing over the Kurile Islands to Russia; the acceptance, as a basis for discussion, of the payment of \$10 million by Germany to Russia; modification of the frontiers of Poland so as to give Russia the important city of Lwow and Poland the German province of Upper Silesia; the admission of two Russian republics, the Ukraine and White Russia, as original members of the U.N.; and preservation of the status quo in Outer Mongolia under the Mongolian People's Republic.

Finance Commission's Recommendations

It may be remembered that the Finance Commission was appointed by the President under Article 280 of the Constitution. The Commission assumed office on November 30, 1951 and submitted its report to the President on December 31, 1952. The recommendations of the Commission would be given effect to from April 1, 1952. It was required under Article 270 of the Constitution to advise the President on three fundamental matters. These were: (1) the distribution between the Union and the States of the net proceeds of taxes which are to be or may be divided between them and the allocation between the State of the respective shares of such proceeds; (2) the principles which should govern the grants-in-aid of the revenues of the States out of the total revenues of the Centre; and (3) the continuance or modification of the terms of any agreement entered into by the Government of India with the Government of any Part B States. Under the Commission's recommendations, which have been accepted by the Government of India, there will be substantial transfer of resources from the Centre to the States. The total amount of Central grants and devolution of revenue to the State Governments will be of the order of nearly Rs. 86 crores annually, as against an average annual sum of Rs. 65 crores for the three year period 1949-50 to 1951-52. The main recommendations of the Commission are:

(i) Increase in the percentage, from 50 to 55, of the net proceeds of income tax to be assigned to the States;

(ii) Increase in the grants-in-aid by the Centre to the four States of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal in lieu of their share of the export duty on jute and jute products;

(iii) Allocation to the States of a share in certain Union excise duties, namely, tobacco, matches and vegetable products;

(iv) Increased and additional grants to certain States which are considered by the Commission in need of assistance, and

(v) Grants to certain less developed States for expansion of primary education.

The Commission has also laid down certain general principles to regulate grants-in-aid to States from the Centre.

ALLOCATION OF INCOME-TAX

Under Article 270 of the Constitution, the Commission is required to make recommendations to the President in regard to three matters concerning income-tax, namely, (a) the percentage of the net proceeds of income-tax which may be assigned to the States, (b) the manner in which the share so assigned shall be distributed among the States, and (c) the percentage of the net proceeds of the tax which shall

be deemed to represent proceeds of the tax attributable to Part C States.

At present, 50 per cent of the net proceeds of income-tax is assigned to the States. The Commission has recommended its increase to 55 per cent. The percentage which should be deemed to represent the share of Part C States is fixed at 2.75. Under the recommendations of the Commission, the States' share of income-tax should be distributed as follows:

States	Commission's recommendation	States	Commission's recommendation
	Per cent		Per cent
Assam	2.25	Orissa	3.50
Bihar	9.75	PEPSU	0.75
Bombay	17.50	Punjab	3.25
Hyderabad	4.50	Rajasthan	3.50
Madhya Bharat	1.75	Saurashtra	1.00
Madhya Pradesh	5.25	Travancore-Cochin	2.50
Madras	15.25	Uttar Pradesh	15.75
Mysore	2.25	West Bengal	11.25

The Commission states that there was an "almost unanimous demand" from the States for an increased share in income-tax. While it is undesirable, according to the Commission, to concentrate on income-tax as a balancing factor in the adjustment of resources between the Centre and the States, nevertheless, on a consideration of various factors, it feels that some increase in the share assignable to the States, is justified.

As regards the criteria of distribution, the Commission comes to the conclusion that the main considerations in determining distribution of income-tax should be:

(a) A general measure of needs, furnished by population and (b) contribution.

Taking a broad view of the position, the Commission recommends that 20 per cent of the States' share of the divisible pool of income-tax should be distributed among the States on the basis of the relative collections of States and 80 per cent on the basis of their relative population according to the census of 1951. Applying this formula to the collections during the three years beginning March 1951, with certain adjustments for the Part B States, the Commission has recommended the fixed percentages mentioned earlier.

In making the allocation to the States, the Commission has taken into account the population and collections of the "merged areas" (former Indian States) included in the various Part A States. As these States will be receiving their share of divisible taxes on a common basis with all the other States, the Commission has suggested that "the revenue gap grants" which the States of Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, and West Bengal are now receiving in respect of merged areas should be discontinued with effect from 1st April, 1952. Part B States will however receive their share of revenue or the guaranteed revenue gap, whichever is higher.

While making recommendations, the Commission took into consideration not merely the needs of the States, but the ability of the Centre as well to assist the States by the transfer of a large portion of its revenues. It was guided by three main considerations, namely, (1) the additional transfer of resources from the Centre must be such as the Centre could bear without undue strain on its resources, keeping in view its responsibility for such vital matters as the defence of the country and the stability of its economy; (2) the principles for the distribution of grants-in-aid must be uniformly applied to all the States; and (3) the scheme of distribution should attempt to lessen the inequalities between the States. There is also the consideration that the measures for increasing the States' revenues should be such that the States will be enabled automatically to participate in the benefits of natural expansion of revenues. Accordingly, the Commission decided against increasing the States' share of income-tax. It held that higher percentage of share should not be used as a major factor in the devolution of further revenues to the States. It rejected the States' demand for a higher percentage of income-tax for the divisible pool and the demand for higher percentage shares put forward by the Industrial States of Bombay and West Bengal. Perhaps for the first time there has been an authoritative record in this context of the fact that "the high collections of income-tax in these cities (Bombay and Calcutta) are due in a large measure to their being in a sense entrepôts of the country's export and import trade and to the concentration within their confines of the head offices of companies and concerns operating all over the country." An even more important observation is, "A study of the information collected by us from some of the larger concerns indicates that the bases of income creation are far more diversified and widely spread over the country than the facts of collection would seem to suggest." In its view incomes which are earned in different States in India cannot be put in the same category as incomes earned in different sovereign States. The Commission, therefore, rejects collection as an equitable basis of distribution. And as for needs, only a broad measure of need is suitable for application in this connection, and "further refinements of the needs criterion should be left for consideration in relation to grants-in-aid, as such factors like areas, sparseness of population, economic backwardness, financial difficulties, special burdens or commitments of a State, etc., are more relevant to the determination of grants-in-aid.

UNION EXCISE DUTIES

The Commission has taken a liberal view of their functions and has not confined its enquiry to those questions on which the President is empowered to act without reference to Parliament. It has brought the whole field of federal finance within its purview and

a has made recommendations on all the related questions. On the basis of the memoranda submitted to it by the States, the Commission came to the conclusion that there is "imperative need for a substantial augmentation of the revenues now available," to the States. This view is based on the division of governmental functions as between the Centre and the States. The Centre has great responsibility for making the Five-Year Plan a success, but it should not be overlooked that the responsibility for progress, development and social services expenditure lies to a far larger extent on the States.

As part of its scheme of assistance, the Commission has made certain specific recommendations for distributing the Union excise duties. These recommendations can be implemented on enacting necessary legislation by Parliament. Distribution of Union excise duties was not specifically included in the Commission's terms of reference, but it was convinced that it was open to it to suggest such distribution as part of its plan of assistance. Several State Governments had raised this claim before the Commission.

The Commission, however, has not considered it desirable, at any rate for the present, to distribute all Union excise duties. Three such items—tobacco including cigarettes, cigars, etc., matches, and vegetable products—are considered by the Commission most suitable for distribution on the ground that they are of commodities which are of common and widespread consumption and which yield a sizable sum of revenue for distribution. The Commission has recommended that 40 per cent of the net proceeds of these duties should be allocated to the States and distribution among them should be made in proportion to their population. The shares of the individual States will be:

States	Per cent	States	Per cent
Assam	2.61	Orissa	4.22
Bihar	11.60	PEPSU	1.00
Bombay	10.37	Punjab	3.66
Hyderabad	5.39	Rajasthan	4.41
Madhya Bharat	2.29	Saurashtra	1.19
Madhya Pradesh	6.13	Travancore-Cochin	2.68
Madras	16.44	Uttar Pradesh	18.23
Mysore	2.62	West Bengal	7.16

Following this recommendation, the Commission has suggested that the present arrangement, whereby certain States, namely, Bombay, Madras and Madhya Pradesh, do not levy taxes on tobacco and receive instead some compensation from the Centre, should be discontinued with effect from 1st April, 1953. The States concerned should be left free to levy such taxes as they like. The Commission has suggested that necessary legislation for the implementation of these recommendations should be taken at the earliest possible date and the legislation should be given retrospective effect from 1st April, 1952.

JUTE EXPORT DUTY.

Under the Government of India Act 1935, 62½

NOTES

per cent of the net proceeds of the export duty on jute and jute products were allocated to the jute growing provinces. After the Partition, which resulted in considerable parts of the jute-growing area of undivided India being included in Pakistan, the share was reduced to 20 per cent. The Export Committee on financial provisions of the Union Constitution suggested that export duty should not be shared but grants-in-aid should be given to the Provinces in lieu of the duty for a transitional period.

Under Article 273 of the Constitution, grants-in-aid have to be paid for a transitional period to the States of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal in lieu of their share of the export duty on jute and jute products. The Deshmukh Award fixed the grants-in-aid to the States concerned as follows : Bengal Rs. 105 lakhs, Assam Rs. 40 lakhs, Bihar Rs. 35 lakhs and Orissa Rs. 5 lakhs.

Under the Commission's recommendations, the grants-in-aid will be :

West Bengal	Rs. 150 lakhs	Bihar	Rs. 75 lakhs
Assam	Rs. 75 lakhs	Orissa	Rs. 15 lakhs

The Commission has suggested that these grants should be paid to the States with effect from 1952-53.

GRANTS-IN-AID

The Finance Commission has made important recommendations that should govern important grants-in-aid by the Centre. Grants-in-aid are made for various reasons including (a) deficiency of States' resources, (b) importance of augmenting welfare services and development projects, (c) developing some activities like unemployment activities, insurance, social security, etc., and other factors. Historically speaking, the most important factor governing grants-in-aid has been the deficient resources of the States "at a time when the impact of a rapidly changing economic situation created large and insistent demands for new governmental services."

Both conditional and unconditional grants have their place. Unconditional grants, according to the Commission, should reinforce the general resources of the State Governments which would be free to allocate such grants among competing purposes according to their best judgment, subject to the usual administrative and parliamentary checks. Conditional grants—which may be for broad purposes—may be given to stimulate expansion of particular categories of services rather than specific schemes under those categories.

Commenting on the Commission's recommendations, Dr. N. N. Law, President of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, said : "Less than justice has been done to West Bengal, particularly in the matter of allocation of income-tax revenue. By all tokens, the decision to distribute 20 per cent of the States' share of the divisible pool of income-tax on the basis of collection and 80 per cent on the basis of their relative population is unsound."

"It is unfortunate that the Commission has taken the needs of the States as the principal factor governing the allocation of income-tax revenue and has not given due importance to the rights of the States as arising from the collection of revenue. Apart from the fact that the needs of a State for additional revenue are relevant only in considering grants-in-aid, the question so far as income-tax allocation is concerned has to be determined in the context of density and the volume of industrial labour, which has not been taken into consideration by the Commission.

"The decision to distribute the Union Excise duties is to be welcomed. But I regret that the Commission had not invited the views of the public on this question and we were deprived of placing our points of view before the Commission at the appropriate time.

"The recommendations in respect of grants-in-aid in lieu of jute export duty appear to be well conceived, though here also we had expected that due consideration would be given to the large increase in the acreage under jute in West Bengal after partition as well as the location of the entire jute mill industry in West Bengal."

Discussing the principles under which grants-in-aid should be made, the most important criterion that the Commission lays down is the extent of self-help that a State practises. This should determine the eligibility for, as well as the amount of, help from the Centre. Secondly, the method of extending financial assistance should be such as to avoid any suggestion that the Central Government has taken upon itself the responsibility for helping the States to balance their budgets from year to year. "If the amount of grants-in-aid were to be merely in proportion to the financial plight of a State, a direct premium might be placed on impecunious policy and a penalty imposed on financial prudence. On the other hand, if a State is eligible for a grant on other grounds, it should not be precluded from this benefit merely because its budget is in order as a result of its sound financial management."

Economy in expenditure practised by the States is another test recommended. Other principles suggested by the Commission are :

(a) Grants-in-aid should assist in equalising standards of basic social services. Factors like the area of a State in relation to its population, economic backwardness, etc., would be reflected in the level of social services and the standard of development of a State and these should be taken into account ; (b) a State may be helped to meet a special burden or obligations of national concern, though they may arise within the State's sphere, for example, the strain on the economy and the administration of the State as a consequence of the Partition, increased responsibility in respect of security, etc.; and (c) beneficent services of primary importance for which assistance to less advanced States is in the national interest.

These principles were kept in view by the Commission while formulating their recommendations.

The Commission has made a new departure in the pattern of general grants-in-aid to the States; special grants-in-aid have been recommended for expansion of primary education in some of the States the need for which became apparent during its discussion with the Governments concerned. It has suggested a modest beginning in this direction by helping those States where large gaps in expenditure have to be made up. The following States where primary education is at present comparatively backward have been recommended assistance in the next four years on a gradually rising scale:

	(In lakhs)			
	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	1956-57
Bihar	41	55	69	83
Madhya Pradesh	25	33	42	50
Hyderabad	20	27	33	40
Rajasthan	20	26	33	40
Orissa	16	22	27	32
Punjab	14	19	23	28
Madhya Bharat	9	12	15	18
PEPSU	5	6	8	9

Total 150 200 250 300

The following table shows State-wise the breakdown figures of the amount receivable by each State from the Centre under the various heads:

States	(In lakhs of rupees)					
	Share of income-tax and excise	Grants-in-aid under Article 273	General grants-in-aid under substantive portion of Art. 275(1)	Revenue gap grants	Primary education grants	Grand total
Assam	170	75	100	..	..	345
Bihar	730	75	..	..	50	855
Bombay	1125	..	..	..	..	1125
Hyderabad	335	..	..	..	24	359
Madhya Bharat	135	..	..	..	11	146
Madhya Pradesh	390	..	..	..	30	420
Madras	1110	..	..	..	..	1110
Mysore	170	..	40	158*	..	368
Orissa	265	15	75	..	19	374
PEPSU	60	..	..	..	5	65
Punjab	240	..	125	..	17	382
Rajasthan	265	..	..	..	24	289
Saurashtra	75	..	40	187*	..	302
Travancore-Cochin	180	..	45	98*	..	323
Uttar-Pradesh	1170	..	..	..	..	1170
W. Bengal	730	150	80	..	..	960
Total	7150	350	505	443	180	8593

* As the share of divisible taxes of these States is expected to be less than the guaranteed "revenue gap grants," the States will receive the latter, the balance of these grants after allowing for the share of divisible taxes is shown in this column. The actual sums accruing by way of devolution of revenue will obviously vary from year to year. The

Commission has assumed that its recommendations, if given effect to, would be operative for a period of five years ending 31st March, 1957. The Commission has made two further recommendations, one relating to the setting-up of a small organisation to study State finances and the other for improving the available statistics in regard to income-tax. It suggests that this organisation should preferably be a part of the Secretariat of the President and should make a continuous study of the finances of the State Governments so that, whenever future Finance Commissions are constituted, they will have sufficient material available to them at the very commencement of their enquiry.

The actual allocations are open to many criticisms. But as full details have not yet been revealed they must be reserved for a subsequent issue.

Railway Budget

The annual report on the working of Indian Railways for 1951-52, reveals that for the third year in succession since independence, the railways have set up new records in traffic and earnings. The gross traffic receipts of the Indian State railways during 1951-52 was Rs. 290.82 crores—the highest ever reached so far. This amount is higher by Rs. 27.81 crores over the 1950-51 receipts. Passenger earnings were Rs. 109.88 crores and goods earnings Rs. 156.79 crores, the balance of Rs. 24.15 crores being made up of other coaching and miscellaneous earnings.

The ordinary working expenses amounted to Rs. 194.04 crores or 77.37 per cent of the total earnings. The appropriation to the Depreciation Fund was Rs. 30.21 crores, including Rs. 21 lakhs chargeable to capital, being depreciation on capital assets of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works. After meeting all charges, including the appropriation to the Depreciation Fund, the net revenue on the results of working for the year 1951-52 amounted to Rs. 61.75 crores. Out of this Rs. 33.42 crores was paid to General Revenues as dividend under the Revised Convention of 1949.

The net surplus for the year stood at Rs. 28.34 crores as against Rs. 15.05 crores in 1950-51 and Rs. 14.59 crores in 1949-50. Of this, Rs. 10 crores was allocated to the Development Fund and Rs. 18.34 crores to the Revenue Reserve. The total number of passengers carried dropped to 1,232 million in 1951-52 from 1308 million in 1950-51. The passenger miles dropped to 39,551 million in 1951-52 from 41,672 million in 1950-51. The average earnings per passenger per mile were 5.41 pies and the average earnings per freight ton mile 10.2 pies during 1951-52.

The total capital outlay on March 31, 1952, stood at Rs. 861.55 crores on all Indian railways, including the lines under construction. This comprised Rs. 850.11 crores of Indian Government capital and Rs. 11.44 raised by companies, District Boards, etc. Capital outlay during 1951-52 on all railways was Rs. 23.39 crores, of which 23.21 crores related to Indian Govern-

ment railways. The bulk of the expenditure on the latter was on open lines, namely, Rs. 21.34 crores, the remaining Rs. 1.87 crores being spent on new lines. The total route mileage of all railways in India at the end of the year 1951-52 was 34,119. The total number of staff on all the railways was 929,448 on March 31, 1952, as against 919,368 on the corresponding period of the previous year.

In India, there is a mile of railway for every 10,464 people, as compared with a mile of railway for every 253 in the USA.

The gross traffic receipts for the current year (1952-53), which were originally estimated at Rs. 282.16 crores, have been revised downwards to Rs. 269.55 crores, while expenses, originally forecast at Rs. 187.69 crores, have moved up in the revised estimates to Rs. 189.10 crores. The Railway Minister said that passenger traffic had declined from Rs. 112.19 crores to Rs. 102.65 crores, and the goods traffic had declined from Rs. 145.66 crores to Rs. 144.56 crores. While the estimate of revenue has turned out to be an overestimate, the estimate of expenditure has proved to be an underestimate. The rise in expenditure confirms the impression that costs in the country have become rigid and are not easily amenable to regulation in face of shrinking incomes. It also lends support to the oft-repeated complaint of the Railway Audit that actual expenditure in the administration of the railways always tends to outrun estimates.

In the Budget for 1953-54, the estimated gross traffic receipts have been placed at Rs. 272.28 crores and the working expenses at Rs. 191.20 crores. The total expenses would amount to Rs. 228.20 crores, and the net surplus estimated for 1953-54 is Rs. 9.31 crores. Rs. 34.77 crores will be paid as dividend to general revenues. It is gratifying to find that the Railway Administration has not made any attempt at increasing the fares and freights.

The Planning Commission has emphasized that the policy of the Railways during the period of the Plan should be "to keep down the working expenses to the lowest level compatible with efficiency and reasonable standard of service in order that the necessary surplus for financing the development programme becomes available." Glaring instances of financial irregularities have been disclosed by the Railway Audit Report. The Railway Minister, however, made no reference to this Report in his Budget speech.

Thefts on the railways have been on the increase. In one year, during 1949-50, the Railways had to pay out Rs. 3.71 crores by way of compensation for goods lost or damaged. As regards the efficiency of the workers, the Kunzru Committee Report made some uncomplimentary observations, and it is not clear whether any improvement has been effected in the efficiency of the workers.

The Zonal System introduced by the late Copal-swamy Ayyangar—and altered without rhyme or reason by him later on—was supposed to increase railway

facilities and to bring down expenses. Expenses have gone up and returns have come down, as can be seen by the comparative table below. But not a word has been said regarding this precious system. How long more are the railways to be fooled with by inept men with curious ideas about their own selves? We would ask the Government to publish in detail the working results of the Zoning System.

	Actuals 1951-52	Budget 1952-53	Revised Estimate 1952-53	Budget 1953-54
	(Rs. in crores)			
Gross Traffic Receipts	290.82	282.16	269.55	272.28
Working Expenses	194.85	187.93	189.10	191.20
Net Miscellaneous Expenditure	4.72	6.76	6.86	7.00
Appropriation to Depreciation Reserve Fund	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00
Total	229.07	224.69	225.96	228.20
Net Railway Revenues	61.75	57.47	43.59	44.08
Dividend to General Revenues	33.11	34.00	34.11	34.77
Net Surplus	28.34	23.47	9.48	9.31

Bengal Budget

The West Bengal Budget for the year 1953-54 reveals an overall deficit of Rs. 6.14 crores—Rs. 5.11 crores on revenue account and Rs. 1.03 crores outside revenue account. The estimated revenue receipts for the year stand at Rs. 38.16 crores, and revenue expenditure Rs. 43.27 crores. The revised estimates for 1952-53 disclosed a total deficit of Rs. 5.26 crores, reducing the year's opening balance from Rs. 7 crores to Rs. 2 crores. In the last year's budget, the yield from customs and income tax was Rs. 8 crores, from land revenue Rs. 2 crores, from sales tax Rs. 6 crores, from excise Rs. 6 crores and from stamp Rs. 3 crores.

Of the total expenditure in the coming year's budget, Rs. 5.88 crores will be absorbed by the police, Rs. 4.52 crores will be spent on education, Rs. 3.53 crores on medical, Rs. 1.15 crores on public health, Rs. 2.29 crores on agriculture, Rs. 75 lakhs on Community Development Project and Rs. 2.45 crores on General Administration.

In 1938-39, the total revenue of Bengal stood at Rs. 12.77 crores. Of this amount, nearly Rs. 2 crores were spent on the police. Today in West Bengal, which is one-third of the previous undivided Bengal, the expenditure on the police will amount to nearly Rs. 6 crores, or 16 per cent of the total revenue. In 1938-39, about Rs. 1 crore was spent on the general administration, whereas at present nearly Rs. 2½ crores will be spent on it and that is in one-third Bengal.

In India, the average per capita revenue and tax revenue are much higher in Bombay and West Bengal. In West Bengal, the per capita revenue is Rs. 14½, and of this the tax revenue amounts to Rs. 12. The average expenditure per head is Rs. 16-9-0. Thus there is a deficit of Rs. 2 in per capita expenditure. The per capita expenditure for the police and

the general administration is Rs. 4-10 and for medical, public health about Rs. 5.

The State Government are incurring heavy losses on their five important projects, namely, the State Transport Scheme, Deep-sea Fishing Scheme, Middle Class People's Housing Scheme in Entally, Calcutta, the Central Livestock Research-cum-Breeding Station at Haringhata, and the North Calcutta Electric Supply Scheme. The loss on the State Transport is Rs. 4.15 lakhs, the gross receipts and working expense being estimated at Rs. 1.03 crore and Rs. 1.08 crore respectively.

The State has a public debt of Rs. 3 crores 75 lakhs at present. At the end of the next year, the public debt will amount to Rs. 5 crores 75 lakhs. The State's total debt to the Union Government at the end of 1952-53 stands at Rs. 55 crores 94 lakhs and will increase to Rs. 77 crores 79 lakhs at the end of 1953-54.

The total capital expenditure in the Budget estimate for 1953-54 is Rs. 21 crores 2 lakhs as against Rs. 16 crores 90 lakhs in the revised estimate for 1952-53. Excluding the Damodar Valley Project, the Community Development Projects, etc., which come within the Central Sector of the Plan, the Plan for the Government of West Bengal contemplates an expenditure of Rs. 69 crores in five years.

Of the resources provided for in the Plan, the largest item is public savings from current revenues and amounts to Rs. 738 crores. But for the last two years, (that is, for the first two years of the Plan), the West Bengal Budget has been incurring deficits. The Central Budget has also been running on deficit. While during the first two years of the Plan, the Central and many State Budgets have closed with negative balances, one may wonder if the Five-Year Plan may also close with a negative achievement. In Bengal, today we have a top-heavy administration which takes away nearly 8 per cent of the total revenue. The Chief Minister is reported to have stated that Russia developed with the help of foreign loans. It may, however, be pointed out that the NEP and the first five-year plan of Russia were conducted not with foreign assistance, but with the aid of *created* money, that is, with deficit financing. One thing she has shown and it is that planned development can be successful even without foreign aid. Deficit budget is not, of course, deficit financing.

The Budget does not bring the impression that we now live in a welfare state. It moves along the same old bureaucratic grooves where the State was more a police state than a welfare one.

M. P. Government Drops the Security Act

While the West Bengal Government have re-enacted the Security Act, the Madhya Pradesh Government, according to the *Hitavada*, dated February 6, have decided not to revive the Public Security

Measures Act which expired on December 31. In emergencies, the Central Act would be applied to the State.

"Open or Quit"

The *Chronicle*, an English weekly, from Silchar, in its issue of the 30th January writes that, the tea-planters should either re-start the tea gardens or quit. At the time of writing more than 62 gardens had been closed in Cachar. Moreover, the closure of the estates had been followed by closure of the schools, hospitals, water supplies, etc., to the labourers. In some case, the offer of voluntary services by the Medical officers and the teachers were rejected. Their request to the planters seeking permission to use the existing stock of medicines in dispensaries and the furniture, buildings, etc., of the schools respectively had been turned down. The paper draws the attention of the Government and the public to this serious state of affairs and appeals "to the good sense of the owners of the tea-gardens" to make the medical and school facilities immediately available to the labourers.

The problem is far more complicated, it seems, than merely the set-back to the tea industry. Tea-plantations have been veritable El Dorados to both the capitalists and also to the labourers. But the intrusion of speculative capital, brought in by persons without the slightest foresight or real business sense, has lowered standards to a disgraceful extent. Labour, on the other hand, has become inefficient and highly intractable, thanks to the leadership of groups of adventurers, without any common-sense or any basic knowledge of the function of labour in industry or plantation. Now comes the reckoning.

Glimpses of the Hirakud Scandal

The *Behar Herald* of the 13th February reports that

"A contractor at the Hirakud Project was granted eight instalments of advance pay aggregating to Rs. 89,487 during the four months from January to April, 1949. But of this only Rs. 6,600 was adjusted in June, 1949. No action was taken against the S.D.O. who was a party to the swindling of Government money nor was the balance ever recovered from the contractor."

A building for providing accommodation to the Chief Engineer was originally estimated to cost Rs. 58,622. But ultimately the cost exceeded Rs. 79,516. According to the paper, the Chief Engineer does not live there and "the building is used at present as a dancing school for daughters of superintending Engineers and as a club by them."

These are mere glimpses. The reality beggars description, we are told by people who should know. But so long as Pandit Nehru is not satiated with adulation this will continue. Besides, there is the much-vaunted Constitution framed carefully to protect all swindlers, inefficients and such like.

Scarcity in Madhya Pradesh

The *Leader* of Allahabad in its issue of February 2,

reported the acute scarcity of food in parts of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. In Madhya Pradesh, according to official estimate, over 13,50,000 people in 3,086 villages spread over 21 Tahsils in nine districts had been affected by crop failure and scarcity of fodder and drinking water. As reported in the paper:

"The worst-affected are parts of Buldana and Nimar districts, involving seven lakhs of people. The chronic water shortage in Berar has been aggravated owing to failure of rains."

"The State Government have launched a series of relief measures including suspension of land revenue, distribution of taccavi, opening of works for metal and earth-breaking and construction and repairs of roads, tanks and wells, as well as concessions for obtaining fodder from forests. Execution of all civil court decrees against agriculturist debtors has been suspended under an ordinance issued by the Governor on the New Year Day."

"Land revenue suspended or proposed to be suspended is stated to be about Rs. 29 lakhs. Besides, the State Government have provided for an expenditure of Rs. 24 lakhs on relief works and grant of taccavi under the Land Improvement Loans Act during the current financial year."

"About 40 relief works at an estimated cost of about five lakhs of rupees have already been started in the affected areas."

The paper added that large numbers of people are coming in from the East Khandesh district in Bombay to Nimar in Madhya Pradesh in search of food and work. The Madhya Pradesh Government was reported to have been treating them sympathetically.

In Rajasthan, parts of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Udaipur divisions were affected by scarcity. Bikaner was worst hit. The Rajasthan Government had allocated Rs. 20 lacs for relief works in the affected areas, in addition to Rs. 11,50,000 sanctioned earlier.

Various relief works were in progress in the Bhil areas of Dungarpur and Banswara districts as well as in the districts of Jodhpur, Barmer and Nagaur. A new road programme was proposed for Bikaner and Jodhpur divisions for which the Government of India would allocate a sum of Rs. 10 lacs out of the Federal Financial Integration Grant for Development.

Fall in U.P.'s Wheat and Rice Production

The *Sunday Leader* of February 8 reports that U. P.'s wheat production had fallen by 3.69 lakh tons in 1951-52 as compared to the preceding year, though the acreage had increased by one lakh acres. The production of rice also fell by about eight lakh tons in the past three years, simultaneously with a fall in the acreage by five lakh acres.

This fall is not merely the reflection of bad monsoons of 1951-52, this also shows the result of high prices on thriftless farmers, who reckon only by cash values and not quantities, and therefore are satisfied by a slightly higher cash gain, due to much enhanced prices consequent on poor production.

16,500-Acre State Farm in U.P.

The *Leader* reports that the "16500-acre State

farm believed to be one of the biggest in Asia, is nearing completion in the U.P.'s Tarai colonization scheme launched only a few years ago." It adds that "the production on the farm during the last two years, has been of no mean order. It is also being planned to produce 250,000 maunds pedigree seed annually on this farm and an orchard has been established covering, so far, over 200 acres out of the projected 1,000 acres."

"Fuel wood and timber plantation in the farm will cover 1,500 acres and grazing belts 2,400 acres. The latter are being cultivated to get rid of the weeds but ultimately grazing belts would have plantation of 'cultivated grasses' for providing permanent pasture for a herd of about 1,000 cattle. Roads, buildings and streams have been assigned 1,500 acres and farming operations will be conducted on 10,000 acres."

"The dairy demonstration section in the farm is to have a foundation herd of 300 buffaloes and 50 cows. The poultry block is to undertake distribution of about 5,000 eggs and 1,500 good breed birds, annually, for development work all over the colonization area, specially in the newly settled villages. During the last season 600 birds and 3,000 eggs were distributed in these villages for the purpose."

Among other features mention may be made of the provision for pisciculture in ponds covering an area of about 50 acres and for 500 bee-hives in the orchard with a view to facilitating pollination.

Fish Industry in Madras

Sri V. V. Radhakrishnan writes in the *Hindu* of February 1:

"The Malabar and North Kanara coasts are among the finest fishing grounds in the world. Out of the estimated landings of marine fishes in India more than half comes from this coast alone, even though the fishing operations are practically at a standstill during the heavy monsoon months from June to August."

Along this coast are caught mackerel, sardines, sharks, cat-fish, etc. The oil from sardine and shark liver is as rich in vitamins as the cod liver oil. Over the last twenty years there has been a tendency for the sardines to disappear. Of recent, signs of revival have been noticed and it is hoped that with the re-appearance of the sardines, the once-flourishing sardine oil industry of Malabar will again come to its own. The shark liver oil industry is now a monopoly of the Madras Government and the factory at Calicut produces fine shark liver oil.

The life of a fisherman is very hard and exacting. He is in the direst of poverty and often has to run to the middlemen money-lenders to meet his daily needs. The middlemen take the best part of the income of the fishermen in good times and the "poor fishermen always seem to be in debt." The extent of poverty can well be gauged by the fact that "the per capita consumption of fish in the Madras State was only three and a half pounds per annum as compared to 40 lbs. in the United Kingdom and 110 lbs. in Japan."

With a view to obtaining a larger supply of fish the Fisheries Department of Madras Government is encouraging deep sea fishing. They are demonstrating to the fishermen the desirability of adopting modern methods of fishing. But these efforts have so far failed to catch the imagination of the fishermen, a fact which the writer ascribes to the "lethargy and innate conservatism of these people."

In West Bengal, the picture is gloomier still. In this State the Government is singularly eccentric in all matters of food and raiment. Fish prices in Calcutta are more than double of what prevails in all capital cities. Indeed, it is just now almost three times the prices ruling in Bombay, the next costliest city. But the Rip Van Winkles only sleep, while the poor suffer. The State Government has done nothing tangible as yet to improve matters.

Medical Aid for Famine Areas

Prime Minister Nehru is reported to have entrusted Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh, member of the Planning Commission, with the work of organising relief centres in Maharashtra. The *Bombay Chronicle* reports that she laid the greatest stress on the problem of providing medical aid and employment to the disabled. Recounting her experiences of relief work in Rayalaseema, she told the executive committee of the Central Maharashtra Famine Relief Committee that the Government works generally benefited the able-bodied. The disabled should be given work in their own homes, such as work of carpentry, handcraft, etc.

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the Union Finance Minister, suggested that the Committee should prepare a map of the affected parts indicating the worst affected areas, so that immediate attention could be given to those areas. He also agreed with the opinion expressed by the Committee that the wages paid to those employed on relief works should be reasonable.

An earlier *PTI* despatch stated that about 150 famine-affected villagers including 23 women, 42 children and 7 old men had arrived at Kolhapur in search of food and shelter.

Man-days Contributed in Banaras

The following news-item appeared in the *Leader* dated February 3:

"About 11,000 man-days have been contributed as voluntary manual labour in the rural areas of the district in pursuance of the scheme of the pooled planning office in Banaras, completing in all five and a half lacs cubic feet of earth work. About 9,000 voluntary labour were employed in the first fortnight of January working from four to six hours a day under the man-power mobilisation scheme in the district, constructing about 32,616 cubic feet of earth work. Other works done during the same period were inoculation of about 7,000 cattle against rinderpest, construction of 404 compost and 201 soakage pits, disinfection of 228 houses, vaccination of 1,409 persons and setting up of watch and ward organisations including 45 men for duty in three villages."

This example should be followed all over the Union.

Prisoners Employed in Constructive Work

According to a report published in the *Leader*, the U. P. Government have obtained encouraging results by employing prisoners on constructive works of public utility. The working of the Chandraprabha Dam Project in Banaras district, where prisoners were employed on an experimental basis, indicate that the prisoners were more efficient and enthusiastic in their work than ordinary labourers. Two prisoners employed as motor drivers were successfully running a transport service covering a distance of 90 miles from Chandraprabha Dam site to Banaras City without any watch and ward. The prisoners employed in the project had earned over a lac of rupees as wages during December and January.

This paradox of prisoners being better workers can be explained probably by the factors of discipline, regular food and good sanitary facilities.

As an incentive the authorities have introduced the award of a running flag each week to the group of 20 prisoners that earns the highest wages. A running trophy is awarded to the group of prisoners earning the highest wages during a month.

Observers "are of the view that projects of the employment of convicts on useful tasks under conditions available to free men are likely to transform the criminals gradually into useful citizens. Some of the prisoners released from the camp are reported to have approached the Irrigation department for employment on the construction of dams," writes the paper.

The U. P. Scheme has attracted the attention of several States. Assam, Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh are reported to have made enquiries about its working and details.

Measures to Improve Slums in Madras

The Madras Government proposes to acquire all privately owned lands in Madras City, on which slums have sprung up, and then distribute these to the people who are already in occupation of the lands. Under the scheme the slum-dwellers will not be given ownership of the lands, but they and their posterity will be able to live there for eternity. There are at present about 200 slums in Madras City on Corporation, Government and private lands. The scheme also envisages wide roads, electricity, water connection and improved sanitary facilities for the slum dwellers, reports the *Hindu* of February 1.

This is a move in the right direction, provided the slum dwellers are also led towards a higher standard of living by a combination of incentives and obligatory responsibilities. As such those who are willing to work for their own salvation, should have

priority in every way and something plus, over and above the common betterment plan.

Federation of Educational Associations

The *Hitavada* of January 30 published the Teachers' Charter for India, adopted by the All-India Association of Educational Associations. The Charter demands that the teachers must be regarded as nation-builders by the society and the State. They must be guaranteed a remuneration compatible with decent livelihood and have security of tenure in service. Teachers should have the right of association for all legitimate purposes and should be free to participate in all lawful public activities—educational, social, economic and political. There should be no bar in their earning additional income from supplementary occupations and they should have opportunities to train themselves so that they might perform their functions with the greatest possible efficiency. It asserts the right of teachers to have an effective voice in the shaping of the educational policy and in the administration and control of any institution run by the Education Department of the Government or Universities or public bodies through their accredited representatives. Legislation to this effect should be initiated by the Government. It proposes that "every teacher's person as well as the precincts of every educational institution must be regarded as inviolable in times of disturbance, local, provincial or countrywide provided they both keep to strict neutrality."

On the other hand, teachers should not be satisfied by merely instructing the boys in their studies, they must keep an eye on the physical, moral and spiritual uplift of their pupils. It lays down that "every teacher must regard every child as an individual capable of unique development and yet capable of being prepared by social enterprise to take its place in the social whole, and so help it to be creative as well as co-operative . . ." The teachers must infuse the ideas of unity and brotherhood among the young generation. There should be no contradiction between a teacher's precepts and his practice and the teachers should in every conceivable way discard the competitive spirit. The teachers should be impartial, balanced, peace-loving and above communalism and narrow nationalism. They should always strive to increase their knowledge and must champion human liberty, human dignity and freedom of thought and expression. They should evolve a new synthesis of Indian culture, combining the best in the country's past heritage with what is best in the new.

We agree with most of the proposals and principles enunciated. But the main problem today facing the teacher is economic. And most teachers are unable to keep to the noble ideals underlying the task of a preceptor. Defeatism is the result.

Earthquake Protection

Earthquake in Assam, says the *World Interpreter*,

have been so severe in recent years that a geologist has recommended new steps to reduce destruction. He is M. C. Poddar, author of *Preliminary Report of the Assam Earthquake, 15th August, 1950*, a bulletin of the Geological Survey of India.

Mr. Poddar has proposed as his chief recommendation the establishment of a building commission to study suitable types of earthquake resistant buildings. He includes descriptions of such structures in Japan, New Zealand and Mexico, pointing out that they can be designed so that "the inherent natural period of oscillation is smaller than the frequency of the earthquake waves." More than 1,920 lives were lost during the 1950 quake. Landslides and floods which followed ravaged many tea estates and villages, affecting 462,000 persons.

Pakistan Facing Famine

Press reports indicate a serious food situation in Pakistan. A *PTI* despatch from Karachi quotes a report published in the Pakistan press on February 11 to say that Khwaja Najimuddin had instructed his representative in Washington to approach the U. S. authorities to get one and a half million tons of wheat. The Pakistan press quoted him as saying that Pakistan wanted the food very urgently and that she also wanted a loan from the U.S.A. Unless U.S.A. came to her assistance Pakistan would be facing a severe famine.

Pakistan will be faced with a "difficult" food situation next year, official sources indicated earlier on Feb. 3. During the current year also Pakistan has been experiencing a food shortage.

Official sources said that, although "all human effort" had been made to increase food production in the country during the current year, production would not be enough to meet the requirements of the population. Precise figures on the shortage were not readily available.

Premier Nazimuddin has appealed to the U. S. A. for a million and a half tons of wheat. Therefore the shortage is of a major order. The usual allocation of blame on India has followed, this time on the basis of canal water supply.

The Canal Water Problem

The Government of India has issued a Press Note on this latest bowl from Pakistan.

The press note said: "The Government of India have noted with regret the intensive propaganda being carried on by Pakistan on the canal waters issue accusing India of deliberately following a policy of causing deep injury to Pakistan by withholding canal waters. Serious charges against India have been made not only in the press but also by leading personalities in Pakistan. Recently, the Pakistan Government issued a press release containing statements far removed from the facts and making totally unfounded accusations against India,

As is well known, engineers of India and Pakistan have since May 1952 been engaged, at the initiative of the World Bank, in preparing a comprehensive plan of development of the waters of the Indus basin intended to solve the water dispute between the two countries. When the working party had an understanding that while the negotiations were in progress, all unnecessary controversy should be avoided. It is therefore all the more surprising that the Government of Pakistan should have countenanced a propaganda campaign in violation of this understanding and at a time when the engineering negotiations are making good progress.

After a full and careful enquiry it has been established that the complaint referred to in the press and elsewhere in Pakistan have no substance. It is significant that Pakistan has not lodged any protests whatsoever to the Government of India. There are only two canals in Pakistan which get supplies from headworks in India. Water to these canals is given in accordance with programmes communicated to Pakistan before the commencement of each sowing season. Pakistan has objected neither to the programmes nor to the supplies actually received. It should be remembered that due to drought, water supplies this winter have been unusually short in all the rivers of the Punjab and canal waters have consequently been below normal on both sides.

ARBITRATION PROPOSAL

Supply of canal water from India to Pakistan is made on the basis of the agreement concluded between the two Governments on May 4, 1948. Pakistan has been receiving water under agreement from year to year. But in December 1950, after two and a half years, Pakistan repudiated the agreement unilaterally, nevertheless India continued to supply water in terms of the agreement. In September 1951, the Government of India formally proposed to the Government of Pakistan that the question of validity of the agreement of May 4, 1948 be referred to arbitration. To this day the Government of Pakistan have not accepted the Indian proposal for arbitration.

CANAL SYSTEMS

Pakistan's description of the devastation which will be caused should India decide to cut off her water supplies belong more to the realm of fancy than fact. Out of the 16 canal systems in the undivided Punjab, 12 fall entirely within Pakistan and India has no control over them; 3 lie wholly in India; 1 is common to both India and Pakistan. Of the total flow of the six rivers of the Indus system Pakistan utilises forty per cent, Indian 5 per cent, while as much as 55 per cent runs wastefully to the sea."

Pakistan and M.E.D.O.

The *Bombay Chronicle* in its issue of February 7, editorially writes that for some time past there had been strong rumours about Pakistan joining the Middle East Defence Organisation. The reports were a first class sensation causing so much interest and, more so, concern in so many countries. For a long time no official

comment was available when the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd declared that Pakistan was not among those Governments with whom the British Government were communicating on the M.E.D.O., but that in view of her obvious interest, she would, in due course, be informed of the nature of the proposals.

The paper asks that was such a policy "a mere Commonwealth Formality"? Then why India should not be informed? Because she also was equally keenly interested in the matter. The clarification by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd was not completely reassuring because of the reported desire of the Pakistan authorities to join M.E.D.O. The editorial goes on to say that "it is not unnatural to interpret *Dawn's* all-out support President Eisenhower's policy in term of Pakistan's desire to qualify for M.E.D.O. and also, of course, to win further advantages at the current Kashmir talks in Geneva."

In fact the M.E.D.O. is being used as a pawn in this jockeying for position that is going on. If the power-bloc that has formulated the M.E.D.O. desires an worsening of situation in this part of the world, it may go on with its blunderings. But the nett gain will accrue to the other side.

Goa is Part of India

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, declared at Bombay on February 3 that though politically separate from India, Goa was part and parcel of India, historically, geographically and culturally. The Minister referred to certain undercurrents in international affairs aimed at separating Goa from India and said:

"A fact of history, a fact of geography cannot be undone by international manoeuvres or even by the national desire of certain countries."

The Portuguese occupied Goa during the Imperial Expansionist period when India lost her freedom. Under the yoke of foreign rule Goans were suffering economically, culturally and otherwise. While in India, population increased by five per cent during the period 1940-50, in Goa it had remained stationary. During the same period there had been a decrease in the population figure of the Catholics. Many people had left Goa and came to India in search of jobs and economic security.

Dr. Keskar refuted the theory which had been put forward a year or two ago that Goa was an integral part of Portugal and asserted that "Goa is Indian territory which might be politically under another country and it is going to remain thus speaking in a geographical sense. It is not going to decrease its distance with Portugal even by one mile." The people of Goa were linked to the Indian people economically, culturally and traditionally with whom they inter-marry. Their sorrows and joys were shared by their fellow citizens inside the Indian border and "not by those who are politically considered to be their masters 5,000 miles away."

The Goans had made great contributions to the progress of art and culture in India, especially in Western India. He disclosed that the Government of India considered all Goans as Indians and though the Portuguese Government adopted a policy of discrimination against Indians, the Government of India refused to follow such a policy of discrimination; and many Goans had been employed by the Governments of Bombay and India in responsible positions where they had acquitted themselves with credit.

Peace or War?

Congressmen were told at a White House briefing on Feb. 19 that, though the world outlook was grim, there was no prospect of a general war in the immediate future.

Leaders of both parties—Senators and Representatives—attended the 90-minute meeting with President Eisenhower at which the global military situation was reviewed.

The briefing was given by General Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mr. Allen Dulles, head of Central Intelligence Agency, and Mr. Joseph Dodge, Director of the Budget.

A Congressman told reporters afterwards that the meeting was informed that the Soviet Union was expected to continue its present "cold war" tactics. The briefing did not indicate any probability of a sudden change in American strategy.

Whatever internal difficulties troubled the Soviet Union, its Government was in full control of the situation and of the countries within the Soviet sphere, the Congressmen were told.

Earlier comments by Congressmen had indicated they had been given a gloomy picture of the situation and the future.

Mr. Charles Hallock, the Republican leader in the House of Representatives, told reporters: "Everybody knows it is a grim picture."

Strange Invitation

Very little publicity was given, says the *World Interpreter*, to the invitation by the French scientist, F. Joliot-Curie, to the Communist-led Peace Congress at Vienna. "By collecting millions of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal," says the leading convener, "we have so far prevented the use of the atomic weapon." In short, had it not been for the Stockholm statement, the United States by now would be using the atom bomb—where, is not stated. Joliot-Curie also declared that the peace appeal "has shown that over 600 million men and women wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force." The invitation came just in time to be followed by Russia's refusal to accept the Indian plan for repatriation of Korean war prisoners.

As the trial and execution of the 11 former Communist and leftist Czechoslovak leaders recedes

from the headlines, the French Communist movement is revealing the serious damage done to it by the Prague spectacle. While the London *Daily Worker* was able to ignore the anti-Jewish character of the trial, the French Communist daily, *l'Humanite*, had to go into elaborate explanations of why anti-Zionism at Prague was not really anti-Semitism. The attempt failed, largely because the idea of the top Communist, Slansky, confessing to being a "Jewish capitalist" was just too much for the French Communist rank and file, which has had a number of prominent Jews in key positions from top to bottom.

Economic Co-operation in the E. European Countries

A. Stepanov writes in the *News and Views* from the Soviet Union that the end of the second World War saw the disintegration of a single all-embracing world market and in its place the creation of two world markets facing one another—one consisting of the Soviet Union, China and the Eastern European Democracies; the other consisting of the rest of the world.

After the war they were progressing economically and the economic co-operation among them was increasing. They had no sales difficulties. In the period from 1948-1952 the trade turnover of the countries of the new world market more than tripled. Making allowance for the curtailment of trade with the capitalist world, the foreign trade of those countries doubled. In 1952, Soviet foreign trade was three times greater than before the war, and the countries of People's Democracy (meaning the Eastern European countries and China) accounted for 80 per cent of it.

The Soviet exports mainly consisted of industrial equipment for factories, mills, power stations and other industrial establishments. This was of tremendous importance for the speedy industrialisation of those countries. In 1952, Soviet deliveries of machinery and equipment of the latest design to the countries of People's Democracy amounted to ten times greater than in 1948.

The Soviet Union was rendering those countries technical assistance which enabled them to launch production of new types of goods and build up industries equipped with modern machinery.

A characteristic feature of the trade relationship was that the other countries paid for their imports from the Soviet Union in goods that were customary items of exports of those countries. All prices were fixed by mutual agreement.

Poland supplied coal, coke, rolled ferrous and non-ferrous metals, the output of its rapidly growing machine-building industry, foodstuffs and textiles to the new world market. Hungary's export consisted of a considerable part of the output of its transport-

machines, electrical equipment, bauxite, textiles and farm produce. Rumania supplied oil and oil products and timber, etc.

The result of this economic co-operation resulted in a rapid economic progress in those countries. For example, Poland topped its pre-war level of industrial production 2.9 times, Czechoslovakia 1.7 times, Hungary 2.5 times, Bulgaria 4.6 times and Albania more than five-fold. There had also been a corresponding rise in the standard of living of the people, says M. Stepanov.

The real difficulty about these comparative statements, is the impossibility of assessing their absolute values. No basic figures are given, nor have we, of the "other world" any means of checking the accuracy of the statements. It is good to learn that some part of humanity is progressing in spite of the stresses that the world of today is passing through. But we do not feel convinced—no one can be, as a matter of fact, excepting those who are only too eager to believe anything. The premises themselves being unknown, what is there in any argument?

Of late we have had a lot of gushing reports from some of those who have gone to visit the areas within the Soviets orbit. Most of the reports are by persons who have neither the special training nor the proved capacity to judge about the things they are enthusing about. Some have made statements, on the basis of "direct observation," that are patently absurd, considering the time and scope of their visits.

Decline in Exports of Asian Countries

Hsinhua News Agency, quoting *Peking People's Daily*, reports a sharp decline in exports in 1952 in countries of Southeast Asia. It says, on the authority of the British colonial Government in Singapore, that Malayan rubber exports registered a cut of more than 200,000 tons in 1952 as compared with 1951. The decline in rubber exports had resulted in an unfavourable balance totalling 5,400,000 U.S. dollars during the first eleven months. According to the report, American embargo and forcing down of the purchase price had "similarly wrought havoc with Indonesian Rubber exports." The export price of Indonesian Rubber declined from 1409 Rupiahs per ton in 1951 to less than 1,000 Rupiahs per ton in 1952. The total loss in foreign exchange on this count had been more than 130 million dollars. Whereas in 1951 Indonesia had a favourable balance of trade, in 1952 it became unfavourable. In Philippines, the total volume of exports fell by some 27.2 per cent as compared with the previous year. President Quirino uttered a warning that unless the fall in exports was immediately arrested, the national economy of the Philippines would go bankrupt.

In Thailand, the rubber industry was hard hit by low prices paid by U. S. buyers. Production had to

be stopped in many regions with the consequential rise in the number of the unemployed. Up to the end of September, 1952, the foreign trade showed an average adverse balance of 200 million ticals each month.

Eugene Black Urges Change of Policy

Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is reported to have urged that the United States should open her markets to the free world. In his opinion, no other single factor could do as much, in the long run, to strengthen the world economy. The countries of the world could hope to earn the dollars they needed only if the U. S. markets were thrown open to them. This "fundamental and lasting change in the United States commercial policy," he said, was all the more called for in view of the fact that increased imports would ease the taxpayers' burden for foreign aid, U. S. producers would gain foreign markets; and finally, the opening up of the American markets to foreign goods would bring greater goodwill and cohesion in the world.

U.S.S.R. Breaks with Israel

The Government of the U.S.S.R. announced on February 12 its decision to cut off diplomatic relationship with the Government of Israel. The decision followed a bomb outrage on the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv, which was strongly denounced by the Foreign Minister of Israel.

An earlier report in the *Jewish Agency's Digest* says that the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr. Moshe Sharett had threatened in the Knesseth action against groups in Israel supporting the anti-Jewish instigations behind the "Iron Curtain." His warning drew protests from the Communist and Mapam members in the House against whose parties it was presumably intended.

Italy Blocks Left by Electoral Stunt

"Is Italy on the eve of a totalitarian Christian Democratic regime? Last October, a bill drastically altering the method of electing Deputies was introduced by the government, following its invention by the ruling Christian Democratic Party. It stands every chance of adoption," says the *World Interpreter*.

"By granting a 'premium' or 'bonus' to any party achieving a vote of more than 50 per cent at the polls, the Christian Democrats and their coalition allies, the Liberals, Republicans and Social Democrats, would get 65 per cent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. This would give them a working majority, and squelch any chance of the Communists, or for that matter of the neo-Fascists, from interfering with legislation. The old proportional

representation system was said to favor the smaller parties.

"There will be 590 seats in the new Chamber. When the new move was proposed, the other three parties in the coalition, especially the Social Democrats, objected that it might give an absolute majority of seats, so that their aid would no longer be needed. Premier De Gasperi made a minor concession, changing the bill so that the winning bloc would get 360 instead of 380 seats.

"Italians who are deeply concerned over this electoral stunt are not confined to the minority parties outside the government. It is causing protests by liberal and democratically-minded citizens who dislike the totalitarian nature of the step. The reasons advanced for the electoral change are suspiciously like those put forward by dictators everywhere—to secure stability, parliamentary efficiency, the elevation of social justice, the prevention of Communism, the autonomy and concord of the nation.

"The measure comes into direct conflict with the Italian constitution, which in Article 48 declares that votes shall be equal for all electors. Critics point out that the proposal is dishonest, since the Christian Democratic government has purposely failed to create, within the allotted five years of the constitution's coming into force, the Superior Constitutional Court which should have decided the legality of the change, or held a referendum on it. Antonio Greppi, former Mayor of Milan and a professing Catholic, recently wrote in the periodical, *Critica Sociale*: 'Every change in the equal value of the votes detracts or adds by a fictitious device a fraction of the value of man as an elector, thus enacting a patent injustice.'

Farouk's Relatives Make Best of It

The attractive sisters and mother of former King Farouk have each made their choice of the 200 acres of land they are allowed to retain, out of the tens of thousands the Egyptian royal family once held. All of them picked acreage in the lush, money-making royal estates at Inshass, a desert turned paradise.

Under the new land reform law, no person is permitted to own more than 200 acres. Landowners possessing more than this maximum may, however, choose freely from their estates the 200 acres they wish to keep. Although the virulent attacks of the Egyptian press, populace and politicians did not touch the royal princesses, they have withdrawn completely from public life, at least for the time being. They refused to follow the king into exile preferring to remain in the country even though their privileges and royal allowances were drastically cut.

Egypt is disposing landlords in a more democratic fashion than elsewhere. The landlord is given a chance of becoming a good farmer if he so wills,

Japan's Dilemma : Rearmament or Relief?

"The Japanese government—seven years after the war!—is proposing to start a pension scheme for soldiers. It is popularly regarded as a means of winning political favour from military men, especially the top brass. The public is opposed to such favouritism, arguing that if funds were available (which they are not) Japan should adopt an inclusive social security system. Besides, veterans of the last war are in urgent need of relief, and many of them in the disabled or unsteady income groups, are still begging on the streets, but the government is lukewarm about giving them any immediate help.

"One of the reasons why rearmament is widely unpopular is the fact that the scars of the last war remain unhealed. Public opposition to rearmament is indicated by resentment over reckless statements by U.S. politicians calling for the sending of Japanese troops (which officially do not exist) to Korea, or statements that Asians should fight Asians. This resentment is so widespread that such American attitudes are having a definitely adverse effect on Japanese-U.S. relations," says the *World Interpreter*.

The U. S. Agricultural Extension Service

Mr. M. L. Wilson, Director of Extension Work, U. S. Department of Agriculture, writes that as unceasing efforts have to be made to improve the productivity of land in order to ensure an adequate food supply to an ever-increasing population, science and modern technology have to be applied more and more in agriculture. In the U.S.A., during the past 30 to 40 years an out-of-school type of education, known as agricultural extension work, had been an instrumental factor in the steady progress in agriculture.

This education purports to bridge the gap between the College of Agriculture and the Agricultural Experiment Station on the one hand and the farm on the other. "This system of education known as the Co-operative Extension Service is the joint endeavour of the Federal Department of Agriculture, the State Agricultural Colleges, and county (local) government."

The unique feature of the whole system is that the education is informal and voluntary. There are no class rooms and the teacher known as the county agent, lives and works with the farm people. All county extension workers are responsible for works with rural young people through 4-H clubs. (4-H standing for Head, Heart, Hand and Health). They devote their whole time to education. Teaching is by practical methods. Local voluntary leaders help the county extension workers in the dissemination of scientific information and improved farming and home-keeping practices. Improvements in farming go hand in hand with continuous efforts to improve

the farm home. Farm families are encouraged to make use of their home-produced materials, in building and remodelling houses.

"Extension workers also help farm people to learn the value of an organized approach to community problems which can be met most effectively through group action. They have helped farmers to develop State seed-improvement associations, self-supporting soil-testing laboratories, and dairy herd-improvement associations."

Extension workers receive much aid from the Federal Department of Agriculture, the State Experiment Station and Agricultural Colleges. Professional extension workers in the United States, number more than 12,000, 70 per cent of whom serve in the counties and less than 100 in the federal office in the Department of Agriculture in Washington.

Here, in India, our approach is the reverse of the above. We have concentrated all our efforts in offices, laboratories and a few college farms. The men in charge are mostly white collar men, placed in office from considerations which are not always cogent to the job. As a result, we have long speeches and tons of printed paper in place of concrete results.

The Community Projects and the Bharat Sewak Samaj are schemes meant to rectify these serious shortcomings. But the way those two are being planned and handled, gives us little hope for the future. There must be a drastic change in the viewpoint of those who are at the absolute fountain-head. They must learn that there is no flow of inspiration neither any creative work from that source. We are wasting time and treasure for nothing as things are being run.

Piracy Conviction Highlights Anachronism

"The conviction of an American citizen at Tangier for piracy throws a spotlight on one of the weirdest anachronisms of U.S. and international history. The American, Sidney Paley, 'the Nylon Kid,' was found guilty of hijacking a cargo of cigarettes from a Dutch vessel, and is out on bail pending appeal. Seven French seamen charged with aiding him are being tried in France.

"To comprehend the significance of this strange trial, one must go back to the origins of American interest in Morocco. As early as 1791, the U. S. established diplomatic relations with the Sultan of Morocco, who showed his appreciation by giving the U. S. representative a high-walled, ornate and dilapidated palace in the center of Tangier. While several of the more important branches of the legation are now housed in ultramodern office buildings in the European sector of the city, American diplomatic headquarters remain in the old Moorish palace, surrounded by the most squalid, disreputable and color-

ful neighborhood in all Tangier. Here sits the Consular Court in quaint majesty. It is one of the ironies of our time that the U. S., which for centuries had led the struggle against colonialism, still clings to the hoary relic of the colonial system, consular jurisdiction.

"Early in the 19th century, when the Sultan's empire was falling to pieces, with tribal leaders on the rampage and pirates roaming the sea-coast, foreign powers seized the chance to secure for their nationals extra-territorial rights. Decades later, the French imposed a pact that gave them a protectorate over a part of Morocco, and Spain similarly got a slice of the coastal land. Tangier became an international zone. Unlike other foreign powers, and precisely because it disapproved of colonial expansion, the U. S. refused to recognize the French-Spanish partition of Morocco. In the eyes of the State Department, the Sultan to this day remains a sovereign ruler, limited only by capitulatory rights—especially consular jurisdiction—to a number of countries, including the U. S.

"After the establishment of the French protectorate, which was recognized by other foreign powers, all foreign consular courts were abolished except the American. Europeans still are not subject to the jurisdiction of the local kadis, but they have a joint mixed tribunal in Tangier. An American citizen, whatever the charge against him, can be tried only in Consular Court. The Court legally has tremendous power but actually it has hardly any cases, and the usual procedure is to have the legal adviser of the legation prosecute, with the Consul acting as judge.

"The Nylon Kid' has brought this curious hang-over to international notice, and given the Consular Court its first important case for perhaps a hundred years. Paley was sentenced to three years, and if his appeal fails, the U. S. may yet have to set up accommodations for the prisoner in the ancient, incongruous palace occupied by the American Legation at Tangier," says the *World Interpreter*.

Big Business in the U.S.A.

A five-year study of the impact of "big business" on the American economy reveals that big business is not crowding out little business, is not self-perpetuating, and is competitive.

The overall conclusion of this study, by the Brookings Institution, a private research organisation, is that the American economy was never more competitive and dynamic than it is today.

The study was undertaken to obtain the answers to such questions as: What effect has big business had on competition? Has the growth of big business impaired the "opportunities" of small and medium-sized business? Are the industrial "giants" immune to competition? Are the profits of big business increasing at the expense of small and medium-sized corporations?

Here's what the Brookings economists found:

There were 3,000,000 individual business firms in the United States in 1939. By 1948, the number had increased to 3,967,000—a gain of more than 20 per cent.

The number of businesses has more than kept pace with the growth of population. The rise of big business apparently has not closed the doors to individual private enterprise nor reduced opportunity in the American economy.

Small businesses also have been doing better financially, in relation to the overall national economy, than the big businesses.

The profits before taxes of the 100 largest industrial corporations declined from 3.7 to 3.3 per cent of the national income between 1929 and 1949. On the other hand, profits of medium-sized corporations rose from 4.8 to 7 per cent. Actually the share of small business in the national income increased by 1.5 times during this period.

There was no evidence that concentration in economic power was increasing in the United States. On the contrary, in many fields concentration has substantially reduced. During the last 50 years, the share of the market controlled by the large firms—in steel, oil, tobacco, copper, sugar, rubber, automobiles, farm machinery and aluminium—has been cut in half.

Moreover, the study added, in the ever-changing American system it is difficult for large firms to maintain their position. Far from being immune to competition, it was found that the industrial giants undergo a big turnover at the top. Of the 100 largest American industrial firms in 1909, not one retained its relative position by 1948. Neither did any industry. Only 31 of the corporations remained among the top 100 in 1948.

The rise of new industries and new products largely accounted for this change, the study said. In the face of dynamic progress and change, entrenched, secure positions cannot be established—the pattern of production cannot be frozen nor progress blocked.

The Brookings economists found that competition becomes keener under "big business," both between goods and between employers. Research creates new products—and new and cheaper methods of producing goods. Innovation in product and market development tend to break down industry lines and to increase the area of competition.

For example, research has brought petroleum producers into the chemical field and the chemical industry into synthetic fibres. Plastics compete with metals and the newer light metals with the more traditional steels and copper.

The senior staff economist of the Brookings Institution, Dr. A. D. H. Kaplan, who directed the study, concludes:

"The heartening thing to us has been to discover that the system itself, as it operates, has its own actions and reactions and its own methods of punishing the company that ceases to be competitive.

"The highly competitive character of big business is not due to the personal predilections of its present leadership but to stronger forces. Not the concentration of resources in integrated big business, but the dispersion and the versatility of the resources among so many separate units of enterprise is the distinct characteristic and, I might say, the miracle of American capitalism in our day."

This is a new light on Capitalism, working under control.

Settlement of the Sudan Issue?

Britain and Egypt signed an agreement on February 12 giving self-government to the Sudan which they have ruled jointly for the past 53 years.

The pact provides that within three years the Sudanese will choose whether they want independence or some form of link with Egypt, their powerful northern neighbour.

It was signed this morning by Egypt's Premier, General Neguib, and Sir Ralph Stevenson, British Ambassador, after long drawn-out negotiations.

During the transition period the eight million people of this rich cotton-growing land will govern themselves, but foreign affairs and defence will be under the direction of a Governor-General.

Egyptian conditions that no special powers must be retained by the Governor-General (Sir Robert Howe) for the so-called "backward south" and that British and Egyptian troops must be withdrawn before self-determination, are both met in the agreement.

General Neguib told Britain's Ambassador, after they had signed the Sudan agreement at Cairo on Feb. 12 that Egypt would now take up the question of evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal zone.

Main points of the agreement are:

1.—Early elections, probably next month, for an all-Sudanese Parliament. The backward southern States will provide 25 per cent. of the members.

2.—Establishment of three mixed commissions to work with the Governor-General: a Governor-General's commission, to supervise the exercise of the Governor-General's powers, composed of one Briton, one Egyptian member, one Pakistani member (chairman) and two Sudanese members whose selection is subject to control by the Sudanese Parliament a seven-man electoral commission of one Egyptian, one Briton, one American, and one Indian with three Sudanese appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of his commission; a commission to supervise the work of Sudanization, by which British and Egyptian officials are to hand over administration to the Sudanese within three years—composition of this commission: one Egyptian, one Briton and three Sudanese.

3.—During the transition period the Governor-General (Sir Robert Howe) will be the "supreme constitutional authority within the Sudan."

4.—The transitional period comes into effect immediately after the election of a Sudanese Parliament,

consisting of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, and the formation of a Sudanese Council of Ministers.

5.—The transition period will be ended by a resolution in the Sudanese Parliament stating that it wants "self-determination."

6.—The Sudanese Government and Parliament will then pass a law providing for the election of a constituent assembly. Detailed arrangements for Sudan's choice of its future will be subject to international supervision.

7.—In the transition period, the Governor-General has the power to proclaim a constitutional emergency if through political deadlock, non-cooperation or boycott he is satisfied that normal Government cannot be carried on under the constitution.

He may take the same steps in the event of imminent financial collapse or breakdown of law and order.

8.—If the Governor-General's Commission disapproves the emergency action, it will be referred to Britain and Egypt. If either Government also disapproves, the emergency will be terminated within 30 days.

The British Houses of Parliament

"Dishonesty in the British House is almost unknown. There are other parliaments with high standards of probity, but the British have built up an ingrained antipathy to the slightest shadiness. British members of Parliament look at certain shenanigans at Washington with wide-eyed, wondering incomprehension. As *Worldover Press* correspondent, Sidney Lens, reports from London, 'Deep freeze or mink coat gifts just don't happen. The British parliamentary system is disciplined, and the individual M.P. can exert no independent action and is subject to few independent pressures.'

"A British M.P. is paid \$2,800 a year, or \$54 a week. Out of that sum he must employ a secretary and pay for his own postage. He has none of the franking privileges of a U. S. Congressman, who can send out almost limitless amounts of mail and literature without personal cost. Nor does he have any assistants or even an office for himself alone. He gets free travel between home and London, both ways, also to and from the constituency he represents. His expenses for parliamentary work can be deducted from his income tax. But after deducting tax and his personal work-costs, he is lucky to have \$35 a week left. Some M.P.'s, especially on the Labor side, share secretaries with one or more other Members. Some can earn outside money from speeches or writing, though with the House closely divided, as now, attendance is demanded nearly all the time.

"In many talks with British M.P.'s and members of other parliaments I have often heard the wish expressed for higher pay and better working accommodations. But the salary scales desired were always amazingly low when compared to the wages of a U. S. legislator. To the argument that higher pay ought to promote greater honesty, members of parliament in Ireland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Scandinavian

countries always looked puzzled, and asked, in unbelief, 'Why should that be?' They seem, on the whole, to think that honesty is best maintained by frugal living. The American idea doesn't appeal to a Premier, as in Denmark, who takes pride in riding to work on a street-car.

"Members of Congress at Washington now receive \$12,500 annually, in House or Senate. This is far beyond the proportionate differences in living expenses between Britain and the U. S. Besides, each Congressman gets substantial expense allowances for staff, offices, travel, etc., and for those who come from big States, the expense account reaches as much as around \$65,000. Yet when I have visited the modest homes of overseas parliamentarians, and compared them to those at the American capital, it has always seemed to me that foreign frugality, within reason, served as a good example to the public, kept alive in legislators' minds a warmer sympathy for their constituents, and developed a wholesome legislative responsibility. Higher wages for legislators abroad would increase efficiency and relieve strain, but it may be doubted whether a boost at Washington, unless the atmosphere of the capital were changed, would do anything of the kind. There, some of the stress is self-imposed, while the mood of the place needs to be turned away from the notion that more dollars will fix just everything."

The above description will be of interest to our legislators as well.

Gopalaswamy Ayyangar

India lost one of her elder statesmen and Pandit Nehru his astutest debater by the death of Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar on February 10.

One of the very few Provincial Civil Service officers who rose to Central eminence—Mr. V. T. Krishnamachari is another—Mr. Ayyangar was awarded a Knighthood in 1941 and the C.S.I. and the C.I.E. a few years earlier. Easily accessible, patient and friendly, without being demonstrative Mr. Ayyangar even won the respect and admiration of Sheikh Abdullah, when, as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir from 1937 to 1943, he had to deal with the rising tide of political discontent in the State.

As a parliamentarian, Mr. Ayyangar was hardly even ruffled by criticism and, though slow, was sure and effective. His personality was reflected in his sense of humour, which was always good-natured and gentle. His stock of information as a Minister was unfailing but his presentation of the official case was never arrogant or supercilious. Yet he was fairly good at repartee, which reflected sincerity and accommodation rather than ill-will.

Next only to the late Sardar Patel, Mr. Ayyangar was the Cabinet's greatest champion of the Services. His own experience as an officer taught him that firmness and sympathy go a long way in securing the Services' loyalty and devotion to work. His noting was brief but full of information and his decision never hasty. Few understood Mr. Nehru's mind better.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

Another Indication of West Bengal's Decay

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE all-round decay of the middle class in West Bengal now needs no proving. The effects of a shrinking economy with its consequential effects on employment and income are making themselves felt with devastating force. In fact, it would not be too much to say that the middle class is fast crumbling down and if this trend continues for some time more, it would be facing almost total extinction as a class. Prospects of successful employment or gainful occupation are very little; a Bengali middle class youth, passing out of the portals of the school or the college, has, more often than not, an absolutely dark future before him. The standard of living in every branch—food, housing, education—is fast going down. It is no wonder that such a situation would give rise to deep frustration and a decline in moral values. This is exactly what is happening today. Moreover, Bengalis living in other provinces are now forced to start back home. The middle class people of East Bengal are also being compelled in a large measure to leave their home, abandon their properties and migrate to West Bengal. All these factors are gradually building up a dark and dismal situation. It would indeed be a matter of regret if this class, which had been responsible for the cultural renaissance, economic development and political awakening in the country and has been the very backbone of Bengal and which has yet to discharge its role in history though in a new and altered form, disintegrates in this fashion. It is true that efforts are now being made to remedy this state of affairs. It has however to be realised that these efforts cannot succeed if they are not based upon a correct appreciation of the historical nature of the crisis as also an assessment, at least, on the quantitative level, of the nature of the problem in all its economic inter-relations. Unfortunately, the measures that are being adopted do not generally disclose any such appreciation or assessment and are more or less in the nature of patchwork. But this will ultimately lead to no solution. The first step towards a full understanding of the problem therefore is its correct assessment. Insufficient data do not permit an elaborate and precise analysis, but the materials already available are sufficient for giving us at least a broad picture.

DIFFICULTY OF DEFINITION

It is, however, difficult to define precisely what is meant by the term *bhadralok* or the middle class. The class itself is the result of a long historical process and has acquired, with the passage of time, a complex of

its own. Generally speaking, it used to imply those intermediate classes standing in between the actual agriculturists and labourers on the hand and rich proprietors, rent-receivers, persons living on unearned income or rich industrialists on the other. It has usually meant the professional classes, servicemen, petty land-owners, tradesmen of some standing and so on. But it was not an economic category alone. Various factors of tradition, caste, intellectual attainments, high moral standard, economic position and nature of occupation combined together in varying degrees to give the class a peculiar complex of its own. For these reasons its importance in society far outreached the numerical proportions, though numerically too it did not form any inconsiderable proportion of the population. But recently there has been a distinct change in outlook. As the Census, 1931 disclosed, young men belonging to middle class families were found quite willing to take up jobs in the Kanchrapara Railway Factory. Since then a greater and greater number of middle class young men is being found to take up jobs hitherto regarded as taboo. The character of the personnel in the Chittaranjan Locomotive Workshop and other factories fully records this change. The middle class therefore has now acquired a wider meaning and has spread itself over more numerous occupation-groups than previously. The proportion of the middle class has therefore become relatively higher in our population structure, though the recent changes are also responsible for taking the edge off the sharp barriers that used to divide different classes in the past.

BEGINNING OF THE END : THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is not necessary to recount of the well-known story of the rise and growth of the Bengali middle class. In fact, it is one of the most significant phenomena in the evolution of the country under British rule and focussed in a concentrated fashion the currents and cross-currents within that process of evolution. When the structural economy of our country underwent a drastic and fundamental change as a result of the impact of British Imperialism,* out of that change grew the Bengali middle class. Designed at first to fulfil the administrative needs of the country, it soon developed far beyond its original purpose. In fact, the socio-economic factors obtaining at that time could not but make it so. The middle class, in fact, arose because of the necessity created by those

* See Venkatasubbia : *Structural Basis of India's Economy*.

factors and it was only natural that it would develop so long as those factors continued to operate. The middle class reached the peak of its cultural efflorescence as also of economic development in the second half of the last century. The literary giants including Bankim-chandra and Rabindranath and the political leaders including Sir Surendranath all belonged to this age; the periphery of the Bengali middle class was extended practically to the western boundaries of the whole of North India. But by the end of the last century the forces responsible for its expansion had begun to decline appreciably and the saturation point was reached. Not only other provinces had by that time begun to develop their own middle classes but the overall decline of the bigger forces responsible for its growth also marked the beginning of the end even at home. The possibilities of expansion, however limited, under the domination of finance-capital were being rapidly exhausted; the fundamental crisis in capitalism even as a world system made itself gradually felt with particular force in the middle class strata which, in fact, was the most typical product of the system and therefore most vulnerable to the forces of decay.

Any complete quantitative analysis of this change is beyond the compass of the present article. But it may be mentioned that by the turn of the century, the supply began to exceed the demand in the administrative services and some other professions. Development of indigenous capitalism and the growth of Indian industries were far more marked in Western India; and the possibilities of employment and earning began to show slow but definite signs of contraction.

THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

The pace of this process of contraction became considerably faster after the first World War. The crisis in capitalism became deeper all over the world; the structural, financial and monetary maladjustments became more pronounced; after the post-war boom and currency muddle of the twenties came the Great Depression. These forces fell full blast on the already disintegrating economy of India. Bengal had to face severe economic distress during the Great Depression, particularly because of her dependence on the world market for jute. The effect of these factors on the Bengali middle class was tremendous. In fact, the middle class had all along been confined within the four walls of its old occupation pattern and could not have even its due share in the growth, however small, in the secondary and tertiary sectors of Bengal's economy. It is easily understandable what disastrous effects these forces produced in such a situation. It was reported by the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19 that there was no unemployment of the (educated) middle classes even at that time. To quote the exact words of the Commission:

"At present all the young men who have been trained at higher schools and colleges seem to find

posts of one kind or another . . . apart from congestion in the legal profession we have found few signs of actual unemployment among the young men of the educated classes . . . the output of higher education is still absorbed by the Government services, by the professions and by the commercial firms."—(Report, Vol. IV, ii, para 14).

The Committee however hastened to add:

"Nevertheless we cannot but feel that unless there are great developments of industry and commerce in Bengal . . . the supply of young men trained by the high schools and colleges will be found at no distant date to have overshot the demand."

As the *Bengal Census Report*, 1931 (Vol. V. Pt. I, p. 288) comments, the warning very soon proved to be well-founded and in less than three years, on the 30th March, 1922, the problem of educated unemployed was raised by a resolution in the Legislative Council. As a result, a Committee was appointed to enquire into the matter and it reported that unemployment among the educated middle class Bengalis is "overwhelming" and added that

"We have been greatly impressed by the acuteness of the problem and the urgent necessity for the adoption of measures for the alleviation and removal of the present distress and for the prevention of any aggravation of the present condition of affairs in the future."

Analysing the causes, the Committee of course mentioned a few temporary causes, such as the shrinkage of war production after the termination of the war. But the Committee also laid proper emphasis on the deeper causes and particularly mentioned the decay of industries as also the decay of village life with a consequent drift to towns and unwillingness to return to the mofussil conditions which invariably lead to unemployment. The Committee ultimately concluded that the prosperity of Bengal in general including the class of educated unemployed lay entirely "in the intensive economic development of the country, in the entrance of Bengali *bhadralok* into industry, trade and commerce of the country and in the immediate acceleration of development schemes which will train *bhadralok* to effect this entrance." As we have pointed out already, the *bhadralok* gradually got rid of his mental antagonism to the so-called non-*bhadralok* occupations, but there was no intensive economic development of the province and therefore no possibility of the entrance of the Bengali *bhadralok* into trade, commerce and industry. There was, on the other hand, a great regression with all its disastrous effects on the Bengali middle class. The Census Report, 1931 commented on the uninterrupted increase during 1921 to 1930 in the number of suits for rent-enhancement, broken only in the year 1927, and concluded that

"This can almost certainly be taken as an index of the extent to which the middle classes depending upon a fixed income feel the pinch of high prices."—(Report, Vol. V, Part I, p. 17).

The depression again affected them in another—and a more disastrous—way.

THE IMPACT OF WAR AND INFLATION

Conditions continued to worsen during the decade 1930-40 also, when the second World War broke out. While this steady disintegration was going on, the first unusual shock of a great magnitude came upon the middle class as a result of the second World War, famine and inflation. It is true that employment had also expanded at that time. But the comparatively higher rise in the cost of living more than offset the advantages of a greater employment in most cases. Insufficient data make a full assessment impossible. We, however, find from *A Survey of the After-effects of the Bengal Famine of 1943* conducted by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis and others that there was considerable economic deterioration in the status of occupation-groups generally filled in by the middle class.*

TABLE I

Percentage of families suffering change between January, 1943 and May, 1944			
Occupational group	Improvement	Deterioration	Ambiguous
Non-cultivating owner	....	3.23	1.61
Transport	....	14.29	....
Trade	....	23.19	2.90
Profession and service	1.47	1.47	1.47

It will be seen that on the balance there was far more deterioration than improvement. It is not unnatural that during a great famine like the Bengal Famine of 1943, the lowest income-groups would be the hardest hit and be forced into destitution in some cases. But it is significant that during that famine, even some of the comparatively higher income-groups did not go without their share of destitution:†

TABLE II

Destitutes living on charity in May, 1944 (Estimated number in lakhs)		
Occupational groups as in January 1943	Families	Persons
Non-cultivating owner	0.06	0.27
Transport	0.02	0.08
Trade	0.09	0.40
Profession and service	0.09	0.11

In other words, 30 per cent of the total number of families in the group 'non-cultivating owner' became destitute, 75 per cent in the group 'transport', 37 per cent in the group 'trade', and 40 per cent in the group 'profession and service.' This is indeed an indication of the extent of disintegration.

* Survey, p. 26, Table 4.5.

† Ibid, p. 16, Table 3.5.

THE POST-WAR SITUATION

It is well-known that the termination of the war did not improve matters. While there was considerable shrinkage in employment and trade, there was, on the other hand, a steep and continuous rise in the level of prices, which completely unbalanced the family-budgets of the middle class. At the conclusion of the war, two surveys were conducted into the family budgets of mainly the salaried class which is supposed to be comparatively more immune to the fluctuations in income than other categories, such as the tradespeople. The surveys however disclosed a miserable state of affairs even for this salaried class. The results of these surveys are worth analysis as they throw a lurid light on the condition of the middle class, specially of the upper middle class which is decidedly better off than the lower middle class.

The first survey was conducted by the Government of India into the family budgets of the middle class employees of the Central Government.* The period covered was November, 1945 to August, 1946. The enquiry was confined to the employees of the Central Government with a salary of up to Rs. 500 per month, which is a fairly high limit for the average middle class family. The main conclusions for the Calcutta (City) block were as follows:

(a) The average income of the head of the family from pay and allowances was Rs. 205.2 per month and from other sources such as land, investments, etc., was Rs. 20.10 per month. The average earnings of other members of the family worked out to Rs. 4.2 per month. The total income of the family therefore averaged Rs. 229.14 per month. Income from other sources such as land, investments, etc., was found to be very small, being a little over 8 per cent of which the income from land alone accounted for about 2 per cent.

(b) Expenditure however generally exceeded income. Of a total of 664 budgets, only 148 budgets or 23 per cent were surplus and 516 budgets or 77 per cent were deficit budgets.

(c) The heaviest expenditure was on 'food' which alone accounted for 39.1 per cent of the total expenditure. (And this in a group which according to Engels' law is pretty high up in the scale and which was getting rationed articles at controlled prices in Calcutta). Clothing came next, accounting for 7.7 per cent of the expenditure. In absolute figures, the average monthly expenditure on clothing came up to an actual total of Rs. 23.6 (Rs. 12.1 for men's clothing), Rs. 7.3 for women's clothing and Rs. 4.2 for children's clothing).

(d) The proportion of indebted families to the total numbers of families was 75.9 per cent; in the lower income-group of persons with salary below Rs. 100 per month, the figure is as high as 90.9 per cent, while the corresponding figure for the highest income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 was 73.5 per cent.

* Report on an Enquiry into the Family Budgets of Middle Class Employees of the Central Government, 1949.

The picture, however, was worse for the Bengal and Assam employees outside the Calcutta City. Here, the average total income per family averaged Rs. 198.5 per month. Income from other sources constituted 16 per cent of the total income, of which the income from land alone accounted for about 8 per cent. The greater importance of income from other sources, specially from land, is very much perceptible here. But here, too, expenditure generally exceeded income. The percentages of surplus and deficit budgets for all groups were found to be respectively 23 and 77 per cent. Amongst different income-groups however the monthly per capita income was found to vary from Rs. 17.13 to Rs. 64.2, while the monthly per capita expenditure varied from Rs. 25.11 to Rs. 64.2. Amongst these employees, all persons having a salary of below Rs. 100 per month had no surplus budget, while in the highest income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, 45 per cent had deficit budgets. Average expenditure on food accounted for 41.6 per cent of the total expenditure.

Such a picture for a fairly high-salaried class is a sufficient indication of the economic ruin of even the upper strata of the middle class. But the survey conducted by the Bengal Government amongst their own employees with a comparatively lower income and persons similarly situated outside Government service reveals a still more dismal picture. This enquiry was conducted in March, 1946, and was limited to families with basic salary ranging up to about Rs. 150 per month and residing in towns outside Calcutta. Although the investigation mainly concerned Government employees it was decided to include salary earners of other institutions and professional men of similar income levels. A simultaneous enquiry was also made into the changes in the pattern of consumption of food and clothing since 1933. This survey presents a graphic picture of the fast decay and disintegration of the Bengali middle class. The main general conclusions were as follows:

(a) Total per capita expenditure was several times higher than the average salary of the salary level. There were multiple sources of income. Total expenditure, therefore, was more than the total salary. Agriculture and dairy appeared to contribute more than 50 per cent as much as salary at the lowest level. At other levels too income from this source was fairly heavy (about 20 per cent). These people belonged to mofussil areas and were likely to possess landed properties. This incidentally discloses the heavy dependence of even this salaried class on other sources of income, any diminution in which must cause extreme hardship and unbalance their budgets.

(b) The lower income-groups did not get enough essential food and their income fell short of their educational and medical needs. Any added income was readily spent on such essential food-stuff as milk, fish, meat, etc. The diminishing expenditure on cereals with rise in income would indicate that the higher consumption on cereals at lower income-levels is not a matter of choice. It

was also found that the diet of the Bengali middle class was not only comparatively deficient in calories but it was also much inferior in other food values to the diets of divisions I and II prisoners of both classes A and B.

(c) It would appear that the war lowered the food standard by about 422 calories out of 2288 calories as consumed in 1940, that is, by about 19 per cent. As the diet was already deficient in expensive as well as comparatively cheaper essential items the effect of rise in prices was a drastic reduction in both. Substitution of expensive items by cheaper ones could not take place.

(d) In clothing, silk and wool almost disappeared. Even in cotton goods the present purchases were meagre. Compared to 1933, the consumption in 1946 was worse.

(e) The investigation indicated that the expenditure on education was below the needs and no more.

The detailed figures are still more revealing. The most revealing of them all is the changing pattern in the consumption of food and clothing between 1933 and 1946.

TABLE III

Daily per capita consumption in chatak and calorie value of selected Food items outside Calcutta

Foodstuff	1933		1940		1946	
	Consumption	Calorie value	Consumption	Calorie value	Consumption	Calorie value
	per day		per day		per day	
Rice	7.14	1442	1.14	1442	6.03	1213
Wheat	0.50	103	0.54	91	0.25	52
Pulses	0.75	152	0.73	147	0.70	141
Sugar	0.40	96	0.36	86	0.34	81
Gur	0.39	87	0.37	83	0.19	43
Edible oil	0.48	260	0.46	249	0.42	228
Milk	3.40	126	0.17	117	1.91	71
Milk products	0.13	4	0.12	3	0.05	2
Fish	0.83	46	0.81	45	0.33	18
Meat	0.25	28	0.22	25	0.11	12

The following table shows the gradual decline in the per capita consumption of clothing commodities:

TABLE IV

Index number of per capita consumption and retail prices of Clothing commodities

Base, (1) Per capita consumption, 1933=100

(2) Retail prices, 1933=100

Name of commodity	1933		1940		1945	
	Quantity	Prices	Quantity	Prices	Quantity	Prices
Dhoti	100	100	93	133	59	329
Shirt	100	100	90	138	53	396
Punjabi	100	100	80	143	44	411
Coat	100	100	68	137	41	376
Ganji	100	100	91	228	61	414
Lungi	100	100	94	154	74	428
Trousers	100	100	74	111	50	293
Pyjamas	100	100	68	138	42	407
Sari	100	100	95	135	55	312
Chemise	100	100	92	140	59	324
Blouse	100	100	86	137	56	290
Petticoat	100	100	82	138	58	260
Canvas shoe	100	100	86	127	68	315
Leather shoe	100	100	99	129	59	308
Slipper	100	100	83	143	67	332

The relative importance of the different sources of income will be clear from the following table:

TABLE V
Average monthly income (in Rupees) per family, by sources

Sources	1945-46		Total	Professionals
	Salaried class—all levels	Govt. Non-Govt.		
1. Total salary	53.19	50.52	53.54	....
2. Total allowance and T. A.	26.73	19.61	25.20	....
3. Gratuity & pensions	2.34	0.87	2.02	....
4. Trade & industry	3.35	3.88	3.46	14.32
5. Profession	3.21	4.49	3.48	91.29
6. Agriculture & dairy	15.47	12.74	14.89	12.83
7. Cottage industry	0.15	0.04	0.13	0.57
8. Rent received	2.67	1.16	2.35	3.53
9. Interest received	0.19	0.45	0.24	0.03
10. Loan received	16.90	15.68	16.64	6.58
11. From saving and sale of cattle	14.76	7.63	13.23	11.93
12. Sale of lands	6.14	1.76	5.20	2.99
13. Help from outside	26.27	23.17	25.60	12.39
14. Other occupations & other sources	16.56	28.00	19.02	5.46
Total	192.93	170.00	188.00	161.92

These figures sufficiently reveal the grim grinding the middle class is going through. Their very sub-marginal existence has been rendered still more sub-marginal and the axe has had to be applied, not to any item of luxury because there was none, but to the most essential item of food and that too very drastically.

THE PARTITION AND ITS EFFECTS

On the top of all this came the partition with its disintegrating effects. The intimate inter-linking of the two Bengals needs no description. The heavy dislocation caused in every sphere of life,—social, economic and otherwise, has given a very heavy blow to the middle class. Particularly the families from East Bengal who used to balance their budgets through multiple sources of income (e.g., from salaries earned in West Bengal and income from land accruing in East Bengal) have had their budget completely upset. The general dislocation caused in trade, industry, commerce and even in free and frequent travelling between two Bengals, has produced its inevitable consequences—and bad consequences all along the line—for the Bengali middle class as a whole. It would still take some time yet to realise and assess fully the magnitude of this problem; the question of Evacuee Property, for instance, is still hanging in the balance. But the picture is already dismal enough and the partial surveys conducted about the refugee problem give sufficient indication. For instance, the survey conducted at the behest of the Government of India amongst the Bengal refugees in 1948 gives some revealing information. The middle class was not specially defined; but it was found that of the total number of refugees, caste Hindus constituted 90.8 per cent. This undoubtedly contains a heavy proportion of middle class. As examination of the refugees by socio-economic groups

reveals that the occupation-groups roughly corresponding to the middle classes constituted 53.89 per cent of the total number of refugees. The survey further revealed that there has been change of occupation after migration to West Bengal. Figures relating to some of the distinctly middle class occupations are given below:

TABLE VI

Percentage of refugees in each occupation-group who changed occupation after migration	
Category	Percentage change
Rent receiver	59.85
Agricultural supervisor	79.01
Liberal arts and profession	44.93
High services	30.80

Many have also swelled the ranks of the unemployed. It was found that of the total number of refugees 56.7 per cent were living in starvation condition, 32.3 per cent were just carrying on somehow, 7.0 per cent were living among want, while only 4.0 per cent were living in comfort (para 128 of the Survey). Even the families have disintegrated. It was found that of the total number of refugee families, 31.5 per cent were living in two places, 5.9 per cent were living in three places and 1.6 per cent in more than three places. It is not necessary to point out that conditions have now far worsened in comparison with the conditions obtaining in 1948 when the Survey was made.

THE PROCESS ALSO OPERATIVE IN WEST BENGAL PROPER

It should not, however, be assumed that the process of disintegration is confined to the East Bengal section of the middle class. Not only the partition with its consequential problem of refugees has hit the fortunes of the West Bengal section as well, but also there are other factors working independently which have been leading to fast decay and disintegration in West Bengal also. The recently published *Final Report on Rural Indebtedness Enquiry (1946-47)* in West Bengal conducted by the Government of West Bengal reveals a facet of this problem. This enquiry has been conducted in the rural areas and was not confined to the middle classes alone. Such middle class families as have come within the scope of the enquiry form only a small proportion and generally present in a lesser degree the peculiar problems of the middle class than their purely urban counterpart. Moreover, their income-pattern is more varied, though generally lower than the urban one, and their inter-linking with land more close. But in spite of these factors the picture that emerges out of the survey gives a glimpse clear enough. The following table gives figures about the indebtedness of some distinctly middle class occupation groups:

TABLE VII
Indebtedness by occupation-groups in Rural
West Bengal, 1946-47
(Percentage of indebted families)

Interest-bearing cash loan	
1. Proprietor	28.57 per cent
2. Liberal profession	29.79 per cent
3. Trade	22.92 per cent
An examination of the reasons for indebtedness is still more revealing :	

TABLE VIII
Percentage distribution of the amount of loan by
causes incurrence and occupation of debtor
families

	Proprietors	Liberal profession	Trades- men
Food	54.90	60.56	42.92
House repair	....	4.73	2.55
Social and religious	22.17	5.08	6.47
Litigations	....	....	5.54
Ancar rept	9.93	2.57	17.61
Cultivation	12.97	6.86	3.15
Repayment of old loans	....	0.19	....
Others	....	20.01	21.76
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

This is sub-marginal living on any showing. The major reason for incurring debts is expenditure on food, and that even for proprietors ! It is found that food-requirements account for 71.7 per cent of the debt of agricultural labourers. It should be remembered in this connection that as the basic causes continue to operate, as the over-all decay of our rational economy proceeds at faster pace, as the comparatively temporary causes continue to fall full blast on West Bengal, as the lands on which the composite pattern of their family budgets depends are taken away as a measure of land reform, though they must be taken away in the higher interests of land reforms, and as trade, commerce and industry continue to provide increasingly smaller opportunities for middle class employment, the future of the middle class will grow continually darker and darker. The unbelievably huge number of registrants from the middle class level at the Employment Exchanges is another indication of the existing sorry state of affairs. Still another indication of this deterioration is obtainable from the *Report on a Sample Enquiry into the Living Conditions in the Bustees of Calcutta and Howrah 1948-49*, published by the West Bengal Government, which reveals that the bustee population now contains a good sprinkling of what is generally regarded as the middle class population, such as actor, midwife, photographer, compounder, teacher, typist and

landholder. Their proportion must have increased with the further influx of refugees, specially of those marginal refugee families who could not move earlier and who are more easily forced down towards destitution than the more fortunate families.

ECONOMIC INTER-RELATIONS

Inadequate data would not permit us to work out with precision the manner and magnitude of economic inter-relations. It can, however, be safely said that the middle class will not go down without dragging down others too. Apart from the loss in social, cultural and political leadership, the loss in the economic field too will be considerable. It is true that the middle class in Bengal has not been an important factor in most of the big industries in this state ; but in the sphere of middle industries and village industries, in the matter of local trades and commerce, in the matter of providing executives in the business sphere and in the matter of professions, the middle class has played a considerable role. For instance, in the food-industries in general and rice-milling in particular, middle class capital and middle class leadership have played the most important part. The new engineering industries on a middle scale, which are the speciality of Bengal, are almost entirely the result of the efforts of the middle class. All these enterprises would suffer a very severe blow from the disintegration of the middle classes. Indirectly, such a disintegration would also mean extra stress and strain for our existing economy. Moreover, the Planning Commission has also admitted that a large element of savings must come from the agricultural sector and from the smaller income-group ; in fact, the majority of rural industries in Bengal has been the result of such surplus. It is a simple economic law that any slight improvement in agricultural income would be eaten up rather than saved by the sub-marginal families ; only those families which are on the margin or a little above it can save something as income increases. The disintegration of the middle class will thus hamper capital formation also and cause a drain on the surplus in other sectors for meeting the social problem such disintegration would create. In fact, if this body of human beings finds a way to survive and raise its living standards, there will not only be fresh social, cultural and political leadership, but there would also be released a fresh economic energy and conditions would be more favourable for the working of the multiplier. But if it goes down in a shipwreck of misery and destitution, it is likely to pull the rest of the society down on a fairly considerable scale and for a long time.

ECONOMICS OF 'BHOOMIDAN YAGNA'

By S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

THE Constitution of India lays down as one of the "directive principles of State policy" that steps should be taken to "make effective provision for securing the right to work" and to "secure by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life." According to the latest Census figures of 1951, the population of our country is now 356.8 millions out of which about 44.8 million are "cultivating labourers" without owning any land, and 5.3 million are "non-cultivating owners of land" and "agricultural rent-receivers." The total land in India available for cultivation, including current fallows and cultivable waste, is approximately 300 million acres. As is well-known to all of us, the average size of holdings in India as compared with many other countries of the world is very small. The average size in U. P. is 6 acres, in Madras 4.5 acres, in Bengal 4.4 acres, in Punjab 10 acres, in Bihar and Orissa 4.5 acres and in Madhya Pradesh 8.5 acres. Exact figures for the number of holdings above a ceiling of say, 25 acres are not available for all the States. There is, however, sufficient material to indicate that there is substantial area of land in the country which is above holdings of 25 acres. This land could be utilised for re-distribution among the landless labourers in order to solve the problem of unemployment and satisfy the innate hunger for land among the rural population. This, then, is the first basic premise of the *Bhoomidan Yagna* movement launched by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Land hunger is a legitimate and healthy desire of human beings especially in the countryside; like air and water, they have every right to possess land as well from bountiful Nature.

Nobody has, therefore, any right to own land more than what he and his family can cultivate for the production of food articles. In fulfilment of this moral principle as well as its obligation under the "directives" of the Constitution, the State should try to redistribute land to the cultivating labourers on the widest possible scale as speedily as feasible. The economic holding in India may range from 5 to 10 acres of average quality. A ceiling of 25 acres of land will, therefore, be a reasonable proposition.

How is this land to be redistributed ? In the Communist countries, landlords have been expropriated without compensation. Under the Fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution, however, it is obligatory for the State to pay compensation for acquiring land. No rate of compensation has been laid down in the Constitution. But it is quite evident that even a low rate would run into crores of rupees which a poor country like ours can ill afford to pay. What then is the remedy ? Vinoba is trying his best to meet the challenge of Communism by demonstrat-

ing to the world that, through non-violence and persuasion, the landlords can be urged to give away their surplus lands to the landless people without any compensation. He has already collected about 3.5 laes of acres so far through his "Bhoomidan Yagna" movement. As Robert Trumbull wrote in the *New York Times Magazine*, Acharya Vinoba "walks from village to village preaching that those who have much should give to those who have nothing." Vinoba's novel method has attracted and inspired millions of people, both rich and poor, and he is known as "The God who gives away Land." It is true that Acharya Vinoba is not expected to solve the whole problem of land re-distribution in the country single-handed. But his "Bhoomidan" movement is surely paving the way for a speedy and satisfactory land reform to be followed by Government legislation in due course. Vinoba's Land movement is, indeed, the only effective counterblast to the Communist activities in India.

Some doubts have been raised regarding the policy of redistribution of land followed by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. The Planning Commission in their Draft Outline of the Five-year Plan have suggested that unit of land cultivation should be the whole area of a village on a co-operative basis. They have also advocated the establishment of "registered farms" on a fairly large-scale and mechanised basis. Acharya Vinoba, on the other hand, strongly feels that, to begin with, land should be distributed to the landless labourers in small plots of about five to ten acres in accordance with the quality of land and facilities of irrigation.

Instead of trying to pool the land, attempts should be made to introduce co-operative endeavour in the main agricultural operations like ploughing, weeding, harvesting. Co-operative Societies may also be formed for marketing, purchase of seeds, machinery and manures, etc. In other words, we may encourage "Co-operative Better Farming" rather than "Co-operative Joint Farming." Apart from satisfying the land hunger of a large number of people, small-scale farming would also be more productive through efficient and intensive cultivation on a family basis. It is wrong to think that large-scale farming is more economic and efficient than small-scale family agriculture. This view is not a sentimental or mediæval conception; it is based on hard facts of human nature and psychology. It is supported by a large number of economic thinkers and is based on practical experience.

"One of the immediate needs of the country," observes Prof. C. N. Vakil in his *Planning for a Shortage Economy*, "is to hasten the pace of land redistribution. Whatever be the merits of large-scale ownership of wealth in a non-agricultural form

of activity, so long as agriculture continues to be a way of life, rural opinion which is more and more becoming conscious of the reforms introduced in other countries . . . will never tolerate any piece of land reform which does not think in terms of redistribution of land and the splitting up of large-sized holdings."

Sir Malcolm Darling in a recent article in the *Manchester Guardian* on Co-operative Farming in Yugoslavia observes that

"The experiment has not only set peasant against peasant but many peasants against the State. Even crop yields in the Collective sector differ little from those in the private sector." There is "inefficiency and waste, bureaucratic methods and internal conflicts shirking and loafing."

In a recent publication entitled *Marx against the Peasant*, Prof. Mitrany points out how in Eastern Europe small-scale farms have persisted successfully despite the Marxian theory of large-scale agriculture. Dr. Mitrany also opines that even where large-scale farming has been successful commercially "it has been apt to prove costly nationally because it exhausts the stored goodness of the soil." Practical experience in farming has amply demonstrated the fact that large-scale and mechanised farming often results in increased productivity per man but not per acre.

Mr. Massingham in his book *The Small Farmer* makes the following categorical statement:

"Taking into account human limitations and other natural factors wealth per acre (both 'input' and 'output') tends to move in inverse ratio to size of holding." This is mainly due to "a persistent and permanent desire for a life of independence on the land."

During my tour round the world, I had the opportunity of visiting the Japanese countryside with well laid-out small and artistic farms the average size of which is only 2.5 acres. In China also the present Communist Government has started by first fragmenting bigger plots of land into smaller pieces for being distributed to the actual tillers of the soil. The State has sunk thousands of surface wells in order to provide better irrigational facilities to the cultivators. It is through intensive cultivation and almost "hand-farming" that China and Japan are able to produce about two to three times the Indian yield per acre.

There is large-scale farming in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. because their proportion of land to the population is very different from that obtaining in Europe, China, Japan and India. They cannot but organise large-scale and mechanised farming because labour is very scarce and land is very extensive. Even in the U.S.A., however, where only 18 per cent of the total population is at present engaged in agriculture, there is a growing tendency towards smaller-scale farming because a larger number of people now

desire to settle on land and live in "garden cities" in the countryside.

In the U.S.S.R., which is the home of Collective Farming, there was very severe resistance to collectivisation by the farmers. Doreen Warriner in his *Revolution in Eastern Europe* tells us how "the Soviet experience was a grim lesson":

"Collectivisation brought two years of famine and an immense slaughter of livestock which it took ten years to make good."

Despite the Kolkhoz (collective farm) in Russia, every worker on a big farm is allowed a small holding sufficient for his needs varying from a half to two-and-a-half acres.

On these small farms, the Russian peasants work hard with the sweat of their brow to produce the needs of their families. As the author of *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania* states, the fact of the matter is that "the form of intensifying production has proved to bring in returns which, for a number of reasons, diminish in the proportion in which the size of the agricultural undertaking increases."

"Protagonists of large-scale farming," observes Charan Singh, Revenue Minister, Uttar-Pradesh, "love to think that a plot of four acres while added to another of four acres will yield a produce not equivalent to that which one single plot of eight acres would do, but something higher. This conclusion may be true of manufacturing industry, but not of agriculture."

As I have indicated earlier, this does not mean, however, that there should be no scope for co-operation in such small-scale farming. On the contrary, mutual aid and co-operation among small-scale farmers for various agricultural processes is of vital importance. Short of collectivising their land, they can help one another in ploughing operations, in weeding, harvesting, marketing, purchase of essential commodities both for consumption and production. There could be ample scope for co-operative banking and credit, mutual insurance against loss of cattle or loss by drought or excessive rain, co-operative irrigation and drainage, co-operative dairying and stock-raising, crop-planning by the village community, etc. Co-operative consolidation of holdings in the case of very small and uneconomic plots could also be practised.

In order to relieve unemployment among the landless labour and satisfy the legitimate hunger for land, it is, therefore, imperative to undertake redistribution of land on a very wide scale. Vinoba's "Bhoomidan" movement is creating the necessary atmosphere for the transfer of land from the rich to the poor almost without any compensation and with good-will and sympathy. Such an atmosphere of peaceful redistribution of land could alone save the country from a bloody revolution which the Communists are only too ready to precipitate.

I, therefore, regard Acharya Vinoba's "Yagna" as of paramount significance in solving one of the most difficult problems facing not only India but the whole world. The Acharya has been eminently successful in scattering the seeds of a bloodless revolution over the vast tracts of India. We may not fully realise the immense potentialities of the "Bhoomidan" movement.

ment at this stage. But I have no manner of doubt that Vinoba's Land Movement will go down in history as one of the most potent landmarks in the titanic struggle of the good with evil, of non-violence with violence and of the forces of peaceful construction with the frenzy of hatred and destruction.

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SHARE RENT

A Problem in Agricultural Cost

By D. C. BISWAS, M.A.,

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Should share rent form part of agricultural cost, or what is the same thing, should share-cropper's cost of cultivation be regarded as something different from that of owner-cultivator? The question has of late been agitating the minds of agricultural cost analysts as much as of others who are vitally interested in the subject. It is, no doubt, a tangled problem of some practical importance and requires immediate solution acceptable to all interests. The question has, of course, been mooted from different angles but no agreement has yet been reached as to its final solution. This paper seeks to make an appraisal of the different points of view, with a critical evaluation of the comparative merits thereof, from the standpoint of which the question has so far been attacked and sought to be solved, to elucidate the real nature of the problem and finally to suggest a solution keeping in view the economic implications of the *barga* system and the interests concerned.

One school of thought, apparently more sympathetic with the share-cropper, is strongly of opinion that the share-cropper's cost significantly differs from that of the owner-cultivator and ascribes this difference to the wide gap between the share-rent and cash-rent. This school rightly maintains that as the average operational costs and the yields on the two categories of share-rented and cash-rented plots under similar circumstances are more or less equal, it must then be the rent element that alone accounts for this difference. As an explanation of the wide gap between share-rent and cash-rent this school states that cash-rent is fixed and comparatively low and becomes lower still when apportioned to the different crops grown on the land as a specific charge against each crop, whereas share-

rent in terms of money is highly variable being the product of the two variable factors, viz., yield per acre and price per unit production, and becomes considerably high in years of bumper crop and high market price. This school further argues that as share-croppers constitute an important section of the farming community their cost of cultivation ought to be taken into account in any calculation of the average cost of cultivation which claims to be a representative one. Such a representative cost will, obviously enough, be much higher than the one calculated on the basis of the owner-cultivators' costs alone and to the exclusion of the share-croppers' costs which include the value of the share rent as one of the items of cost. This representative or average cost, calculated on the basis of both share-croppers' and owner-cultivators' costs, becomes inflated due to the inclusion of the share rent in cost. The extent of this inflation depends on (1) the proportion of share-cropped land in the sample, (2) the yield per acre, and (3) the market price of the crop grown. The representative cost is, therefore, liable to great variation from year to year not only because of variation in the operational cost or in the yield per acre but also due to variation in share rent. It may so happen that all these factors may vary from year to year suchwise that their effects on cost may be mutually neutralising each other leaving either little or no residual effect on cost which, as a result, may not vary significantly from year to year. It is interesting to illustrate what have been said above by calculating on the lines indicated the cost data on cultivation of jute as collected by the Economic Research Section of the I.C.J.C. in the last few years. Let us turn to these data as given in the following tables:

TABLE I

	1948	1949	1950	1951
Proportion of the share-rented land in the sample	N.A.	21.8 p.c.	35.6 p.c.	33.6 p.c.
Average yield per acre of both cash- and share-rented land combined	8.19 mds.	8.73 mds.	8.43 mds.	9.42 mds.
Price per maund as received by the average farmer	Rs. 30-10	Rs. 31-7	Rs. 31-5	Rs. 45-12
Share rent per acre of share-rented land	N.A.	Rs. 158-1	Rs. 154-2	Rs. 172-12
Overall rent (cash- and share-rent combined per acre)	Rs. 5-10	Rs. 38-4	Rs. 57-6	Rs. 62-9
	N.A. = Not available.			

1. The different views examined in this paper have been picked up by the author in course of his discussion with different persons engaged in industry, trade and agriculture.

In this table are given the basic data on share-rent, viz., proportion of the share-rented land in the sample, average yield per acre of both cash- and share-rented land combined, the average price of the season as received by the farmers under investigation, and the share-rent as calculated from these data, for the years from 1948 to 1951. The share-rent as shown in this table is the value of half the yield per acre of the combined cash- and share-rented land (which is taken because of its close approximation to the average yield on the share-rented land), estimated at the average price of the season. The interesting point to notice about the data is the fact that share-rent being half the product of the last two variables, namely, yield per acre and average price, as weighted by the first factor—proportion of the share-rented land, it (share-rent) does not vary either in the same proportion or in the same direction as these component factors vary, the reason being that all these three factors vary neither, as a matter of fact, in the same direction nor in the same proportion. Each of them takes its own course independently of the others. For instance, the proportion in 1950 was though highest being 35.6 per cent as against 21.8 per cent in 1949 and 33.6 per cent in 1951, the share-rent was lowest being Rs. 154-2 as against Rs. 158-1 in 1949 and Rs. 172-12 in 1951. This is accounted for by the fact of lower yield which was only 8.43 mds. in 1950 as against 8.73 mds. in 1949 and 9.42 mds. in 1951. So also was the case with price and yield in the years 1949 and 1950 when they moved in mutually reverse directions. As compared to 1949, though the price in 1950 was higher yet in consequence of lower yield which was 8.43 mds. against 8.73 mds. in 1949 the share rent in 1950 was lower being Rs. 154-2 as against Rs. 158-1 in 1949. The combined effect of both higher price and higher proportion was more than counter-balanced by the fact of more than proportionate reduction in yield rate. In 1951, however, both yield and price were higher than in the previous two years, and the share-rent too was consequently higher being Rs. 172-12 as against Rs. 158-1 in 1949 and Rs. 154-2 in 1950.

	1948	1949	1950	1951
	Rs.as.	Rs.as.	Rs.as.	Rs.as.
Operational cost (for both cash- & share-rented plots)	234 9	195 9	185 10	209 2
Cash rent per acre of cash-rented plots	3 11	4 14	3 15	6 14*
Share rent per acre of share-rented plots	N.A.	158 1	154 2	172 12
Overall rent (cash- & share-rent combined)	5 10	38 4	57 6	62 9

* This figure is inflated by inclusion in cash rent of the amounts of money paid for taking land in mortgage.

In Table II have been shown the operational cost, rent per acre separately for cash- and share-rented lands and the overall rent (share-rent and cash-rent combined) per acre of the total land under jute in the sample (that is, both share- and cash-rent being added together has been uniformly distributed over the total jute acreage). One point of interest in this table is the fact that cash-rent as compared to both share-rent and overall rent is quite a small amount. Another interesting fact is that even with a higher share-rent of Rs. 158-1 in 1949 as compared to Rs. 154-2 in 1950, the overall combined rent per acre in 1949 was much less being only Rs. 38-4 as against Rs. 57-6 in 1950, which is explained by the higher proportion of the share-rented land in 1950 which was 35.6 per cent against 21.8 per cent in 1949. Again, with a much higher share rent of Rs. 172-1 in 1951 as against Rs. 154-2 in 1950 this overall combined rent per acre in 1951 is not proportionately higher being only Rs. 62-9 as against Rs. 57-6 in the previous year; this is so because the proportion of the share-rented land in 1951 was less being 33.6 per cent than in 1950. The proportion, therefore, acts as the weightage for share rent in calculation of the overall average rent per acre.

	Cost per maund.			
	1948	1949	1950	1951
	Rs.as.	Rs.as.	Rs.as.	Rs.as.
In respect of—				
1. Cash-rented plots	N.A.	22 13	23 8	22 15
2. Share-rented plots	N.A.	35 9	37 6	40 8
3. Share-rented & cash-rented plots combined (i.e., the Representative Av. cost)	29 5	26 12	28 13	28 14
Inflation of the Representative Av. cost as compared to the cost in respect of cash-rented plots	N.A.	3 15	5 5	5 15
The Inflation expressed as a percentage of the cost on the cash-rented plots	N.A.	17.3%	22.6%	26.0%
Proportion of the share-rented land in the sample	N.A.	21.8%	35.6%	33.6%
	N.A.=Not available.			

In this table are given the final cost per maund of jute in respect of (1) the cash-rented land, (2) share-rented land and (3) combined cash-rented and share-rented land. The cost per maund of the third category of land is what is called the representative cost or cost of the average farmer in the sample. It will be seen that this cost does not vary significantly from year to year being Rs. 29-5 in 1948, Rs. 26-12 in 1949, Rs. 28-13 in 1950 and Rs. 28-14 in 1951. As com-

pared to the cost per maund in respect of the first category of land this representative cost is much higher in all these years being inflated by the inclusion of the share rent in this cost. This inflation is Rs. 3-15 or 17.3 per cent in 1949, Rs. 5-5 or 22.6 per cent in 1950, Rs. 5-15 or 23.0 per cent in 1951.

It has, therefore, been quite evident from the above tables that inclusion of share rent in the share-cropper's cost causes a great inflation in the cost of the average farmer in the sample which consists of both owner-cultivators and share-croppers. Any estimate thus made of the representative cost for the country as a whole from sample results is bound to be similarly inflated.

Another school, representing mostly administrators and industrialists, is rather astonished to find such a high figure for rent which, if included in the average farmer's cost, will inflate the average cost in the case of jute cultivation (as shown in Table III) by 17.3 per cent in 1949, 22.6 per cent in 1950 and 26.0 per cent in 1951 as compared to the owner cultivator's cost alone. This school appears to be worried over this issue and find itself unable to accept such a highly inflated cost. Their simple contention is that if share rent be responsible for this inflation of cost, either share-rent is not an element of cost and is wrongly included in it or there must be some flaw in the entire theoretical concept underlying the particular system of calculating agricultural cost which in consequence becomes so absurdly high as to rouse suspicion about its reliability. This school of thought does not appear to hold well-defined views as to the economic significance of share rent which is quite evident from their failure to offer any plausible argument to back up their objection to its inclusion either in the share-cropper's cost or in the average farmer's cost. They have simply questioned this procedure of working out the sample average and left it there. The explanation which the first school has offered for inclusion of the share-cropper's cost in working out the sample average is that they constitute an important section of the farming community and that their cost cannot be ignored in estimating the representative cost. But this explanation is no answer to the objection raised as to the justifiability of considering share rent as an item of cost. If driven specifically to this point, this school may, perhaps, say in answer that the share-cropper pays a share of the gross produce or of the gross receipts therefrom to the owner of the land for its use by him, and, as such, is as good an outgoing from his granary as cash rent from the owner-cultivator's purse. If cash-rent can be conceived of as constituting an element of cost there can be no justifiable or adequate reason for disregarding share-rent in calculation of the share-cropper's cost. This is the only and simple reason on which this school may take its stand in its advocacy of including share-rent in cost. Prima facie, of course, this stand appears to have the force of logic

in its favour, no doubt; but it remains to be seen how far this view commends itself to general acceptance and accords with facts.

Industrialists and other consumers of agricultural produce belonging to the opposing camp find it difficult to reconcile themselves to this view but are not altogether uncompromising or unaccommodating over the issue though at times it seems that they would feel much relieved if the share-rent element of cost be altogether ignored and totally eliminated from cost. They are prepared, however, to leave the question open for further discussion that may help a satisfactory and more logical formula to be devised in lieu of the share-rent being included in cost to compensate the share-cropper for his payment of half share of the gross produce before any deduction is made on account of the cost he incurs. As a result, a good many suggestions and formulae are being loosely talked of and offered to meet the situation. It is necessary to scrutinise each of these suggestions for clarity of understanding and removal of all confusion which is camouflaging the exact character of the problem before us. The suggestions are briefly summarised as follows:

1. Without the share rent being included in cost half the operational cost may be added in lieu thereof to the total operational cost. (*The purpose envisaged in this suggestion will be served if, of course, the latter be smaller than the former.*)
2. If share rent must needs be included, then the bargadar's own and his family labour must not be charged at the market rate of wages. Either his own and his family labour should not be charged at all or, if charged, this should be done at a much lower rate which is on par with the prevailing standard of living of the average cultivators in the locality.
3. Share rent need not be brought into the picture at all in assessing share-cropper's economic position from the profit and loss account of his farming business. It will do well to set off the operational cost against his share of the gross produce for the purpose of profit and loss account.
4. Landlord's share should be reduced in order to effect reduction in the share-cropper's cost of cultivation.
5. Share rent should be left altogether out of account in calculation of agricultural cost.

Let us now examine the implications of these suggestions and see to what extent they go to answer the specific question raised as to the validity of including share rent as an item of cost. The first suggestion that in lieu of share-rent half the operational cost should be taken in calculation of the share-cropper's cost is like a thumb rule judgement on a mooted question when no logical solution can be thought out, is certainly no answer. There can be no sense in taking half the operational cost over again to represent the share-cropper's total cost of cultivation. This is simply a patch work devised only to make the share-cropper's cost less inflated. Application of this principle will make the whole thing unreal and, therefore, it cannot

but be summarily rejected. As for the second suggestion it can be safely asserted that it does not touch the issue before us. Advocates of this view agree to the inclusion of share rent in cost provided the share-cropper's own labour as well as his family labour be charged not at the market rate of wages but at a much lower rate which may as they have conceded, be on par with the prevailing standard of living in the region. The purpose underlying this principle is the same as in case of the first one being to keep inflation in the share-cropper's cost to the minimum. Therefore, this is also far wide of the point. The third suggestion is made obviously to sidetrack the main issue. Without going into the controversial procedure of including share rent in cost the advocates of this view maintain that the profit and loss account of the share-cropper should be studied with reference to his operational cost alone as a set off against the value of his share of the gross produce, which, according to them, will give a real picture of the share-cropper's economic position in so far as his farming is concerned. Yes, this is quite an acceptable method that can be applied logically to assess his economic position but then what's about the cost per unit production from the standpoint of the society or of the market? What cost will then govern value and how to find it? So, this suggestion, too, fails to answer the specific question raised as to how cost of production, or in other words the market supply price, should be determined and whether or not share rent should be included as an element of cost in the supply price of the commodity. As for the fourth suggestion it is amusing to find that both the camps can see eye to eye as it goes far to meet the view points of both. If the land-owner's share be reduced to one-third the share rent element of cost will be equally reduced resulting in proportionate reduction in the average farmer's cost per unit production. Those who are sympathetic with the share-cropper also welcome this system because of the larger share of the return it leaves to him by way of partial amelioration of his economic condition. Consumers of agricultural produce too are likely to be agreeable to it because of their expectation rightly or wrongly of a downward trend in price due to reduction in the share rent element of the cost of cultivation, if, of course, cost be any potent factor in determination of agricultural price in India. But the land-owner will be most hard hit under this system as he will be denied a substantial portion of his legitimate dues to which his right as a land-owner has long been established by an age-old custom having the force of law. So the arrangement envisaged in this suggestion does not touch the fringe of the problem. It now remains to be seen how far the last suggestion goes to answer the question regarding legitimacy of treating share rent as an item of cost. The last suggestion is that share rent should be left altogether out of account in calculation of agricultural cost. The protagonists of this view hold emphatically

that the share of the gross produce cannot form part of cost, but with no elaborate process of scientific reasoning to back up their stand that may carry conviction with others also. Perhaps they have a vague idea that land-owners and share-croppers have entered into a sort of partnership contract to raise a certain crop from the land on the particular term of distribution of the gross produce and, as such, each one's share of the produce cannot be a cost from the other's standpoint as, for example, the land-owner's share cannot be included in the cost of the share-cropper or the share-cropper's in the cost of the land-owner. Otherwise they cannot make a bold suggestion like this and emphatically protest the inclusion of share-rent in cost. If this presumption be true then their stand is really unassailable. Let us examine the logical as well as the factual basis of their stand. It is better to start with the latter.

The share-cropping system or what is known as *baryi* or *adhi* in Bengal, *varman* in South India and *metayage* in other parts means a sort of organisational arrangement made by an unwritten deed of partnership between the landlord and the share-cropper for cultivation of the former's land by the latter on certain terms which vary from place to place and sometimes from time to time in the same place. In Bengal, as in other States, it is commonly experienced that the landlord supplies land and the *bargadar* cultivates it with his resources of labour, livestock, seed and manure. The landlord keeps watch over the cultivation and comes to the *bargadar's* help whenever necessary. The interest of either party is the half share of the gross produce raised from the land. There is slight variation of this common practice here and there depending as it does on the intensity of demand for and of supply of land for cultivation on share-cropping system. This system of holding land on shares "enables a man who has next to no capital of his own to obtain the use of it at a lower charge than he could in any other way, and to have more freedom and responsibility than he could as a hired labourer; and thus the plan has many of the advantages of the three modern systems of co-operation, profit-sharing, and payment by piece-work."*

It would have been worth our while to go into the possible ways in which this economic arrangement came into existence, but in the absence of any historical record of the genesis of this system one is to rest content with a process of reasoning which starts from effect to cause. The causes which are at work now-a-days can be appreciated by an analysis of the factors governing the supply of and demand for such land. The supply side is represented by the following categories of land-owners:

- (1) The land-owners, who were originally cultivators cultivating entirely with hired labour,

* Marshall: *Principles of Economics*, p. 644.

now find it to their advantage to lease out land on half share system.

(2) With the breaking up of the joint family the property is parcelled out amongst co-sharers, thereby bringing into existence a number of small holdings in place of a big one. Each such separate holding thus becomes uneconomic for cultivation by the owner himself as a single unit of enterprise. Moreover, the question of expert supervision also arises because all the co-sharers are not experts in agriculture and look to other avocations elsewhere. Consequently they take advantage of the prevailing system of leasing out land on shares.

(3) Widows and minors having no guardians to look after their properties lease out land on this system.

(4) With the spread of higher education amongst the middle class families most of such families have shifted to urban areas in pursuit of learned professions and services leaving cultivable land with *bargadars* for cultivation.

On the demand side, we find that demand mostly comes from (1) landless labourers of some means who can manage to procure a plough and a pair of bullocks either by purchase or on hire or by some contractual arrangements with land-owners as well as from (2) owner-cultivators who are in a position to cultivate more land in addition to their own more economically with the existing resources. The demand is intensified by such factors as (1) considerations of prestige that attaches to the status of a *bargadar* vis-a-vis that of a wage-earner and to the bigger size of farm being formed at least by inclusion of *barga* land in the owner-cultivator's own small holding, (2) consideration of economy of extending farm activities even by inclusion of *barga* land, and (3) increase in rural population hardly with any aptitude for or training in other crafts than agriculture or with any alternative avenues of employment.

The above analysis brings into clear relief the central fact that the *barga* system is essentially a partnership arrangement which is availed of by both land-owner and share-cropper by their own volition out of sheer necessity and has proved as efficient in production as beneficial to the parties concerned.* The impelling causes that bring the parties together now-a-days to form a partnership of this kind for running a joint enterprise in agriculture were also perhaps responsible for the origin and evolution of the system in the past. The term of distribution as it obtains today was perhaps originally fixed upon some reasonable economic considerations, which, in course of time, struck root too deep into the socio-economic agrarian

* Joint partnership in the business of agriculture "is best assured in a *barga* system which has never failed to receive a good share of praise from agronomists. This is a very ideal system so far as our country is concerned. In a country of small holdings, cultivated by an army of indigent raiyats depending on private money-lenders and rainfall, the *barga* system is not only inevitable but also wholesome."—*Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 253. (Note of dissent by Sir Bejoychand Mahatab and Mr. B. K. Roy Chowdhuri).

system till it became a full-fledged custom. Though the economic circumstances, that originally led to the fixation of half-half share system of distribution between the land-owner and the *bargadar*, have greatly changed now-a-days, yet the customary distribution system has persisted through ages though not altogether unprotested. But the protest has been engineered by interested politicians and is not a spontaneous one from the affected section of the agrarian community.†

It is, therefore, established beyond doubt that the *barga* system is a partnership arrangement that brings capital and labour together in a co-operative joint enterprise.

Now let us pass on to the economics of this joint entrepreneurship in the business of agriculture. The land-owner enters into this partnership arrangement when he has got good grounds to believe that half share of the gross produce to which he is entitled under the system will not be below the net profit he generally earns from the land when under his own cultivation. The *bargadar*, as the share-cropper is called in Bengal, enters into the contract when he can reasonably expect that his half share of the gross produce will, at current prices, not only cover all his operational expenses including the cost of his own and his family labour calculated either at the market rate of wages or at the prevailing standard of living in his stratum of society in the locality but also leave some surplus to remunerate him for his uncertainty bearing and management. The actual results, of course, may deviate much from this average expectation due to variations in circumstances. The fundamental economic hypothesis that underlies all such partnership contracts in the business of agriculture may, therefore, be enunciated as follows: The land-owner's share of the gross produce under the share-cropping system is expected, other things remaining same, to be at least equal, if not more, to the net profit he earns from the land when under his cultivation and the share-cropper's share will yield him at least marginal remuneration for uncertainty-bearing and cover up all his management and operational expenses including the cost of his own and his family labour calculated either at the market rate of wages or at the prevailing standard of living in his stratum of society according as the share-cropper happened originally to be a landless labour or an owner-cultivator prior to this arrangement. That is to say, other things remaining constant, if the land-owner's expectation does not come true he may perhaps elect either to bring back the land under his own cultivation or to change hand simply; so also

† Ineffectiveness of the *Bargadars Act* in West Bengal is an eloquent testimony to this fact. It could not bring about any alteration, whatsoever, in the customary system of distribution of the gross output so far between the land-owner and the *bargadar*, though it made an elaborate provision for equitable distribution on the basis of costs to quell the so-called agrarian unrest in West Bengal.

the share-cropper, if originally a landless labourer, finds that his share leaves no surplus over cost and accounts, on the contrary, for a lower level of remuneration for his labour than at the market rate of wages he may prefer to revert to his former status of a hired labourer. In actual practice, however, this change-over does not take place so quickly or at all, as other factors, viz., question of prestige, etc., intervene and keep him going as a share-cropper. But the case of a share-cropper who is also partly an owner-cultivator is a bit different. He may still find it convenient, however, to continue this practice of share-cropping as a matter of self-sufficiency or as a family farming proposition rather than commercial farming, even though it may prove systematically unremunerative according to commercial principles.

APPENDIX

The economic hypothesis as enunciated above is presented in an algebraical form:

Let A denote the acreage.

c " the operational cost per acre (c is assumed to be the same whether it is the land-owner or the share-cropper who cultivates the land).

y " the yield per acre.

p " the price per unit production.

Then Ac = the total cost (including, of course, the cost of management).

Ay = the total output.

Ayp = the total gross receipts.

When the land-owner himself cultivates,

his net profit = $Ayp - Ac$, or
= x (say)

Under the *barga* system,

$$\text{the land-owner's share} = \frac{Ayp}{2}$$

$$\text{the share-cropper's share} = \frac{Ayp}{2}$$

The land-owner's expectation is that $\frac{Ayp}{2}$ will not be

less than $Ayp - Ac$, or x. $\frac{Ayp}{2}$ must be = x, if not more.

The share-cropper's expectation is that $\frac{Ayp}{2} = Ac +$

some surplus as a reward for uncertainty-bearing. It is to the interest of the share-cropper to apply only so much capital and labour as will give him returns more than twice enough (i.e., more than

$2Ac$) to repay himself. Cost of production = $\frac{Ac}{Ay}$

and supply price = $\frac{Ac}{Ay} + \text{some profit}$.

If share-rent be included in the cost then

$Ac + \frac{Ayp}{2}$ = the total cost of the share-cropper.

And the supply price (or cost of produc-

tion) = $\frac{Ac + \frac{Ayp}{2}}{Ay}$ (+ some profit).

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THE DOLLAR TANGLE

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH

THE much-discussed topic of the day in economics is the problem of dollar shortage. Since the advent of the U.S.A. as a first class creditor nation in the commercial world dollar has taken the place of gold, and one who can secure a handful of dollars now-a-days can send his purchase orders to any part of the globe without worrying about the availability of the foreign exchange because his dollars will be in demand everywhere. This unique position of dollars in the world of to-day has placed the U.S.A. in a position of vantage over other nations and has given her a status equal to that enjoyed by Great Britain in the 19th century. But it has worked equally to the disadvantage of the debtor countries who have to depend upon American imports. These countries find it a hard job to secure the necessary foreign exchange in dollars to pay for their imports, and are thus compelled under the force of circumstances to restrict their imports. The only other way in which they can solve the problem is to increase their exports to the dollar area thereby adding to their dollar earnings. But this policy can succeed only if the

creditor countries like the U.S.A. agree to import more which the latter hardly do lest greater imports should harm their indigenous industry and trade. This short-sighted policy on the part of the creditor nations has contributed no less to the scarcity of dollars and has been responsible for placing undue barriers to the smooth flow of international trade and commerce. In the following paragraphs an attempt has been made to analyse the problem of foreign exchange in its historical sequence as it arose both under the Gold Standard and after, and a way has been suggested as to how to get around the difficulty.

OBJECTIVE OF MONETARY POLICY

During the 19th century it was thought that the objective of monetary policy was the attainment of the stability of exchange because it helped to promote the development of trade and commerce between nations, and the Gold Standard under which the value of the unit of national currency is fixed in terms of gold was universally respected because it guaranteed exchange stability. But after the War of 1914-18 it was no longer

thought that exchange stability was the sole objective, and newer ideas were gaining currency. Price stability, stability of income, production and employment were engaging men's minds. This change in outlook was inevitable in the altered circumstances in the post-war world. Due to the growing strength of trade unions wage reduction was not so easy as it was before the war. As a result of the growing stickiness of the wage element the elasticity of the cost structure which made possible the smooth functioning of the Gold Standard in the 19th century was gone.

Besides the changes in the objective factors, there came an equally important and vital change on the subjective side. The question of exchange stability which in all previous monetary discussions held the centre of the stage was now relegated to a subordinate position. It was now thought that the question of stability of national income, production and employment was of far greater importance from the point of view of country's interests as a whole than exchange stability which benefited only those engaged in import and export business. The breakdown of the Gold Standard in England and the terrible depression that overtook the world in the 1930's confirmed men's doubts about the suitability of the Gold Standard and led to the search for a new formula. The enormous wastage, and loss of national income due to idle man-power and equipment caused by the Great Depression imparted a new importance to the phenomenon of trade cycle, and turned men's minds towards devising ways and means to control it.

THE MODE OF SETTLING INTERNATIONAL INDEBTEDNESS UNDER THE GOLD STANDARD

Under the Gold Standard the value of the national currency was fixed in terms of gold, and the Central Bank was under the obligation to sell and purchase gold at this fixed rate. A net surplus or deficit in the balance of payment of a country was settled by shipment of gold. The shortcoming of the system was that when a country's balance of payment continued to be unfavourable for a number of years, there was a continuous outflow of gold, and the deficit country was faced with the danger of exhaustion of its gold reserves. To guard against such a possibility certain rules of the game were framed. The rule of the Gold Standard game was that when gold flowed out of a country, goods would follow after it and bring the gold back again. In the country from which there was an efflux of gold the deficit in the balance of payment was corrected by screwing up the bank rate. A stringency in the money market was created to force down prices and thus to secure an excess of exports over imports. The opposite policy was followed in the country where there was an influx of gold. In this way a deficit country was saved from gold exhaustion, and the problem of foreign exchange was solved. As the value of national currency was pegged to gold, the system also gave stability of exchange. But it did not secure for a country stability of price, production and

employment within the domestic sphere and as such it was abandoned. In order to maintain the rigid gold parity the Central Bank could not follow a monetary policy according to the internal needs of the country. Thus when there was an outflow of gold depression would be forced down upon the country to stop the drain of gold, and when gold flowed into a country prosperity would be a compelling necessity to be brought about by easy money conditions although such a policy might lead to an unhealthy boom and spell disaster to the internal economy. This policy proved successful in the 19th century because of the flexibility of the wage-cost structure which made possible smooth adjustment and did not lead to wide-spread unemployment. But after the War of 1914-18 due to the strengthening of the position of trade unions wages proved to be rigid as a result of which maladjustment was created between cost and price structure by a deflationary policy leading to depression and unemployment. To maintain the level of production and employment it was necessary to keep the volume of spending and investment on a high keel and create easy money conditions in the market, but this was not possible when there was an efflux of gold since it meant an infringement of the code of behaviour prescribed under the Gold Standard.

To escape from this dilemma countries under the Gold Standard had to adopt escapist devices, such as off-setting and sterilisation policy. A country with a favourable balance of trade had to sterilise the gold flowing into it to prevent it from producing an inflationary effect on prices. Similarly, a country suffering from an unfavourable balance of trade had to follow an off-setting policy to prevent the outflow from producing a deflationary effect on prices, production and employment. Thus in the post-war period the philosophy of the Gold Standard was undergoing a striking change, and this was inevitable in the light of the difficulties experienced in working the standard smoothly. Great Britain returned to the Gold Standard in 1925, but had to abandon it soon to save the country from gold bankruptcy, and other countries in the gold block had to follow suit. Since then there has been a definite swing in favour of a policy of maintaining internal economic stability. It was found that a rigid parity as prescribed under the Gold Standard would no longer meet the requirements of the changed world, and that a new monetary policy would be necessary for any world. It was pointed out long before by the late Lord Keynes that a more flexible mechanism in which there would be some place for the deserted shrine of the Gold Standard should be devised to impart elasticity to our monetary system.

THE BRETON WOODS AGREEMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE I. M. F.

On the termination of the World War II a conference was held at the Bretton Woods to find a new formula in place of the old Gold Standard which would secure exchange stability, and at the same time allow sufficient

autonomy to each country to follow a monetary and fiscal policy that would promote stability of price, production and employment in the domestic sector. As a result of the Bretton Woods Agreement the I. M. F. was formed by the United Nations in 1944, and started operations in 1946. Each country becoming a member of the I. M. F. was given the option to adopt a defacto parity linking the value of its national currency to dollar. The parity could be changed within certain limits to remove a permanent disequilibrium in the balance of payment, and the I. M. F. undertook the responsibility to supply scarce currency to a country to enable it to tide over a temporary deficit in the balance of payment.

Although the disadvantage under the old Gold Standard arising from an unalterable parity has been removed and some flexibility has been introduced into the system, the old difficulty remains, namely, if a debtor country continues to have unfavourable balance of trade for years and devaluation does not improve its balance of payment, the I. M. F. will be faced with the problem of supplying scarce currency without limit which it cannot do. To prevent such a contingency the deficit country will be required to take measures to restrict its imports. England, for example, has been continually suffering from the problem of chronic dollar shortage, and the adoption of anti-inflationary and austerity measures has, to some extent, eased the situation. Since the inauguration of the I. M. F. much hope was entertained that the problem of securing exchange stability and stability of employment and income would be satisfactorily solved. Unfortunately, however, that hope has not been fulfilled. Making a critical survey of the world economic situation, the seventh annual report of the I. M. F. states :

"It is a melancholy fact that seven years after the end of the war there has been little secure or sustained progress towards multilateral trade and convertibility."

THE FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR DOLLAR SHORTAGE

It is, therefore, necessary to go deeper into the problem to see what is the cause of the malaise and how to cure it.

The War left a legacy of inflation in all countries and an economy completely shattered by its ruthless shocks in the war-devastated regions. Because of the terrible wreck caused by the destruction of War the countries directly affected found their productive machinery completely out of gear, and had to import machineries and other productive equipment as also food-stuffs from the less affected countries like the U. S. A. which caused a heavy deficit in their balance of payment. As a result of this these countries have become debtor countries, and the settlement of the adverse balance has presented an acute problem.

A second factor that has contributed to dollar deficiency is the policy of deficit financing pursued in a number of countries. It is a proved fact that there

is a danger of potential inflation in a policy of deficit financing beyond a certain degree. Such a policy may be a boon in a depressed economy, but not so when the economy is passing through a phase of inflation. So the policy of deficit financing is to be proceeded with in a spirit of caution so that it may not aggravate an already inflationary situation. How to effect cuts in the volume of community spending on consumption and investment to stop the inflationary gap is to-day the essential anti-inflationary problem.

Thirdly, the problem of dollar shortage has been aggravated by the propensity towards international hoarding on the part of the creditor nations of the world and the placing of barriers to international trade. Thus the seventh report of the I. M. F. states that :

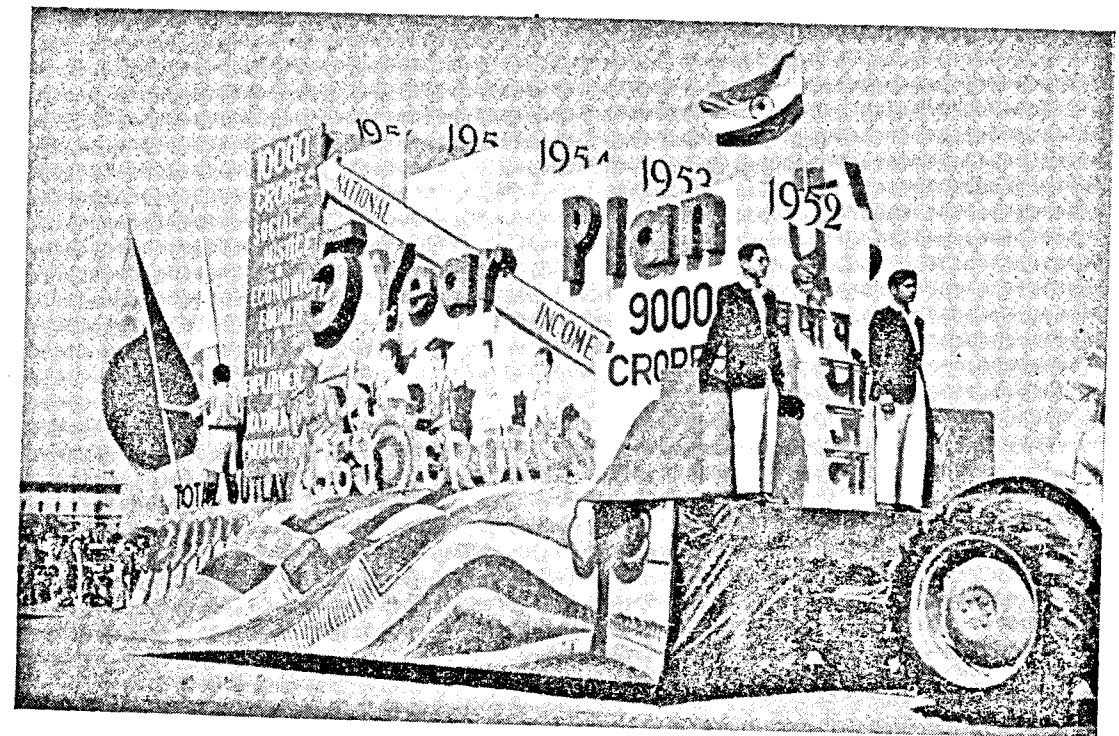
"Protective policies maintained in the United States despite its great competitive power also continues to embarrass other countries," and expresses its earnest conviction that "all countries in a strong balance of payment position should take all practicable means of reducing barriers to international trade."

The most potent cause of declining income, production and employment in a country is the lack of adequate spending by the community on consumption and investment which ensures an effective demand for goods and service. Hoarding of one's income is to-day treated as an anti-social act in a depressed economy because it produces a deflationary effect on prices and production. The same principle also holds good in the international sphere. As in the domestic sphere hoarding deprives somebody of his income inasmuch as the part of the income now saved, if expended, on consumption or investment would have gone to somebody's pocket and augmented his income, so also in the international sector hoarding by the creditor nations (i.e., accumulation of their credit balances brought about by an excess of export over import) depresses the economy of the debtor countries. If the creditor countries like the U. S. A. liberalise their policy in regard to purchase and importation of goods from other countries, it will give stimulus to the industries in these countries which will export the goods. The debtor countries thus will have increased dollar earnings, and the problem of dollar shortage will not appear in its present acute form. Prof. Dudley Dillard in his recent book *The Economics of J. M. Keynes* writes thus :

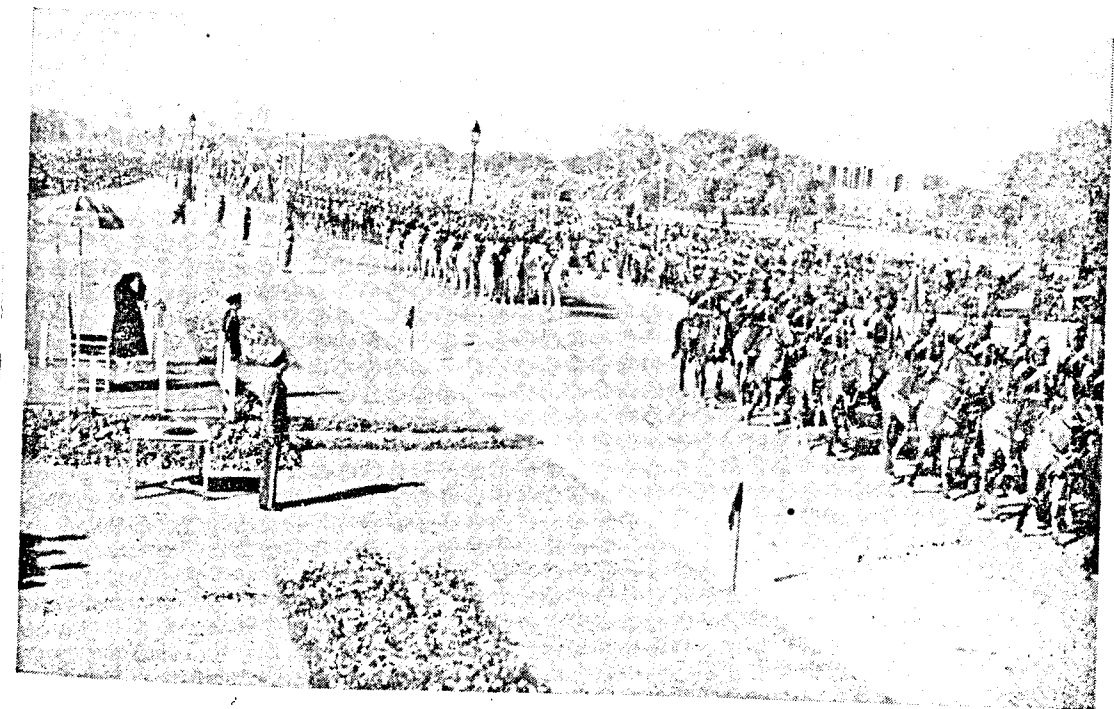
"The failure of strong exporting unions, e.g., U. S. A. to make use of its balance represents a fall in effective demand in world trade. It represents sales which are not followed by purchases."

THE I. C. U. PLAN

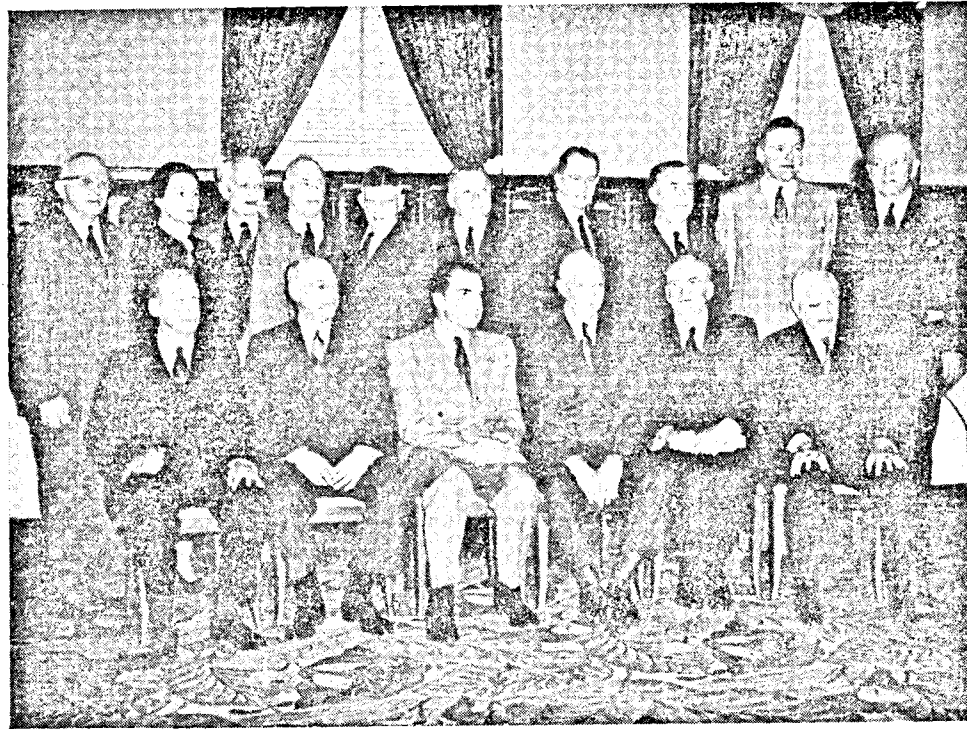
To mitigate the international hoarding Keynes suggested his International Clearing Union Plan which was not accepted at the Bretton Woods Conference. Under the I. C. U. Plan the pounds paid by British buyers of American cotton would be converted into an international form of money known as "Bancor" and credited to the account of U.S.A. which could then



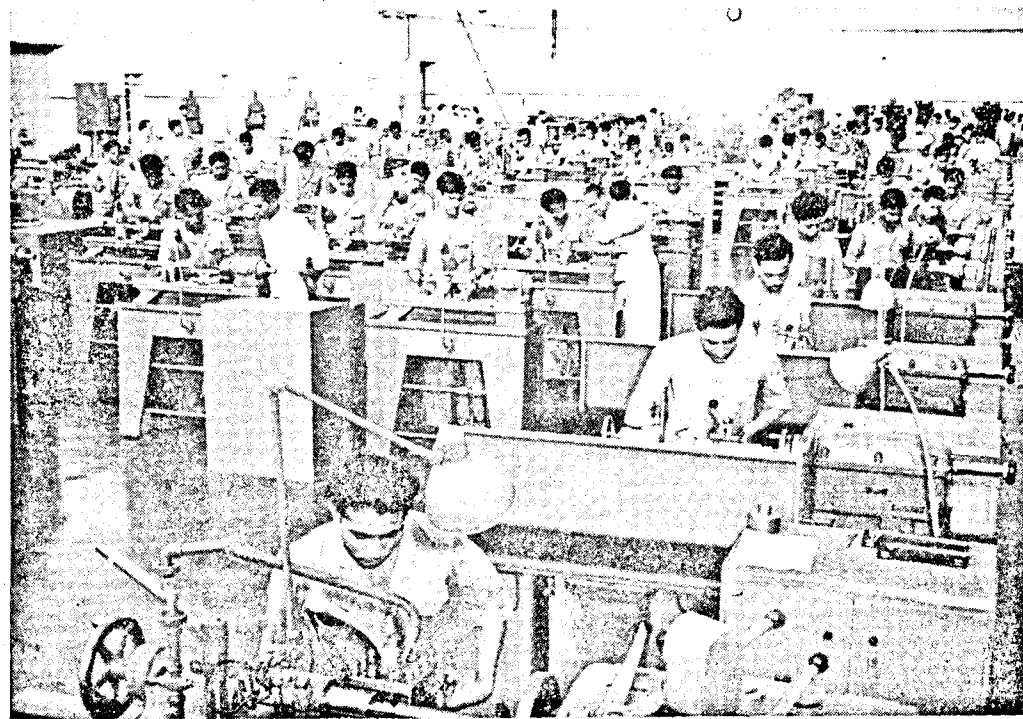
The citizens of Delhi in their lakhs witnessed the Republic Day Parade. This tableau contributed by the Delhi State depicts the Five-Year Plan in a nutshell



Gwalior Lancers marching past the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, during the Republic Day Parade in New Delhi on January 26



President Eisenhower with his Cabinet members and other top aides



A class of trainees in the Artisan Workshop at the Machine-Tool Prototype Factory at Ambarnath, near Bombay

spend it for goods and services anywhere in the world. Every nation would have an account in bancor which would be debited or credited whenever purchases or sales were made in international trade. Keynes believed that one of the spectacular features of his plan was its attempt to prevent international hoarding, to liberate in the international field the effective demand which tended to get frozen in buried gold. As Prof. Dillard writes:

"Under the I. C. U. Plan a nation exporting more goods and services than its imports could use its balance only to purchase goods from some other countries. Its balance could not be converted into gold for hoarding. Nations which sold and refused to buy would find themselves with growing idle balances of bancor which they could not withdraw or convert into gold under the rules of the I. C. U. They would be

exposed to the world and to themselves as guilty for anti-social behaviour and as breaking the rules of the road."

To relieve the situation the necessity for a more liberal policy in regard to imports on the part of the creditor countries has become imperative. All import restrictions, tariffs, quotas and other restrictive measures which hamper the free flow of international trade should be removed, and a more liberal investment policy in under-developed and debtor countries should be followed. This is the only way to avoid the depression that would otherwise make its appearance even in the creditor countries as a sequel to a policy of import restriction, and would ultimately result in a sizeable diminution in the volume of international trade.

—O—

INDIA AND TIBET

By PROF. N. B. ROY, *Visva-Bharati*

BEYOND the snow-covered Himalayan ranges lies the mysterious land of Tibet, with a strange people living a sheltered existence in desolate wastes and blooming valleys, swept by icy winds in most parts of the year.

The first important fact about it is that it is unlike any other country in the world. It is governed by a theocracy, a God-king, or Chen-ri-zi, the Tibetan counterpart of the Indian Buddha, incarnated in the person of the Dalai Lama. In the natural course of human evolution, the rule of the heavenly Vice-gerent has ceased to exist all over the globe. The Caliphate is no more; the Pope exists, but his authority is limited to the Vatican. But here in Tibet, the Dalai Lama's authority is co-existent with the whole of this mountain-state and he conducts the government by a bureaucracy, composed mainly of monks.

The monk is the indispensable guide, friend and philosopher of the Tibetan common man. He inscribes the formula of prayer on the prayer-wheels, flags, chortens and mendangs and also performs the routine duties done by the priests all the world over, casting horoscopes, fixing the days for journey and protecting him from the genii, evil spirits and furies. Hence monks form the most powerful institution in the land. The three monasteries around Lhasa, Ganden, Sera and Depung contain twenty thousand monks and surpass in wealth and influence any of the medieval monasteries of Europe. In 1920 they challenged the power of Dalai Lama himself by marching to his headquarters and again by threatening to attack Lhasa.

The other important feature is that the Tibetan social system is composed of only two classes—the clergy and the laity which are convertible terms for the

nobility and the commons, without any chasm as in feudal Europe.

This political and social organisation, so strongly at divergence with the rest of the world, does not necessarily imply a low order of civilization. If by it is meant a capacity for hurling destruction upon man or dumping industrial products on unwarlike people under the friendly guise of economic aid, then of course, Tibet falls low. If on the other hand, civilization means a training of the man's mind, refinement of his sensibilities, development of an attitude of tolerance for others and a catholicity of spirit, then Tibet would assuredly take an honoured place among the nations. Search for knowledge or enlightenment of the mind is the one resonant cry that fills the air of Tibet, enshrined in the words, "Om Mani Padme Hum, Hail to the Jewel in the Lotus." Hence Manjusri, the God of enlightenment, rather than Mammon or the god of wealth is the deity adored by every Tibetan. These monasteries are therefore the repositories of learning, Universities in the true sense of the term, where teachers expound simple and subtle truths in close intimate talk to their pupils living inside the same monastery.

Books are here held sacred and their preservation a paramount task. They pursued this vocation with so much ardour that a Chinese emperor once spoke of them as having become like a body bereft of vigour. For, said he, "The people of Central Tibet, abandoning military pursuits, devote themselves solely to literature." In the middle of the 11th Century Atish found in the monastery of Sam-ye more books than existed collectively in the three monasteries of Buddha Gaya, Vikram Sila and Uddantpuri Vihar, while in recent times an English

Civilian Sir Charles Bell saw ten to twelve thousand volumes in the burnt library of Ta-lung monastery, encased in beautifully carved and gilt-wooden covers. The sculptures and mural decorations of the land testify to the Tibetan ardour for enlightenment. Sympathetic foreign observers have found alike in the calm and serene lotus-enthroned Buddha and in the skull-decked awe-inspiring deities, either trampling on prostrate bodies or whirling in cosmic dance clasping their female energies, the perfection of the Baroque decorative ideal.

It is admitted universally that in the making of this fabric of civilization the Tibetans borrowed impulses primarily from India: their debt to the Chinese was only in respect to the material things of life: Tea, universally drunk here, is an importation from China.

Tradition assigns the earliest Indo-Tibetan contact to the 4th Century A.D., but the known historical connexion dates from the middle of the 7th Century under the aegis of Srong-Tsan Gampo who deputed a mission headed by his minister Thon-mi-Sambhota to study and transcribe Buddhist texts. Thonmi thus not only introduced Buddhism into Tibet but evolved the Tibetan characters after the model of the Indian alphabet. Nearly a century after this event Ti-Song-De Tsen invited the famous Abbot Santa Rakshita to Tibet. He was followed by the still more famous Padma Sambhava (Lotus-born), who founded the *Nying-Pa* or *Red Cap* order of the Buddhist monks, and the monastery at Sam-Ye after the Uddantipuri Vihar in 749 A.D.

After Santa Rakshita and Padma Sambhava laid down their early remains in Tibet, their doctrines, were challenged by a group of Chinese monks when another great Indian teacher Kamalasila set them at rest by worsting them in a debate held in the Tibetan royal court.

In the 9th Century, King Ral Pa-Chean standardised Tibetan weights and measures after the Indian pattern and gave a great impulse to the Buddhist faith by patronising the monks of the Sarvasta-vadin school. The most important land-mark in the history of Tibetan Buddhism is the ministry of Atisa-Dipankar-Sri-Jnana who introduced the tenets of the Kalachakra Jana and having harmonised them with some of the elements of the old Bon religion, founded the *Ka-dam-pa* sect which was transformed by Tsong-Kha-pa (1358-1419), the great Reformer into the *Ge-luk-pa*, the predominant sect of Tibet. This Indo-Tibetan intercourse was not a one-way-traffic, for Tibetan scholars streamed into India,

after Thon-mi-Sambhota's mission. Names are many, the most important being that of Mar-pa, who was initiated by the Indian teachers Naropa, and founded the *Ka-gyu* sect and the monastery at Sakya which played such an important part in the conversion of the Mongol emperors of China, Kubilai Khan, Altan Khagan, Tohan, Timur in the 13th and 14th Centuries.

The destruction of monasteries and temples in India by the Turkish invaders caused an exodus of many Indian teachers, including Hindu Yogis into Tibet, and Lhasa turned into a metropolis for the diffusion of the Buddhist faith into Mongolia, Burma and parts of China. Lhasa's spiritual authority extended therefore beyond its borders: and her scholars in that dark age of India's cultural life, I mean, the 13th and 14th Centuries, surpassed the Indians in the exposition of the Buddhist texts. In the succeeding centuries references to Tibetan scholars visiting India are not uncommon. One such was sent by the 5th Dalai Lama in the 17th Century to learn Panini's grammar from a Brahmin named Balabhadra of Kurukshetra.

In the 18th Century, a class of Indian warrior-monks of the *Dasnami* order opened again the closed route to Tibet by carrying there Indian wares and communications from Indian chiefs. The most remarkable among them was Purangiri Gosain who came with a letter from the Panchen Lama to Warren Hastings for the grant of land to erect a temple on the bank of the Ganges. That temple which now stands in Bhot Bagan, Howrah, remains a testimony to friendly Indo-Tibetan collaboration. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, father of Modern India, claimed to have visited Tibet and stayed there three years in his early youth. But the Indian who revived the old cultural bond between these two countries by collecting manuscripts and valuable geographical data in recent times was Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das who paid two visits to that country in 1879 to 1882 and founded the *Buddhist Text Society of India* for the promotion of closer ties with the Buddhist countries including Tibet.

May India and Tibet stand together on the side of peace, remembering the lines of the *Dhammapada*: "Enmity never comes to an end through enmity here below; it comes to an end by non-enmity; this has been the rule from all eternity."*

* Substance of a talk delivered over the All-India Radio, Calcutta Station, February, 1952.



A SHORT HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

By Miss BANI BOSE, B.A., Dip. Lib.,
Assistant, National Library

II

IMPERIAL LIBRARY

The Imperial Library was formed in 1891 from the different Departmental Libraries of the Government. It was located in the Civil Secretariat Buildings in Calcutta. Under the initiative of Lord Curzon, the amalgamation of the Calcutta Public Library and the Imperial Library took place. Metcalfe Hall was acquired by the Government of India from its joint occupants in December 1901. The amalgamation of the books of the two Libraries, their re-arrangement and in part their recataloguing, was effected in 1902. The arrangements were confirmed and validated by the Imperial Library Act 1902. It was provided with Reading Rooms, public and private, as at the British Museum and Bodleian Library, Oxford. It was intended that it should be a library of reference, a working place for students, and a repository for material for the future historians of India, in which so far as possible, every work written about India at any time could be seen and read. This intention was clearly stated in Resolution Nos. 201-207, dated January 30, 1903.

The control of the Library remained with the Government of India but its internal management was delegated to a Council with the Librarian as its Secretary. The following were the first members of the Council:

Chairman: T. Raleigh.

Members: Justice Gooroodas Banerjee; Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department; M. Finucane, Commissioner, Presidency Division.

The first Librarian, J. Macfarlane, was brought from England. Justice Gooroodas Banerjee resigned in 1904. M. Finucane left India in April. The vacancy was filled by C. E. Buckland.

The Library was opened to the public on January 30, 1903. Lord Curzon delivered the inaugural address, in which he said:

"It seems to me an obvious duty to work for some sort of amalgamation and thereby to give to Calcutta, what the chief duty of a great Province with a population of a million people itself, also, the capital of the British Empire in India, ought most certainly to possess, namely, a library worth of the name."

Sir John Woodburn helped Curzon in this work. Lord Curzon intended that the Library should be used more by the serious readers. He said:

"It has never been my object to create a Library of fiction in Calcutta. Such a Library

tends to provide a desultory pastime rather than a serious incentive and helpmate. I should not have thought myself justified in spending the money of Government on the maintenance of an institution for the propagation of that form of literature exclusively or in the main. It was desired that people would resort to the Library to pursue their studies under agreeable conditions with every assistance that pleasant surroundings and a polite and competent staff can place at their disposal."

The Calcutta Public Library contributed a great quantity of fiction, which, so far as they did not relate to India, was discarded. Only those duplicates that related to India were retained. The greater part of non-Asian theology and law were also discarded. The books on India in the Calcutta Public Library was a most valuable collection.

The collections of the Imperial Library was of a heterogeneous character. The departmental Libraries supplied a large collection of books (specially official) relating to India and standard general works on history, administration and geography. Technical and scientific works came mainly from the Departments of Public Works, Revenue and Agriculture, but were not numerous.

In 1903, an arrangement was made with the Government of Bengal whereby the Librarian was permitted to select for the Imperial Library from among the books accumulated by that Government since 1867, through the operation of the Press Act of that year. The working of the Press Act was irregular but the additions to the Library from this source was very numerous. The most considerable collection came from the Home Department, which contained a large number of books previously kept in the Library of the East India College, Fort William and in the Library of the East India Board in London.

The Imperial Library started issuing permanent Readers' Tickets. During the period January 31 to December 31, 1903, 2,121 tickets were issued to the public. Most of the visitors were students, reading for examinations or persons requiring to look up casual references. But there were among the readers a small band of earnest and capable students and several books, besides articles in more serious reviews in 1903, had been the fruit of their labour in the Library. The Librarian having occasionally translated passages from French and German books relating to India a demand had sprung up for instructions in

those languages and a select few consisting chiefly of Pandits and holders of Government scholarships, met for instruction in the Librarian's room and made good progress. They were all Hindus.*

The Librarian secured all the new books published in Europe on India and the neighbouring countries. The Librarian stated in the *Annual Report* for 1904 that there was another function of an Imperial Library, namely, collection of best books published all over India. He wrote :

"At present this is only done for Bengal, a selection from the books received under Registration Act 1867 being sent here when the Bengal Librarian has written his reports on them. Similar collections ought to be made from other Provinces, comprising at least books in English, in classical languages (Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian) and in Urdu and Hindi. To collect other vernaculars might require a special staff."

INTER-LIBRARY BORROWING

John Macfarlane took the following measures to increase the usefulness and popularity of the Library :

- (1) Training of cataloguers in the Imperial Library for work in other Libraries ;
- (2) Establishment of reciprocal borrowing system amongst different Libraries ; and
- (3) Compilation of a subject index of the contents of other Libraries.

He gave effect to the first two measures. The Asiatic Society of Bengal gave permission on November 24, 1903 for books and MSS. to be lent from their library for perusal in the Imperial Library. The Board of Examiners had a good Library. They also granted permission for lending their books for use in the Imperial Library in March, 1904. By 1914 the Asiatic Society discontinued this facility and they had strong ground for the action they had taken. The Board of Examiners' Library continued to lend books.

Chapman reported on inter-borrowing in the *Annual Report* for 1919-23 :

"It has not been found possible to do anything. The time is not ripe : there is no country of the size of India that is so backward in the matter of libraries ; but then there may be no country with so small a revenue in proportion to her population."

CATALOGUE

The preparation of the catalogue was taken in hand immediately after the formation of the Library. The catalogue of the Library when complete was intended to comprise :

- (1) A General Author Catalogue of printed books in European languages ;
- (2) A Subject Index ;
- (3) An Author Catalogue of Books in Oriental language with indexes of subjects and titles of books ;
- (4) Catalogue of "Books that are no Books"

* *Annual Report of the Imperial Library*, 1903, p. 2.

such as Administration Reports, furnished with an author index as far as possible ; and (5) Catalogue of Oriental MSS.

A Reading Room Catalogue and Index was completed in 1903. Two hundred copies were printed of which 156 were distributed among local libraries and institutions. Only one copy was sold.

The first volume of the *General Author Catalogue*, from A to L was published in March 1904. Two thousand copies of the catalogue were printed of which 1,108 were distributed in India, 212 sent to other parts of the world and 6 copies were sold.

In 1904, sanction was obtained for purchase of two Cabinets to contain a Card Catalogue of additions to the Author Catalogue arranged in a single alphabet. The Card Catalogue was completed in 1905. The *Catalogue of Indian Official Publication*, Vol. I, was printed in 1909. The *Subject Index to the Author Catalogue* was published in 1910.

Preparation of the new revised catalogue was undertaken in 1943. It remained in abeyance due to the war. It has now been taken up for completion.

The shelf-listing of books in European languages began in 1930.

A new cataloguing scheme for compiling and bringing up to date of the various catalogues was sanctioned by the Government of India in 1946-47. In 1950, the task of compiling the bibliography of Indology was undertaken. In 1951, a *Catalogue of Printed Books* in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Vol. I, was published.

NUMBERING AND MARKING OF THE BOOKS

The greater portion of the Library is arranged on the shelves on the system commonly known as "relative location." In this system the distinguishing marks of each book are derived not from the shelf on which it happens to be, but from the class to which it has been assigned and its ordinal number in that class, and any book or group of books may be moved backward or forward to make room for the expansion of a neighbouring group. It will be obvious that for the proper working of this system the shelves over which these movements are effected must all be tall enough to admit the tallest book in the collection. To obviate waste of space, therefore, some preliminary sorting by size is necessary. In this Library all books over 14 inches in height have been put in a class by themselves, and arranged on the system of "fixed location" described below. The remainders are divided into two classes according as they are or are not over 14 inches in height. In assigning to each book its ordinal number in its class, which as above explained, forms the last of its distinguishing marks, the odd numbers go to the smaller and the even numbers to the larger-sized division.

An example may serve to make this clearer. If books on the United States of America form class No. 99 and those on the Northern States class 99B,

then the books in the latter subject that are not over 10 inches in height will be marked 99B 1, 99B 3, etc., and those over that height 99B 2, 99B 4, etc. These marks show at a glance whether the book required is to be looked for on the 'small' or the 'large' shelves.

LIBRARIANS OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY

John Macfarlane—1902 to May 13, 1906
D. Silva (Offg.)—May 14, 1906 to Feb. 21, 1907
Harinath De—Feb. 22, 1907 to Jan. 20, 1911
J. A. Chapman—Jan. 25, 1911 to Nov. 30, 1930
E. W. Madge (Offg.)—May 20 to June 18, 1912
A. F. M. Abdul Ali (Offg.)—March 10, 1924 to January 30, 1925
S. Kumar (Offg.)—May 25, 1928 to June 19, 1928 ; January 2, 1929 to February 11, 1929 ; October 27 to November 17, 1931 ; February 25 to August 14, 1937 ; December 18, 1937 to March 17, 1939
K. M. Asadullah—Feb. 11, 1929 to July 19, 1947
Y. M. Mulay (Offg.)—July 20, 1947 to March 31, 1948
B. S. Kesavan—March 31, 1948—

POPULARITY OF THE LIBRARY

The popularity of the Library can be realised from the following annual number of readers visiting the place :

1903	15,093	1930	44,798
1910	38,955	1940	71,324
1920	38,660		

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee became President of the Council of the Library in 1912-13. Among persons who took active interest in the affairs of the Library during this period were Sir Dennison Ross, N. Annandale, Dr. D. N. Mallik, Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis, Mr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan, Principal Heramba Maitra, Dr. U. N. Brahmachari, W. K. Firminger, Dr. Urquhart, H. G. Rawlinson, R. B. Ramsbotham, etc.

PRESERVATION OF BOOKS

As a prevention against white ants, the feet of book-cases were placed in pans, filled with a solution of phenyle and kerosene oil, and books were frequently dusted. There was no damage to books in the Metcalfe Hall. In the Imperial Secretariat Buildings however, several Parliamentary papers were destroyed by white ants.

About 1920, two alternative proposals for preservation of books were suggested :

- (a) To remove all valuable books in any one Presidency to a library located in some Hill station where climate was temperate. It was ascertained that paper did not decay in India at an altitude of 5000 ft. and upward.
- (b) To place such books in a library situated in the chief town of the Presidency and to equip the library with air-conditioning plant.

The second alternative was supported as having been practicable and desirable : Government were approached. No reply to this proposal, however, was received.

RICHEY COMMITTEE

The Government of India in December, 1926, appointed a small Committee of Enquiry to report into the affairs of the Imperial Library. It consisted of :

- J. A. Richey, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Chairman ;
R. B. Ramsbotham, Member of the Imperial Library Council ;
J. H. Lindsay, Educational Secretary, Government of Bengal ; and
J. G. Bhandari, Accountant-General, Bengal, Secretary.

The Committee assembled in Calcutta on December 13, 1926, and continued the work on three subsequent days. They thoroughly discussed all matters concerning the future finance, location and administration of the Library. Their main recommendations may be summarised as follows :

Functions : (i) The Imperial Library should be a library of reference, a working place for students and a repository of material for the future historians of India, in which, so far as possible, every book written about India at any time can be seen and read. (ii) The Imperial Library should be a Copyright Library. (iii) The Imperial Library should be a Central Lending Library from which books should be available to persons engaged in any special study, in all parts of India.

Location : The Library should continue to be located in Calcutta.

Management : The old Council should be replaced by a new Council. The actual administration to vest in a small committee of management.

Finance : The cost of running the Library to be met entirely from Central Revenue except for the amount required for the maintenance of the Reading Rooms, which should be met from Provincial revenues.

The Committee visited the Library, inspected the work of the Library staff and examined the Librarian and the staff. Their finding was that the Library was in a most unsatisfactory condition. The defects discovered may be classified as :

- (a) Defects due to imperfect or incorrect organisation.
- (b) Defects due to negligence or incompetence on the part of the staff.

Under (a), the Committee drew attention to such matters as the—

- (i) unsatisfactory character of the classification scheme followed in the Library ;
- (ii) non-publication of catalogues ;
- (iii) absence of regular weeding of books ;
- (iv) uneconomical arrangements for purchase of books ;

- (v) delay in cataloguing new books;
 - (vi) uneven distribution of work among clerks;
 - (vii) non-employment of labour-saving devices.
- The defects pointed out under (b), concern the staff, arrears in work, etc.

BOHAR LIBRARY

Syed Suderuddin Ahmad ul-Musawy, Zemindar of Bohar (Burdwan), presented to the Government of India his Library containing about 1,500 volumes of printed books in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and a collection of 950 Arabic and Persian manuscripts. The Library was transferred to the Metcalfe Hall. One of the conditions of the Bohar Library was that it would not be removed from Bengal.

The Library secured the following other collections:

Donors	No. of books
Ramdas collection 1950	4,000
Hyderabad Residency Library	"
Asutosh collection 1949	80,000
Chinese collection	18,000

RARE BOOKS

The following list will give only an indication of the rare books, maps, etc., in the Library:

- (1) An extremely fine book of native illuminated drawings done in Ceylon about 1800.
- (2) The MS. letter book of Richard Barwell, the friend and colleague of Warren Hastings, containing numerous references to the trial of Nanda Kumar.
- (3) Three contemporary legal works on the trial of Duplex.
- (4) A Portuguese MS. on the trade of India written about 1790.
- (5) Eleven engraved maps of India in 17th and 18th century.
- (6) MS. letters of Sir Thomas Munro.
- (7) A portrait of Shuja-ud-Doula, Vizier of the Moghul Empire.
- (8) MS. maps of parts of India and plans of ports executed about 1760-1770; most of them, believed to be Major Rennell's work, some done in his own hand. Most of the maps believed to be unpublished.
- (9) Lord Chesterfield's *The Economy of Human Life*, 1798 edition. British Museum has over 30 copies of this work, but not a copy of the 1798 edition.
- (10) Old Javanese versions of portions of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

With the growth of the Library, the Metcalfe Hall was considered too small. The noise due to the two tramway lines and the railway line adjacent to the Library made it difficult for deep study. Lord Curzon thought that the Town Hall would be a better place for the Library. He inspected it personally but rejected the idea on ground of insecurity. Finally the Government building at 6 Esplanade was selected and

the Library was shifted there in 1923. During the period of shifting, Chapman went on leave and Abdul Ali officiated in his place. In order to help the officiating Librarian in the arduous task of shifting, K. M. Asadullah was brought from Simla. During the war, the Library was shifted to 35 Chittaranjan Avenue and remained there till 1948, after which it came back to the Esplanade premises. Towards the end of 1948 shifting of the Library to Belvedere was started and has now been completed.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

Under Act 51 of 1948, the name of the Imperial Library was changed to National Library. Shortage of accommodation at the Esplanade Building was being acutely felt. On the one hand, with the growth of the activities of the Government, demand for more space was being made by them and on the other, the stock of the Library was steadily increasing. Maintenance of books in good condition in a very short space became an acute problem. There were also talks of removing the Library to Delhi. It was at this juncture that the present Librarian, Sree B. S. Kesavan asserted himself and succeeded in securing the Belvedere House for the Library. This is a stately and spacious building with large adjoining grounds which would make future extension of the Library in the same compound possible.

The reorganisation of the Library on functional basis and the compilation of the Bibliography of Indology has been undertaken. The number of books in the Library is now about seven and a half lakhs.

The Reading Rooms are now being kept open from 7 A.M. to 10 P.M. which has been very much appreciated by the scholars coming to the Library for Research work.

The present Librarian has undertaken to secure systematic and regular accessions of official and institutional publications. He undertook a tour of South India in 1951 for this purpose. In 1952, he visited the U.S.A. as a guest of that Government under the Leader Exchange Programme to see the working of the Libraries of that country. Since his visit, the Library is getting free supply of valuable publications from many American Institutions of high repute. The National Library has been made a depository of all publications of the United Nations. After long and arduous efforts made in vain by other Librarians, the present Librarian has succeeded in settling the Copyright question. Government of India have agreed to make the National Library a Copyright Library. Relevant legislation is under preparation.*

(Concluded)

* This article has been prepared from materials contained in the Annual Reports of the Calcutta Public Library and the Imperial Library.

REVIEW OF THE ACADEMY EXHIBITION: CALCUTTA

By Prof O. C. GANGOLY

IN the winter a youngman's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of Art. Indeed the cold weather in Calcutta ushers in a series of picture shows, which culminate in the comprehensive Exhibition organized by the Academy of Fine Arts in December every year. This is undoubtedly one of the most comprehensive Exhibitions held in any city in India, making a systematic attempt to represent all phases of contemporary art and to exhibit the best available works of almost all the well-known artists working in all parts of India. So that the Academy Exhibition is by no means a local show but a happy representative of the whole of India. This year's show has attempted valiantly to uphold its reputation as a glance at the catalogue will show, including, as it does, such names as Ara and Ahivasi, Nalakraishnan and Bengegal, Chinchalkar and Hebbbar, Govindraj and Gana-yutham, Paul Raj and Pannikar, Tyagaraja and Srinivasalu. It is a motley crowd and a mosaic of many talents brought together from different parts of the Indian Union. And it is expected to provide a shining nose-gay of the selected best of the year's harvest. It has been freely criticised that this year's show has surely shagged and has not attained a high standard. The few good has been swamped by the mediocre and the bad, and the organisers appear to have been faced with the "Horror of Vacant Spaces" compelled to include such unhappy stop-gaps as Kamal Thakur's 'Umar Prasadhan' and Kshitish Banerjee's five pieces of futilities (20-25) which have nothing but their dimensions in yards to recommend them. Yet the selecting and the judging Committee cannot be blamed for the generally low level of the exhibits, they cannot make bricks without straw and had to build their show with the materials actually available. One should not forget that the Academy had to assemble in October last a collection of pictures which had to be sent to America for exhibition on a short notice. This has naturally shortened the bank balance of the year's earnings in art. But if there are not many items to tempt the critical connoisseurs and the great high-brows, there are enough materials to educate the uneducated, to please the common people and to awaken the sense of beauty in those in which the God-given hunger is still sleeping or undeveloped. Even mediocre pictures have their uses as they help to pick out the high-lights by comparison and contrast. They help to train and educate one's power of judging by assessing the values of the mediocre pictures by emphasizing on the high qualities of a masterpiece placed in immediate juxtaposition. In this way, even an untrained eye is made to respond to the caressing call of

Sri Gopal Ghose in a series of excellent landscapes in their bold bid for colour effects, in the magic glory of their highly skilful brushwork, and in their startling compositions which give you kicks as well as caresses. The artist's series of eight landscapes, each a shining gem rise far about the level of topographical photographs and present eternal values which make us forget that one is snatched from the Puri or the Gopalpur Beach, one from the Chilka Lake or the Diamond Harbour. The vital, forceful and the emphatic manners of the landscapes of Gopal Ghose can be easily contrasted with the thin, picturesque presentations of nature scenes of which there are in the exhibition many captivating ones, superficial in their skin-deep beauties which the common man will adore and which the connoisseur will ignore. Yet these worshippers of the superficial and picturesque have useful lessons to impart to those who take their first steps to the gates of beauty. And it would be a great help to art-education if a collection of alluring landscapes and typical scenes of Bengal villages could be circulated in our schools and colleges as a First Book of Reading for learning the Beauties of Nature directly through the visual path, which they are now made to learn laboriously through the printed books and poetical compositions. It is also desirable to build a collection of the best masterpieces depicting Bengal village scenes, of which there are one or two of good qualities. If one or two of the best village landscapes could be acquired every year an interesting gallery could be built up to represent the glory of our dying villages.

In the large section devoted to oil paintings there are very few to attract the eye. Pannikar's "Cartmen," Ramen Chakravorty's "Bathing Ghat" and Chinchalkar's "Ferry Ghat" are undoubtedly outstanding examples. Anil Bhattacharyya happily maintains his facility in handling oils in his "Nocturne," a harmonious study in blue and grey. Satis Chandra Sinha's homely study of a "Bengali Lady," lit up by the sun streaming through the window in an early piece which he has not surpassed in his later oils. In portraits the show is very weak, and, only saved by Jagadish Roy's "Red Rope" and the powerful presentation of a "Nobleman" by B. Gangooly.

But the most talkative sections of the show are the eloquent pieces in modernistic manners which force on your attention by sheer power of loquacity and emphasis. They are an intrusion in Indian art from contemporary trends in Europe, now over-flowing all over the world, though very much misunderstood and abused. The common man, not posted in the mysteries of the picto-

rial techniques, conventions of stylistic grammar and rhetoric, is unable to comprehend the Moderns or to interpret their aims and ideals. The common man, tied to the practice of enjoying the beauties of imitation and accurate representation, is unable to respond to beauties in which recognizable likeness or picturesque elements have no place.

He chastizes in the words of Sir Walter Raleigh :

"The artist uses honest paint
To represent things as they aint
And then asks money for the time
It took to perpetrate the crime."

The common man with no technical training makes the common mistake of assuming that people who paint in a manner not readily comprehensible to those who apply picture post-card Realism to what they see, are too lazy or too incompetent to draw or paint realistically, not understanding that many great men in this century have put aside Realism, as adults put away toys. Most of our Moderns have discarded cheap imitations in search for a new language of distortion, emphasis, exaggeration and eloquence. Unfortunately, Rathin Maitra's five modernistic pieces do not offer illustrations of the best phases of the new manner, though his "Praying Figure" with its emphatic exaggeration and harmonious curves is easily one of the best pictures in the show. But the conventional critic will legitimately find fault with their utter lack of spiritual or emotional content. If a "Praying Figure" aspiring in its exaggerated height to reach the heavens, has any manner of spiritual appeal, the ugly day-dreamer in an idle "Reverie" posed in a pair of blue pants has nothing elevating in its subject-matter and does not help you to meditate on the higher things of life, such as indicated by even the prosaic presentation of the gates of a temple, or even a mechanical presentation of a Mother and Child of which there are a few good examples in the exhibition. The intellectual jig-saws of the intriguing geometrical compositions of the Cubists of which Shanu Lahiri offers a typical example in a "Still Life" (339) cannot pretend to provide any manner of *rasa*, or emotive essence that even the most mediocre or fantastic compositions of the typically Indian school provide in abundance.

Unfortunately, for the last few years the interpreters of the new Indian school have not progressed on the path that Acharya Abanindra Nath Tagore had shown in his numerous masterpieces for which the present generation has shown no respect or reverence. And though the Academy has generously provided a special room for pictures in the Indian manner, the so-called Indian pictures do not achieve a very high level. Of this group Dharendra Bramha's "Destined Parents" (68) and Samar Ghosh's "Grihasthali" creditably maintain

the ideals of Indian pictorial art which cannot be confused with any of manifestations in Western manners. High praise is due to the excellent series of imaginative compositions of Gopen Ray illustrating well-known "Silver Tales," the *Rupa-Katha* of Indian folk-tales. They show a powerful faculty of invention, notwithstanding the derivation of their materials and modes from old Indian masterpieces.

There are a few other outstanding pieces in the exhibition which deserve special mention. These are three tiny pieces, contributed by Probodhendu Nath Tagore. They are summary impromptu sketches revealing the hand of a real master.

Though not designed as murals Dipen Ray's "New Crop" (66), Gopen Roy's "Vasanta Utsab" and Subal Saha's "Bratachhari" offer very happy suggestions for wall-decorations.

In the black and white sections there are many pieces which will repay repeated attention. In the wood-cuts, etchings and aqua-tints, we come across a group of talented artists, Nanda Kundu, Namita Mitra and the accomplished Haren Das whose skill and talents should be used everyday by our magazine-editors and newspapermen, who are committed to the pernicious practice of high-lighting the outstanding news of the day through hazy and obscure half-tone blocks which could be easily replaced by sparkling wood-blocks and etchings with their clear-cut images of men and things.

The Sculpture section does not offer very many exhibits. But Sunil Pal's "Michael Madhusudan" and Satis Chakravorty's "Bhaja-Hari" are outstanding pieces which easily hold our attention.

In a city of bankers, company directors, manufacturers, merchants, tradesmen, and workmen, engaged in the utilitarian pursuit of earning money, works of art as such have no money values, though pictures cannot be purchased without paying for the wages of the art-workers and the craftsmen. That pictures have priceless human and spiritual values is proved by the collections which hard-boiled businessmen have built in the Municipal Art Galleries of Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. And one is tempted to remind our great citizens of Calcutta that a Municipal Art Gallery for this city is long overdue.

Pictures placed on the walls of galleries bring, indeed, no dividends to investors of money, except dividends of highly spiritual delights and interests in the shape of beauty conveyed to all and sundry, to the rich and the poor. It has been well said that "There is nothing beautiful except the useless" (Theophile Gautier). But in a significant sense, the useless concoctions in colour and form are some of the richest treasures of this earth.

By the courtesy of All-India Radio

DEVAPALA AND THE PANDYAS OF THE SOUTH

By ASOKE CHATTERJEE, M.A.

There is a good deal of controversy regarding Devapala's contact with the contemporary rulers in the South and other relevant issues involved in the consideration of this subject. The evidence bearing on this topic may be briefly considered in an attempt to form an accurate judgement on its highly complicated character.

There is a verse in the Badal Pillar inscription¹ of the reign of Narayanapala which runs thus :

*Utkilitot kalakulam hrta-Hunagarvam
Kharvukrita Dravida-Gurjara-natha darpam*

This verse refers to several achievements of Devapala, the third king of the Pala dynasty, including his success over the lord or the lords of the Dravidas. It may be mentioned here that Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri reads "Dravida" in the above passage, which is not quite correct. The reference to the Dravidas in the verse quoted above, has been the subject of a long controversy among the scholars. R. D. Banerjee remarks :

"The invasion of Utkala is a new point, but the fight with the Hunas perhaps is the same as that with the Kambojas referred to in the Monghyr grant. We know from an independent source that there was a war with the Dravidas, i.e., the Rashtrakutas."²

By "independent source" he seems to mean the Sirur Grant of Amoghavarsha⁴ which refers to the contact of the Rashtrakutas with the Palas in the time of Amoghavarsha who was a contemporary of Devapala. It is clear, therefore, that the lord of the Dravidas was, according to him, the Rashtrakuta contemporary of Devapala. P. L. Paul also takes Dravidanatha to refer to the Rashtrakuta lord.⁵

But Dr. B. C. Sen refers to Dravida kings mentioned in the Sanjan Grant of Amoghavarsha I,⁶ who were the same as the Kerala and Pandya kings mentioned in a subsequent passage in the same inscription.⁷ Dr. Raichaudhuri also does not agree with R. D. Banerjee as the former has mentioned that

"That expression Dravidanatha cannot have sole reference to the contemporary Rashtrakuta emperor as has been suggested by scholars. It may refer to some Tamil potentate as well."⁸

Dr. R. C. Majumdar proceeds on this line and concludes :

1. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 160-167.
2. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, pp. 198.
3. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 56.
4. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 218.
5. *The Early History of Bengal* by P. L. Paul, Vol. I, pp. 43.
6. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 246.
7. *Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal* by Dr. B. C. Sen, p. 344.
8. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, pp. 199.

"It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Dravida ruler defeated by Devapala . . . was most probably his contemporary Pandya king, Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha."⁹

Dr. Majumdar who supplements Dr. Raichaudhuri's view, bases his arguments on (1) Sinmanur Plates and (2) Velvikudi Grant of Nedunjadaiyan.

We shall now try to show that their identification of the Dravida-king with the Pandya king, can be objected to on some serious considerations.

The Pandya king, according to Sinmanur Plates, claims success over the Magadhas along with Kalinga, etc. Now, as Magadha in the opinion of the two scholars must have been under the Palas, the reference in the inscription to the Magadhas must be taken as applicable to the Pala contemporaries of this Pandya king. The passage in which this success is claimed has been thus translated by H. Krishna Sastri :

"Who (Parachakrakolahala) shining with the prowess of the sun and shooting from his bow-string sharp and deadly arrows on Ganga, Pallava, Chola, Kalinga, Magadha and other (kings) that came to give battle and opposed (him) at Kudamukkil of fragrant and blooming flower gardens and made them bathe in a big river of blood."¹⁰

Assuming that the Magadhas mean the Palas, it is to be noted that while the Sinmanur Plates show that Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha defeated the Magadhas, the Badal Pillar inscription, quoted above, claims that Devapala defeated the lord of the Dravidas, identified with the Pandyas by Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Raichaudhuri. This is a discrepancy for which no clear explanation has been offered. Dr. Majumdar suggests that

"It is just possible that there were other episodes in connection with this campaign which were less favourable to him (the Pandya king)."¹¹

But this is a vague statement since nothing has been said about what these other episodes were. No evidence has been quoted to explain these supposed other episodes.

So far as the evidence of the Sinmanur Plates is concerned, the peoples defeated by Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha did not fight against the Rashtrakutas, but against the Pandya king. Consequently, it is beyond the point to argue on the evidence of this inscription, that a confederacy consisting of these peoples had been organised to fight against the Rashtrakutas.

The date of the Pandya king Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha is from 815 A.D. to 862 A.D. as Dr. Raichaudhuri and Dr. Majumdar mention. According to

9. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 121.
10. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 461.
11. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 120.

Dr. Majumdar himself however, Devapala reigned upto 850 A.D. Assuming that Dr. Majumdar's date of Devapala is correct, it may be asked how he can definitely say that this conflict supposed to have taken place between the Palas and the Pandyas, occurred before 850 A.D. and not at some date between 850 and 861 A.D. If it occurred after 850 A.D. then certainly Devapala was not defeated by the Pandya king.

Moreover, to prove that Devapala's conflict with the far south (i.e. the Pandya kingdom as mentioned by Dr. Majumdar) was quite probable, Dr. Raichaudhuri has referred to the verse

"A Gangagama-mahitat sapatna-sunyan
a-setoh prathita-dasasyaketukirtih
Urvima-Varunaniketanacca Sindhor
a Lakshmikulabhavanacca yo bubhoja."

of Monghyr Grant of Devapala¹² which claims that Devapala's sway extended from the Himalayas to the Adam's Bridge. Such vague praises are very often found in ancient Indian records when they magnify the achievements of kings and princes. Where definite corroborative evidences are lacking, such statements are not generally accepted as bearing any historical significance and are discarded as mere exaggerations. As for example, Gopala, the founder of the Pala dynasty, has been described as having conquered the whole earth extended up to the sea.¹³ This is surely a clear case of exaggeration if the text is to be taken in its literal sense. If the verse of the Monghyr Grant is to be accepted as furnishing an indisputable proof showing the extent of Devapala's empire, the evidence of the Sinnamanur Plates claiming success of the Pandya king against the Magadhas, will be in conflict with what the verse claims on behalf of Devapala. Then again, the exaggerated character of the statement made in the Monghyr Grant is shown by the Badal Pillar inscription which gives a relatively limited estimate of his power. The verse in this inscription is as follows:

A-reva-janakamatangaja-madastamyacchila samhater
a-gauripiturisvarendu kiranaih-pushyat-sitimno girch.¹⁴

The verse shows that Devapala's power extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhya. There is another verse in the Monghyr Grant itself¹⁵ which refers to Devapala's activity in the Vindhya region.

In support of their contention Dr. Raichaudhuri and Dr. Majumdar have referred to the Velvikudi Grant of Nedunjadaiyan, issued in the third year of

his reign.¹⁶ Before considering the value of the evidence contained in this grant, we should mention that the above grant is dated about 769-770 A.D. Thus the date of this inscription is very much earlier than the time of Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha (815-832 A.D.) of Sinnamanur Plate. The Velvikudi Grant mentions that

"Marangari, the crest-jewel of the Vaidyaka family . . . whose army fought powerfully like a thunderbolt, in battles where machines shaped like wild hogs killed (the enemies) in (close) fight with (drawn) swords when the kings of the east possessing clamorous battalions of fighting men rose up and put to fight with (great) loss in an infantry attack at Venbai . . . on the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gangaraja was secured and offered to Kongarkon (i.e., the Pandya king)."¹⁷

From this it has been concluded that there was an alliance between the "Eastern king" and the Gangas and the Pandyas. Analysing the evidence it may be found that the Gangas supposed to have been a member of this confederacy did not take part in this fight. This tends to show that a definite organisation may not have been formed as suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Dr. Majumdar does not give any history of this confederacy during the period intervening between the time of Velvikudi grant and the time of Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha of Sinnamanur Plate, extending over fifty years or more.

It is necessary to point out in this connection that after referring to Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha and his fight against Magadha etc., Dr. Majumdar immediately refers to the Velvikudi Grant and says that

"The Pandya king was at one time a member of a similar confederacy of Eastern kings which defeated the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I at Venbai."¹⁸

This may prove to be a source of confusion because the impression may be produced that the Velvikudi Grant may refer to Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha who came at least fifty years after the date of Velvikudi Grant. Therefore, obviously the reference of the Velvikudi Grant in connection with Devapala's reign is of no historical value. It cannot be used to prove that formerly there was a confederacy which comprises the eastern kings, the Pandya kings etc., from which Sri Mara Sri-Vallabha withdrew and himself fought against those who were his associates before.

It may be pointed out in this connection, that while the Velvikudi Grant refers to the fight of the Rashtrakutas against some powers, the Sinnamanur Plates refer to Sri Mara's achievements which took place after a period extending 50-100 years. It needs considerable evidence to establish any connection

between the two records so as to reconstruct a consistent history of the policy and activities of a confederacy whose existence is taken for granted. Most of the necessary links required to establish such a connection are absent in the present case.

Again, it is very doubtful if the reference to the "Purvarajar" occurring in the Velvikudi Grant, applies to the Palas. It has been remarked by Dr. Raichaudhuri that

"The expression 'Purvarajar' reminds us of the epithet 'Purvakshitidhara' of the Pala records and may have been used to denote the Pala rulers of Eastern India together with their feudatories."¹⁹

It may be noted in this connection that the expression actually found in Pala inscriptions is not "Purvakshitidhara" as mentioned by Dr. Raichaudhuri, but "Purvakshitidhra." The passage in question runs thus:

"Tasmat purvakshitidhrannidhiriva mahasam Rashtrakutanvayendostungyottunga mauler dulutari janayo Bhagyadevyam prasuta."²⁰

The same passage is found in the Amgachi Grant of Vighrahpala III²¹ and in the Manhali Grant of Madanapala.²² As regards the interpretation of the passage, scholars differ. Keilhorn translates:

"As the store of light proceeds from the eastern mountain so sprang from that king of East, a son born from Bhagyadevi, a daughter of the high-crowned Tunga, the moon of the Rashtrakuta family."

A. K. Maitreya, the editor of *Gaudalekhamala*, gives a different translation. He does not want the term "Purvakshitidhra" to refer to any king of the East. His interpretation rendered into English, runs thus:

"A son as great as the sun rising in the east was born unto him and his wife Bhagyadevi, the daughter of the proud-headed Tungadeva, the moon of the Rashtrakuta family."²³

So the term "Purvakshitidhra" may be a case of pure *upama* meaning the eastern mountain and it may not indicate the eastern king. Obviously, the similarity is between the sun and Gopala II and it may be probable that this author of this inscription was probably attempting to suggest that with the accession of Gopala II, the fortunes of Pala dynasty may have shone more brightly than before as with the rise of the sun darkness vanishes. The idea that the sun rises on the eastern mountain is a very familiar one with the poets of Ancient India. One may, for instance, refer to the following verse in the Mandasore Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman:

Yah pratyaham pratibhaty udayachalendra-
vistirna-tunga-sikhara-skhalitamstu-jalah.²⁴

If the expression "Purvakshitidhra" at all means an eastern king, it applies to Rajyapala only. There is nothing in the whole range of Pala inscriptions that the predecessors of Rajyapala have been described in similar fashion. The use of the expression "Purvakshitidhra" as applying to Pala rulers in the sense that they were eastern kings so that they may be identified with the "Purvarajar" mentioned in the Velvikudi Grant was never a current and well-established introduction for the Pala rulers, at least before Rajyapala. Its use in that sense at the time of Velvikudi Grant (769-770 A.D.) is not supported by any independent evidence, and to say that the expression was used in that sense is a mere assumption.

Moreover, it may be doubted if at all the Palas fought against the Rashtrakutas in the time of Krishna I. The Velvikudi Grant has been taken to refer to a conflict between the Palas and the army of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I.²⁵

Krishna I succeeded his nephew Dantidurga, according to Dr. Altekar, in about 756 A.D.²⁶ and his death "must have taken place sometime between the 23rd of June, 772 A.D., when the Talegaon plates were issued and October, 775 A.D., when the Pimper plates" were issued by his son Dhruva, which do not refer to Krishna I as living or ruling."²⁷ But it should be noted that the available Rashtrakuta inscriptions do not refer to any episode connecting the Palas with the Rashtrakutas before the time of Dhruva. Even at the time of Dhruva's invasion, the identification of the Gauda king who was pursued by Dhruva in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab has not been definitely ascertained although it may seem that he was probably a Pala king. During the time of Krishna I, if the Palas had already established their dynasty, there is nothing to show that the first king Gopala could have ventured to go against the Rashtrakutas and fight them at Venbai in South India. As a matter of fact, the first and second kings of the Pala dynasty, Gopala and Dharmapala respectively, must have been very busy in consolidating their position at home and building up a hegemony in North India which Dharmapala succeeded in achieving.²⁸ On the other hand, what we know about the relation between the Rashtrakutas and Dharmapala clearly shows that it was the Rashtrakutas who had invaded the north and came into contact with the

12. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, pp. 251-257.

13. Cf., *Vijayajayantadhar Vasundheram*. Monghyr Grant of Devapala.

14. Badal Pillar Inscription, Verse No. 5.

15. Cf.: *Bhramyadhr-Vijayakramena Karibhi-svameva Vin-dhyastam uddama-placamana-Vasapayaso-drshtah punarbandhabah*, Verse No. 18.

16. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291-309.

17. *Ibid*, pp. 308-309.

18. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 120.

19. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, pp. 199.

20. "Bangadh Grant of Mahipala I," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI, pp. 77-87.

21. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 100.

22. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, p. 69.

23. *Gaudalekhamala*, p. 99.

24. Fleet: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 81.

25. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, p. 198.

26. *The Rashtrakutas and Their Times* by Dr. A. S. Altekar, p. 44.

27. *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. X, p. 81.

28. *The Rashtrakutas and Their Times* by Dr. A. S. Altekar, p. 45.

29. Cf.: "Bhojaimatsyaisamadrish Kuru Yadu Yavanavanti-gandhara kirai," Khalimpore Inscription of Dharmapala: *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 248.

Gurjaras and the Palas. There is no incontestable evidence to show that Dharmapala planned any campaign in the south. In this connection, however, a reference to his Gokarna victory³⁰ has been made which is sometimes located in the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency. But the identification of Gokarna has not yet been definitely settled. In fact, there may be a good deal of truth in the theory which places Gokarna in Nepal.

We have tried to show that it is not possible to support the view that Devapala was defeated by a Pandya king or he defeated a Pandya king. The inclusion of Magadha in the list of names given in the Sinnamanur Inscriptions may not signify the king of Magadha as Dr. Raichaudhuri himself seems to doubt his own interpretation when he says:

"This document (the Sinnamanur Plates) clearly establishes the presence in the Tamil country in the ninth century A.D. of warriors from Magadha."³¹

The presence of men of Magadha who offered their services as soldiers in any part of India, may have been quite possible. If a powerful ruler like Devapala had been actually defeated by the Pandya king, there is no

reason why his name should have been omitted in this record. The Sanjan Grant of Amoghavarsha refers to Dharma, i.e., Dharmapala by name.³² It is necessary to doubt the historical value of many records which simply refer to names of territories in a vague manner without giving specific detail. By his defeat of the king of Utkal, Devapala entered into a new phase of historical activity and this is quite probably that this move on the part of Devapala may have been viewed with misgivings by the rulers of the Deccan and the far south. The passage in the Badal Pillar to which we have already referred contains a very cautious statement. It does not actually say that a Dravida king was defeated in a military engagement. What Devapala actually claims is that he reduced (*kharvikrita*) the pride of the Dravida king. This may have been achieved by the establishment of Devapala's influence in Kalinga and also his friendly relations with the ruling family of Java and Sumatra. If the expression "Dravida-natha" is taken to mean one who was a king of the Dravidas who need not have been a Dravida himself (Dravidanam nathah), it may have been applied to the Rashtrakutas who were attempting to spread their power in the Tamil country.

30. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, pp. 245-257.

31. *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1936, p. 199.

32. Cf.: "Svayamevopagatau ca Yasya mahatastau Dharma-
cakrayudhau," *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 253

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A SUMMARY SURVEY OF ART JOURNALS IN INDIA

By KAUNDINYA

II

1929: A very well-printed and well-produced Journal of Art (timed to appear on the 15th June) began its career about July 1929 (though the actual date of its publication was nowhere printed in any issue, with characteristic self-forgetfulness), under the title *Shilpi*, an illustrated Journal of Fine Arts, edited by H. Mazumdar and A. C. Mookerjee and published by the Indian Academy of Art from 62-5, Beadon Street, Calcutta, with the annual subscription of Rs. 12, each issue being priced at Rs. 2-8 per copy. There is no indication if it was a monthly or a quarterly, but the three issues available are headed *Grishma*, *Varsha* and *Sarat*. Possibly, a fourth issue was issued for Winter (*Sita*) but we have been unable to trace it, as the expensive venture does not appear to have survived for more than a year—a very sad commentary on the meagre support that Art Journals receive from the educated and cultured section of the Indian public. The journal was issued in a very handy format (11 inches by 8 inches) and very tastefully produced and printed.

In the first issue (Vol. I, No. I) as many as 13 large-size reproductions (three in colour) of various modern artists were provided, three of which represented the works of H. Mazumdar. It was indeed a brave

venture on the part of an artist, with no journalistic experience or any literary equipment. The editorials and comments in the first number probably came from Sri A. C. Mookerjee, the joint-editor. A third editor appears to have collaborated whose untimely death appears to have delayed the appearance of the first issue. The letter-press (48 pages in the first issue) is made up of contributions of several well-known writers, Messrs Sisir Coomarr Maitra, Srish Chatterjee, J. Chowdhury and Arun Sen (with a translation of Vidya-pati). The aims and aspirations of the journal are clearly set forth in an opening editorial:

"Besides being profusely illustrated with beautiful reproductions in colour and monochrome of the representative works of our (?) leading artists, *Shilpi* will contain a judicious selection of articles, criticisms and reviews relating to the fine arts by eminent contributors, who have already made their mark in the field. It will also include editorial comments on current events that might naturally come within the purview of a journal like this. And in dealing with the subjects of painting, sculpture, music, etc., that is to say, with the fine arts generally, *Shilpi* will always try to cultivate a thoroughly human and modern outlook on these subjects free from the bias of hoary traditions or pseudo-archaism of any kind and endeavour to inculcate such an outlook

upon the readers without fear or favour. In the realm of art and aesthetics, *Shilpi* does not believe in any esoteric standard of values. This is a frank confession of faith only, in modern forms of Art, and a repudiation of the study of the old Indian masterpieces."

In spite of such repudiation of "esoteric standard of values," the editor published in the first number a learned article from the pen of Sri Sisir Coomarr Maitra, a well-known scholar of philosophy, an article on the "Philosophy of Indian Art," an able exposition of the esoteric principles, underlying the expressions of old masterpieces of Indian Art. The letter-press covering 48 pages included two more serious articles; "Claims of Indian Architecture" by Sri Srish Chatterjee and a good article on the history of "Bengali Theatre" by J. Chowdhury. A very interesting article by Mr. Ramlal Bajpai on "Oriental Art in New York," describing the famous Heeramanek Collection of old Indian masterpieces, together with a report of a lecture on the topic by Mr. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, contradicted the avowed aims of the journal to present modern phases of art, of which several examples were reproduced in the number. In the second number of the journal, entitled the *Barsha*, or Rainy Season,—the letter-press (48 pages) included a good article on the "Significance of Indian Aesthetics," exposing the esoteric standard of values, repudiated by the editor, the concluding portion of the article "Bengali Theatre" by J. Chowdhury, "Renaissance of Indian Music" by Amiya Sanyal, and a short article on the "Art of the Posters" by Sri Kusal Mookerjee. One expected the editor to publish the reactions of the public to the first number and to record the opinions of critics of the quality of the journal. But this was avoided. But one can glean the nature of public reactions in a revealing article from the pen of H. Mazumdar on "Nude and Beauty." The editor naively quoted the frank opinion of a critic on his nude paintings.

"On a certain occasion, a respected kinsman of mine was rather perturbed on seeing one of my pictures. With a tinge of sorrow not unmixed with regret he said, 'Look, here, why do you paint your pictures with such a low idea? The work of a true artist must be absolutely free from all taint of passion. If your pictures are not worthy enough to be imitated by the nation what good are they to the society at large?' And so on and so forth. From an ethical stand-point the words are perhaps unexceptionable: but viewed in the light of the creation of *rasa*, they certainly betray a want of completeness in one's perspectives."

Anyhow, the perspective of the editor, almost exclusively confined to the presentation of the nude woman in indecent form—of low vulgar taste—does not appear to have earned any popularity for the journal in spite of its low popular appeal. Another fly in the ointment was the unsound policy to reproduce mostly pictures painted by the editor himself. Though a few paintings by other artists were included, e.g., "Siva" by Arya K. Choudhury, "Spirit of the Woods" by Purna

Chakravorty, "Radha and Krishna" (colour) by M. V. Dhurandhar, "Ever Green" (colour) by Ghose Dastidar, unfortunately the prominence given was on the paintings of the editor himself of which several were reproduced in the first number and eight in the second number (two in colour). The wholesome rule that an editor's own productions should not dominate his own journals was flagrantly violated and the fact that the productions of the modern school of painting founded by Abanindra Nath Tagore were studiously avoided proved that the journal was presenting only the works of the editor and his coterie and this policy spelled the ruin of a laudable venture started with good financial resources but handicapped by a policy of narrow selfish ends, ignoring the claims of other contemporary artists of genuine artistic merits and of broad national outlook, based on age-old aesthetic traditions. We are at some pains to analyze the mistakes of policy and outlook in a public Journal of Art in order to demonstrate how the best of efforts in this phase of journalistic venture come to grief for want of a sound editorial policy, so that in future we may avoid such pitfalls. If the *Shilpi* had only followed the precedent of the London *Studio*, which liberally covers all phases of modern art, both in England and in the Continent, and if the late Mr. H. Mazumdar could inspire trained specialists in Art to write serious articles on the many problems of modern art, his excellently produced journal would not come to an untimely end. Both the choice of paintings for reproduction and the poor and sometimes amateurish quality of the letter-press hastened the end of a journal produced with huge expenses with a lot of care and immaculate taste in production both in printing and in good blocks. The poverty of the articles was attempted to be redeemed in the third number reprinting from the pages of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* the famous article of Rabindranath Tagore on "The Meaning of Art" which again contradicted the editorial policy of repudiating the esoteric standard of values. The other serious article in the third number was the sound reflections of Prof. Dhurjati P. Mookerjee recording his reactions to the study of R. S. Wilenski's "The Modern Movement in Art," that was just published. The editor published this article with many passages which condemned the aims of the editor's own productions and their imitators.

"To bring the so-called Indian Art into line with European Art of the last three centuries on the ground of universal principles is un-historical. Besides, it is illogical, for the artist's main concern is to draw and paint the generic, formal and colour relation as understood by him. It is no argument to say that the human body is the same all the world over. The artist who would paint the human body only and not its form and relation, inward and outward, caters either for the magazine reader or for the romanticist, each a useful citizen in his way but an enemy to art."

But the unkindest cut in Prof. Dhurjati Mookerjee's thoughtful article was against the style of paintings which the late Hemen Mazumdar paraded in his own journal.

"Recently there has been an awakening in India. I wish I could say, that it was an art awakening. I do not know whether it is the awakening of an old man or that of a child. The signs that are noticed might as well be the mumblings of an old man or the prattlings of a baby. In any case, sugar-candy is being demanded with some insistence. And I have a suspicion that in painting, the artist has been catering certain addleheaded venalities in response to the insistent demand. He is a pseudo-artist who flatters the sick, the old man and the child or the romantic youth. *Art photography is passing for art.* It is the duty of *Shilpi* to stop the process of degeneration and vulgarization. If it succeeds it will have performed a task indeed."

There could not have been more frank, ruthless protest against the style of art, which the editor of *Shilpi* zealously supported. As no rejoinder was published to this criticism one may legitimately conclude that the editor probably accepted the criticism and the journal committed "suicide" by stopping its publication. It was indeed a great pity that such a brave and valiant attempt to run an Art Journal (never supported by the cultured public) should have terminated its career in one short-lived year of existence. The third number also committed the indiscretion of publishing three colour plates of the artist's own pictures, although accompanied by two good pictures, one by P. Chakravorty's "Sleeping Princess" and "Day Labourers" by Biren Bhowmik.

An effort should be made to find out the fourth number of *Shilpi* if ever published and the copies should be preserved in the National Library,—if not as the record of a first-class Journal of Art, but as a model of what to avoid in conducting a Journal of Art in India. It is sad to reflect that so much money, enthusiasm, and sincere work should have been wasted in pursuit of a narrow and ill-designed plan and policy.

But failures are but pillars of success and our future editors with ambition to present the best claims of modern artists and to foster the growth of modern art should avoid the pitfalls, in which *Shilpi* found its grave. There is room for a well-conducted journal to be edited by a well-equipped connoisseur of art to present all phases of Modern Indian Art, that are growing up in different parts of the Indian Union, as indicated by numerous Exhibitions in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras and in other provincial cities. If we had a journal with the scope and policy of the London *Studio* and it was liberally supported by all sections of the cultured public, that would be a great service to the critical understanding of all contemporary movements in National Art.

1929: In January 1929, appeared the first number of a new Art Journal in a formidable format (15 inches by 10 inches) under the title *Roopa-Lekha*, an illustrated, Quarterly Journal of Indian arts and crafts, published from 287, Esplanade Road, Delhi, India. It started with an editorial board of six editors, K. H. Vakil (Bombay), Ajit Ghose (Calcutta), Mrs. Alice E. Adair (Madras), Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyay (Mangalore), G. Venkatachalam (Bangalore), Mukandi

Lal (Lucknow), and Baroda Ukil (Delhi), with an annual subscription of Rs. 16, single copy Rs. 5.

In the first number, the aim and scope of the journal are indicated in rather vague editorial musings:

"Many chapters in the history of Indian Art still await elucidation. But the story of its continued growth survives vividly in the imperfect outline traced by the historian. The *Roopa-Lekha* recognizes the magnitude and importance of nation-wide efforts for reconstruction in art and it therefore aspires to work for the conditions which would ensure the continuation in art, the emergence of the manifold diversity justified by its past and demanded by its future. It will thus be both inter-provincial and inter-national in its outlook."

This was a suggestion that the journal would devote itself to the elucidation of the past history of Indian Art but it did not overlook the claims of modern movements and it was stated:

"In its information, review, and examination of current activities and tendencies it will remain free from rigid creeds which limit the artist's freedom and creative range. Incalculable harm has been done by the isolation which at present exists between the artists and the intelligentsia in the different provinces in the country. The *Roopa-Lekha* will, by publishing, constantly, information about their art activities, endeavour to minimise that isolation and facilitate the interchange and elucidation of ideas and ideals which alone can guarantee a steady evolution of Indian Art."

That both the ancient schools of art and their modern manifestations were intended to be served is proved by the contents of the first number. The opening article was a thin and discursive "Essay on Hindi Painting" from the pen of N. C. Mehta, with references to the poetry of Tulasidas, the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, and the vigour of early Moghul portraits. The second article was from the pen of James H. Cousins on "European Appreciation of Indian Painting," relating the author's travels with a collection of sixty modern Indian paintings and their exhibition in Geneva, Brussels, Holland and in London. The other contributions included comments of Mr. Anu Ghose on a "Jaina Madonna" in his collection, and, a paper by Bireswar Sen on "Craft Design" covered by the demand of foreign tourists and Indian connoisseurs. But the most serious contribution to the first number was the beginning of a serial by Mr. Mukandi Lal on "The Pahari (Himalayan) School of Indian Painting and Molaram's Place in it." Modern Art was represented by an anonymous and amateurish study of "Abanindranath Tagore and the Renaissance of Indian Painting" by A.B. The illustrations, reproduced on a generous scale, included four colour plates, tastefully mounted on thick cartons, reproducing "An Old Kangra Painting," Tagore's "Queen Tishyarakshita," Saroda Ukil's "Tune of Eternity," "Reverie" by Chughtai and "Toy" by Tagore. The first number did not succeed in making any impression and did not reflect any credit on the formidable board of editors who appear to have left matters to the discretion of the Delhi editor. The

second number, appearing in April, 1929, did not succeed in raising the standard of the journal, a miscellany of assorted matters with no definite editorial policy. It published five articles: "Fins et Erigo" by Bireswar Sen, "Theatre for Tomorrow" by K. H. Vakil, "Indian Women and Art" by Srimati Lilavati, M.A., "Akbar as a Painter" by Anu Ghose, the best contribution being an article on "The Schools of Rajput Paintings" by Ajit Ghose, which was deservedly given the place of honour. The six colour plates in this number representing three old masterpieces, Ghose's "Lalita Ragini" (a great masterpiece of the primitive phase), "Akbar" (late Moghul), and a Tibetan Tanka of "Yama" and three moderns, "Omar Khayyam" by Asit Haldar, "Ambapali" by Promode Chatterjee, "Ganesha" by Surendra Nath Ganguly, maintained an even balance of editorial leaning between the Old and the New. The first numbers of 1939, though poor in letter-press and lack of definite editorial principles, emphasized by lack of literary equipments, specialized in colour reproductions with generous presentations of six expensive plates, with commendable enterprise. Appreciation and understanding of Indian Art have suffered owing to want of good reproductions of paintings and Sri. Baroda Ukil paid serious attention to this, by making the colour plates the most important features of his journal which somewhat compensated the poverty of the letter-press.

For some unknown reasons, the journal, begun with good promise, at least in providing adequate colour reproductions in accurate facsimiles, appears to have gone underground and did not appear to put in appearance before July, 1939. This time it appeared as "An Illustrated Bi-Annual Art-Journal" making a new start as Volume I, Serial No. I, under an editorial board consisting of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Dr. James H. Cousins, Mr. Ajit Ghose, Mr. Karl Khandelwala, Bar-at-Law. Mr. G. Venkatachalam, and Mr. Baroda Ukil. Unfortunately, the accession of the editorial board by including Dr. Coomaraswamy, did not strengthen the editorial policy, which wandered aimlessly like a ship without a rudder, as will be evident from titles of the articles in this new number: (1) "The Universities and the Fine Arts" (J. H. Cousins), (2) "Mannerism and Tradition" (Bireswar Sen), (3) "Shadows on the Wall" (R. V. Leyden), (4) "Three Natarajas in Sir C. Jahangir Collection" (K. Khandelwala), (5) "Nriya Niranjana" (Prof. V. N. Bhusan), (6) "A Plea for Art Education in our Universities" (Asit K. Haldar), (7) "An Outsider Looks at the Art of India" (G. F. Martyn, F. Inst. P.). The commendable editorial leaning for Modern Art became apparent in the four colour plates in this number devoted to modern paintings: "Filled Pitcher" (Mukul Roy), "Santhal Girls" (A. K. Roy Chowdhury), "The Tune Eternal" (Saroda Ukil), "Sri Krishna and Vidur" (B. P. Mittal), the two first being excellent representatives of the best tendencies of Modern Indian Painting.

Roopa-Lekha could have rendered signal service to modern movements, if it had confined its scope to the presentation and critical appraisal of various regional phases of modern painting on the excellent precedent of the London *Studio*, but the editors divided their loyalty between both the old and new masters serving neither with success nor distinction.

The second volume in the new series (1940) opened with a higher standard of editing, particularly in publishing solid, scholarly articles on the old Indian schools, beginning with a series describing the Collection of Mr. A. C. Ardeshir of Poona, which brought to light many hitherto unknown documents of Moghul painting. It is necessary to protest against the pernicious editorial practice to permit owners of paintings to describe and critically appraise and date their own collections, which prevent a just and independent estimate of their intrinsic values. This undesirable practice has arisen out of the incompetence of some of our art-editors and the reluctance of collectors to permit an independent appraisal of their collections by un-biased testimony of acknowledged experts. There is a Bengali proverb that the "producers of the curds never admit that their own products are sour." And most private collectors of old Indian masterpieces love to exaggerate the merits of their own collections and ascribe as much earlier dates as possible to their own pictures or sculptures. Very frequently collectors of South Indian Bronzes have dogmatically claimed each and every of their pieces as "Chola masterpieces." The most honourable exception is the case of the late Dr. Coomaraswamy who dated the examples of masterpieces collected by him with scrupulous accuracy without any bias for exaggeration or over-statement.

The *Roopa-Lekha* has with commendable zeal continued its career of usefulness for an unbroken series of more than ten years without very much public support, sometimes figuring as a quarterly and sometimes as a bi-annual. That the editors find it inconvenient or too expensive to issue 4 numbers of an Art Journal in India in a year is a sad commentary on the public interest in Art. In England, not to speak of other countries, several *monthly* journals of Art are enthusiastically supported by a large number of subscribers, while, in India an Art Journal has to carry on an anxious and precarious existence even as a "Twice a Year" publication. This is largely due to the neglect of the study of the Indian Fine Arts in the Indian Universities. Our graduates, masters of arts, and doctors of literature seldom develop live interest in Art, ancient or modern, and their pretensions for culture are narrowly confined to the spheres of literature and music and it is rare to find amongst our educated brethren any critical knowledge of Indian Art. Considering the amount of money and enterprise lavished by Sri Baroda Ukil in keeping alive his journal in sumptuously illustrated and finely printed editions of his issues, the response to this valuable cultural national cause on the part of the educated population has been very disappointing, particularly in the capital city of

India, with its secretariat crowded with fat-salaried officers and educated high-brows and its social events and official functions sparkling with colourful *saries* and dazzling diamonds against the pageants of shining automobiles. Money flows freely to provide for all manner of luxurious vanities, except the essential spiritual

necessity for Art, which is neglected and starved out of existence. Art, the finest flower of Indian culture and civilization, is therefore crying in the wilderness. The popularity of Art Journals is indeed one of the *acid tests* of the state of culture of independent citizens in independent India. (To be continued)

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CULTURAL BASIS OF WORLD BROTHERHOOD

By. DR. SATIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE,
Visiting Professor, University of Hawaii

WILLIAM JAMES, a great American philosopher, once compared man to a plastic material. By education, training and culture we can make him just the type of being we would have him. This is the reason why men born and brought up in different cultural environments, exhibit different mental dispositions, different attitudes of life, and different social and moral outlooks. What we call "World Brotherhood" is that attitude of life in which we look upon and behave with all fellow men as we would to our own brothers. Of the different types of culture which we find in the world, some seem to be inherently opposed to it, while others are more or less conducive to it.

Broadly speaking, there may be three chief types of culture, namely, materialistic, humanistic, and spiritualistic. By a materialistic culture is meant that form of human civilization which is based upon a materialistic theory of the world and a hedonistic view of morality. In it men are regarded as social animals who have been thrown up by the activities of unconscious matter and have to seek the greatest amount of sensual pleasure, each for himself and with certain adjustments to other selves living in the same society. Such a culture is inherently opposed to World Brotherhood. If every man is to seek his own pleasure and the greatest amount of it, we do not see how there can be order and peace in any society. Rather, every man will be at constant war with every other man and try to have as much pleasure for himself as possible even at the cost of other men. Of course, the laws of the society and the State impose certain limitations on the selfish activities of every individual of the society. But so long as the individuals live and breathe in the atmosphere of a materialistic culture they will not feel an inner urge in themselves to sacrifice their pleasures for the sake of others. On the other hand, they will always have the tendency to deprive and exploit other people for their personal gains and will try by all means to evade the clutches of the State laws. And however much the State may be armed with penal laws, the number of crimes and criminals will be enormous. Hence a society or country which has a materialistic culture cannot expect to develop a sincere sense of fellow-feeling and real brotherhood in all its members and citizens. Far less can there be any attitude of world brotherhood in the life

of the people of such a society or country. Even if it can develop some sort of community feeling among all its members, it will maintain an attitude of hatred and jealousy, of opposition and enmity towards other societies and countries having a different culture and a different polity. In support of this view of a materialistic culture I may refer to the history of Communist Russia with its Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism.

A humanistic culture fares better than the materialistic when judged by the ideal of world brotherhood. It is a culture which recognises man as the crown of creation but does not admit a creator or God, and emphasizes most the dignity of man, and makes service to humanity the highest duty. A society which lives on this faith and moulds the life of its members on this ideal, is decidedly better than the one we have previously dealt with. It also helps create an atmosphere which is more favourable for the development of the attitude of world brotherhood in us. But it suffers from one great defect in so far as it stops short with man as the highest value, the highest truth and the highest reality. It does not admit any higher moral order than the human nor seek any deeper ground of unity among men than their fellow-feeling. But while fellow-feeling is a noble sentiment which we should always have, it is neither a justification of itself nor a sufficient motive of equally noble actions in our life. Fellow-feeling we may always have, but the sacrifices dictated by it we do not always make. A man cannot be expected to make these sacrifices unless he is convinced of a higher moral order that governs the life and destiny of man, and finds some real bond of unity between himself and his fellow-beings. But without such sacrifices for our fellow men, we cannot speak of a real brotherhood of man. So humanism also does not seem to be a sufficient basis for world brotherhood, although it takes us nearer that goal.

The last type of human culture which we find in some countries of the world may be called spiritualistic. It is generally free from the evil influences of a materialistic culture and the imperfections of a humanistic one. It is a culture which derives its inspiration and sustenance from spiritualism and has an irresistible appeal to the human mind. "Spiritualism," says William

THE TANJORE TEMPLE

James, "means the affirmation of an eternal moral order and the letting loose of hope." It is the faith in a universal spiritual power that makes for regularity and righteousness, and works in the gods, the heavenly bodies, and all creatures. It is the conviction that there is a supreme power over man and nature who governs the destiny of mankind, and that this power makes righteousness the law of life, and vice and sin the gateways to death. Therefore, we must shun unrighteousness in all forms—hatred, jealousy, injustice, oppression, and exploitation. This we must do, if we are to live and prosper in the world, either as individuals or as nations. Nay, more, we should love our neighbours as ourselves, and all nations and peoples are our neighbours. We live in a world which is one in respect of its origin, one in its ultimate physical and moral laws, and one in its ultimate destiny. If one part of it be diseased, degraded and destitute, the whole of it is doomed to death and destruction. This is the law of God, this is the eternal moral law. Short-sighted people may not see it, but some men of farsight and insight have

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often proclaimed it. The world, however, has not yet fully responded to it.

The spiritualistic culture, briefly indicated here, is to be found in some form in certain Eastern countries and some Christian Western countries. But the spiritualistic faith has not yet been able to assert itself as an active force in the life of the people in general and shape their national and international policies in any large part of the world. In modern times one of the world's greatest men—Mahatma Gandhi—made an honest and serious attempt in this direction. If the leaders of human thought and action in different countries of the world make a similar effort and help establish a new order of society and polity on a full-fledged spiritualistic culture, we will have world brotherhood as our natural attitude and see the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.*

* This article is based on a talk given at the opening session of the Conference on Human Relations and Law Enforcement, jointly sponsored by the World Brotherhood Committee on Community Organisations, Honolulu Police Department, and Hawaiian Armed Services Police, and held at Honolulu on Wednesday, the 14th January, 1953.

THE TANJORE TEMPLE

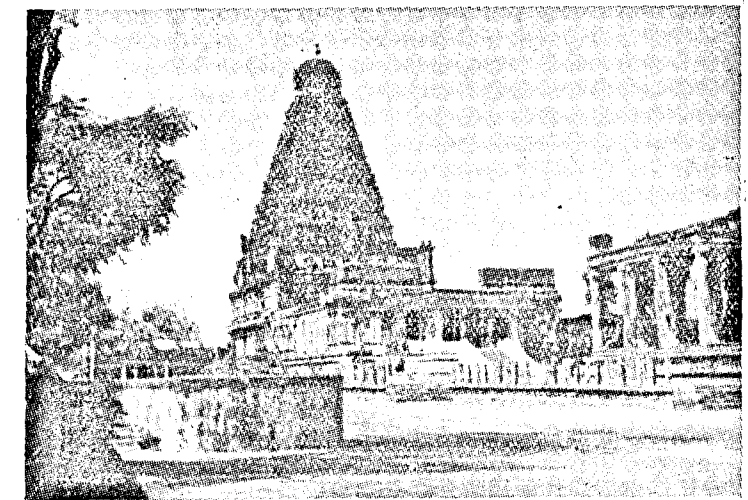
By. V. R. RAMANI, B.A.

THE extent to which the glory of the ancient Chola kings is both great and small. Small in number but great persisted in well depicted in the grandeur and structure in merit. There can be nothing to equal the temple of the great temple at Tanjore, dedicated to Lord in size and grandeur. The broad-mindedness and the Brihadeswar. Not only the temple but the very air of the town still sends out an aroma of antiquity. For one reason this is because Tanjore had been the seat of not only the Chola kings, but the later Marhatta dynasty ruled over there. The famous Marhatta ruler Sarfoji has great claims to make for what he had done to glorify Tanjore. The relics of the far and near past have therefore made Tanjore a royal city.

Though Woriyur was the permanent capital of the Cholas, yet Tanjore was also their royal city for various reasons. Their fortress was built here and the remnants of this can be seen now around the temple. But we can assign the reason for the building of the temple to the wish of the Great Raja Raja who might have thought of worshipping God far from the worries of war and other duties. Nothing now remains except the Temple and surrounding fortifications to depict the Chola reign.

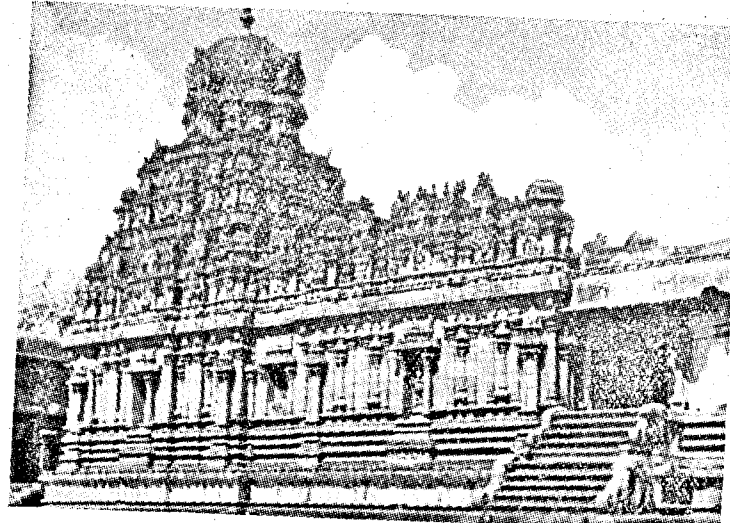
The legacy left to posterity by the Chole kings

pious and magnanimous nature of Raja Raja have been responsible for the structure of the temple. He thought he would build the greatest temple in his



A view of the Big Tower and the steps leading to the Sancterum. The Temple was built in the 10th century in the reign of Raja Raja, the greatest of all Chola kings

kingdom, and he did that. All the engineering skill and masonry have gone into the building of the temple, which is, as the famous historian Vincent Smith puts it, "the greatest of all Dravidian architecture."



Sri Subramaniya Temple inside the Big Temple. The elaborate carvings on the sides of the Temple are superbly beautiful

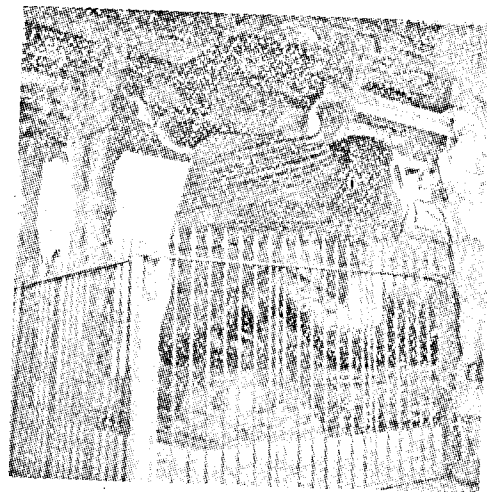
The temple is unique in its style and differs vastly from other temples in all its usual structure. The big tower is built directly on the sanctum instead of it being the entrance as can be seen in other temples.



Another view of the Temple from the road, with fortifications around it and deep ditches surrounding the fortifications (Small towers form also the entrance here). The height of this tower is 265 feet, and the peculiar feature is that it is equal-sided—square and conical. High up the sixteen storeys is the great mass of circular stone weighing about 80 tons. We cannot quite understand how such a weight had been lifted up in those

days. The story, how a platform four miles diagonally was built to lift this stone, is still prevalent. However incredible it may be, yet to the witnessing eye everything is perplexing. Besides this there is the carved face of a foreigner with a hat, on the northern side of the gopuram, which appears to be a riddle still to be solved.* Did they visualise the future of our country or could they have met such a person in their days? But history never proves such a possibility, yet the face is there. Some of the best mural paintings and sculpture can be seen in the temple. The paintings are on the roof panel of the sanctum, in colours which have not lost their glory in spite of age. The temple abounds in architectural designs, and whenever we find such architecture one thing flashes in our mind that the ancient people were magnanimous and aimed at permanence. In these days such thoughts offer a sort of solace when the whole world is at the mercy of destruction.

The magnanimity of intention cannot be depicted more effectively than the Bull or Nandi in the temple. To many the word Tanjore will immediately bring the thought of Nandi, it has become so famous and proverbial. Carved out of a single stone, it is sixteen



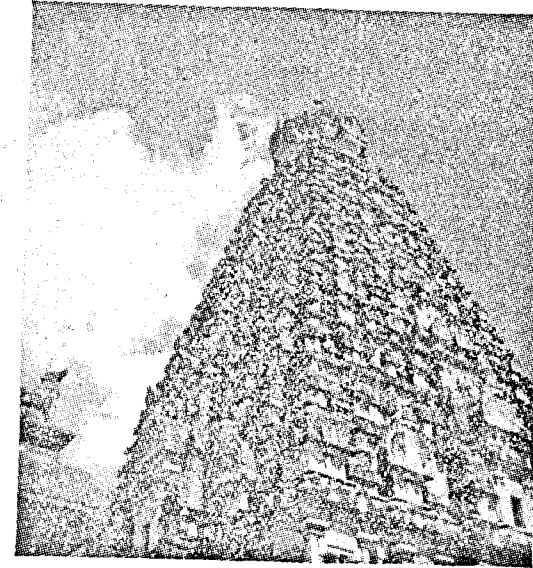
The Nandi at the Temple

feet high with life-like features. There is a legend to the effect how the bull had been growing enormously and how the perturbed people solved the problem by

* Many put the theory that it is a later addition.

THE TANJORE TEMPLE

driving a nail on the head. Some say the nail can be seen. words but by seeing it only. To those who come to see it two things will become apparent, the ancient



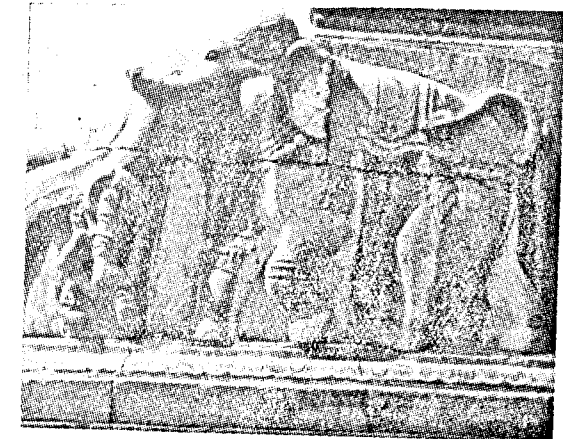
A view of the Tower with a big circular stone on the top, which weighs 80 tons. The Tower is pyramidal—a unique feature in Dravidian architecture



A pillar near the Nandi with exquisitely beautiful sculpture, carved out of a single slab



Another pillar near the Nandi with a life-size statue carved on it



A magnificent carving on one of the steps leading to the Sri Subramania Temple inside the Big Temple

Perhaps more things will appear to the seeing eye than can be described by words. The greatness of the temple can be sincerely understood not by means of

glory of the temple and the present indifference of the people, who have reduced not only this temple but also many other sacred structures to the mere abode of rats and bats.

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM, RANCHI

BY PRINCIPAL SUPRABHA CHOUDHURY, M.A.,
Victoria Institution, Calcutta

VISITORS to Ranchi, who go there for sight-seeing or for a change of air, take particular pains to visit the traditional beauty-spots far and near—the Ranchi and the Morabadi hills, the water-falls at Hudroo and Jonha, the temple at Jagannathganj and so on. The Mental Hospital at Kanke also has its attraction. But while enjoying a drive or a walk along the beautiful roads and inhaling the crisp air that gives a keen edge to our appetite, most of us do not even know that there is such a lovely place among the untrodden ways with tall *sal* trees all around only a few miles off Ranchi.



Inside view of the General Ward

About eight miles from Ranchi to the east of the Ranchi-Chaibasha Road, the Ramakrishna Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Doongri was opened by Dr. Anugraha Narayan Sinha, Finance-Minister to the Government of Bihar, on 27th January, 1951. The scheme was formulated as far back as 1939, when a plot of land measuring 240 acres was taken on permanent lease from the local Zemindars. But the second World War came and the general economic depression in its wake, that caused a great set-back and the work of construction could not be started until 1948. Even then the progress was slow and limited due to the paucity of funds and there we have only the nucleus of an institution now which promises to be one of the largest and best of its kind in our country. This should be possible with our economic recovery when necessary funds from the Government and the general public will be forthcoming for the full utilisation of the resources available there.

Tuberculosis is a dreadful scourge and it is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of this undertaking at a time when millions of precious lives are its unfortunate victims. At present we have not enough hospitals and sanatoria for sheltering and nursing the poor sufferers and anything done about it earns our spontaneous gratitude. If only the official estimate of 500,000 annual deaths from the fell disease is accepted, we have to make an all-out effort to fight this dreadful malady, and the lead given in this direction by the sponsors of the Sanatorium at Doongri is beyond all praise. The contribution of the Ramakrishna Mission in the sphere of social service is incalculable and the T.B. Hospital at Doongri is another landmark in its glorious history.

As I was walking round the Hospital set up in one of the loveliest corners of the earth, I could not help feeling that the forest beauty had assumed a special significance for the service it was rendering to suffering mankind. It had an overpowering effect on me and I had a quick realisation that here nature and man had joined hands in the service of the distressed and waged war against an enemy that threatened life and spelt utter ruin for our race. Our modern civilisation has involved us in the destruction of many beautiful forest lands but here man intends to preserve them and save human life with their life-giving qualities. It is not a cruel conquest of nature with a view to converting her

into an arid city of bricks and mortar, it is a retreat into her loving arms flying from a deadly enemy. To rest in the quiet and placid beauty of nature, to draw nourishment from her sap and return to life and light from the impending darkness of the grave, man has at last turned to her and she is smiling at him in full assurance.

The sight and surroundings are ideal for a T.B. Sanatorium. The extensive grounds form a small plateau kept dry the whole year long by natural drainage. Its beauty is picturesque. As far as the eye can see there are huge *sal* trees raising their heads like tall sentinels and big boulders here and there standing like the carcasses of pre-historic animals and witnesses of a terrible shock that once rocked the earth.

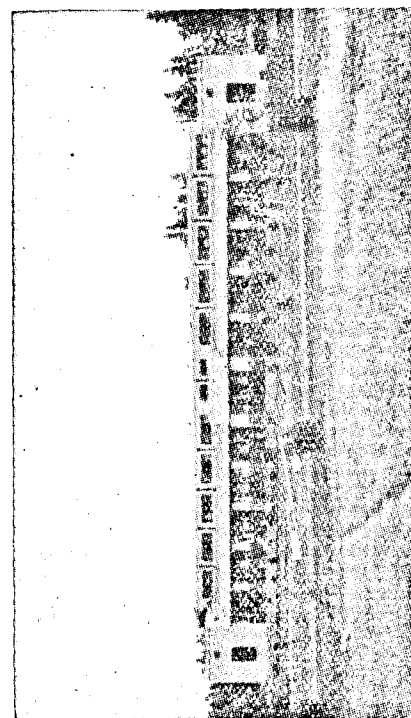
A small rivulet forms the southern boundary of the Sanatorium. There was a scheme for raising a Masonry Dam across it at an estimated cost of Rs. 12,000 that could solve the problem of water-supply. The scheme,



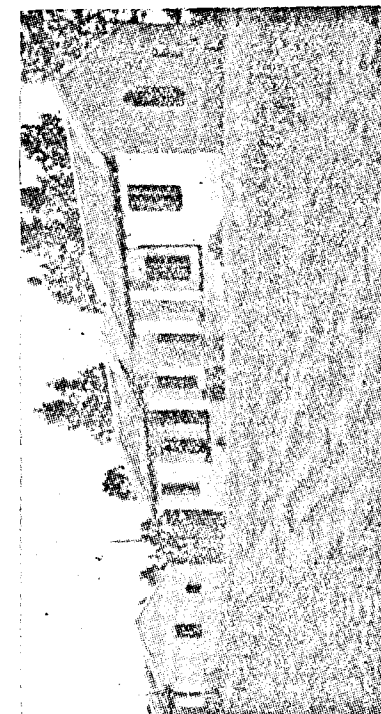
A Special Ward



A dam under construction



The General Ward



Cottages, The Ramakrishna Mission T. B. Sanatorium

when completed, would help irrigate the adjoining corn-fields belonging to the Asram and the local cultivators but the Government changed its decision having once sanctioned the project and assured financial help so that the work remains unfinished. I was glad to know that the Government was reconsidering the proposal and let us hope they will do everything for the promotion of this humanitarian enterprise. The Asramites, however, are growing their own crops in the fields by hard labour and cultivating flowers, fruits and vegetables in the gardens but this is not enough for the patients and those who run the institution there. When the Dam is raised and more agricultural lands in the neighbourhood are acquired the Sanatorium may easily be self-sufficient so far as food-crops and green vegetables are concerned and this will do the patients immense good as fresh and unadulterated food is not less important than A.P., P.P., Streptomycin and all that.

Swami Vedantanandaji, Secretary of the Hospital, said that they had plans for starting dairy, poultry and agricultural farms there to meet the growing needs of the Hospital. This would solve the problem of food and at the same time give useful occupations to the patients who get cured and who will want means of livelihood as soon as they are discharged. This will also lead to the establishment of a Colony for discharged patients, not far off, who will have the good of the institution at heart and shall work whole-heartedly for it. On the industrial side it may be possible to start a polytechnic there on a modest scale, where training to the cured in different small crafts will be given. So the Sanatorium in its present size is only the seed from which the tree is to grow, spread its branches and reach its full stature. At present there are only 40 beds and few of them are free though some concession is given to very

deserving cases. Treatment of T.B., as we all know, is a costly affair and it is not in the means of the authorities to give better facilities to the needy patients though their object is to maintain fifty per cent of the General Ward beds free of all charges. But this will depend on Government's ability to help and also response from the generous public.

But nothing can really defeat us if we are inspired by a genuine spirit of service and are ready for any amount of work and sacrifice. Swami Vivekananda, the illustrious founder of the Mission and one of the makers of modern India, took it upon him to make man know himself, realise his greatness and use it to the best advantage for the welfare of mankind. Love of one's fellow creatures is the emancipating principle on which all saints and sages have laid special stress and Swami Vivekananda no less.

"All expansion is life, all contraction is death, all love is expansion, all selfishness is contraction. Love is, therefore, the only law of life," this is what he said.

If the sponsors of the Sanatorium are inspired only by a portion of the high courage and lofty idealism of the great master, nothing can stand in their way. And for us we can emulate the example of Mahatma Gandhi, co-operating with any endeavour fighting ignorance, disease and death. We cannot forget him.

The pretty buildings of the Sanatorium including the General Ward, the Special Wards, quarters for the doctors and the nurses and a few cottages look like little pictures from a distance and as the evening falls and the electric lights glow through the woods piercing the encompassing darkness, the little Colony takes on a magic beauty. The whole landscape is a symbol, as it were, of the triumph of light over darkness, of life over death, of the return to light and laughter of the unfortunate sufferers now under the shadow of death.

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YOSEMITE VALLEY

The Heart of an American National Park

To 99 per cent of the 750,000 visitors to the region each year, Yosemite Valley represents the entire Yosemite National Park in the Pacific Coast State of California—so great is the impact upon its viewers of the valley's extraordinary geologic formations and the enchanting loveliness of its woods and flowering meadows.

Actually, Yosemite Valley is scarcely seven miles in length and a mile wide—a very small part of the 1,187-square-mile area of Yosemite National Park. Beyond the valley's confines lies the grandeur of the peaks of the High Sierra Mountains, the swales and wooded uplands which include such natural reaches as the watersheds of the Merced and Tuolumne Rivers, and such breathless sights as the soaring peak of Mount

Lytell rising 13,000 feet into the sky. Within the valley, the highest free-jetting waterfall in the nation spills 1,430 feet in one white-gauze jump; and within it also stands Mount El Capitan, probably one of the largest single rock masses in the world.

Millions of years ago, some geologists estimate as much as 64,000,000, Yosemite Valley was a broad, green vale containing a reasonably placid river. Convulsions within the volatile core of the earth uplited the raw rock, raised the granite walls which became the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and quickened the flow of the river which cut a deep "V" in the valley. Three times in those years long past, glaciers invaded the valley, pouring frozen rivers—some as deep as 2,000

feet—through the feeder valleys of Little Yosemite and Tenaya Canyon, to form a great trunk glacier which filled the lower valley with a grinding mass of ice. The glaciers cut away valley walls, scoured the "V" shape into a wider "U" shape and laid a smooth valley floor of sand and gravel for the river. Streams shot out from the sheared-off cliffsides from lesser canyons left hanging in space and became the waterfalls: the Upper and

into its rock basin. Beyond Mount El Capitan where the valley widens, are the mountain peaks called the Three Brothers, the rock shafts known as the Cathedral Spires, and opposite them, Sentinel Rock.

Farther up the valley, beyond Yosemite Village with its U.S. Government buildings, museum, and post office, and the scattered structures which offer tourist comforts, are the Yosemite Falls—the Upper Yosemite Falls making its unbroken drop of 1,430 feet, the Lower Yosemite Falls tumbling in a 320-foot descent. Still farther to the north are the Royal Arches, an inclined rock wall, with the giant pillar of Washington Column flanking them, and, above them, the clean granite curve of North Dome. At the head of the valley stands Half Dome, a monumental mound towering 4,850 feet, which has seemingly been split in two, smoothly rounded on three sides, and slashed sheer on the fourth side—how, geologists have yet to determine.

To the right of the humped bulk of Half Dome lies the twisted slash of the Little Yosemite Valley, a canyon left hanging 2,000 feet above the main gorge by the glaciers, and from it the Merced River descends in two hurtling cataracts—Nevada Falls, 594 feet, and Vernal Falls, crashing 317 feet to shroud the rock below with rainbow blurs of mist. On the north side of Half Dome



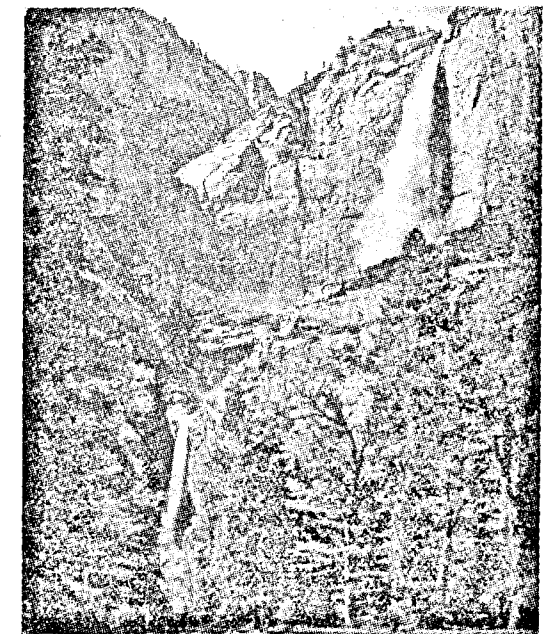
Half Dome, a mountain towering 4,850 ft. at the head of Yosemite Valley
Courtesy: Union Pacific Railroad Company

Lower Yosemite Falls, Vernal, Bridalveil, Ribbon, and Nevada—all of which still thunder in the park.

Less than a hundredth part of the Yosemite National Park, the extraordinary geologic formations and the beauty of woods and flowering meadows of Yosemite Valley make an indelible impression upon the hundreds of thousands who visit there annually.

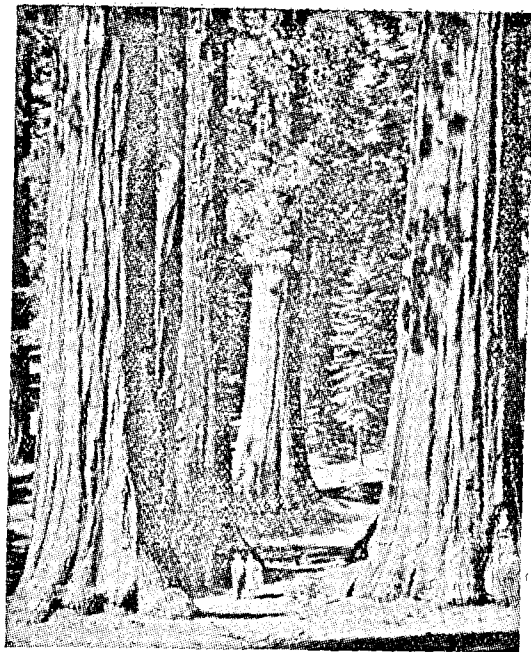
In three different park areas, Nature gave life to the giant sequoia tree, said to be the world's oldest, and largest living entity. Of the three sequoia groves—Mariposa, Merced, and Tuolumne—probably the most visited is the Mariposa, about 35 miles from the valley's entrance.

Yosemite Valley is named for the American Indians who lived originally there. Yosemite became a national park in 1890, and since then the features of the valley have become familiar to millions. From the valley's western portal the cliff profile of Mount El Capitan rises, almost in a straight line, 3,000 feet from the valley floor. Opposite it, on the other side of the valley, stand the three Cathedral Rocks, forming a promontory from which Bridalveil Falls spills like wet lace, 620 feet



Upper and Lower Yosemite Falls in the Yosemite National Park

is the forested gash of Tenaya Canyon, while immediately below Half Dome lie the placid waters of Mirror Lake. Practically all the park's visitors see these features, and the sweeping reach of the valley itself, from Glacier Point, on the rim of the gorge.



Giant sequoia trees dwarf visitors to the Yosemite National Park. These trees are in the Mariposa Grove in Yosemite Valley

SINCLAIR LEWIS

America's First Nobel Laureate in Literature

To Sinclair Lewis belongs the honour of being the first American to be awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. The award was made to him in recognition of his work *Babbitt*. December 10, 1952 commemorates the 22nd year of his receiving the international blue ribbon.

Literary history finds a place for Lewis in the naturalistic school of writing and places him along with the critics and satirists—Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair and Sherwood Anderson. This group was determined to write of "life as it is," bared of all sentimentality and void of any reticence. These novelists' works have been freely translated into innumerable foreign languages, with the result that to foreigners they represent a set of significant developments in American literature.

Lewis has been the object of both adverse as well as laudatory criticism. Opinion has been sharply divided on the worth of his works. But despite all criticism, it is impossible to deny him his importance in contemporary writing.

Almost all Lewis' characters are from the Midwest. This Midwest is a more sophisticated one than that of the early authors like Willa Cather: the characters are not of the heroic type of pioneers. In

Yosemite is a year-round park, but the greater number of its visitors are those who enter it during May (when the waterfalls are at their best), June, July, and August. The valley lures many of these visitors to penetrate more and more of the 1,000 square miles of untouched country beyond. This is wilderness which is usually visited only during the summer, when a circle of camps in the High Sierra Mountains, most of them located roughly at 10-mile intervals, offers a satisfying form of outdoor comfort.

Probably because Yosemite Valley is one of the oldest areas of preserved ground in the U.S. National Park system, its public camping facilities and accommodations are more varied than those in some of the newer parks. Yosemite Valley, which lies approximately 200 miles from the large Pacific Coast City of San Francisco, is accessible by modern highways both from the West and East.

While most of Yosemite's visitors go to enjoy its scenic marvels, there are swimming pools and tennis courts for those who want those resort pleasures—a desire frowned upon by the proponents of wilderness inviolate. But whether visitors realize it or not, few people can enter Yosemite without sooner or later discovering a fact that the American naturalist John Muir wrote long ago: "Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home....."—From *Holiday*.

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Lewis they have come to town; they represent the citizens of the small town, with all the drawbacks of complacency, meanness and boasting—with the resultant cheapening of their way of life. It was against what he saw as a decadence of spirit, against hypocrisy of morals in the midst of abounding energy where Lewis was provoked to anger and distress.

Lewis did not herald a new type of literature. He was primarily a satirist who felt himself to be a part of a mature society. This society he castigated with no more intent to destroy than if he had been criticising himself. He was a crusader against the advertised ideals of the 19th century. A typical American reformer at heart, the world that he dreamed of can be conceived by the literary works that he places in the hands of his characters. Carol Kennicott, in *Main Street*, reads the works of Romain Rolland, Anatole France, Veblen and Nexo—all socialists of one type or another, who were devoted to the building of a world of the future—and tries to convert the little town of Gopher Prairie into an ideal one. He modelled his world around the utopia of Wells and on the kind of enlightened society that Shaw dreamed of.

The Midwest that plays so important a part in

his works betray, in a way, Lewis' own origin. Born in 1885 at Sauk Center, Minnesota, he was educated at Yale, where he was termed a brilliant misfit. He gathered much from men and books, from an environment easy for conformists, yet tolerant of cranks, wild men and geniuses.

In his earlier days he showed no more promise than a gift for clever and accurate journalism—the latter trait being consistently exhibited in all his later works.

His early years were spent as a publisher's assistant. His works of this period seem to have been written more for moving pictures. *The Trail of the Hawk*, with adventure as its basic idea shows the romantic theme of an aviator who covers most of the country. But this is preceded by a satire on the western denominational college, which foreshadows the Lewis of later years.

With the publication of *Main Street*, however, Lewis arrived. Previously many novelists had written about the main street of a small town. But Lewis made Gopher Prairie, a town of three thousand inhabitants, a symbol of a national disease, the small town mind. He describes it as:

"Unimaginatively standardized . . . a rigid ruling of the spirit by the desire to appear respectable. It is negation canonized as the one positive virtue. It is a prohibition of happiness. It is dullness made God."

This book stirred America from coast to coast by the inescapable truth and remarkable intimacy of his picture of American behaviour. It tells the story of a promising girl, Carol Kennicott, who is caught in the cramping environment of the small town, Gopher Prairie. Her attempts to improve the tone of the town also betrays Lewis' own desire for a general improvement of the small western towns.

In 1922 his prize-winning work *Babbitt* was published. He selected a town of three hundred thousand inhabitants somewhere in the Midwest and called it Zenith. But the central figure in the story, George F. Babbitt, is no contrast to the city. On the other hand, he is the personification of its most tiresome qualities. He personifies in himself the qualities of the "booster," who not very secure in his social vision tries to climb through his activity in matters of club and church, of university-alumni relations, and of any avenue to prominence. Babbitt has now come to be a symbol of all that the character represents in the novel.

Lewis' next major effort was in *Arrowsmith*. The attempts of a young scientist to pursue pure research and his trials and tribulations are graphically illustrated in this work. And for the first time in Lewis' works one finds that the story revolves round a person and not on a place or a set of ideas. The same is true of *Dodsworth*. Therein one finds that Dodsworth after having sold his automobile business goes to Europe to

enjoy the leisure he has earned and to please his wife. *Dodsworth* was the last of Lewis' major works. He wrote other works like *Ann Vickers*, *It Can't Happen Here*, *Cass Timberlane*, and *Elmer Gantry*.

One of the criticisms levelled at Lewis is that much as his satire and criticisms are justified, the absence of a central figure (except in *Arrowsmith* and *Dodsworth*) around whom the story could revolve, detracts some of the greatness of his works, thereby the whole story lacking cohesion and forming a loosely knit work of



Sinclair Lewis

mere incidents. While to a certain extent this charge is justified, it is imperative to remember that Lewis' main idea in writing his works was to expose the actual values which guided the lives of many Americans, whose lives he felt, though outwardly successful, rang hollow and who were wrecked in emotional crisis or personal disasters.

Most of Lewis' characters have a crusading spirit in common. In their integrity, in their contempt for all forms of quackery, greed and fraud, they represent Lewis himself and for all that he desired and stood for.

Another criticism levelled at Lewis is that he introduced a sort of super-journalism while writing his novels. It has been said of his works that they are a set of reports put together and presented in the form of a novel. However, as in the case of his elder contemporary H. G. Wells, the period in which he was

writing, with a society transforming under the influences of science and industrialism, called for a fresh type of reporting. The style that he has adopted is capable of great beauty. It is a style of sharp-pointed descriptions of the gadgets of the new materialism, and of most skilful dialogue and monologue, which often carry the story and reveal the characters with a push now and then by the author. His style of revealing the people by the rhythm and emphasis of their conversation has been compared to that of Petronius Arbiter and Stendhal and Mark Twain at their best.

Though Lewis did not possess the power of Dreisier, nor the mellowness of Ellen Glasgow, nor

the evocative quality of perfected art in which Willa Cather revelled, he has been considered as the most powerful novelist of the decade when American fiction in general matured in scope and art.

Lewis lived to be 63, when he died in a nursing home near Rome on January 10, 1951, of paralysis of the heart.

The novels of Lewis are considered the best social history of the white collar class of the United States at the high tide of its success. His works are considered a mirror held up to a whole society. And though not considered the greatest artist or prophet of them all, he ranks as one of the greatest social historians.—*USIS*.

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ALL-INDIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCE AT TRIVANDRUM

By SURESH PRASAD NIYOGI, F.R.ECON.S. (Lond.),

Member, Indian Economic Association

WITH a number of problems of urgent economic importance baffling our attention such as, planning, decontrol of food, incidence of taxation, and productivity of Indian industries, etc., the recent session of the All-India Economic Conference held at Trivandrum, the queen of cities, on 22nd to the 24th December last, gave a practical lead to the country.

Eminent professors, high government officials, journalists, from almost all quarters of India numbering about 75, attended the conference. Prominent amongst the delegates were Mr. Hilary Marquand, M.P., and a former Minister in the Labour Government of Britain, Prof. C. N. Vakil, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Prof. K. T. Merchant, Prof. D. G. Karve (Planning Commission), Prof. J. J. Anjaria, the Planning Chief, Dr. Natarajan (Madras Government), Dr. R. V. Rao (Hyderabad), and Dr. Lakdwalla (Bombay School).

The Conference was opened by His Highness the Rajpramukh of Travancore-Cochin, at the Victoria Jubilee Town Hall, before a large and distinguished gathering. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University and Chairman, Reception Committee, welcomed His Highness and the gathering. Prof. P. A. Wadia presided.

WELCOME ADDRESS

Welcoming the gathering, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar drew attention of the gathering to the Introductory Chapter of the Five-Year Plan which laid that planning in a democratic country had certain limitations and had to satisfy certain conditions. The pace of progress, the method of planning, the methods by which co-operation could be secured, what the common man was expected to do under the Plan, in fact,

the amount of coercion that could be applied at all had to be decided under the Five-Year Plan or a Ten-Year Plan that a democratic government laid down. He took it that the Planning Commission and Pandit Nehru in particular had the type of democracy in mind that existed in the 19th and early part of the 20th century in Great Britain. He also recalled that the Planning Commission desired to pursue the aims of increasing production, improving standards of living and bringing about a social structure where complete equality of opportunity was given to everybody. If nothing else was done the valleys and peaks might be suitably adjusted so that disparities might be slowly abolished. That was the aim of the Planning Commission.

In conclusion, he said that while avoiding the clap-trap of Capitalist society they should not fall into the clap-trap of Socialist economy.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS : ROLE OF ECONOMISTS

The Rajpramukh of the Travancore-Cochin, inaugurating the conference said that the gathering of experts would be able to pool their knowledge and experience and to give a right lead to our country. With the advent of freedom, the role of the economists in India has come to assume a new significance. The time has come for constructive thinking. India, with the rest of the world, is striving towards a planned economy and our plans are taking shape. There is a growing recognition of the importance of a scientific approach to economic problems. This has created a demand for trained economists. He said that with new opportunities come new responsibilities. If economists should be an aid to policy, it cannot be divorced from the social background on which the economic

structure is built. He opined that the basic condition in India should be re-examined and a reorientation of economic doctrines was necessary. It is highly essential to perfect the technique of analysis, it will be a self-defeating process if the ends in view were lost sight of. The work of the economist will be judged by the common man by his capacity to promote the well-being of the community. Throughout the course of history, India had been reputed to be a land of plenty, but the position today appeared to be otherwise. The task has, therefore, devolved on the economists of India to plan for the proper utilisation of our resources, so that the standard of living of our people and consequently their welfare may be raised to the maximum possible.

Dr. R. Balakrishna, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) of the Madras University, thanked the Rajpramukh for the address and said that this kind gesture of His Highness was further evidence of the patronage bestowed on men of letters by the Royal family of that historic State.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : FIVE-YEAR PLAN

MIXED ECONOMY BACKED BY PLANNING ADVOCATED

Prof. Wadia in his address said that planning for a better life in terms of economic standards would be a disastrous failure if it was not accompanied by planning in terms of a fuller and richer life for the individual. He said :

"Planning in terms of our economic life, we have naturally to adjust ourselves to the new world order that has been inaugurated by the advances of scientific discoveries, to a world of gas and electricity, hydro-electric schemes and large-scale production of cheap and standardised goods."

Prof. Wadia was against depersonalisation or dehumanisation of the individual, degradation of human beings to units in statistical law and degrading labour to the condition of a numerical label storn of all claims to human personality and reckoning it as a commodity with its buying and selling price to be adjusted in case of dispute by Arbitration Courts and Judicial Tribunals in the huge production enterprises of modern times.

He said that the problems to initiate a mixed economy were fundamentally different from Great Britain. They all militate against the successful implementation of the not over-ambitious proposals of the Five-Year Plan. Mixed economy was possible in Great Britain by an educated electorate with a civic sense, ready to co-operate with the Government and due to availability of trained personnel. So what "may have been possible in Great Britain with its advanced economic structure is not necessarily possible in a country like ours." Planning of any kind involves the attempt to regulate the total production of a country with a view to the fullest possible utilisation of its available resources. It further involves the determination of priorities—the allocation of these resources

to alternate uses, the production of capital goods and that of consumers goods, but through the agents of Government or through public bodies responsible to the Government.

In other words, planning of any kind implies centralisation of control. Unfortunately in India, lack of co-operation between the Central and State Governments affects the prospects of successful planning in agricultural development. He also drew attention to the lack of co-operation between the mass and the Government. He therefore urged that sincere and honest men who can win the hearts of the rural population should be placed at the helm of affairs.

Referring to the extent of co-operation of industrialists and big business with the Government on the one hand and with the millions whose needs they supplied on the other, Prof. Wadia asked what good can come to a country where essentials of life for the millions, like cloth and sugar, can be regarded by those responsible for their supply as instruments of profiteering, where every channel of supply is checked by the filth of black-marketing transactions, where the arts of deception and evasion and dodging are carried almost to a stage of perfection?

In conclusion, he appealed to the younger generation to line up with "our good-intentioned reformers and planners" but to have no illusions about achieving results.

WELFARE ECONOMICS : FIRST TIME DISCUSSED BY INDIAN ECONOMISTS

The second half of the first day was devoted to the discussion of the Theories of Welfare Economics. Altogether six papers were accepted on the subject and Prof. Malkani, Reddy and Joseph read their papers and many others took part in discussion.

Before going into the details of the conference perhaps it will be of interest to give an idea of the Theories of Welfare Economics.

The gleamings of economic welfare illuminated the horizon of economic science throughout the rhythmic sequence of its historical evolution. Against the kaleidoscopic changes of empirical background economic propositions and policy recommendations reflect the perennial spirit of augmenting social welfare even to the present day. But what do we mean when we say that such and such steps will increase the welfare of a society? What are the determinants of changes of the welfare of a society? These fundamental questions in the study of welfare economics are extremely difficult to answer.

From Adam Smith to the present-day economists everybody has tried to answer these vital questions of Economics. But their approaches are far from satisfactory. For, serious difficulties connected with optimum conditions or situational comparison embarrassed the attempts of welfare economists at policy recommendations; just as the problems of inter-personal

comparisons puzzled the utilitarians or the problems of external value judgements regarding the distributional aspect puzzled the New Welfare economists so also the problems of objective basis for social preference create a lot of difficulties for the Social Welfare approach. A close scrutiny reveals that the champions of social welfare function do not stand on a perfectly scientific foundation since their prescriptions concern the psychological difficulties attached to social preference. The problem would have been much easier if social preferences were simply an aggregation of individual preferences. Herein lies the crux of the problem, solution of which requires some constructive study. Only in recent years Dr. Little has indicated the path but not surely led us to the desideratum of universally valid criterion or judgement.

These are the issues dealt with very nicely in the papers read and discussed.

PRODUCTIVITY OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND INCIDENCE OF TAXATION IN INDIA

Various papers were also read on the subject of productivity of Indian industries. The names of Dr. Balakrishna and Dr. R. V. Rao may be mentioned.

The general opinion on the subject of Incidence of Taxation was that it was too high in India, particularly, on the weaker section of the community. Some challenged the view of the Planning Commission that there was further scope for fresh taxation, for the per capita incidence was very low compared to other countries. They said :

"It is, however, misleading to compare the ratios of taxation to national income of different countries without taking into account the mode and nature of taxation, and the national savings. Comparisons of ratio of taxation to national savings alone is valid, for savings are the mainspring of economic activity."

Moreover, the relative pressure of taxation in different countries cannot be considered apart from the nature of the services rendered by the State to the people in return for the taxes it levies and the standard of living of the people. Viewed in this point of view, the incidence of taxation seems to be heavy especially on the middle and low income groups in the cities and all other classes except big landlords in rural areas.

CONTROL AND PLANNING

On the last day of the conference there was a discussion on food decontrol under planned economy. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Dr. Wantwalla, Dr. Mathur, Dr. Natarajan, Prof. Merchant, Prof. J. J. Anjaria, Dantah, etc., took part in the discussion.

The general trend of opinion was in favour of retaining the controls on foodgrains keeping in view the need for thorough revitalisation of the machinery for

implementing them. A large section of the speakers was of the view that the general situation in the country now should not be compared to that of 1947, in which the decontrol experimental was tried with disastrous consequences. Today, the country as a whole, was committed to a planned economy and, in that context the weight of opinion had to be in favour of a policy of controls. A planned economic programme, it was pointed out, would necessitate the maintenance of a stable price level, strict control on import and export and subsidisation of certain industries. All this would be possible only if the Government were the masters of the situation. In financing of the Five-Year Plan, deficit financing was expected to play a significant role and if the consequences of the same were to be kept in check, there should be controls on the production, consumption and distribution of certain important commodities.

Some speakers were sceptical about the food statistics provided by the various agencies of the Governments. It was pointed out that the statistics of food production were inaccurate and hence no definite conclusion could be arrived at on their basis. But it was generally agreed that India today was in deficit with regard to food and a policy of control was, therefore, necessary for assuring an equitable supply of food.

Another point on which there was general agreement was that there should be a unified policy for the whole of India so far as food was concerned. Deficits and surpluses should be treated on an equal-equal footing.

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao was of the opinion that controls on food had to continue. At the time of decontrol in 1947, there was no question of planning and there was no Planning Commission nor the Five-Year Plan. The integrated economy had been accepted by the Central Government as also by the National Development Council. If there was decontrol in 1952, the consequences would be different from those of what they were in 1947. The population of India was fast increasing. The rate of increase was much higher among urban population than among the rural population. Apart from the increase in population as a whole, there had been an increase in the number of consumers and non-producers in the urban areas. Today there was a shortage of food materials in this country. Therefore, decontrol would lead to rise in prices. For the success of the Five-Year Plan, controls on certain essential commodities could not be avoided. There should be strategic controls, confined to the utmost minimum.

Dr. Natarajan and Prof. Merchant spoke in favour of lifting the controls.

Prof. Wadia in his concluding remarks drew attention to the fact that if there was planning, one could not dispense with controls. If controls could

not be carried out, it was not possible to secure a unified policy on account of the psychological attitude that each State had assumed. When they thought a unified policy, they could not, at the same time, plan provincial autonomy.

The chairman and delegates were entertained at a tea party by the Reception Committee and by Travancore-Cochin Bankers' Association. The delegates also witnessed *Kuthakali* performance. Some of

them also went to the Cape on the 23th December to enjoy the beauty.

Prof. S. Kesava Iyenger has been elected President, and Prof. C. N. Vakil and Dr. Balakrishna were elected Editor and Associate Editor respectively, for editorial work.

The venue of the next conference has been fixed at Jaipur, and will be held under the auspices of the University of Rajputana.

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T. S. ELIOT AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

By DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., LLitt., Ph.D.

THE redemption of man in and through grace is a very old dogma in any religion. Mr. T. S. Eliot assures us that man's redemption has already taken place; but he should have the sense to recognise it and utilise it. That is, human weakness or evil lies in the egocentric will. This human will needs to be controlled and regulated properly. To regulate it well one must needs know himself. And Mr. Eliot devotes a greater part of his poetry towards an analysis of the human mind and soul, much in the manner of Donne and Robert Browning. In "Prufrock and other Poems," he employs the free association of ideas in the manner of Browning to reveal and lay bare the deep rumblings in the soul. The various incidents of the past are brought together as converging on the present, thus comprehending the dynamics of time into a static and reposeful here and now. Thus the analysis of the workings of the human soul leads Eliot to an analysis of time and to a translation of time into the language of eternity. The timeless is to be experienced in time for the present comprehends all time.

In *The Waste Land*, human society is seen to be corrupted at the very springs of life since the spirit is no longer alive to its purpose. Here we have a concentrated picture of the cumulative effect of the past on the present. The poem is an interpretation of the modern life in the light of the past Kultus. Man is fallen: society is crumbling and is rotten at the core; the pleasures of man are corrupt; and man's spirit is dead. These facts reveal that the modern man is in need of a spiritual rebirth. To tell this, Eliot employs the legend of the Grail:

"Of the Fisher King who is sick of the dolorous wound, whose land is waste and sterile, and who will not be cured nor the land made fertile till the Grail is brought to him."

Attis and Adonis are to symbolise the Fisher King. In the delineation of this idea we come across rituals to make the dying year come back to life and give fertility. The modern world is the waste land and it requires the regenerating waters of the spirit. It is a varying landscape of desolation reminding us of the Valley of Bones in *Ezekiel*:

"What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of Man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket
no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water."

Here is a rich suggestion of the decay of old religions and of classical culture. It is a veritable Inferno, an "unreal city"—

"Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,
I had not thought death had undone so many."

The heart of this culture is rotten and love has been rendered hopeless. The lovers too are waiting for a return of the spirit that gives life.

The fertility of the soil is related to the fertility of the human family in the primitive mind. But today sex is debased and hopeless, and its aim is inverted. There is an infertility ritual going on today:

"It's them pills I took, to bring it off, she said.
(She's had five already, and nearly died of young
George).
The chemist said it would be alright, but I've
never been the same.
You are a proper fool, I said.
Well, if Albert won't leave you alone, there it
is, I said,
What you get married for if you don't want
children?"

The public house is itself on the borders of hell, and the barman reminds one of the inevitable passing of time, which is linked with the barrenness around. Barren love crops up once again in the story of the typist and the "small house-agent's clerk":

"Her brain allows one half-formed thought to
pass:
'Well now that's done: and I'm glad it's over'."

In the middle part of the poem the imagery of the Waste Land comes from modern industrial civilization which revolution is an indication of the fact that the waters of the Spirit are polluted. We have:

"A rat crept slowly through the vegetation
 Dragging its slimy belly on the bank
 While I was fishing in the dull canal
 On a winter evening round behind the gashouse."

The world as it is, is undergoing an infernal experience and it stands in need of a purgatory. The unstilled world whirls against the Word, "about the centre of the silent Word," says Eliot in *Ash Wednesday*. There is the cry, Redeem the time. And Eliot relates the purgatorial theme to that of penitence.

In *Sweeney Agonistes* we have again the light of the past focussed on the present. The conspiracy in the cafe is pictured in relation to the murder of Agamemnon:

"The host with someone indistinct
 Converses at the door apart,
 The nightingales are singing near
 The Convent of the Sacred Heart,
 And sang within the bloody wood
 When Agamemnon cried aloud,
 And let their liquid siftings fall
 To stain the stiff dishonoured shroud."

This again takes us into the heart of the modern civilization where barren love reigns supreme. The speakers are Sweeney, Klipstein, Krumpacker, Doris, Dusty and the like who move in the suburbs of the Waste Land. The things that bore us here in this modern world are only three and they are "birth, copulation, and death." These sum up the crumbling heart and soul of the modern man. In this dissolution the major burden falls on the egocentric will of man. It is a will that asserts a full independence. Until the will of man is made subservient to a will higher than man, there is no hope of redemption. Thus he writes in the *Murder in the Cathedral*:

"A martyrdom is always the design of God, for his love of men, to warn them and to lead them, to bring them back to his ways. It is never the design of man: for the true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, who has lost his will in the will of God, and who no longer desires anything for himself, not even the glory of being a martyr."

This state of existence demands of the soul to divest itself of the love of created things or beings, so that it can descend only "into the world of perpetual solitude." It is a solitude which is the mainspring of all action, change, or movement; but here the wheel may turn, and yet it is forever still. It is a serene mood that tells us that time itself is the offspring or only an appearance of eternity. Thus in the early lines of the *Burnt Norton* we read:

"Time present and time past,
 Are both perhaps present in time future,
 And time future contained in time past."

This picture of time gives rise to the concept of the eternal present which is the one thing that we have in solitude; and solitude accordingly is imaged in this poem as a dance:

"At the still point of the turning world, Neither
 flesh nor fleshless;

Neither from nor towards; at the still point,
 there the dance is,
 But neither arrest nor movement
 Except for the point, the still point,
 There would be no dance, and there is only the
 dance."

The nearest approach to this is the mystic's idea of a cosmic dance which bridges space and time and peers into the world of eternity. But that world cannot be described adequately in language since all language is matter-moulded. We can only speak of it in a negative way.

Eliot's negative way takes the problems of sin and death as indetical. It is always the quest for the experience of the timeless in time that determines the worth of human life and of the possibilities and capacities of man. We have "to apprehend the point of intersection of the timeless with time" and this is only "an occupation for the saint." Apart from the ascetic's way there is also the poet's way to experience the timeless in that mood of inspiration.

"..... the unattended
 Moment, the moment in and out of time,
 The distraction fit, lost in a shaft of sunlight,
 The wild thyme unseen, or the winterlightning
 On the waterfall, or music heard so deeply
 That it is not heard at all."

In *The Family Reunion*, Agatha speaks of these two ways clearly thus:

"There are hours where there seems to be no
 past or future,
 Only a present moment of pointed light
 When you want to burn. When you stretch out
 your hand
 To the flames. Then only come once,
 Thank God, that kind. Perhaps there is another
 kind,
 I believe, across a whole Thibet of broken stones
 That lie, fang up, a life-time's march."

These two ways are interrelated so well that a poet needs be a saint and that a saint should be a poet. The illumination that dawns is the fire of purgatory whence arise prayer, observance, discipline, thought and action; and—

".... the worship in the desert, the thirst and
 deprivation,
 A stony sanctuary and a primitive altar,
 The heat of the sun and the icy vigil,
 A care over the lives of humble people,
 The lesson of ignorance, of incurable diseases."

There is the motto of Mary Queen of Scots, "In my beginning is my end." Eliot weaves his *East Coker* around this motto. The poem ends with the thought, "In my end is my beginning." The world is a hospital in which "to be restored, our sickness must grow worse." To put it paradoxically, we can arrive at what we do not know only through the way of ignorance. We can possess what we do not possess only by the way of dispossession. We can arrive at what we are not by going through the way in which we are not. What we do not know is the only thing we know. What we own is what

we do not own. What we are is what we are not. These paradoxes are metaphysical truths which any mystical experience involves. And precisely from this standpoint we are told that the suffering of man is linked with the redemptive suffering of Christ:

"If to be warmed, then I must freeze
 And quake in frigid purgatorial fires
 Of which the flame is roses, and the smoke is briars."

This Rose-like Flame is the soul purged away of all its limitations and imperfections of the temporal universe, a universe which is the same as the briars.

On the other hand the self-centred soul needs annihilation, and annihilation is the dark night of the soul:

"I said to my soul, be still, and let the dark
 come upon you
 Which shall be the darkness of God."

It is an annihilation which sets the soul in true perspective by removing the superfluous appendages and vanities that gail it; and "so the darkness shall be the light, and the stillness the dancing." There is light at the very heart of darkness. We hear that we can arrive at that which we do not know only in and through the path of ignorance. All the while faith, love and hope are in the waiting; and we have to realise them in the concrete actual present.

In *The Dry Salvages* we come across a prayer to the Blessed Virgin who made possible the temporal expression of the timeless. As the sound of the Angelus rings, we are reminded of the "unprayerable prayer at the calamitous annunciation"; of the "sound of the sea bell's perpetual angelus"; and of the "undeniable clamour of the bell of the last annunciation." The annunciation is a missive from the timeless to our empirical world; and the sea stands for the "deserts of vast eternity." The angelus is a message and the "clangs" constitute the warning bell. The bell suggests the passing of time and of life as well. And it is said:

"The tolling bell
 Measures time not our time, rung by the
 unhurried
 Ground swell, a time
 Older than the time of the chronometers."

Thus we become intensely aware of time only by experiencing the timeless.

The *Little Gidding* commemorates the motto that the end is where we start from; for the end of all our exploring is to arrive at the place from where we started. This poem presents the same problem of the negation of the time-process. Here we have a small country-church of the seventeenth century. A figure from beyond time enters and advises penitence which alone brings self-knowledge:

"And last, the rending pain of re-enactment
 Of all that you have done, and been; the shame
 Of motives late revealed, and the awareness
 Of things ill-done and done to other's harm
 Which once you took for exercise of virtue.
 Then fool's approval stings, and honour stains.
 From wrong to wrong the exasperated spirit
 Proceeds, unless restored by that refining fire
 Where you must move in measure, like a dancer."

The fire of purification is the white heat spoken of in the seventh cornice by Dante in his *Purgatorio*. It is the fire that makes people fair. The souls willingly submit themselves to their ordeals in this Purgatory. And since this alone makes them blessed they seek it out and court it. This fire is the eternal spirit which is expressed in incarnation and in resurrection. In incarnation the impossible union of the spheres of existence is rendered actual, and here the past and the future are reconciled. Hence—

"The only hope, or else despair—
 Lies in the choice of pyre or pyre—
 To be redeemed from fire by fire."

The Holy Ghost then becomes incarnate in the bodies of the apostles. Within the rhythm of the seasons there is a moment which is eternal and which constitutes the illumination of the poetic experience. Even the communication of the dead is "tongued with fire beyond the language of the living." But it is penitence that the timeless demands of time, whence sin and death become identical:

"The dove descending breaks the air
 With flame of incandescent terror
 Of which the tongues declare
 The one discharge from sin and error."

Sin, Evil, Error, Death and the like are purged away in the eternal Spirit only when the individual willingly and deliberately submits himself to the Inferno and the Purgatorio.

The Eternal, however, is embodied in the spatio-temporal universe. This is what *The Rock* reveals in the beautiful lines:

"Then came, at a predetermined moment, a
 moment in time and of time,
 A moment not out of time, but in time, in what
 we call history; transecting, bisecting the
 world of time, a moment in time but not like
 a moment of time,
 A moment in time but time was made through
 that moment; for without the meaning
 there is no time, and that moment of time
 gave the meaning."

The spatio-temporal world in which we breathe acquires a meaning, a content and a value precisely because of the Spirit which is in it both as immanent and transcendent. The empirical world of time then is

only an appearance of Reality, of the Spirit. Apart from the Spirit there is no world. The world is in the Spirit. But man does not seem to realise this much. We are "The Hollow Men." There we have only the Fall, the desolation, and there is no hope of the return of the Spirit. People now are hollow, stuffed men. They embody the Limbo in Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The Limbo precedes the Inferno which is the Waste Land. The landscape here is depressing :

"This is the dead land
This is the cactus land
Here the stone images
Are raised, here they receive
The supplication of a dead man's hand
Under the twinkle of a fading star."

Then again in the *Triumphal March*, we find a reckless and mixed crowd waiting for their leader, the saviour of the world. They wait in a city which is classical and modern at the same time.

Mr. Eliot emphasises his theory of the Eternal in all his imaginative utterances precisely because the malady of modern civilization lay in man's clinging and

cringing outlook. It is an outlook that develops a fascination for the things of the sense, for the material utilities and for the flesh at the expense of the rest. The modern man has been a peculiar victim of the false Values of life. These false values are capable of driving us to the unreal and shadowy world where sin, error, and death keep a trinity of their own. Human happiness lies in overcoming these pestilences. But man can overcome them only by fixing his gaze on the celestial fire which is within him and within the universe in which he lives. This gives rise to the apprehension of the Eternal in and through time. This apprehension takes three forms. The first is the purgation of the will. The second arises when the soul divested itself of the love of created beings, by integrating them to its own existence. The third is the Negative Way and is constituted by the experience of the Divine by the rejection of images. It is the subjugation of the human will to the divine will that enables man to participate in the Universal Spirit. These are the Values that should nourish human life. These values are called Truth, Goodness and Beauty, and they are unalterable and undying. This is the message that Eliot offers in his poetry.

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SONG

By F. R. STANLEY

Will o'the wind, Light o'my dream,
Whisper to me the thoughts of my love ;
Day when the sunlight creases the bud,
In the twilight's soft, slate-grey ;
Night when the thin moon flows on the branch,
In the blue-night's rich star-spray ;
Mine be dreams on a myriad wings,
Fly my soul, to hers, away !
Mine be thoughts of Love's nothings,
Mine Love's Yesterday.*

* Translated from the Bengali original of Bina Ganguly.

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FRONTISPIECE

King Dushyanta, while visiting Kanva's hermitage, marries Sakuntala, the adopted daughter of the hermit, according to Gandharva rites. Now she leaves her forest home and goes to meet her royal husband in the city. It is a scene from Kalidasa's great drama *Abhijñana-Sakuntalam*.



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 DEVELOPING UNITY OF ASIA (Rao Bahadur Baburao Dada Kinkhede lectures, 1948): By Shrikrishna Venkatesh Puntambekar, M.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Professor of Political Science, Nagpur University. Published by the Nagpur University, Nagpur. 1951. Pp. 496. Price Rs. 6.

This is a highly thought-provoking work. The author's aim as he tells us in his Preface (p. vi) is "to show how Asian people spread and came in contact with one another, what ideas and arts and sciences they spread, what attitudes they adopted towards one another, how they mingled and separated, how they fraternised and quarrelled, and even then they contributed to the developing unity of Asia through ages." His object, he further tells us, is "to correlate" all the important contributions of Asian people to the growth of human civilisation "in order to understand better the forces of Asian unity and human brotherhood today." Striking the key-note of his thought in his first Lecture he distinguishes (p. 2) four dynamic centres of civilisation in Asia, namely, Eastern Asia (dominated by China), Southern Asia (dominated by India), Western Asia (from the period of the Sumerians and Babylonians to that of the Mongols) and Central Asia (dominated by the Turks and Mongols). The author (pp. 20-24) takes these vast groups (in modification of Toynbee's and Spengler's theories of civilisation) as constituting for his purposes a single dynamic unit of civilisation. In the four following Lectures the author rapidly passes in review the history of the growth of civilisation in Southern (Lecture II), Eastern (Lecture III), Western (Lecture IV) and Central as well as Northern (Lecture V) Asia from the earliest times to the present. The sixth and last lecture deals with the impact of Western civilisation upon Asia and its natural reaction in the shape of national awakening of the Asian peoples and it ends with a valuable summary of the author's conclusions. We take the liberty of quoting some of the author's important conclusions in his own words as far as possible. The achievements of Asia may be classified under the heads political, religious, intellectual, moral and social, economic and racial. These achievements justify us in giving up the Europocentric view of history and taking an independent and unified view of Asian history (*Ibid*, pp. 488-89). In the history of march of Asian civilisations there are three successive stages, namely, the ancient, the mediaeval and the modern. The first stage is that of civilisation when Sumerian and Babylonian, Iranian and Aryan as well as Chinese civilisations originated and spread. The second stage is that of religionism when Christianity and Islam dominated and overspread the Asian lands and when

Buddhism, the faith of peace and civilisation, received a set-back in Central, Southern and South-Eastern Asia. The third stage is that of nationalism when a territorial unit and a purely secular outlook create an integrating bond among its people, while they divide the world into a number of independent territorial units or Sovereign States. The first stage conceives the world as one, a common theatre of civilisation and contact: the second conceives it to be split into two, one of believers and the other of infidels, always at work with each other: the third conceives it as consisting of a number of worlds or self-governing States following the principle of self-determination. The period of civilisation is always creative, that of religionism is possessive and that of nationalism is partly possessive and partly creative (*Ibid*, pp. 489-91). Only four creative centres of thought and culture are found in Asia, namely, Babylonia, China, India and Iran. Other peoples like the Arabs, Turks and Mongols were culture-borrowing and culture-carrying peoples. Central Asia, North Asia and South-Eastern Asia, have been culture-absorbing areas (p. 495).

In conclusion, the reviewer has to notice a few minor blemishes which do not detract from the high merits of this work. The author (p. 126) surprisingly speaks of the conquest of Ceylon "by Prabhu Ramchandra." On page 128, he observes inaccurately that Buddhaghosha (*sic.*) established Hinayana Buddhism in Burma from Ceylon in 450 A.D. The same criticism applies to his statement that "the Chola King, Rajendra I, had captured the ancient capital of Pegu and the port of Martaban and annexed the Burmese kingdom to his empire for a time in the 11th century" (p. 129) and that "twelve dynasties of the family of Sri Mara" ruled Champa from the 3rd to the 14th century (p. 137). The author's identification of ancient Pagan with Pegu (p. 130) is a serious geographical blunder.

The work is prefaced with a valuable synopsis and it concludes with a well-chosen select bibliography. The paper, however, leaves much room for improvement.

U. N. GHOSHAL

- (1) SUBUKTIGIN: By Abul Fazal Al Baihaki. Pp. 144 + v.
 - (2) MALFUZAT-I-TIMUR (Auto-biography of Timur). Pp. 149 + ii.
 - (3) SHER SHAH: By Abbas Khan. Pp. 167 + viii.
 - (4) AURANGZIB: Khafi Khan. Pp. 172 + viii.
 - (5) LATER MUGHALS: Do. Pp. 142 + xxiii.
- Published by S. Gupta for Susil Gupta, (India) Ltd., 35 Central Avenue, Calcutta 12.

The mediaeval epoch or more strictly speaking, the centuries of Turkish rule in India form a stirring period; for then the ancient Hindus, living a sheltered

and insular life, behind the barrier of mountain ranges and mighty rolling streams were called upon to face the challenge of a world-force represented by Islam. How this force, galvanised from age to age by influences from outside, penetrated into the life of the people, reacted on their thought and ways of living and how finally it ebbed itself out is a fascinating panorama, glimpses into which are offered by the Persian chronicles.

Foremost among the men who unravelled to us the treasures of the past, locked up in this elegant language, was Sir Henry Miers Elliot (1808-1853) who, in the midst of exacting official work, translated a number of Persian MSS. It is a curious coincidence that the reprints of Sir Henry's works cited above, synchronise with the centenary of his death. Sixteen years after the administrator-scholar's death, his papers were handed to Prof. John Dawson, so that the first edition of some of his volumes made their appearance in 1871. During the last four-score of years Sir Henry's works became completely scarce, jealously watched and guarded, like the miser's hoard, in some public libraries. It is, therefore, a distinct service, which the enterprising publisher has done by bringing out the present edition of some of Sir Henry's important papers. All of them are but the reproductions of the original work without any explanatory or critical comments, excepting Vol. No. III, which appends a few footnotes.

There is now an increasing desire to get at the fountainhead of India's history during the medieval period. There is no doubt that the present edition of the *History of India* as told by its own historians, will satisfy a long and keenly-felt need. The readers' attention may be casually drawn to the scope and functions of history as defined by the Moslem chroniclers. Abu Nasr Muhammad bin Muhammad Al Jabbar-ul-Utbi, author of *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, Vol. I, p. 14, wrote, "Books of history operate as a warning to the wise and their perusal inspires even the negligent with subjects of reflection." Abdullah, author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, echoed Dionsius' conception of history summed up in the sentence, "History is philosophy, teaching by example," when he wrote, "History is not simply information regarding the affairs of kings who have passed away, but it is a science which expands the intellect and furnishes the wise with examples." And Muhammad Hashim, well-known as Khwafi Khan laid down the canon which an historian in the present days might do well to remember (*vide*, Preface, Vol. IV). It is the duty of an historian to be faithful, to have no hope of profit, no fear of injury, to show no partiality or animosity, to know no difference between friend and stranger and to write nothing but with sincerity."

N. B. Roy

THE RECONQUEST OF INDIA: By W. S. Desai. Published by the Rashmi Art Press, 15 Faiz Bazar, Dayaganj, Delhi. Price Rs. 4 nett.

India's was a name held in high esteem in days gone by when she played the role of a torch-bearer of civilization and enlightenment. Ardent students from distant lands flocked to her seats of learning, sat at the feet of Indian savants and drank deep at the Pierian Spring of Indian culture. But decadence set in and India was in bondage. The Arab Muslims penetrated into Sind, the soft under-belly of India, in the 8th century A.D. Later on, the Afghans and the Turks from beyond the North-western frontiers poured into the fertile plains of Hindustan to be followed by the Mughals from Central Asia. India lay

prostrate at the feet of the followers of the prophet of the Desert.

The Muslim rulers of India, almost all of them fanatics, tried to rule India by the sword. There were a few exceptions, of course. The Hindus were degraded and humiliated. But the Hindu root could not be destroyed. It lived and lives still. The Hindus, together with the Jews and the Chinese, it should be remembered, constitute the deathless trio that has defied time, conquest, tyranny and massacre.

Several factors were responsible for the downfall of India and, in the opinion of the learned author, lack of contact with the outer world is the most important of them all. Hindu-Muslim contest in India was a clash between the old and the new, between traditionalism and new life and between self-complacency and spirit of adventure. Hence, the rapidity of the progress of Muslim arms in India.

India seemingly submitted to her new masters meekly; but intense heart-searching was going on beneath the surface. The endeavour of the medieval saints and 'Sufis', who dreamt of a religious synthesis was in reality a national movement for welding the discordant elements of the Indian body-politic into a homogeneous whole. The national empire of Akbar in the latter half of the 16th century was one of the great results of the movements of the preceding century. He wanted to make India one—one politically and socially. Akbar was in a very real sense a child of his age. Before Akbar, Sher Shah Sur had risen above narrow sectarianism. He was a true Indian nationalist. But his successors did not continue his experiment. Hence, India could not be reconquered for nationalism.

Long before Sher Shah and Akbar, the valiant Rajputs in the North and Vijaynagar in the South had taken pains to organise resistance to servitude and oppression. They failed and "their mantle fell upon the Jats, the Sikhs and the Marathas," who later on laid the foundations of a new Hindoostan.

The national empire of Akbar became a Sunni empire under Aurunzeb. His empire perished. The Sikhs and the Marathas dealt the coup d' grace and came forward as the exponents of a new nationalism.

The rise of the Sikhs and of the Marathas were "twin manifestations of the Hindu spirit of moral reform, social purification, physical culture and political regeneration." The Sikhs became a power to reckon with under Ranjit Singh. The shameful debacle of Hindu arms in the 11th and 12th centuries was avenged "and the age-long violator of Hindustan trembled for his own safety in his mountain fastnesses." The mighty Lion of the Punjab was wooed by crowned heads far and near.

Shiva Chhatrapati breathed new life into the dry bones of Maharashtra and the result of his work became clear as the years rolled by. The Marathas recovered India from Muslim hands in the 18th century. By 1771-72, every Muhammadan power of any importance in the country had been humbled. Muslim rule in India was at an end; but not before it had done incalculable harm to the Muslims themselves. Pampered by the State for centuries, Muslims of the Indian sub-continent could never rise to their full stature and petulantly clamour for special privileges even today.

Personal jealousies and ambitions of the Maratha leaders together with the superior diplomacy and organisation of the English and their greater loyalty to their people and government sapped the foundations of the newly born national State and finally,

India passed into the hands of the English East India Company.

Mr. W. S. Desai tells the above story and he tells it well in the volume under review. *The Reconquest of India*, however, is not a history of India, nor one of the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Rajputs, but a short account of the recovery of India during the 18th and 19th centuries from alien and communal domination. The learned author must be congratulated for having made it clear that 'Hindu' is not a religious term and that it connotes a nationality and a social system. It is only after the Muslim conquest of India that the term began to be used in a religious sense and the word 'Hinduism' was coined under British rule to denote a religion. Mr. Desai, however, should have been more careful about some of his statements. In page 7, for example, he observes that India failed to produce an all-India ruler for four centuries after the fall of Harsha's empire. But was Harsha an all-India Emperor? Did not some of the Palas and the Pratiharas rule over empires, at least, as extensive as Harsha's? Unfortunately this is not the only instance of misstatement in a work commendable in many respects. We hope these errors would be rectified in the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

JEAN SYLVAIN BAILLY: REVOLUTIONARY MAYOR OF PARIS: By Gene A. Brucker. Published by the University of Illinois. Pp. 129. Price not mentioned.

This study forms part of the Social Science Series, published by the Illinois University (U.S.A.). First published in 1950, we owe its receipt to the courtesy of the U.S.A. Information Service.

The key-note of the study was struck by the editor, Gene A. Brucker, in his Introduction: "It is characteristic of great revolutions that they are initiated by moderate men, who desire only limited reforms and who are most reluctant to resort to violence to obtain their ends. 'This historic truth can be understood by Indian readers who knew their history of the builders of the Indian National Congress—men like W. C. Bonnerjee, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Raghunath Rao, (a Deputy Magistrate), Pandit Ajodhyanath, to name only a few among the Indians."

Gandhiji's non-violence does not change this estimate of a general truth. The revolutionary Mayor of Paris was a product of the "Illumination" associated with the names of Rousseau, Voltaire, D'Ambert and Condorcet, amongst others. Bailly was a scholar, regularly attending the French Academy meetings of which he became Chancellor for a while; his special study was Astronomy, ancient and modern. By birth and training, he was unfitted for the revolutionary role he was called upon to play by the uprising of the Paris masses who two years later watched with indifference the reign of the "Terror" initiated by Danton, Marat, Robespierre. The author has devoted a chapter to Bailly's *Political Credo* which, according to him, involved "the maintenance of the political monopoly of the middle classes," who were to be restrained by "their intellectual superiors" (p. 79).

The rest of the book was like watching the various facts that led to the tragedy of the scaffold for Bailly. The story has been brightly told, and the get-up of the book is all that a reader can desire. S. D.

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OF GOD, THE DEVIL AND THE JEWS : By Dagobert D. Runes. *Philosophical Library, New York, 1953. Price \$3.*

The book is a collection of essays mostly satirical on such varied topics as, The good God and God, The Devil who came to stay, History in full Dress, Glands and the Heaven, Convert Jews and Convex Christians, Proverbs and Profits etc. There is however one central theme round which all these topics move. The inhuman barbarities perpetrated on the Jews throughout the ages, particularly during the last world war have intensely embittered the author and his outraged feelings find almost explosive outburst in these passionately written essays. He has violently rent asunder the masks of civilisation worn by the masses, the leaders and even by the so-called religious men—the priests and the bishops—of the present day and has thoroughly exposed the ugliness—the greed, the lust for power etc.—that motivate all their deeds and underlie all their philosophy. The bold and challenging statements almost convince the reader the moment he reads them.

The book is a highly stimulating one and is bound to make every one who goes through it ponder deeply. Some of the particular conceptions laid down by the author may not be accepted but the total effect produced on the mind of the reader is almost like a severe shock from the effects of which one cannot immediately recover. Bold epigrammatic statements are hurled at you; you have to admire the form of these statements though you have to smart under the blow inflicted by them. Evidences are poured down on you from history, from current affairs, from modern social and political theories, in torrential fashion and you feel yourself to be in danger of being swept off your feet.

The only comment that the reviewer would like to make is that some of the essays might have been omitted in order to reduce the total number. There is a saturation point in everything and the reviewer feels that the condemnation has been carried beyond that point. Some of the dazzling flashes are reproduced below but the whole book must be read in order to appreciate the beauty of the style and the language of the author and to assess the depth and the intensity of his emotions.

"Once I even saw him (the Devil) in church in Germany. The Vicar announced from the pulpit that the burning of Jews was all right because the Lord said we should love our neighbours and we should love our enemies. But the Jews, the Vicar said, claimed they were not the enemies of Germany and they certainly were not its neighbours." (p. 56).

"We cannot lead a life of evil and expect good to grow out of its barrenness. Sprinkling knowledge and religious ceremony on the evil will not transform the seed." (p. 81).

"All these newly acquired faiths instigated by glands, salaries, salon ambition, cowardice, avarice, or plain flag-waving are no flowers in the garlands of Heavenly faith. They are just little stinkweeds."

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S. C. MITRA

WISDOM IN HUMOUR : By Swami Shivananda. Published by Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, U.P. Pp. 260. Price Rs. 4.

Swami Shivananda is the author of a good number of books on practical Hinduism and the founder of a popular religious movement. Some of his books have already been rendered into French, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese. His books have succeeded to a considerable extent in popularising our philosophy and religion among the reading public throughout India. The book under review owes its origin to the hearty appreciation of Dr. Frederick Spiegelberg, Professor of Stanford University, California who paid a visit to the learned author in 1949 and spent a few days with him. Hearing several humorous compositions written and read out by the author, the American professor was charmed and observed, "Swamiji! This is just the thing wanted by the people today. They would love the humour but would unconsciously learn the lesson. The impression made by such teaching would be profound and lasting." In this book about a hundred witty and humorous utterances of the author are recorded. Indeed they are very interesting and instructive. It is regrettable that beauty and worth of this readable book have been definitely lessened by the four appreciative essays on the author, the life-story of the author's disciple Dayananda and the many eulogistic epistles to the author. These are not only superfluous but repulsive to the readers since the book itself is enough to advertise and recommend the author to the readers.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

UNITED NATIONS READER : Pages 122. Price Rs. 2.

UNITED NATIONS PRIMER : Pages 40. Price twelve annas.

Both compiled by Prof. B. N. Banerjee, Secretary of the Calcutta Association for United Nations and published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., 2 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12.

The first contains besides a short history of the foundation of United Nations, important documents, such as the Charter, Statute of the International Court, Declaration of Human Rights, Convention of Genocide North Atlantic Pact, Role of World Health Organization and some addresses and references.

The second contains besides a short history of U. N., specially written for boys, very interesting information in regard to the multifarious activities of U. N. and some specialized agencies.

Latest discoveries of science have reduced the space and time that separated nations of the world and the world is going to be 'one.' But science has also discovered the weapons of destruction, which, if unchecked, will destroy the human race. Now is the time for nations to work together and know one another and with a view to that end and for common good U. N. is working. The small books require to be very widely read by young men and women to inculcate 'one world' idea for the good of humanity.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

AMAR GITI : By Prafulla Kumar Lahiri, 57 Monoharpukur Road, Calcutta. Price not stated.

A small volume of 101 'rubais' of Omar Khayyam, inefficiently rendered into Bengali. Some of the pieces appear to be very weak imitations from Kanti Chandra Ghosh. The booklet has little to commend, either in respect of composition or of production.

THERI GATHA (Second Edition : Revised and Enlarged) : By Bhikshu Shila-bhadra. Mahabodhi Society, 4-A, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12. Price Re. 1-8.

These songs of Buddhist nuns form an important part of the Buddhist religious literature. To the students of history and poetry as well, they have their appeal. The author has taken pains to make his Bengali rendering clear and lucid, and at the same time faithful, as far as possible, to the original text. A similar volume by the late poet Bijoy Chandra Mazumdar, has long been out of print. The present work is therefore all the more welcome.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

GRIHA-CHIKITSAK : Vanasthali Vidyapith, Ayurvedic Aushadhalaya, P.O. Vanasthali, Jaipur. Pp. 38. Price four annas.

This is a brochure, the study of which can help a family in becoming its own doctor and in treating effectively with the aid of simple and easily available herbs, (which can be obtained "ready-made" from the publishers in a pocket pharmacopoeia at a moderate price of only Rs. 10) a majority of the common diseases. The Vidyapith is to be congratulated on this praiseworthy piece of social service.

G. M.

GUJARATI

PAYANI KELAVANI : By Gandhiji. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. August, 1950. Price Re. 1-4.

The Introduction by Maganbhai Desai explains the position of education in Gandhian programme, and specially primary education which is not to be neglected even when we think of university education. Basic education which can fill the soul might be conceived only by men like Gandhiji. The passages selected were written between 1937 and 1949. The 39 pieces have been taken from various sources and have been classified under (i) the decision for a reconstruction; (ii) the education directorate at Wardha; (iii) the application of teaching at Wardha; (iv) a few noteworthy projects; and (v) the future programme. Gandhiji's suggestions still have to be worked out and therefore the volume deserves careful study—the documents retain their freshness, and investigations will give, we may be sure, good dividends.

P. R. SEN

CHABARAKIJAN NUN TATTVA DARSHAN : By Phirozshah Rustomji Mehta, Karachi, Sind. Printed at the Prakash Printing Press, Jamnagar. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 320. Price Rs. 4.

Fifteen years ago Mr. Mehta had published a work called *Chabarakijan* (Epigrams), a unique work of its kind in Gujarati. In this book he has gone one step further and explained the philosophy, rather the genesis, of Epigrams and illustrated the same with apt illustrations from various languages. Thus its uniqueness continues. It is not only full of humour and sarcasm at times, but also serious, as it points out the basic difference between wit and humour. Mr. J. H. Dave, the prince of humorists in Gujarat, at present, has contributed a valuable Introduction, which enters fully into the subject-matter of the compilation. The book should prove popular.

K. M. J.

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the race and hereafter, and the like); of the social world, with all its activities and problems; the literature which treats of Nature; and the literature which treats of literature and art (criticism and appreciation)."

It has to be confessed that a good deal of the literary creations of all countries, especially drama and fiction, is apparently hardly conducive to the inspiration of a new co-operative existence, of a world of tolerance, sanity, mutual understanding, of international amity, and of the pursuit of peace and progress. The reasons are not far to seek. All the great masterpieces of epic, drama, and fiction are conditioned by the social order of the ages in which they were written and they naturally reflect the ideals and beliefs which are hard to accept today. Thus the glorification of war, the delight in conquest and prowess in the battle-field, the subservience of man to dictatorial authority, the institution of slavery, the feudal order, chauvinistic patriotism and nationalism, and the assertion of the individual will and power are themes which do not lend themselves to re-education in a world which seeks the social welfare of the masses, a comparative equality of status, tolerance, and brotherhood. Concrete instances can be easily cited: Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Dr. Faustus*, the patriotic address of Henry V, the glorification of England in Shakespeare's dramas, the glorification of war in the great epics of East and West, the apotheosis of imperialism and the white man's burden in Kipling's works, and the cult of hero-worship in Carlyle—would not, rightly speaking, it is argued, be in tune with ideals of the new world. Nor would many characters of some of the great dramas and novels of the world be apparently desirable characters to study or emulate. Their morbidity, ambition, jealousy, or fanaticism may be and are objects of study and analysis like clinical cases for the doctor, but they can be hardly held up as examples for emulation and they may leave a harmful impression on the mind of the adolescent. The lives of the Napoleons and Alexanders of history must not be allowed to thrill the minds of the young. So should the Becky Sharps and Emma Bovarys be not permitted to allure and fascinate readers, the more so, when the 'good' characters are often so ineffective—the Colonel Newcomes and the Amelia Osbornes of fiction. I have deliberately used the words 'apparently' and 'may' above, because the danger of young minds being warped is really not so great as puritans may imagine. All that is needed is a shift of emphasis and a better way of reading these masterpieces or revealing their significance to young minds.

The great masterpieces of fiction and drama and biography still give us a clearer understanding of human motives and conduct.

From apparent evil so much real good can be extracted that the study of literature in fact ought to make us understand human nature better. Nor should we forget the catharsis at the end of a great tragedy—the purging of the emotions of pity and terror that are aroused by the tragic situation—and 'Calm of mind all passions spent.' The epics of Greece and the *Mahabharata* may give accounts of sanguinary battles, but they also inspire men to noble deeds of chivalry, self-sacrifice, and heroism. The themes of Greek classical dramas may at first sight seem full of bloodshed, violence, and even incest, but the noble fortitude of the characters and their loftiness of feeling are unforgettable. In fact, the staging of great dramas of the past and the dramas of modern times, like the plays of Shaw, Ibsen, and Galsworthy or Eugene O'Neill is itself a fine medium of education and a channel for co-operative activity in schools and colleges.

There are, however, other spheres of literature,—poetry, for example, viz., the great poems of Dante, Milton, Wordsworth, Shelley, Goethe, and Tagore, to take only a few instances,—which express all the idealism, dreams, and aspirations of great minds. Thus the longing for liberty, political and spiritual, for a new world of peace and harmony, for friendship among the nations of the world, find noble expression in the works of Shelley and Tagore. The meditative, thoughtful, and formative books of mystics, saints, and divines are also literature in the real sense of the word, as also devotional songs and lyrics. Thus the New Testament, the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis, the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, the parables and stories and teachings of Christ and Buddha, and of Confucius and Lao-tse, the *Gita*, the lyrics and songs of Traherne and Blake, of Mirabai, Tulsidas, Tukaram, and Kabir, are as great a heritage as the great dramas and novels of the world. If we laid greater emphasis on these works in our educational institutions than we give at present, a real change can be brought about in the human outlook. The message of tolerance and mutual understanding, of friendship between man and man and race and race, is one that can reach the human heart, easier through the above works than through mere preaching.

The Unesco is doing valuable spadework in attempts to make each nation understand the thoughts, feelings, and ways of living of other nations by getting the masterpieces of literature in each country translated by competent scholars and writers and distributed in other countries to as many education institutions as possible. This is another big step in the direction of international friendship.

The literature of the future, it is hoped, will lay aside the morbid, the unhealthy, the fanatical, and the evil tendencies in man and dwell on all that is sane, co-operative, and healthy and emphasize the liberal and benign tendencies. It must, of course, remain art all the time and not degenerate into mere propaganda. It will lead humanity to peace, cohesion, and tolerance. Christ's message was 'Peace on earth, goodwill toward men' and the rites of our own religion end with the prayer for peace, 'Om! Shantih! Shanti! Shanti!' May the literature of the world be imbued hereafter with the same longing for love and peace and understanding!

Impact of Western Culture on the Civilizations of India and China

The following is an extract from the address delivered by Dr. D. M. Bose as General President of the 40th Session of the Indian Science Congress Association in Lucknow on January 2, 1953, and as published in *Science and Culture*:

The creative period of Greek natural philosophy, the Hellenic age, extended for about 300 years, from the time of Thales of Miletus (600 B.C.) to that of Plato and Aristotle. During this period was developed all the basic concepts of western philosophy, of materialism and idealism, of parliamentary democracy in Athens with Aristotle as its exponent to the Platonic conception of an ideal state whose destiny was to be controlled by certain natural rulers or guardians and which according to some was made a justification for Nazism.

The second, the Hellenistic period, which flourished for another 300 years in Alexandria and was centred round the Museum. During this period the special

sciences were created, learning was stabilized, astronomical observations and their interpretation flourished. Many technical inventions were made during this period. The third period, the Graeco-Roman age, which flourished during the first three centuries of the Christian era was an age of bilingual culture. There were many new extensions of knowledges, fresh acquisition of skill in exposition, but there was no breaking out of new directions in speculative thinking, or any great application of science to life. Science had ceased or failed to be a real force in the life of the society, but had become a cycle of liberal studies for a privileged minority. This was a period of decay of the old order of society whose economics was based upon slave labour. The belief in the ancient Gods was decaying, and there was a growing division of the society into an exploiting minority ruling over a large exploited majority.

When in the 16th century, after a period of excessive rationalism of the middle ages, scientific thought entered its modern phase, Copernicus, Vesalius, and Galileo became the continuators of Ptolemy, Galen and Archimedes. The intervening period of over one thousand years known as the Dark and the Medieval Ages was a formative period in the history of western civilization which took a new direction from the time of the Renaissance.

Turning to the Indian scene we find that the great epoch of speculative philosophical thinking, of advances in astronomy, mathematics and medicine, extended from about 700 B.C. to 500 A.D. During the following early medieval period lasting from 500-1100 A.D., there was considerable progress in chemistry, engineering, but already stagnation and fossilisation had begun to set in, aggravated by the Muslim invasion of India. Professor Altekar has expressed the view that the growing veneration for old traditions and scriptural views caused a set-back to the growth of a critical and rational attitude of mind. There was popularisation of the theory that the golden age whose artificers were divine or God-inspired sages, had passed, followed by the Kalijuga during which people could never equal the achievements of their predecessors; it became the age of commentators and digestors of the writings of their predecessors. Arts and crafts were regarded as plebeian. The age countenanced excessive purity; the touch of dead bodies was polluting; and so dissecting for medical studies was impossible. Foreign travel was tabooed and Hindu scholars ceasing to come in contact with their Greek and Arab opposite numbers became narrow and conceited.

This period of stagnation, with the exception of an

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all too short period of Akbar's imperial rule, continued for seven centuries. The coming of foreign trading companies, which led to a struggle between competing western powers for supremacy, ended at the close of the 18th century with the consolidation of British power in India. The intrusion of western powers helped to break-down the isolation of India from contact with the renaissance upsurge of western civilization, as expressed chiefly in the discovery of a new scientific method and its technological applications. A comparison with the similar transformations which took place in Europe during the dark ages will help us to better understand the nature of the changes which have been set in movement in India due to this impact of the west.

(i) Following the Graeco-Roman age, a transformation of the economic structure in the civilized regions of the west took place which made possible the replacement of slaves by serfs and freemen, was due to a number of inventions resulting in the utilization of new sources of energy in the shape of wind, water, and animal power.

(ii) The mental background necessary for the growth of a scientific attitude was provided by a growing conviction of the existence of an order in Nature, whose secrets could be unravelled by the human intellect. The belief in a rational God, as expounded by the medieval scholastic theology was gradually transformed into a belief in the scrutability of nature. Science has remained predominantly anti-rational and empirical, but the basic belief in the capacity of the human intellect to unravel the mysteries of nature is an inheritance from the scholastic age.

The contributions of the practical genius of Rome to the shaping of the western civilization were many. The Roman domination of these countries which made Latin a common language of communication, Roman jurisprudence and the application of Roman law over all the conquered regions, the Roman sense of order and discipline which survived in the Roman Catholic Church when the empire disintegrated, laid the basis of a common European civilization when it grew. Whitehead places a great deal of importance to the contributions of men like Pope Gregory and St. Benedict to the reconstruction of Europe when it began in the 6th century. They were practical men with an eye for the importance of ordinary things, and they combined this practical temperament with their religious and cultural activities. The monasteries were homes of practical agriculturists, as well as of saints, artists, and men of learning. The alliance of science with technology,

by which learning is kept in contact with irreducible and stubborn facts owes much to the practical bent of the early Benedictines. The Greeks were over-theoretical, for them science was an off-shoot of philosophy. Modern science derives from Rome as well as from Greece, and the Roman strain explains its gain in an energy of thought kept in close contact with the world of facts. These are more of the factors which have contributed to give the new tinge to modern minds, and which according to Whitehead "is a vehement and passionate interest in the relation of general principles to irreducible and stubborn facts."

The similarity between the British rule in India and the Roman domination in Europe was too obvious to escape the attention of commentators. Like the Romans, the British are a race of practical administrators who improvised their administration to suit varying conditions of the territories which came under their control, e.g., their colonisation of North America proceeded on an entirely different plan to their administration of India, where they ruled over a large population with the help of a very efficient civil service. They surveyed this country for revenue purposes, developed roads, railways and other means of communication, dug canals for irrigations, took measures for conservation of forest resources. They established surveys and scientific services. They codified civil and criminal laws, based largely on British practices. Plantation, mining, engineering and other largescale industries were started by them.

In the early days of the British rules, an intellectual ferment occurred amongst some section of the population. Ram Mohan Roy was a pioneer of this movement which sought to break the intellectual and political torpor of the country by the rejuvenating influence of western philosophy and science. Due to the support received from people like him, that instruction in English and the teaching of science in schools and colleges became possible. From such beginnings grew up movements for the founding of universities, medical, engineering and agricultural colleges, and research institutions. The history of the later period of British rule was a gradually increasing association of the people of the country with the administration, and the introduction of self government based upon a progressively expanding franchise. Finally, after the termination of the World War II the British handed over power to the Indian people in 1947.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India's Cotton Textile Industry

The paper by Sir Joseph Kay, K.B.E., read at a joint meeting of the Commonwealth Section of the Society and the East India Association, is reproduced in full from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, November 1952, as follows:

The cotton textile industry is one of India's major industries, consisting, as it does, of 445 complete spinning and weaving mills, with 11,249,635 spindles and 201,484 looms installed, a small percentage of which is not actually at work at the present time for various reasons. The paid-up capital employed is Rs. 103,88,75,892/-, which, expressed in terms of sterling, is £77,915,689. The quantity of cotton consumed, in terms of candies of 784 lbs. each, is 1,843,577, whilst the number of hands employed in all shifts is some 722,000. This does not take into account a further 200,000 workers employed outside the mills, in "processing" and other allied subsidiary trades.

THE PAST

Although the Bombay State is to-day the principal seat of the cotton mill industry in India, the honour of having the first mill in this country goes to Bengal and the credit for starting it belongs to a British subject. In 1818, a mill, called Fort Gloster Mills—now known as the Bowreah Cotton Mills, Ltd.—was established in the district of Howrah in Bengal for spinning locally grown cotton. This mill seems to have had a prosperous career, but its establishment was not followed by other mills in that State for a very long time. That event, therefore, stands out as an isolated one and cannot be regarded as constituting the foundation of the present-day mill industry. It was the cotton mill that was started in the island of Bombay in 1851 by one Mr. Cowasji Datar that marked the firm beginning of the present-day industry. In that year this enterprising merchant formed a company, by collecting public subscriptions on the lines of to-day's joint-stock company system, for establishing a cotton spinning mill. His project made quick progress and the mill itself went into production in 1854. But soon after it commenced production came the American Civil War, which led to a heavy demand for Indian cotton from the United Kingdom, and, consequently, a sharp rise in price of that commodity. With prices of cotton soaring to unprecedented levels, conditions were not propitious for starting new mills, as it was more profitable to sell cotton than turn it into yarn and cloth, and, therefore, there was a lull for some years.

The fabulous profits made in cotton later found their way into cotton mills and, between 1860 and 1858, as many as 11 mills were erected in Bombay alone. The craze for more mills continued and, by 1876, the number of mills had grown to 47. For a period of 15 years, 1875-90, the mill industry enjoyed fairly prosperous conditions, followed by a progressive expansion in the size of the industry. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, however, the industry passed through a number of vicissitudes on account of serious strikes, currency and exchange difficulties, and the bubonic plague in Bombay

in 1897, which necessitated closure of the mills for a prolonged period. The currency and exchange difficulties, following the closure of the mints for free silver coinage, dislocated the trade with China and Japan to such an extent that the profitable export trade in yarn to these countries practically came to a stop. Nevertheless, the erection of more and more mills continued and by 1900 India had 193 mills, with 4,945,783 spindles and 40,124 looms. The extent of development during the last quarter of the past century can be seen from a comparison of these figures with those in 1876, when there were 47 mills, with 100,112 spindles and 9,139 looms.

In the initial years the industry was predominantly a coarse yarn spinning industry mainly because Bombay had developed a profitable export trade with China and Japan. But in the last decade of the previous century and in the beginning of this century this trade suffered a severe setback, owing to exchange difficulties in the beginning and to the growth of a cotton mill industry in Japan later, which resulted not only in the complete loss of the Japanese market for Indian yarn but also to serious competition in the Chinese markets, and, by the time the First World War broke out, both these markets were practically lost. This brought about a material change in the character of the mills and forced them to develop their own weaving departments. Thus, in 1900, the number of looms in Bombay per 1,000 spindles was only 8.8, but, by 1915, it had risen to 17.3. Thereafter, it steadily advanced to stand at 23.6 in 1939 and 22.3 as at the end of August, 1949. This change in the character of the industry, from mostly a spinning one into a combined spinning and weaving industry, was facilitated by the vast domestic markets, as much of this change took place before 1920, that is during a period when Japanese competition had not yet begun. As subsequent events proved, the loss of the Chinese and the Japanese markets was a blessing in disguise. One can easily imagine what would have happened to India's teeming millions during the Second World War and also in present times if the industry had remained radically unbalanced on the weaving side.

In the next ten years the industry grievously suffered from severe depression, accentuated by powerful competition from Japan, by over-capitalization of the industry and the high cost of production, which deepened and extended into the early 'thirties. In spite of the expansion on the weaving side, which took place between 1915 and 1925, many of the units still remained unbalanced. Further, the large profits which were earned in the First World War and the subsequent boom had not been husbanded by most of the mills. Consequently, when depression came several mills found themselves financially and physically unable to weather the blizzard. Further, the first tariff protection granted to the spinning section of the industry in 1927 paved the ways for the establishment and development of spinning industry in Coimbatore and elsewhere, where cheap labour gave them very considerable advantage over mills in Bombay. Even when protection was extended to cloth in 1930 it rather helped establishment of mills in Indian States which offered additional advantages in the shape of low labour costs, partial or complete freedom from taxation, etc,

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etc. Moreover, with its political domination over India, Britain endeavoured to regain its pre-war markets in India and so also did Japan, both with some measure of success.

Between 1935 and 1939 the industry began to make some recovery, due partly to the gradual improvement in general economic conditions and partly to the regulation of competition from the United Kingdom and Japan by bilateral trade treaties, not to mention tariff protection, which was first introduced in 1927 and, later, strengthened in two stages, once in 1930 and again in 1933. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War also helped ease the vigour of the Japanese competition. Some signs of depression were, however, noticeable late in 1938 and, just a few weeks before the outbreak of the Second World War, the industry, under the leadership of the Bombay Millowners' Association, was actually planning to curtail production by mutual agreement. But with the outbreak of the war in September 1939, the situation took a different turn and that for the better.

In the development of the industry, many British firms manufacturing textile machinery—of whom several are still in existence—have played an all-important part, in regard both to the quality of the machinery sent out and to the technical advice so freely given. Some credit and appreciation, too, must be given to those British technicians, such as mill managers, carding and spinning masters, dyeing and bleaching men who, until recent times, have done much in helping to produce marketable cloth and yarn and have so willingly imparted their technical knowledge to Indians of all castes and creeds who sought their careers in textile field, and who to-day, with education and initiative, are now able to run their concerns and factories with success.

THE PRESENT

Events recently have moved so rapidly that the last decade, insofar as the Indian cotton textile industry is concerned, might well be regarded as being within the expression "present times." With the beginning of the Second World War, although there was no significant increase in the productive capacity of the industry—as new plant and machinery could not be acquired—production was greatly intensified by the utilization of the installed capacity to its fullest extent. In the calendar year 1944, production touched an all-time record of 4,850 million yards of cloth, some of which went to the Defence Department of the Government of India for war purposes at the expense of its curtailment for civilian consumption.

Margins of profit in the early years of the war were "high and healthy" and the mills attained a measure of financial stability, but an "awakening" was manifest in the minds of both masters and men and it was realized that great changes for the better, in respect of both the quality of goods produced and the conditions under which labour toiled, would have to be dealt with if development was not to be retarded; and those enlightened millowners realizing this, introduced improvements in their plants based on scientific modern ideas and practices, whilst labour became unrestful and demanded legislation to protect and develop their ideas of

improved conditions in part repayment for their efforts in their everyday toils. Young Indians who had selected the cotton textile industry as their career, sought avenues to improve their knowledge and studied in Europe and America, and brought back with them much enlightenment, which just as soon as the war was over, was given effect to, with the result that the last few years have seen vast improvements in the course of manufacture and in the conditions under which the "artizan" earns his daily bread. Moreover, some of the modern mills erected in India within the last few years can compare very favourably with those in other parts of the world. We have, therefore, at the present time some mills which, for practical reasons, are out of date; some which have been moderately modernized; and quite a number of new mills which are entirely up-to-date.

There is, of course, in all records of progress some "snag" or other and, from the end of the year 1943, difficulties began such as the introduction of rigid price control and distribution, lack of adequate supplies of cotton at economic prices, Government's unrealistic direction and control, labour unrest, high prices of stores and machinery, and the "shyness" of the capital market at a time when more funds were required for financing the rehabilitation of the industry, all of which had the effect of damping the enthusiasm for diligent planning and hard work. Despite all these difficulties, however, the industry may be considered to be in a healthy state, and the calls and demands of labour—with its progressive enlightenment—have been reasonably met.

There seems to be a feeling abroad that Indian labour is cheap and oppressed; but that is not so. Let me enumerate some of the changes introduced in recent times:

(a) *The Factories Acts*: These legislate for a 48-hour working week and contain provisions for the health and safety of workers; one compulsory rest day a week; compulsory daily rest intervals; 14 days' holiday per year, with pay; canteens; welfare officers and so on—all modelled on similar legislation in the United Kingdom.

(b) *Workmen's Compensation Act* provides for payment to employees of compensation for injury by accident arising out of and in course of their employment, and in the event of death from such injuries the dependants are entitled to compensation.

(c) *Indian Trade Union Act* gives the worker the right to organize trade unions.

(d) *Industrial Relations Act* provides for conciliation proceedings in the settlement of industrial disputes.

(e) *Industrial Disputes Act*: Its main purpose is to protect public utility concerns from being dislocated by trade disputes, but it also provides for any trade dispute in any undertaking to be referred to a Board of Conciliation, a Court of Enquiry or an Industrial Tribunal.

(f) *Maternity Benefit Act* in several states confers on women workers benefits in industrial establishments.

(g) *The Employees Provident Funds Act*.

(h) *The Employees State Insurance Act*. This recently introduced legislation is now being worked in two centres on an experimental basis, designed to re-

place the *Workmen's Compensation Act* and the Provincial *Maternity Benefit Act* and secure for the workers, sickness, disablement and, maternity benefits.

All this is very rapid progress in regard to labour legislation, especially when one remembers that even in an industrial country like England it took very many years to get such legislation accepted on a sound basis. One must also not forget the great difference in the progress of collective bargaining and in trades union development—in England it came from within the unions by men of practical understanding, but, in India, from without by self-styled labour leaders, with little or no knowledge of the difficulties involved. Again, labour questions had an immediate political flavour, often to the detriment of the worker.

THE FUTURE

With the rapidly increasing population in India, which will mean further demands for cloth, combined

with the fact that cotton, an all-important factor in cloth manufacture, is and will be grown in India, the prospects for the future of the industry are exceedingly bright. According to the 1951 census, the population of the Indian Union, excluding Jammu and Kashmir State, and tribal areas of Assam, was 356.98 millions of people, as against 314.83 millions in 1941 and 275.52 millions in 1931; so, if the rate of growth witnessed in the past decade were to continue, then, by 1956, India's population would be 377.89 million, which is only about 11 million less than the combined total—of 389 million—for India and Pakistan in 1941. Now it is estimated that taking total production by mills at 3,900 million yards and by handlooms at 1,200 million yards and allowing 900 million yards (800 million yards mill made and 100 million yards handloom) for exports, the quantity available gives only 13 yards per capita, whereas the consensus of opinion is that at least a minimum of 15 to 17 yards per capita must be ensured, before deciding the quantity which should be made available for export.

How is this potential demand for cloth going to be met?

(a) If the present installed mills work to full capacity on two shifts of eight hours each for 305 days per year, cloth to the extent of some 4,720 million yards should be produced, leaving increased "free yard" for the handloom industry or for export.

(b) Some 19 new mills, with a capacity of 164,900 spindles and 800 looms, are in course of erection.

(c) Rehabilitation and improvement in plants of existing mills which are slowly taking place at present, will increase when prices of machinery return to lower levels, and with reasonably quick deliveries by manufacturers.

(d) Improvement and development in the growth and production of staple fibre cottons in India.

(e) The manufacture in India of textile machinery and consumable stores, of which a commencement has already been made.

(f) The erection of further spinning and weaving mills.

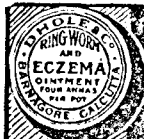
The future, too, will see an increasing demand for artificial silk, rayon, and staple fibre goods; in fact, two mills have recently commenced producing artificial silk yarns on a large basis, with some measure of success, whilst marked improvement are manifest in the approach of the Indian cotton mill owner who is anxious to improve the efficiency of his plant, either by installation of more modern machinery or by introduction of better conditions for his work people, both of which tend towards better and increased output. The new mills recently erected in India are modern to a degree—individual drives, proper spacing of machinery, automatic looms, high-speed warping and winding, scientific lighting, air conditioning, and so on; in fact, they can

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In speaking of the future one cannot be unmindful of a good many matters which only the passing of time can solve. I mean such things as:

(a) The removal of government controls, which at present exist on the selling prices, production and distribution of cloth and yarn.

(b) The removal of excise duties which weigh heavily especially on the consumer of superfine goods.

(c) The nationalization of production.

(d) The possibility that 3-shift working might be a practical proposition.

(e) The attitude of government and labour towards the industry, which at present leaves much to be desired.

(f) Nationalization and the Government's policy regarding it; for, though there has been much talk about this, no authoritative statement has yet been made.

(g) The question whether adequate capital for new mills will be available, especially in these days of high taxation. It is estimated that rehabilitation and modernization of the Indian cotton mills will require an investment of about 300 crores of rupees. (£225 million sterling.)

THE HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

No review of the Indian cotton textile industry—brief though it may be—can omit reference to the handloom industry of India and the great, though often ignored part that it plays as a supplier of cloth of many kinds for domestic use, and taker of the surplus yarn produced by mills. Before the war, it may be noted, it absorbed about one-third of the total yarn produced by the Indian mills. As in other countries, its history takes one back to the days when it supplied most of the needs of the people not only in India, but also in the Middle East; but the opening of the Suez Canal, the invention of the locomotive and the introduction of machine-made cloth, all hastened its decline. Then, in the natural order of progress, the latter part of the nineteenth century saw handloom weavers adapting their looms to the use of mill-spun yarn and on this the industry developed, for, as I have already indicated, the earlier cotton mills were purely spinning mills and so little competition existed between them and the handloom industry. In fact, they were complementary to each other and it is interesting to find, from such records as are available, that in the period 1896-97 to 1900-01 whilst Indian mills used only 85 million lbs. of yarn, the handlooms absorbed as much as 200 million lbs. of yarn. With the advent of more power looms in the Indian mills, however, the scene changed, with the result that the production of handloom cloth declined from 1,083 million yards in 1914-15, to some 500 million yards in 1919-20. Other forces were, of course, at work, namely, the introduction of power looms and the sartorial preferences of the people for greater simplicity and plainness, both of which favoured mass production and put a premium on mill-made cloth. Thus, the taste for ornamental cloth, such

as lace and bordered dhoties and chadders, etc., began to wane; an instance of this which might be quoted was the decline in demand for even handwoven turbans which, by the way, has practically disappeared. Recently, efforts have been made by the Government to reserve particular fields of manufacture for handloom industry; for instance, the mill industry can no longer produce certain types of dhoties and sarees, lungis and sarongs, chadders, sheets, counterpanes, gauze cloth, bandage cloth, jacanets, dusters, napkins, etc., etc. Special assistance is also given to the handloom industry in the matter of export quotas. Thus there is no export duty on handloom goods, and handloom goods can be freely exported.

But to progress, a Fact Finding Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1941 reported that the number of handlooms in undivided India in 1940 was about 2,200,000, of which 1,700,000 were active, and that over 1,400,000 looms were engaged in weaving cotton, 99,000 looms on wool, 371,000 on silk, 25,000 on art silk and 100,000 on other textiles, and that these looms were scattered throughout India, the greatest number being in Assam, Madras, and the Punjab. The number of workers engaged in this industry, whole and part-time, is estimated by the Fact Finding Committee to be some 2,400,000—this apart from the great number of people doing auxiliary work.

In the past, the handloom weavers were independent workers but to-day a considerable number of them work for a wage under a master, weaver, or "Mahajan." Nevertheless, the condition of the industry is still greatly unorganized, with most of the weavers working in their homes, and there is no facility for collecting periodical returns.

The purely independent cottage system prevails mainly in outlying districts or undeveloped areas and, owing to lack of finance, centres have developed around many of the larger towns throughout India where output can be marketed by the middleman who also guarantees the weaver a definite wage without his having to take the risk of any fluctuations which might take place in the selling prices for cloth. This dependence on the middleman has serious drawbacks, such as the supplying of yarn of inferior quality, the withholding of the correct market prices for manufacturing goods, and so on, all to the detriment of the weaver, whose poverty and helplessness prevent him from taking such action as will ensure him a proper reward for his toil.

Past governments have made attempts to improve the lot of the handloom weaver, with some measure of success. These included the regularizing of the supply and distribution of yarn at reasonable prices, a limited amount of financial assistance for schemes of development, co-operative organization of weavers and marketing of their goods, special railway concessions and so on. The Planning Commission, in its report published in July, 1951, shows great concern for the cottage industries and indicates the important role the state will have

to play in encouraging increased production even to the extent of subsidies. It urged that "for implementing the various programmes, it will be necessary for the central government to equip itself with an organization capable of handling various questions of policy, assisting in drawing up production programmes with sufficient knowledge of the economic conditions and problems of cottage industries, and of assisting the co-ordinated development of research throughout the country."

Indo-China can Affect all East Asia, N. Y. Times Warns

New York, Dec. 1, 1952. Indo-China is a part of the world battlefield in the struggle against Communist imperialism, and "what is happening there can have its impact on the whole of East Asia," the *New York Times* declared in an editorial Friday.

Following is the text of the *Times* editorial:

"Indo-China is becoming an even more critical battleground in the struggle of the free world against predatory Communist imperialism, and what is happening there can have its impact on the whole of East Asia."

"During this week two significant dispatches have come from the area. In the first it was revealed that substantial quantities of Russian-made equipment, including trucks, had been taken in a French Union raid on a Communist supply depot. In the second it was pointed out that the Communist Viet Minh is planning the systematic exploitation of the Thai tribesmen in the upper Red River Valley in the effort to win their support."

"These two developments, taken in conjunction, show the scope of Communist planning. Weapons and supplies are being brought into northern Indo-China over a rail line of not less than 7,000 miles."

"Obviously the Kremlin regards the struggle as something more than a guerrilla revolt against the French. The plan to envelop the Thai peoples shows the ultimate direction of the assault. The whole of Southeast Asia is the target."

"The Thai tribesmen form the link from Tonkin to the Associated State of Laos to the south and west. They can provide, also, a bridge to Thailand and a gateway to Burma. These are not the most direct routes to conquest but they can be developed. A group of peoples such as the Thai can be either a barrier or a bridge. Obviously the Communists hope to use them in the latter capacity."

"The Thai (the word means 'free') tribesmen have been loyal to the French and opposed, in general, to the Communist Viet Minh movement. Their loyalty to the Viet Nam government of Bao Dai, however, has been lukewarm, since they are governed primarily by tribal and local considerations rather than by a real concept of nationalism. They are brave men, independent in spirit and devoted to their own religion. Their conquest and use by the Communists would be a spiritual as well as a military tragedy. The danger is real."

"The simple facts of geography make the defence of Indo-China an imperative to the free world. The whole peninsular area of Southeast Asia can be held only if the dike is held in Tonkin. Pressure from the north is strong and with any Communist gain it can be expected to become stronger. The prize is a rich one."

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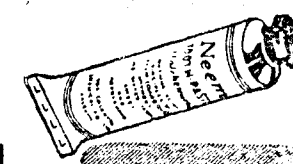
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"For this reason we will do well to disabuse ourselves of any idea that the battles in Indo-China are little, insignificant skirmishes in which the French are trying to maintain control of part of a colonial empire. This is a world battlefield. The Communists know that it is of major importance and are acting accordingly. We will be wise if we accord it its proper place in the defences of the free world."—*USIS*.

Plague Deaths Now Avoidable

The World Health Organization's Expert Committee on Plague, concluding six days of meetings in Bombay on December 10, 1952, unanimously agreed that deaths from plague could be avoided in the present state of medical knowledge.

Adequate dosages of new antibiotic drugs like streptomycin, they said, could consistently reduce deaths to below 10 per cent. of cases even in the pneumonic and septicaemic varieties of plague, until recently considered to be almost 100 per cent. fatal. In uncomplicated cases of ordinary (bubonic) plague, sulfa drugs used alone gave satisfactory results, the experts agreed.

The Committee emphasised that the most effective and valuable method of preventing plague outbreaks was by improvement of houses so that rats could no longer live in close contact with man. Realising that this was an expensive and long-term objective, the experts reviewed other modern weapons of plague prevention including vaccination, the use of DDT against rat-fleas, and certain basically new rat poisons.

Insecticides like DDT are now proved to be very powerful in destroying the chain of infection between the rat and man. The Committee recommended their use on the largest possible scale particularly for checking the outbreak of epidemics. In non-epidemic periods the wholesale destruction of rats was an important additional measure of protection, the experts said.

The new rat poisons, known as anti-coagulants because they induce internal bleeding in rats by

destroying the coagulating properties of their blood, have proved perfectly harmless to human beings and domestic animals if properly administered, the Committee agreed. In this respect the anti-coagulant poisons were recognised to be superior to highly effective poisons like 1080 which were known however to be highly dangerous to use except under very special conditions. The new poisons kill the rat slowly without causing "bait-shyness" and are thus able gradually to wipe out whole rat populations.

After consideration of different kinds of plague vaccines, the experts concluded that all were equally satisfactory in protecting human beings provided that correct doses were given and the inoculation were repeated at suitable intervals depending on the particular vaccine used.—*WHO Press Release*

Mrs. Pandit to Receive 'One World' Award

New York, Dec. 12, 1952. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of India's delegation to the current U.N. General Assembly, will receive a "One World" award early next year in recognition of her work in international statesmanship and humanity.

Announcement of the award was made by the One World Committee at a dinner it held to honour the memory of Alfred Nobel, founder of the Noble Prizes, on the 56th anniversary of his death.—*USIS*.

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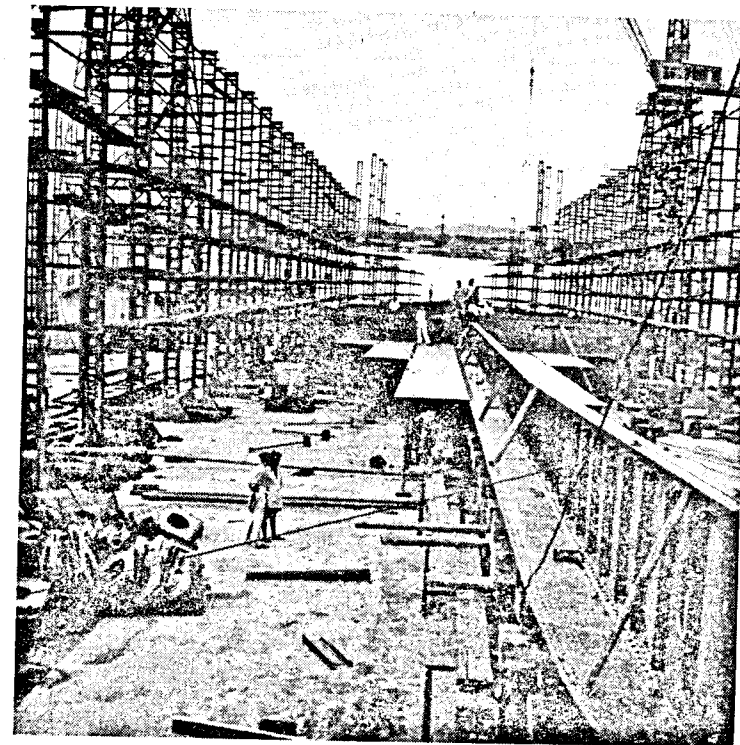
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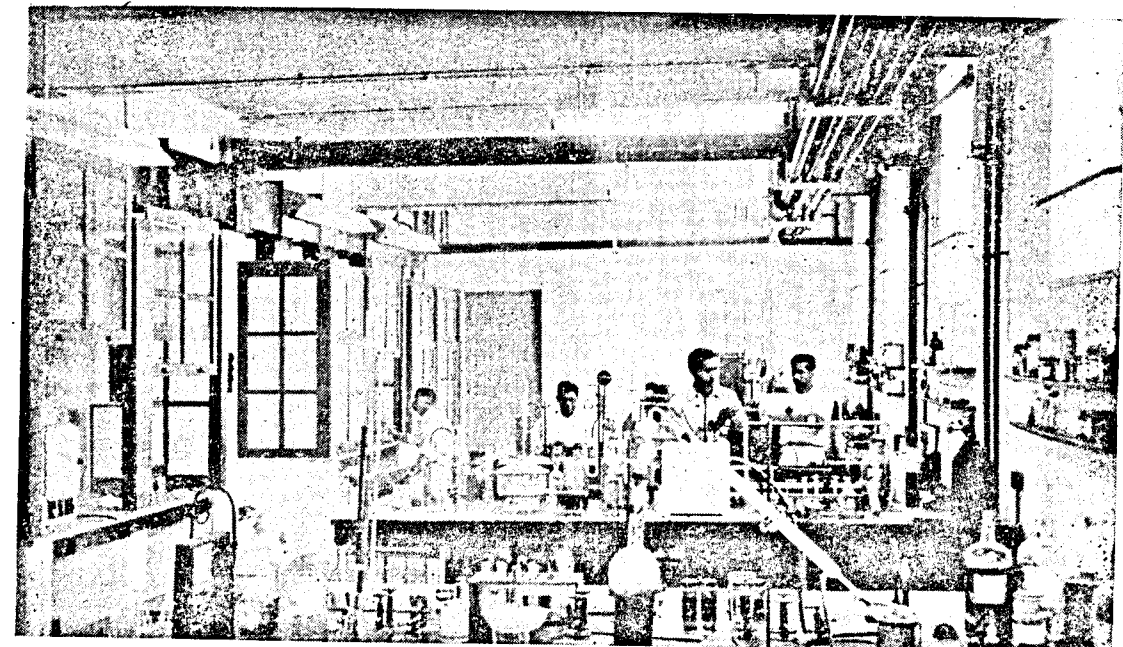
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One of the berths at the Visakhapattan Ship-building Yard on which keel is laid for one of the two ships under construction



The Fuel Research Institute, Dhanbad. Part of the Coal Survey Laboratory for Jharia Coal-fields

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NOTES

At Home and Abroad

World conditions are still awry, but at the time of writing these Notes, some few rays of light have momentarily flashed through the murk of International hostilities, strife, and suspicion. With the passing of Stalin there is apparent in Moscow some new departures in international practice of the Soviets. Maybe the initiative was taken by the great Marshal or again it might be that the new incumbents want to try out a new line of action. In any case there has been some slight easing of tension, which has further been imbued with a tinge of hope at the latest Chinese offer of Peace talks in Korea.

In some quarters, outside India, it is thought that Russia and China have realized their severe loss of prestige in Asia and Africa after the rude refusal of India's peace proposals by Vyshinsky, who was briefed by Moscow no doubt, and the endorsement of the crude terms of refusal by the People's Government of China. The anomaly of the award of the Stalin Peace prize to a third class Indian politician, with no record for work in the cause of peace and little more for zeal and service in public or national progress, is sought to be explained on the basis of that realization.

Indo-Russian and Indo-Chinese relations can never improve until those two countries withdraw their support, open or covert, from those groups of disruptionists, who behaved with the utmost of treachery with the fighters for freedom during the Second World War, and who were active protagonists of the partition of India in the fateful days of 1945 and 1946. The infamous Puckle Circular, and the release of their leaders on the 26th of July, 1942, on the condition precedent that they help the British Imperialists against the Congress of Mahatma Gandhi, after the initiation of the "Quit India" campaign, are the clearest indications of the character and nature of those parties. Their record of work—which included spying for the British police, resulting in the arrest of thousands and the death by hanging and shooting of many patriots, and a campaign of calumny against Netaji Subhas and his I.N.A.—is black indeed.

But it is wrong to lay all the ills of the world at the doors of Russia and China. The old Colonial powers, France and Britain, are still contributing a fairly heavy quota of material for world unrest. France is still ferociously persecuting the leaders of the Istiqlal independence movement in Morocco, is still quibbling about the granting of rights to the Vietnam peoples, and is behaving in an altogether atrocious fashion in her fragmentary colonies in India.

The British record in Malaya is not quite clean, and the dragooning of the peace-loving peoples in Africa, into which she has been stampeded by the howls of the British planters terrorised by the Mau-Mau, seems to be another chapter in mediæval barbarism, similar to their record during the Indian struggle for freedom movements. The *impasse* in Egypt has shown some signs of improvement however.

French opinion, as reflected in the Socialist *Le Populaire* and the *Ce Matin Le Pays*, construes the outbreak of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism of the Soviets, as evinced in the diplomatic rupture with Israel and the trial of Rudolf Slansky and other prominent Jews in the Soviets domains, as an attempt to gain a foothold in the Middle East Arab States and thus to capitalize Arab unrest.

At home, the situation shows no relief. Is this Independence, for which millions made untold sacrifices, going to turn to ashes like a Dead-sea apple? The Free India dreamt of and fought for by Tilak and Surendranath* is now a vivisectioned and troubled reality. Violence, attended with loot, arson, rape and murder, has broken out in Pakistan, while on this side of the border a weak and inefficient government seems to be unable to give relief to its suffering nationals. Issues

* In this connection we like to mention a letter written by Sri D. V. Divekar, the editor of the *Maratha*. He challenges the statement by the late Surendranath in his *A Nation in Making* where he claims to have been the first Indian of his generation to suffer imprisonment in the discharge of public duty. Sri Divekar states, after paying tribute to the memory of Surendranath, that while Surendranath was imprisoned on the 5th of May, 1893, Tilak and Agarkar suffered imprisonment on 17th July, 1892 and so the honor was theirs by rights.



REST
By Sudhir Khastgir

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like linguistic States, about which we have published an article and a large extract in this issue, are being shelved on flimsy grounds. In passing we would state that we most emphatically do not agree with either of them, both with regard to argument as well as to conclusions. A detailed criticism would be out of place here but we would say that Sri Agarwal's plea for shelving issues is not borne out by force of arguments and with regard to Dr. Jadunath Sarkar's article, we would respectfully say that he has not gone into the issues and implications fully or else he would have arrived at a different conclusion. The term Balkanisation also has been used very loosely in connection with this problem.

Failure of Congress-P.S.P. Talks

The talks between Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President, and Sri Jaiprakash Narain, the Praja-Socialist leader, about which there had been much speculation, have ended in futility. The talks were held on the initiative of Sri Nehru who had sent invitations to the P.S.P. leader.

Sri Narain put forward a 14-point programme on which he wanted an agreement before they could proceed further; because he felt that co-operation without agreement on specific issues, which could be placed before the people, would do harm. The draft programme was as follows:

1. Constitutional amendment :
 - (a) To remove obstacles in the way of social change,
 - (b) Abolition of constitutional guarantees to Princes, and civil servants, etc.,
 - (c) Abolition of second chambers.
2. (a) Administrative reforms at all levels, including decentralisation of political powers and administrative authority,
- (b) Reform of law and legal procedure,
- (c) Summary and effective machinery to deal with corruption.
3. (a) Redrawing the administrative map of India on the basis of linguistic, economic and administrative considerations. Appointment of a commission by the Parliament to work out the details on the basis of the above-mentioned principles,
- (b) Reduction of the administrative costs by having regional (multi-State) Governors, High Courts, and other top-level tribunals and Public Services Commission.
4. (a) Redistribution of land to remove economic inequality and exploitation. Preference to be given in all such schemes to landless labour and poor peasants,
- (b) Immediate stoppage of all evictions,
- (c) Suitable legislation to prevent fragmentation, bring about consolidation of holdings,
- (d) Abolition of the remaining forms of land-lordism,

(e) The rural economy to be transformed into a co-operative economy through compulsory multi-purpose societies,

(f) State assistance in providing credit and other facilities to agriculturists; such assistance to be given through multi-purpose societies,

(g) The state, as far as possible, to deal not with individual peasants but through a group of them organised in a co-operative or panchayat. This to include collection of land revenue, a part of which to remain with the village as organised in the multi-purpose society or panchayat.

5. Reclamation of waste land and settlement of landless labour on them through village collectives. No waste lands to be allotted for capitalist farmings.
6. Nationalisation of banks and insurance companies.
7. Progressive development of state trading.
8. Selected number of plants in different industries to be owned and run by the state or co-operatives or autonomous corporations or workers' councils; fostering organizations of technicians and managers to provide expert advice and administrative personnel for state enterprises.
9. Unified trade union (T.U.) movement organised on the basis of the union shop. This will enable the unions to become socially responsible agencies.
10. Nationalisation of coal and other mines producing important minerals.
11. Association of workers in the management of state enterprises.
12. Demarcation of spheres of large and small-scale industries, and establishing, encouraging and protecting small-scale industries.
13. As a first step towards achieving economic equality in the country, higher salaries and emoluments in government services shall be scaled down.
14. The spirit of Swadeshi to be promoted and made to pervade all walks of life.

In a covering letter Sri Narain stated that a sense of urgency was lacking in the country which he considered as essential for the advancement of the country. Though a good deal could be said "for caution and fearing to create too many upsets," he thought that one must act boldly towards one's goals. He considered a move to be essential and in his view "that move must be rapid and drastic in the beginning, when a new departure has to be made, rather than in the middle or at the end of the process. The move, further, must be such that the mass of the people are able to appreciate and understand and realize that they are on the move." Many reforms were already overdue and present conditions demanded a thorough administrative overhauling. Agrarian and legal reforms should immediately be put into effect. The letter says: "The reform must be drastic and must affect all levels. We should also make up our minds as to what kind of political system we want

Centralization of power and authority would be disastrous." Sri Narain expressed his apprehension at the tendency evident in the official circles towards extreme centralization of power in the name of efficiency. The P.S.P. leader wrote that they had suggested "nationalization in two spheres, (a) Banking and Insurance, and (b) Mining." They agreed with the Prime Minister's view that only strategic industries should be nationalized. Sri Narain considered that "one of the most strategic points" in the national economy was banking and insurance. "As regards mining, the case for its nationalization was unanswerable."

In view of the fact that the Congress party stood in no need of coalition with other parties and the fact that nor were the P.S.P. a power in the legislatures, he appreciated the Prime Minister's boldness in inviting them for co-operation and regarded Sri Nehru's proposals not as a move for "parliamentary coalition in the accepted sense of the term but a joint effort to build the new India."

He expressed his concern that if India failed to "present anything but a pale picture of a welfare state, the appeal of China would become irresistible and that would affect the lives of millions and change the course of history disastrously." He also wanted to point out to Sri Nehru that undue importance should not be attached to the "chits that foreigners have given your government."

Explaining the programme to a Press Conference in New Delhi on March 19, Sri Narain said: "It will be wrong to say that the talks have broken down. The talks have ended, but the idea is still there. It seems the time is not yet ripe." He added that the end of the talks did not preclude his party's joining hands with the Congress in Madras or Andhra. He would like to discuss with Sri Nehru any other point not mentioned in the programme. The P.S.P. were in general agreement with the Government of India's foreign policy but they would like the Government to follow the policy adumbrated at the recent Asian Socialist Conference. Sri Narain told that they had not said anything about the compensation for Zemindari Abolition in the programme but to them "rehabilitation compensation seems to be adequate enough. But that is an open question." In his view foreign aid should be accepted only on a Government to Government level and there should not be any undue dependence on foreign countries. Regarding collaboration with other parties, the P.S.P. had decided not to join hands with Jana Sangh or other communal bodies.

Sri Nehru in his reply to the letter of Sri Jaiprakash Narain stated that the letter disclosed "not only how much we had in common in regard to our basic outlooks, but the differences in our approach." He accepted the goals and values of Socialism as defined by Sri Narain and also recognised the necessity for trying to achieve them in the shortest possible time.

The question was how to proceed. He also agreed with Sri Narain that a sense of urgency was lacking in the country generally and "in our policies also." He also wanted to "increase that sense of urgency. I confess that I have a feeling of groping forward step by step, even though the goal might be clear. But I do not wish to argue these matters." His purpose in having talks with the P.S.P. leaders "was obviously due to a feeling that we have big things to do in this country, and we should approach them with our joint effort." He did not think of any precise methods of doing so. After reading Sri Narain's letter he felt that "any kind of a formal step at the present moment would not be helpful." He had little objection to the points in the draft programme sent by Sri Narain but surely it was beyond him "both as Prime Minister and as the President of the Congress to deal with such vital matters and give assurance in regard to them. Many of these may be logically justifiable and yet there may be other reasons which come in the way. Again, one can hardly take all these things in a bunch." At the same time he recognized that the P.S.P. were "perfectly justified in putting forward what you consider your immediate programme to be."

"There lies the difficulty, and it is because of this fact that I feel that it is better for us not in any way to tie each other down, but rather to try, to the best of our ability, to develop both the spirit and the practice of co-operation."

Therefore he agreed with Sri Narain that the talks should be dropped.

In a statement issued from New Delhi on March 18, Sri Nehru stated that the talks had been given up because they felt that "probably the time had not come for any commitments to be made at this stage about minimum programmes, etc., although there might be a good deal of agreement between us."

Giving reasons for inviting the P.S.P. to the exclusion of other parties the statement read: "The parties, as they exist in India today, apart from the Congress, may be divided in four groups. There are certain political parties with an economic ideology. There is the Communist Party with the allied organizations. There are various communal parties under different names but essentially following a narrow communal ideology, and there are a considerable number of local parties and groups having only a provincial or even narrower appeal."

Co-operation with the Communist party was ruled out because it was "far removed from the basic structure and ideology of the Congress and its peaceful methods and democratic objective." The outlook of the communal parties was completely opposed to that of the Congress. The provincial and local groups had no great importance from the all-India point of view.

The Praja Socialist Party was the only other important party and there was a "considerable field of

common approach and methods between the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party." The Prime Minister naturally thought that these two parties should co-operate as "the next five or ten years are going to be crucial in our country's history."

And thus the parleys, lasting over six days, have ended in nought. It is deeply to be regretted that the "sense of urgency" so much stressed by Sri Jaiprakash Narain, seems to have been absent from his own attitude, and, despite his own protests, first things were not always put first. Let us make our statements clear.

Ever since the death of the Sirdar—and to some appreciable extent in his time even—wobble and drift have been the main characteristics of our Government at the Centre. This has been reflected on the policies of the States, in some of which, like West Bengal, the interests of the children of the soil are being totally ignored by incompetent and corrupt administrations headed by ignorant and complacent chiefs. The result is that frustration and despair is marked in all spheres of public weal endeavour and the forces of corruption and disruption are gaining strength every day. Law and order is being severely handicapped by defects in the Constitution, which call for rectification with far more urgency than those that Sri Jaiprakash desired. The very first thing necessary in this country is to check the flood of corruption that threatens to engulf the nation and the logical corollary to that is the strengthening of the Central Government by the inclusion of men of outstanding stature in the terms of integrity, determination and staunchness in the service of the country. And this is just what could have been expected if our beloved friends Sir Jai Prakash and Acharya Narendra Deva had realized the urgency of relieving the distress of the country and decided to postpone the consideration of their articles of faith under a healthier atmosphere. Of the fourteen points, only 2, 3, 4 and 14 were of the essence, the rest could have and should have waited for consideration at a much later date.

The Union Budget

The Union Budget for 1953-54 has been termed as the Budget for the Plan. The Finance Minister was rather anxious to create the necessary psychology that the economic position of the country is on the whole satisfactory and moving in the right direction. To support his stand he showed a surplus on revenue budget when a big deficit was expected on that account. But a close scrutiny reveals that this surplus on revenue account is quite unreal, being the result of window-dressing. Although a certain amount of manipulation of figures has become a customary feature of modern budgets, that is mostly executed so cleverly that the extent of the window-dressing remains unknown until the revised estimates are published. Mr. Deshmukh's manipulation of figures has been done so poorly that even a cursory glance detects the fictitious nature of the surplus on the revenue account. The inclusion under receipts of Rs. 18 crores from Pakistan, being the first and second instal-

ments of its pre-partition debt to India, is deliberately made to wipe off otherwise a heavy deficit. It is doubtful whether Pakistan has either the intention or the ability to pay this due amount during the next year. Obviously it is a bad debt. Further, to treat repayment of capital debt in instalments as a revenue receipt instead of regarding it as a capital item, is a wrong procedure. At best the interest due on this debt could alone have been regarded as a revenue receipt.

In his estimates of revenue income, the Finance Minister has been rather over-optimistic. The estimated income of Rs. 159.18 crores by way of corporation and income taxes, as against Rs. 170 crores in the current year, is not likely to prove correct. The results of many joint-stock companies published in recent months indicate that in the coming year the income-tax revenue is likely to fall. It might be possible to collect the amount the Budget has estimated, provided the tax-collecting machinery is honest, active and efficient enough to prevent tax evasion that is going in this country on a large scale. To close the loop-holes through which the Centre loses income-tax revenue, a suitable provision has been included in the Finance Bill for preventing people from buying up speculative losses. The proposed Income-Tax Amendment Bill also contains this provision. This provision has been long overdue to keep down excessive speculation.

The small relief afforded to the low income group and the reduction in the export duty on sackings have been well received by the public. Moreover, there is absence of additional imposts of a heavy nature in the Budget. By raising the exemption limit for personal income-tax from Rs. 3,600 for individuals and Rs. 7,200 for Hindu undivided families to Rs. 4,200 and Rs. 8,400 respectively, the Government have tried to give some relief to the lower income group in the middle class. The extent of the relief is however negligible, the loss of revenue to the Government being estimated to be no more than Rs. 82 lakhs. To the individual within this income slab, the relief works out to about Rs. 100 per year. But this relief in direct taxation is more than offset by the rising cost of living due to higher indirect taxation. It may be remembered that recently the Government imposed additional taxation of the order of Rs. 10 crores by way of an increase in the excise duty on sugar and by levying a special excise of 3 pies on all varieties of cloth. It seems that the Government have adopted a new technique of taxing the people indirectly in that measures are introduced for new or additional taxes in stages in the course of the year and only minor changes are effected in the Budgets just to show to the public that the Government are aware of their difficulties. Taking into account the increases in the sugar and cloth excises, the proposed increases in some of the postal charges and the adjustments made in the import duties, the additions to the existing burden of taxation come to nearly Rs. 16 crores. But actually it will be more than that. The readjustment of the excise duty on cloth from

ad valorem or specific duties only will raise the rate of excise duty on fine counts from about 7 pies per yard to 15 pies per yard, that is, by more than 100 per cent. The fine count textiles constitute a substantial proportion of the total production and as such the yield from the excise duty will be considerable. The withdrawal of the option to the mills to pay either on the basis of *ad valorem* or specific rates, whichever is lower, will prevent to a great extent the downward trend in cloth prices.

The reduction in the export duty on sacking from Rs. 175 per ton to Rs. 80 per ton is a timely move in keeping with the trends of the world competitive market. The jute mills should now seize this opportunity to increase their exports by improving their quality.

The imposition of import duties on luxury and semi-luxury goods, although well-intentioned, may not bring about the desired result, namely, additional revenues, or alternately, larger indigenous manufactures of the same goods. But the other side of the possibility should not be ignored. The higher import duties may discourage considerably the import of these luxury and semi-luxury goods and consequently the anticipated revenue may not be realised. Again, the indigenous manufacturers of these goods may raise their prices to the extent of the import duty and thus try to take advantage of what is virtually a closed market for them.

Of the development expenditure, more than half is unproductive. The subsidy of Rs. 6 crores for the development of the handloom industry and of Rs. 6.33 crores for the Community Projects will increase the burden on the community and the benefits of such large expenditure are of dubious nature. The abolition of food subsidy will result in a saving of Rs. 21 crores and the additional taxation to the order of Rs. 16 crores would have resulted in a real surplus of Rs. 37 crores, had not the Government thus whittled away large sums by allocations on schemes of doubtful utility.

The increase in postal rates on certain categories would be a severe handicap on the book-publishers. It is a very heavy tax on education in effect, and would destroy small publishers. We have remarked on it in a previous issue.

The expenditure on defence and administration continues to remain high, the former alone accounts for nearly 50 per cent of the total expenditure. Pity it is that while subsidising consumption is obviously found incompatible with planning for more saving and more investment, India has to spend such large sums for her civil administration and for ensuring her security, but times being what they are this has to be done *nolens volens*.

The Finance Minister's difficulty is that although he has been able to balance his revenue budget, he cannot balance his capital budget. On a rough estimate, the total expenditure by the Centre and the States together in the first two years of the Plan is of the order of

Rs. 600 crores. The Finance Minister observes that "if the level of development expenditure reached by the States in 1952-53 is maintained in the coming year, the total expenditure, taking the Centre and the States together, for the three years ending March, 1954, would have reached about Rs. 1,000 crores." That is, the development expenditure under the Plan will rise to Rs. 400 crores in the next year which must have to be increased to Rs. 500 crores in the fourth year and to about Rs. 600 crores in the fifth year for its successful implementation. The Budgets of the State Government have shown that the savings required from the States for the Plan have not materialised. The main burden of raising finance for the Plan therefore comes upon the Union which has but two ways for raising finance—taxation or deficit financing. The Union has not agreed to levy fresh taxation on a larger scale and consequently it has to resort to deficit financing.

Deficit financing itself is neither good nor bad—it is the direction and the ways of spending that makes it so. Deficit financing is inflationary and apart from war conditions, in normal times it should be undertaken very cautiously. The main drawback in this presentation of India's public expenditure is that there is no clear-cut distinction between revenue expenditure and capital expenditure. To undertake deficit financing on revenue expenditure is incomprehensible. Deficit financing on capital expenditure can be made provided the schemes are productive to the fullest extent and taxable sources of income are fully tapped. In India, the percentage of direct tax on an income of Rs. 3,00,000 and above amounts to 77, as against 92 in Britain and 90 in the USA on the same income levels. If there be scope for further increasing the rate of taxation on higher income groups then from the viewpoint of a welfare State that should have been more expedient than deficit financing. In view of the widespread tax evasion in this country, the rate of direct taxation on upper income levels should have been raised before resorting to deficit financing. There is risk in resorting to inflationary deficit financing on so large a scale as Rs. 140 crores in the next year. The present conditions in the country do not warrant any expectation of the ability to absorb such a large quantum of additional purchasing power, unless the machinery of taxation as well as price control is geared to the occasion.

And to what purpose is all this risk of inflation and bankruptcy being undertaken? The Hirakud Scandal is a good pointer.

The net position is that although a nominal surplus on revenue account has been achieved, a large overall deficit of Rs. 140 crores is estimated on account of heavy capital expenditure programme. Under the Budget of 1953-54, the total revenue estimated is Rs. 437 crores and the total expenditure estimated stands at Rs. 438 crores. Under the revised estimates of 1952-53, the total revenue was Rs. 418 crores and the total expenditure was Rs. 422 crores.

The Hirakud Scandal

Recently the Public Accounts Committee submitted its sixth report to Parliament on the Hirakud Dam project in Orissa. The main points in the report as published in the *Statesman* are that the works were executed without the preparation and sanction of detailed estimates for an indefinite period of time. The earliest designs of the project were prepared by Central Water and Power Commission only in April, 1951, while work on the project had been started in 1948. The report said: "The responsibility for failure to give finalized designs well in advance and to submit detailed sanctioned estimates in regard to all major works costing over Rs. 2 lakhs must rest with the Central Water and Power Commission. It must also be held ultimately responsible for the large-scale execution of works without sanctioned detailed estimates."

The report said that the Chairman of the Central Water and Power Commission was fully aware of this state of affairs.

The report said that the project report of 1947, on which basis administrative approval to the project was accorded, "did not contain any designs or plans and the estimated costs were no more than lump sums based upon rough guess-work."

The execution of the project was vested in the Central Water and Power Commission who were also the consultants and whose Chairman became the Additional Secretary of the Ministry. "In this manner almost unfettered power and authority were given to the Commission and its Chairman."

In 1948 work on the project was started, bulk orders for equipment were placed and stores of the value of Rs. 5 crores were brought to Hirakud in a period of six months, but "accommodation facilities did not exist at Hirakud and they were dumped in the open." Because of this, proper control and check could not be exercised, no priced ledgers were in existence even till the time the sub-committee concluded its deliberations, and the ground balances were counted only in 1952.

Out of 4,424 items of work started up to November, 1952, work on 3,516 items, involving an expenditure of Rs. 7,31,24,657, was started without sanctioned detailed estimates. Of these, expenditure of Rs. 4,74,77,797 on 590 items of work were still to be regularized. Three-quarters of the irregularities had occurred after April 1951, and of the total works expenditure incurred between April, 1951 and November, 1952, 90% had been incurred irregularly without sanctioned estimates.

On Jan 8, 1948, the accounts officer of the Commission inquired into the matter on the spot and made a report. Necessary instructions were issued "but with little effect." The execution of works without sanctioned estimates assumed "more serious proportions" and the defects in the upkeep of the works accounts continued.

The Committee regretted that the original decision of the Government to have a financial adviser at the Centre

for all projects and a joint financial adviser with a chief accounts officer working under him at the project site was not put into effect. The procedure of having a financial adviser-cum-chief accounts officer was unfair both to the chief engineer and the financial adviser himself. It would have been far more satisfactory to have a whole-time financial adviser with authority to accord sanction on behalf of the Finance Ministry.

The selection of senior staff of the project was characterised as "unhappy" and "unfortunate." Those officers had little regard for financial proprieties and rules; they systematically defied the authority responsible for their enforcement internally. The report says: "It is distressing that in finding the personnel for dealing with one of the world's great projects, it does not appear to have been realized that the officers must be carefully selected for their technical capacity and for their ability to work as a team with enthusiasm and missionary zeal, for the progress of the country." The First Chief Engineer was only an officiating superintending engineer who had received rapid promotion. The Committee also expressed its astonishment that in a project of this magnitude, a fulltime chief engineer had not yet been appointed and that the present chief engineer was partly at Hirakud and partly a designs member of the Central Water and Power Commission. This state of affairs had existed for nearly two years.

People were engaged "who were found unsuitable for the purpose of the project on account of their unsatisfactory antecedents."

In the case of the Superintending Engineer, Subsidiary and Canals Circle, while two cases relating to the purchase of sleepers and the import of bullocks were under inquiry against him, the Irrigation and Power Ministry recommended him for deputation to the USA under the Point Four Programme. The proposal was dropped when the Finance Ministry objected, but the Irrigation and Power Ministry arranged for the officer's deputation abroad.

There had been some criticism about the form of accounts. In the opinion of the sub-committee the criticism was wholly unjustified and was "merely an attempt to justify the negligence of officers."

The sub-committee said that a controversy about the procedure was raised, and pending settlement, the prescribed procedure was not followed. "It is a very serious thing that an officer was allowed to disregard the authorized procedure merely because he personally did not agree with some particular aspect of the procedure."

The stores division was allowed to get into such a disorganized state that nobody ever took the trouble of complying with the authorized procedure and of maintaining the required records, or pricing the stores, or keeping the price ledgers. According to the then Chief Engineer, Mr. Vasishth, there was really nothing wrong with the stores accounting system as such. "What was wrong was

that the superintending engineer and the executive engineer, for reasons of prestige, which are inscrutable, did not want to work the system laid down in the Hirakud accounting memorandum."

The report added: "The sub-committee feels that action should be taken against those responsible for flouting the prescribed procedure and neglecting to do their duty. The sub-committee are not convinced that want of staff was the main reason for non-observance of the prescribed procedure."

"The present position is so unsatisfactory that it will take many months to set right the accounts and to verify whether all the balances that ought to be there are there."

The sub-committee said that the Finance Ministry "must accept its share of responsibility for the delay in forming an organization at Hirakud for financial control and liaison and the maintenance of the project accounts."

"As a lesson for the future, the sub-committee would draw attention to the fact that the Public Accounts Committee have in recent years repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government to the audit organization for each new project involving considerable expenditure and the fact that such arrangements should be regarded as an integral part of the planning of the execution of a project as a whole."

Regarding payment of bills differences arose between the Financial Adviser and the engineers. The Financial Adviser raised objections to payments, though he did not generally withhold payments. These objections continued to multiply in number, and though payments were made by the Financial Adviser, objections were not cleared for a very long time. This state of affairs continued right up to the beginning of 1951 when the question of non-preparation of detailed estimates was brought to the forefront by a report submitted by the Accountant-General, Orissa. From April 1951, these irregularities grew in enormous proportions. The Finance Ministry had also been drawing attention of the Irrigation and Power Ministry to the various irregularities.

The Committee then drew attention to a number of items of work resulting in nugatory or infructuous expenditure—the abandonment of the power-cum-navigation channel and its subsidiary after incurring an expenditure of Rs. 1.40 crores, besides Rs. 52 lakhs on the purchase of electrical plant and machinery, and the expenditure of Rs. 2½ lakhs on the bridge across a power channel which has not yet been constructed. Even if the channel had come into existence, there was scarcely any necessity or urgency for the construction of the bridge.

The lists of scandalous improprieties and obvious jobberies are too big to be included in these columns. We are not surprised that already attempts are being made, officially, to whitewash stinking scandals like the purchase of sleepers and timber from Punjab

contractors. And we have to suffer three years more of the Five-Year Muddle.

Indo-Pakistan Trade Pact

India and Pakistan signed a three-year Trade Pact on 20th March. Under this agreement, India has virtually guaranteed the purchase of at least 1.8 million bales of raw jute from Pakistan, which is expected to be the minimum quantity required. If the industry's needs exceed this figure, Pakistan has undertaken to facilitate the export of raw jute up to 2.5 million bales a year. This arrangement will last three years. In return, India will supply larger quantities of rail-borne coal to Pakistan than before. Though the actual amount is not mentioned in the agreement, it is understood to be one million tons a year. India has also agreed to assist Pakistan by transporting some of this coal in Indian wagons. Pakistan will not be required to divert more than 1,000 wagons per month against the present total of 1,500.

The need for a long-term arrangement on other items, including timber and iron and steel was also discussed. For the time being, however, the existing agreement, it appears, will be allowed to run its course.

A section of the Press has been much too jubilant over this trade agreement. It should however be taken with a grain of salt. Nobody would deny that the economic structure of these two countries is complementary. But this is also true in a wider perspective of the entire world economics. While we are not living in a closed system, the collective efforts of the humanity are inevitably complementary. That is no ground why India should maintain trade relationships with this neighbouring country with whom political relationship is otherwise embittered since these two countries came into being. Economic conditions are dynamic and what was true five years ago may not be the same today. Just after partition, it was found that while all the then existing jute mills in the Sub-Continent were in the Indian Union, Pakistan had the monopoly in the production and supply of raw jute which was inevitably needed by the jute mills in the Indian Union. These mills required nearly 50/60 lakh bales of raw jute, while the Indian Union produced only 6 lakh bales of raw jute. In those difficult days Pakistan obstructed by all possible means the supply of jute to Indian mills. Last year India produced nearly 46 lakh bales of jute. India today has almost achieved self-sufficiency in jute and is nearing the target production set forth by the Five-Year Plan. Indian economy now can afford to go independently of Pakistan. In the trade agreement of 1952, jute was omitted as Pakistan resorted to a discriminatory imposition of duty of Rs. 2/8/- on jute to be exported to India. Strange it was that trade agreement was still concluded, India agreeing to give away her valuable strategic materials in exchange of trivial and insignificant materials from Pakistan, namely, Bidis, betel-nuts, etc., An examination of the last year's

agreement will reveal that it was concluded as if to help Pakistan with our important materials. There was not a single item to be supplied by Pakistan which was essential or important to the Indian economy.

The new trade agreement will adversely affect the production of jute in India and India's bid to attain self-sufficiency will inevitably be cold-storaged. Prices of Indian jute are bound to come down resulting in falling acreage. Pakistan to her peril has learnt that India is her only substantial market. At first she tried to starve the Indian jute mills and exported raw jute to continental countries for being manufactured there. This move did not bring about the desired result and Pakistan's jute cultivation was alarmingly threatened against ever-decreasing demands. At this moment India comes and stretches her helping hands to Pakistan to save her jute production.

We would ask, who besides Pakistan would benefit? The Jute Mills possibly. But most of those mills are under non-Indian control and we give the following table, taken from the speech of a West Bengal M.L.A., to show how they benefit the country.

A statement of three European and Indian managed jute industries for the last three and a half years:

Indian Managed Jute Industry of 3½ Years				
Mill's name	No. of Looms	Total Profit Rs.	Profit per Loom Rs.	Paid I. Tax Rs.
Bengal	600	19082451	18304	5200000
Birla	1373	21485270	15648	7875000
Hukumchand	2272	19801851	8725	8400000
	4245	60369562	14221	21475000
		(Average)		

European Managed Jute Industry of 3½ Years				
		Loss Rs.	Loss Rs.	Rs.
Fort William	1014	1790033	1765	....
Gouripore	1394	2234049	1602	....
Ganges	1709	1611345	942	....
	4117	5635429	1469	....
		(Average)		

We regret to say that the Indian captains of Industry are no saints either, although they shine in comparison.

What is India giving in return? Her coal, in which India has very limited reserves and which India should not export. India's total reserves of metallurgical coal amount to America's one year's production. It is a pity that when it is a known fact that India's coal reserves are very very limited, it did not strike the authorities to make economic use of this commodity. This is something which is nothing but criminal wastage of our valuable resources. And India with her own wagons would give delivery of coal to Pakistan. It was reported sometime ago that Pakistan has retained many wagons of India and was refusing to deliver them to

India. Before entering into such a trade pact on secretarial level being advised by the jute millowners, an impartial and representative committee should have been set up to decide the question if India at all needed Pakistani jute and whether this country should afford to export her coal.

By partition, India lost three valuable commodities to Pakistan, viz., raw jute, cotton and hides and skins. India has since then greatly improved in her domestic production of jute and hides and skins. In cotton cultivation, India has made rapid progress, and although she imports long-stapled cotton, she also exports her coarse cotton. This time India is not importing cotton from Pakistan. The new agreement leaves the impression that it has been concluded just to help Pakistan get out of her jute crisis. Lastly, the vexed question of higher exchange ratio of the Pakistani rupee still remains unsolved and it operates adversely against India. Pakistan should have showered blessings on our noodle-pated Byzantine Eunuchs of the Central Cabinet. She is concentrating on a Jihad propaganda instead!

Nationalisation of Air Transport

The Government of India have decided to nationalise the air transport industry of India. It is proposed to introduce in the present Budget Session of Parliament, a Bill to provide for the establishment of two corporations to take over and run the air transport of the country. One of the corporations will take over all internal air services and the other will run the international routes. The corporations will be autonomous bodies. A provision of Rs. 9.5 crores has been included by the Planning Commission in the Five-Year Plan in connection with the proposed nationalisation of the air transport operations. A sum of Rs. 1.25 crores has been provided in the coming year's budget. All the Indian Air Companies, except one, are running at a loss and although the Government of India have been giving financial aid to these companies, their financial position has not improved. The Dakota type of aircraft which is being used in most of our internal transport services has now become out of date. The older types of aircraft cannot stand in competitive advantages against newer types. The replacement of the existing aircraft fleets with more efficient types cannot be put off further. The air transport companies in this country are not in a position to raise the necessary capital for acquiring new machines. Government ultimately shall have to provide fresh capital to these companies. If the Government provide a large sum for purchasing new aircrafts, they feel that they should also take over the administration of the services. So far the argument is convincing. But the opposite views should not be ignored.

India is ignoring productive developments and blocking money raised by deficit financing in unproductive projects. By nationalising the air transport system at this moment, Government are putting

a premium on inefficient enterprises. The Dakotas and other older types of machines have only scrap value and they do not deserve payment from the public money. Government are unnecessarily taking over the liability of private enterprises and diverting the limited resources of the country to safeguard the interests of the few. Nobody would object if the Government start new air services by purchasing new machines. Most of the air services do not seem to be essential and they do not warrant State acquisition just at the moment. There are many other requirements of the country which should be given priority rather than nationalising the air transport services. Nationalisation would mean nationalisation with compensation and that would be an indulgence to inefficient and extravagant private enterprises. Inefficiency selling at a premium? If the Airways India can earn profits, why not other companies?

Nepali Congress Session

The Nepali Congress Central Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board met at Kathmandu from the 10th to the 13th March, 1953. The Working Committee passed a resolution welcoming "those members of the Congress who have seceded from it, if they desire to come back into the present fold accepting the discipline of the organisation." The Congress was also ready "to take steps for co-ordination and co-operation with other parties" because the Congress felt unity of co-ordination among the nationalist and progressive elements in Nepal was very urgent and "it was the responsibility of the Congress to bring about" that unity.

Another resolution stated that the Indian military mission in Nepal had served its purpose and should now be withdrawn "in the interest of healthy relationship between India and Nepal and of Nepal's healthy international attitude."

In the field of foreign affairs, the Congress wanted friendly relations with all countries, and non-alignment with any power blocs. The Congress would "welcome any help given to us for our economic development by friendly countries without political string."

A national commission was proposed to be set up for administrative reforms.

The resolution dealing with the political situation inside Nepal, states that "the whole basis of the counsellors' regime is revivalism, and it is making efforts to re-introduce old feudal system." A sub-committee of five has been formed with the responsibility of the preparation of a programme of action for launching of a popular movement against the existing regime.

We have perused the long communique carefully. We regret to see that the old feuds and partisanships are plainly affecting all national issues in Nepal. The Congress, as it is today, seems to be oblivious of realities, and too anxious to obtain power at all costs.

Changes in U.P. Food Policy

Sri C. B. Gupta, Minister for Food and Civil Supplies, Government of U.P., told the State Assembly on March 13, that the State Government proposed to sell all foodgrains on a 'no profit no loss' basis, i.e., the sales at Government relief shops would no longer be subsidised, reports the *Leader* of March 15.

The full significance of the measure could be understood only by a study of the present pattern of sales of food-grains in U. P. According to the paper:

"After the abolition of statutory rationing on July 1 last year, and the changes that followed the current pattern is as follows: In the 62 towns which used to be under total rationing at present at Government shops a card-holder can get 4 chhataks of wheat per day at the rate of two seers two chhataks per rupee (subsidised rate), two chhataks of wheat at no-profit-no-loss rate of 1 seer 14 chhataks per rupee and four chhataks; of course, grains at non-subsidised rates. In towns, other than the 62 regulated (which used to be under rationing) under recent orders wheat is to be sold at the rate of one seer 14 chhataks per rupee (non-subsidised rate) if prices in open markets shoot beyond this. In eastern districts and hill areas where austerity provisioning and hill provisioning schemes are in force coarse grains are being sold at heavily subsidised rates."

All the above subsidies would be abolished. The Minister also announced that with the coming of the *rabi* crop in the market and the stabilisation of prices, the sale of grain from the Government relief shops would be confined to towns having a population of one lakh and over and in deficit towns of eastern districts and hill towns. "In that case," writes the *Leader*, "towns having regular Government food-grain shops would be reduced to 31."

There would be no monopoly procurement or grain levy. Government would purchase through licenced traders who would be required to give a certain percentage of their purchases to the Government.

The Government had asked from the Union Government three lakh tons of wheat with a view to maintaining a reserve for emergencies.

The Uttar Pradesh is luckier than most provinces in regard to pressure of population on the soil and the quality of a great part of the soil. The physique of the peasantry is also superior to most others excepting those in the Punjab and Rajasthan. If the U. P. Government had a more intimate contact with the agriculturists, production could be increased and hoarding eliminated. Then the State could be easily self-sufficient.

Community Life in Rural Bengal

Dr. B. S. Guha, Director, Department of Anthropology, writes in the *Weekly West Bengal*, that a survey undertaken by his Department in a rural area

in 24 Parganas "which both with regard to its historical background, nature of settlements and socio-economic conditions may be regarded as a cross-section of the life of rural Bengal" disclosed that in the villages the greatest part of the cultivable land belonged to the upper castes who got them cultivated by others on a share-produce basis.

"The survey disclosed great defects in the nutritional value of the food taken specially with regard to protein and vitamin contents. These, reinforced by early marriages, determine the poor physical state of the people and the consequent low output of crops which is raised only once in a year without manuring. The system of the share-produce system affords no interest to actual tillers, neither do the landlord take any interest in the improvement of the land, with the result that the productivity of land after hundreds of years of cultivation has considerably gone down."

It was found that upper caste Hindus still conformed to the joint family system, "although as a result of economic pressure and increase of members of the family, disorganization, minimising the authoritarian aspect of the older joint family life, has set in but without producing any proper balance or harmony of the diverging ideologies now coming into force."

In the lower section of the Hindus the compactness of the joint family system and the authoritarian structure were less apparent. Women had greater freedom.

The major occupation of the upper caste Hindus was "service." The lower section including the Muslims lived by manual labour and the actual cultivation of land.

In the Muslim community though group solidarity was stronger and there was greater scope for individual enterprise and the people were relatively realistic, "the extreme ethnocentric attitude of the Muslim community stand in the way of their integration in the general community life."

"In short," writes Dr. Guha, "there does not appear to be any objective or a target, either ideological or socio-economic, to which the community as a whole, can strive for, nor is there any mechanism to achieve this purpose."

So long as the present government by party caucus continues, with a superannuated patriarchy at the head and mediocrities, nonentities and notoriety in office, there will never be any target nor objective in the life of the West Bengal people, the most frustrated in the Union.

Land Reforms in Hyderabad

The Hyderabad Government proposes to amend the Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1950. If the amendment is passed and implemented, the Chief Minister of Hyderabad, Mr. Ramkrishna Rao, is reported to have said that about eight to ten lakh acres of land out of the three crore acres of cultivable land in the

State might be available for distribution for co-operative farming and among the landless people.

Giving the above information *P.T.I.* reports that the amendment bill envisaged a land census in the whole state and the setting-up of a seven-man Land Commission consisting of officials and non-officials to determine basic, family and maximum holdings.

The family holding was defined as an area which could be cultivated by a working family of five members and which would yield a net annual income of rupees eight hundred. The basic holding was one-third of a family holding and the maximum holding was roughly four and a half times the family holding.

According to Mr. Rao, Hyderabad was probably the first state in India to fix the maximum holding. But the income basis is apt to be puzzling, as apart from the nature of the soil, it would depend on the nature of the crops and the industry and skill of the cultivators.

Bihar Cane-growers and Sugar Policy

The *Leader* reports that the eighth annual conference of the Bihar State Cane-growers Co-operative Association which was held at Pachrukhi in Saran under the Presidency of Sri Dip Narain Sinha, State Minister for Co-operatives, strongly criticized the Government of India's sugar policy because it had given a set-back to the industry instead of establishing it. The resolution stated: "The growers have lost incentive for planned production of raw materials and they have begun to think that the industry is only meant for the benefit of the manufacturers."

The Government of India encroached on the rights of the State Government and took all powers in their hands regarding production and fixing of prices. Besides, "the bid for making other states self-sufficient in the matter of sugar has created an unhealthy competition and has left a very depressing effect on the industry" of Bihar "where about seven lakh people depend entirely on this industry only."

The Government's vacillating policy regarding control of sugar had "put an unearned income in the pockets of industrialists at the cost of the producers and the consumers."

The resolution demanded that power should be given to the State Government to fix the price of cane after due consultation with the Association keeping in view the cost of cane cultivation cartage and other charges. It was also demanded that "price level should be maintained by giving rebate on subsidy for a period of three years till the industry is stabilised."

The Cane-growers and the cane-growing States should understand that there is a limit to their extortionate demands that affect less fortunate states. We have seen how production per acre has dropped as price per maund of cane was increased, due to laziness of growers and how prices of sugar, an essential in the protective diet of all people, was sent soaring up to meet the rapacious demands

of the growers and millers. Both of these unlovable groups have caused suffering to hundreds of millions. The Government of India has only done its duty in protecting the helpless buyers, who outnumber the growers and millers by a thousandfold.

Half-Pie Holds up Salary

The *Leader* in its issue dated the 25th March reports that about 2400 District Board Teachers could not get their salary for about a month and a half because the Allahabad Treasury refused to pass the bill amounting to Rs. 2,11,450-12-2½ which contained a fraction of a pie. The Secretary of the Board having agreed to forego the payment of half pie, the grant was likely to be cashed. But that was also not certain, the paper says.

This, it true, is an example of out-heroding Herod in red-tape idiocy.

Acute Water Scarcity in Madhya Pradesh

The *Leader*, quoting a *PTI* dispatch from Nagpur, writes:

"Water scarcity in parts of nine districts of Madhya Pradesh is 'becoming acute day by day,' according to the latest official report. The worst-affected region is Berar, comprising the districts of Amaravati, Akola, Yeotmal and Buldana, where paucity of rainfall in the last few years has accentuated an already inadequate supply position.

"Reports received here say that people of Amaravati, Achalpur, Akola and Khamgaon in Berar; Khandwa and Burhanpur in Nimar district and Chhindwara are experiencing 'considerable difficulty' in getting adequate water.

"Water is being sold at four annas a bucket in Akola, Amravati and Khamgaon, according to these reports.

"In some rural areas, people are reported to be trudging a distance of two to three miles to obtain drinking water.

"The hilly tracts of Arvi tahsil in Wardha district and parts of Betul and Nagpur districts are also affected by water scarcity."

Sri S. L. Verma, C.E.O., Corporation of Nagpur writes in the *Hitavada* that "the position of water supply during the coming months is very gloomy." The normal daily supply of water to the Nagpur City was 12 million gallons a day which is obtained from Ambajheri reservoir, the Gorewara reservoir and the Kanhan water works. The population of Nagpur in 1951 was 4,50,000 excluding the population of the new 34 villages added to the limits of the Nagpur Corporation. This unprecedented increase in population notwithstanding, the above three sources could meet the requirements of water of the people of Nagpur and the average consumption of water per head per day excluding the supplies made to the industries was nearly 25 gallons.

The abnormally low rainfall during 1952-53, though not causing much harm to the crops, had "certainly

affected the water supply position all over the district, because the rainfall was almost in intermittent showers and there was hardly any torrential rain during the rainy season, with the result that there was practically no run-off in the catchment areas of the tanks at Ambajheri and Gorewara and of the river Kanhan."

Consequently no more than 5 million gallons of water would be available for daily consumption during the period from April to June this year as against the normal draw of 12 million gallons. This will leave the people with a supply of ten gallons of water per head per day.

The Corporation have built a bund in the Kanhan river so as to store about 150 million gallons of water to be drawn up in May and June and have embarked upon a project of cleaning the wells in the city.

All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference

The fourth session of the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference was held at Puri from 4th to 6th January 1953 under the auspices of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh and its Orissa State Branch. As on the previous occasions this session was largely attended by delegates from all over India, and some from outside countries. The total number of delegates from India was about 200. Besides India, delegates came from Burma and Indonesia, and the South East Asian Region of W.H.O. sent an observer.

The three previous Conferences were held at Wardha (1947), at Calcutta (1948) and at Madras (1950), and were presided over by Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Dr. Ernest Muir respectively. It may be mentioned that the first Conference was held, under the auspices of the Kasturba Memorial Fund, and at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the unavoidable absence of Shri Mavalankar due to illness, Shri Devadas Gandhi, Vice-Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, was good enough to accept the invitation to take the chair. The welcome address was given by Rajmata Basanta Manjari Devi, Deputy Minister of Health, Orissa, and the Conference was inaugurated by Sri Saiyid Fazl Ali, the Governor of Orissa. The inaugural session was followed by technical sessions at which discussions on various subjects were held, and these were followed by a closing session. A special feature of the present session of the Conference was that the Indian Association of Leprologists held its separate scientific and business sessions. The scientific sessions were open to the non-medical delegates who attended as observers.

The inaugural session was opened with the national anthem. In his Presidential Address, Shri Devadas Gandhi also laid stress on the same point and stated that the successful solution of the leprosy problem "demands the closest collaboration between official and non-official agencies." He paid a tribute to the pioneer work of foreign Christian Missions in the field, but stressed the need of intensifying national efforts in the

cause, specially in view of the changed conditions. He therefore pleaded to "place leprosy work high up in the priorities of our national programme."

RESOLUTIONS

1. This Conference pays its homage to the sacred memory of that great social worker and friend and benefactor of those suffering from leprosy—Shri Thakkar Bapa—who died on the 19th January, 1951. His noble example will ever continue to be a source of inspiration to leprosy workers throughout the country.

2. This Conference learns with profound regret about the sad and sudden demise on 29th December 1952 of Dr. V. Ramchandra Kamath, M.B. B.S., D.L.O. (London) at the early age of 42. He was a devoted and sincere leprosy worker of South India, who was till recently Medical Officer-in-Charge, Thakkar Bapa Leprosy Clinic, Tirokoilur, South Arcot District. The Conference resolves to place on record its deep appreciation of the valuable service rendered by him to the cause of leprosy and convey to his family its deep sympathy in their bereavement.

3. This Conference places on record its deep sense of sorrow on the passing away last year of Dr. K. G. Sundaram of the Mission Leprosy Home, Ramachandrapuram, South India and conveys its sympathy to the bereaved family.

4. This Conference endorses the following resolutions passed by the Indian Association of Leprologists:

(i) Inasmuch as children suffering from leprosy cannot be restrained from mixing with their brothers and sisters or other children of their neighbourhood, or at schools, and thus exposing them to easy infection, this Association considers it highly important that there should be special homes, wherever possible, for children afflicted with the disease where they should receive good care and education. The Association draws the special attention of Governments, local bodies and non-official organisations engaged in leprosy work to this aspect of the problem.

(ii) This Association draws the attention of the various State Governments to the following resolution of the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference, Wardha, 1947:

"It is the considered opinion of this Conference that leprosy patients needing temporary hospitalisation for treatment of general diseases as well as for complications from leprosy should be admitted into the General Hospitals; non-infective cases in general wards and infective cases in infectious diseases wards. Although most Governments have accepted this principle, it is regrettable that it is not put into practice largely due to the attitude of the medical and other staff of such hospitals. This Conference, therefore, hopes that the Central and State Governments will issue necessary further instructions so that the admission of such

patients in the hospitals under their control is assured whenever necessary."

(iii) This Association appeals to the members of the medical profession to recognise the need for rationalisation of their own attitude, as well as that of the general public, towards leprosy in keeping with the new outlook manifested throughout the world in respect of this problem.

(iv) This Association draws attention of all Governments to the following resolution adopted at the All-India Leprosy Workers' Conference at Wardha in 1947 regarding urban leprosy and learns with regret that in some places instead of increasing the existing facilities, the ones available at present are being curtailed:

"The Conference while recognising the importance of rural leprosy would also draw attention to the need of organising adequate relief and prevention of leprosy in urban areas and emphasises that while home isolation where possible should be taken into account as a desirable method in large towns, the need for institutional segregation and the relief of the needy and disabled must be kept in mind."

5. This Conference has learnt with deep concern that in the projected Hindu Marriage Act leprosy is included as a ground for divorce. Considering the low infectivity of leprosy and its non-hereditary nature, the Conference is strongly of the opinion that there is not only no justification for its inclusion on medical grounds but that it will nullify most of the good work done during the last quarter of a century in the reorientation of public opinion on this subject. Therefore the Conference urges that leprosy be omitted from the said measure.

6. In view of the fact that "closed" cases of leprosy are not a danger to the community, and the modern methods of treatment are happily able to prevent crippling consequences of the disease, the Conference reiterates its view that persons affected with "closed" type of leprosy should not be discharged from employment because of their conditions provided they continue treatment in a recognised institution. It should, however, be understood that, in the case of factories, they would not demand any compensation for any deformity or injury caused or aggravated because of the nature of the disease.

7. Having regard to the all-round interest manifested in the cause of eradication of leprosy in the country, and to enable the work to proceed smoothly and with speed and vigour, this Conference earnestly requests the principal organisations concerned with leprosy work to consider the need for the appointment of a small committee consisting of representatives of the principal organisations to prepare a joint plan for the co-ordination and distribution of leprosy work. The earlier such a plan is prepared, made publicly known, and put into effect, the better will the work progress towards the common goal.

8. This Conference endorses the following resolution passed by the Leprosy Advisory Board of the Gandhi

Smarak Nidhi at its meeting held on 19th June, 1952 and strongly recommends to the Central and the State Governments to abide by it:

"(i) All ex-leprosy patients should be periodically examined for acid-fast bacilli;

(ii) Those who are negative but have deformities should be rehabilitated by sending them to a hospital where special training is given to these patients to do some kind of work fitted to their condition;

(iii) Those who are negative and have no deformities can do propaganda and publicity work. They can also do gardening and other work. The social work should better be done by healthy workers as they have to mix intimately with both adults and children. If, before the due date of examination, the disease of the ex-patient becomes active again, he may spread the infection during the period of interval between one examination and the next for acid-fast bacilli; and their cases dealt with in the light of the results of the examination."

9. This Conference requests the Government of India to invite the International Leprosy Association to hold the next (1958) session of the International Leprosy Congress in India.

The Real Danger Facing Hindi

Sri Maganbhai P. Desai writes in the *Harijan*, March 21, 1953, that as Indians speak different languages, the need for a common medium of inter-provincial and all-India communication was quite obvious; and to that end "Hindi is the best suited of all our regional languages." But that Hindi should be quite simple and not the highly Sanskritised one advocated by Sri Purushottamdas Tandon and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. In a speech on February 20 before the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Aligarh, Sri Tandon had said that a national language was essential for national unity and that two dangers faced the evolution of Hindi as a national language: one was the love of English; the other "the movement in U.P. to have Urdu declared the regional language of the state." Criticizing this viewpoint Sri Desai writes: "If there is any danger facing the growth of the national language it is this exclusive spirit disrupting our unity and composite culture and not Urdu or its demand for recognition as a regional language of U.P. which it is and should be so recognised, even in the larger interests of the reunity and solidarity of our country and its composite culture as also the interests of the growth of a truly national language".

All this is beside the point to the vast majority of Indians, whose mother-language is neither Hindi nor Urdu and to whom both Devanagari or Urdu Script is foreign. There should be some measure by which the unfair advantage of the Hindi or Hindustani speaking peoples is neutralized in all public services and professions. Every educated person in India should know two Indian languages, one of which must be Hindi. Besides that, there should be a Hindi Lexicon authorised by an All-

India Committee, and a rationalized grammar eliminating anomalies in gender conventions, etc.

French Settlements in India

The *Leader* reports the formation of the "French India Liberation League" at a public meeting held in Nagapattinam on the 22nd March. The League would, to quote the resolution, "help and lend moral support to the Indian people in French settlements in India in their struggle for freedom and to merge with the Indian Union."

The territories occupied by the French legitimately belonged to the Indian Union and the French should immediately quit them peacefully if they wanted the friendship and goodwill of the Indian people. The meeting strongly condemned the repressive measures let loose by the French authorities on the people advocating merger with the Indian Union. An appeal was made to Premier Nehru to expedite his efforts to liberate the people in the French Settlements in India who were "undergoing untold mental agony and physical torture."

The insane colonial policy followed by France in Asia will ultimately lead to her destruction as a World Power. France must understand that in the world of today she is not only out-of-date in her policy but also a source of world unrest.

New U.S. Ambassador to India

President Eisenhower has nominated Mr. George Venable Allen as the United States Ambassador to India in succession to Mr. Chester Bowles. A trained professional diplomat Mr. Allen is reported to be one of the most competent men in the State Department. He has specialised in Near Eastern relations almost since going to the department, and has spent more than eight years in the field. A former Chief of the Division of Middle Eastern Affairs of the State Department, he is fully acquainted with problems involved in United States relations with all the Near and Middle Eastern nations.

Mr. Allen is now 49 years old and has been in diplomatic service since 1930, before which he was a newspaper reporter and school teacher. His service abroad includes assignments at Shanghai, Cairo, Teheran, Athens and other foreign countries. Mr. Allen's most recent three assignments were—Ambassador to Iran (1946-48), as Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs (1948-49), and Ambassador to Yugoslavia (since 1949). He was a political adviser at the Truman-Churchill-Stalin Conference held at Potsdam in July 1945. He was also present at the Roosevelt-Churchill-Inonu Conference at Cairo in December, 1943.

U.N. Secretary-General

The selection of the new Secretary-General of the U. N. has reached an impasse. Article 97 of the Charter lays down that the Security Council recommends him and the General Assembly appoints him.

Four names were suggested to succeed Mr. Trygvi Lie and were in turn rejected by the Security Council: They were Mr. Lester B. Pearson of Canada, Brig.-Gen. Romulo of Philippines, Mr. Shrezeskezewski of Poland and Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit of India. The nomination of Mrs. Pandit was opposed by the Anglo-American bloc on various pretexts and was finally rejected by a vote of two in favour, one against and eight abstentions.

An earlier report in the *Leader* of March 9, disclosed that the delegate of Nationalist China on the Security Council would veto Mrs. Pandit's nomination. It is presumed that the opposing vote referred to above was that of the delegate of Nationalist China. This again brings to the fore the anachronism in the United Nations where the representative of a Government which has no control over its own territory can veto the decision of the Security Council.

"Little Europe at Loggerheads"

Mr. Iqbal Singh, the well-known journalist, commenting on the conference of Foreign Ministers of France, Italy, Western Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg, in Rome which concluded on February 25, writes in the *People* that the conference failed to achieve its objects. The conference ostensibly met to consider an ambitious plan for the creation of an Economic Union of Little Europe put forward by Herr Beyen, the Dutch Foreign Minister. Professedly, the conference was also to "examine the work of a paradoxical body which is called 'the constitutional commission of the Pre-Constituent Assembly' and which had been set up sometime back to draw up a constitutional framework for the European Defence Community."

But the real problem before the conference was the question of a European Army. On May 27, 1952, the above six governments signed in Paris a treaty providing for the establishment of a "European Defence community" and a "European Army." But even after nine months the treaty had not yet been ratified by parliaments. Even France, the country, which had taken the initiative, put forward new conditions for ratification of the treaty with a view to providing herself with certain guarantees and safeguards against a German preponderance in the European Defence Community.

The Italian, Dutch and the Luxembourg representatives viewed the French proposals as violating the "European and supra-national" spirit of the European army treaty. The Germans were quite upset as the proposals, carried into effect, would eliminate German equality in the project. The German firmness in resisting the French proposals had in its course stiffened the French attitude. The reflection of this attitude was summed up by Andre Fontaine in *Le Monde*, where he wrote that "recent political evolution has led the

French Government to be much more wary than in the past over the abandonment of sovereignty."

Signor De Gasperi's efforts at mediation also failed to bridge the diverging points of view and the conference broke up without arriving at any decision.

France, like Spain in the mediæval period, always places its own interests above that of smaller or weaker nations. This arrant selfishness and arrogance has been the source of unrest in the West for over two centuries.

Developments in Pakistan and India

The *People* writes that Indian official circles are "viewing with considerable anxiety combined with sympathy the alarming development in Pakistan."

"There is not the slightest attempt here (New Delhi) to minimise the gravity of the reaction of these developments on India."

"Martial law is never an easy matter, Lahore is only at stone's throw from Amritsar where we are having enough trouble already from the Akalis. Both the anti-Ahmediya and Akali agitations represent an extreme type of communalism, with this difference, however, that the Akalis have very little support on this side of the border while the movement against the Ahmediyas is widespread in Pakistan and is capable of setting graver problems to the Government. It does not appear either that the martial law is being shortly enforced, in the absence of popular support."

"Politically Pakistan has been following a wrong policy with regard to India for the sake of getting Kashmir. The anti-Indianism has taken a new turn. It has become anti-Ahmediaism, and tomorrow it will become anti-Shiaism. Economically, Pakistan is touching bottom. There is a tremendous shortage of food. The foreign exchange reserves are falling. The new import policy is sending up prices. India does not certainly welcome the long, famished hordes trekking their way into her territory in search of food."

To prevent this eventuality, Pandit Nehru and his wisacres have decided to starve the poor agriculturist millions of West Bengal and North Bihar instead!

Anti-Ahmediya Disturbances in Lahore

Sri Kundan Lal writes in the *People* that the anti-Ahmediya agitation was not of recent origin. "In joint Punjab this fire had been smouldering for almost a decade." After Partition the old hatred against the Ahmediyas was rekindled. Efforts were made by the rulers to divert the people's attention towards Kashmir by starting a nation-wide campaign of virulence against India.

But, the writer says, "there was no dearth of disgruntled wily politicians, hungering for power in Pakistan, ever waiting to play havoc with public enthusiasm, raise it to new heights of frenzy by appealing to the baser emotions of the human heart."

"And so it came about. The people that had been fed for years on wild notions of religious intolerance suddenly turned Mullah-crazy. The hymn of hate directed against "these enemies of Islam from within"—the helpless Ahmediyas—set the masses aflame."

"The actors in this diabolical drama were the wily veterans that enacted the drama of loot and carnage during partition."

"Everything was done, in accordance with the plan which was known to have been under preparation for months. Now, as before, charts were drawn of the properties to be destroyed and looted; white marks were painted on houses and shops belonging to prominent Ahmediyas for easy identification; victims of violence were chosen and listed and the persons who were to execute these ghastly deeds were allotted their respective tasks."

"At the appointed hour the avalanche of purge descended on victims. The butcher's knife slashed once again innocent throats in the name of Islam. Thousands of men were assaulted, murdered or burnt alive. Their properties were looted, their houses were burnt."

"The misguided youth abducted and raped women by the hundred. For a week the Devil's dance went on unchecked..."

"Purdahnashin young women were snatched from the protecting arms of their parents and husbands, making vain appeals to stony hearts to save their modesty."

"Verily the boomerang had hit back Pakistan—and with what vigour. Today it is the Ahmediyas, tomorrow it will be the Shias, the day-after it may be the Punjabi against the non-Punjabi. There is no knowing where this mad game will end."

Thus is written another chapter in the history of the Communal Frankenstein, begat by the British, nurtured by the Congress by its policy of appeasement and fully armed and let loose by the Moslem League on the eve of the Partition.

New Masters in the Kremlin

By the death, through massive cerebral hæmorrhage, of Marshal Joseph Vissarionovitch Stalin on the evening of 5th March at 9-30 p.m., an all-time world-figure has passed beyond human ken.

The historian of a later day will give the true assessment of the man. But few men, if any, have achieved so much in one life-time, and to few was given so much power for good or evil. No conqueror in history, neither any puissant war-lord had dominated the world-stage in that fashion, and none have affected the destinies of entire nations in this way. For his own country and his chosen peoples, he had achieved much. And in the hour of their greatest peril and trial, when the massive Russian armies and vast territories containing gigantic mechanical establishments had been shattered and devastated by the guns, planes and panzers of Hitler, he remained calm and steadfast, rallying his armies and his peoples.

The reorganisation of Soviet leadership following Stalin's death has evoked much interest all over the world. From the first announcement of March 4th it was clear that the plans for succession were ready. In the morning of March 6th Stalin's death was proclaimed and by the evening a statement was issued announcing radical changes in the leadership of both party and Government. A change of President was also "recommended." The Supreme Soviet (Soviet Parliament) was simultaneously convened by the end of the week to rubber-stamp the decisions taken. Within a few days of Stalin's funeral, a reorganised system has been functioning with the full authority of effective and enacted law.

In both government and party the number of top-ranking leaders has been reduced. A new body has been formed in the Council of Ministers. It is the Presidium, or five-man inner cabinet headed by Premier Malenkov. The Presidium of the Party has likewise been reduced to the size of the former Politburo. Malenkov is the head of the government and the first member of the party's two chief organs; the Presidium and the Secretariat. He has not yet inherited Stalin's official title of General Secretary.

Under Stalin's premiership there were 14 deputy-premiers. Four of them have now become supreme "first deputy premiers" or overlords. Together with premier Malenkov, they form the Governmental Presidium. Marshal Voroshilov has replaced President Shvernik. Voroshilov is thus out of the Cabinet on his appointment as President. As regards the other former deputy premiers, it is not yet definite whether they will maintain a separate status as vice-premiers of second rank or will remain attached to their ministerial duties. There has been perhaps a division in the sphere of influence of the supreme overlords. Three of them have distinct portfolios. Molotov is in charge of foreign policy; Beria heads the amalgamated ministries of internal affairs and state security; Marshal Bulganin controls the armed forces. The remaining member of the inner cabinet, Kaganovich, holds no portfolio. He is in charge of the general economic development of Soviet Russia. Malenkov is the *Primus inter pares*.

The Soviet Parliament or Supreme Soviet of the USSR consists of two chambers; the Soviet of the Union and that of Nationalities. Both are elected for four years, the former by the whole electorate on the basis of one deputy for 3,000,00 inhabitants, and the latter by the Republics. The Supreme Soviet legislates, and nominates and dismisses ministers. The two chambers combinedly elect a Presidium which exercises control between sessions. The Presidium has the right, on the advice of the Premier, to approve appointments and dismissals. It has the power to issue decrees, interpret laws and convoke the Soviet itself. It consists of a Chairman—who is the Soviet equivalent of the President of the Republic,—16 vice-chairmen and 15 members.

Constitutionally the Presidium cannot remove its chairman without the approval of the Supreme Soviet. The replacement of chairman, Shvernik by Voroshilov was therefore hardly constitutional. The change was simply "recommended." The change will become "legal" on the approval of the Supreme Soviet.

The dismissal of Shvernik from the Presidency immediately after Stalin's death has given rise to the belief that in the reorganisation of the Party Presidium and the government, Malenkov has overstepped Stalin's will. Stalin would hardly have designed a new pattern for the party a few months ago with the desire of having it scrapped the very day of his death. If there has been a palace revolution, it must have been supported by a "gentlemen's agreement." Malenkov took over the charge of the government with the help of four leading Soviet figures. For the ageing Molotov, who for years had been second to none but Stalin, this is a little consolation; for Bulganin and Beria, it was possibly a reward and certainly a recognition of their powers: for Kaganovich, it was a lift. While the quintet is formed to run the administration, the triumvirate with Malenkov, Beria and Molotov will wield the power. Malenkov is already in a dominating position. He alone among the Soviet leaders can be found in the three seats of supreme power, namely, the Ministers' Presidium, Party Presidium and Party Secretariat. Malenkov is everywhere and everywhere he is first. Should he, following the example of Stalin, decide to become a dictator whose will is unquestioned, he could stage an All-Union Party Congress; with the help of the Secretariat's pressure on local organisations he could fill it with his own men and then can force his will upon the party.

The changes in party hierarchy partly destroy the pattern established at last year's All-Union Congress which was attended by Stalin and was in favour of the old system. The Congress is the supreme body of the party and it meets at least every four years. It delegates its powers to a Central Committee, which in turn delegates the supreme power to a Presidium. For about 35 years before the last Congress, the party was led by its working committee, the Politburo consisting of about a dozen members. The Politburo is now abolished and instead the Presidium of the Party is established. The new Party Presidium resembles the defunct Politburo in all but name. It consists of 10 members and 4 candidates. Most of the former Politburo members are included in it and of the newcomers only Saburov and Peruvkhin have been left. The resurrected Politburo in the form of Presidium does now however wield the power of its former self. Another organ of the Party retains its size and importance, and it is the Secretariat of the Central Committee. In practice it controls the party machine through supervision and appointments, although in theory it is only a subsidiary organ performing the day-to-day administrative tasks of the Committee. It is from a vantage point

within the Secretariat that both Stalin and Malenkov have made their bid for power. This is an important weapon in the hands of Malenkov.

So long Stalin lived, he had the last word on the destiny of Russia. Stalin, Stalinism and the military strength of Russia are blended together to form the giant Leviathan that cast its shadow over postwar Europe, Asia and America. The master's testament is: in foreign affairs to keep out of world war, foment revolution in colonial countries, and exploit the contradictions among the capitalist countries until they fight one another; in home affairs to go on stubbornly accumulating industrial strength, recognising economic laws, postponing Utopian plans of social improvement but keeping the complacent up to the mark through propaganda and the Party.

Stalinism may go on for some time, but the disappearance of Stalin is for most Russians the end of the tremendous quarter century. The last real link with the October Revolution has broken; the dominating and stable factor in society has been effaced; the working of new regime will be watched with interest.

Electoral Law for China

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, proclaimed the coming into force of the Election Law of the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels. This Election Law comprising ten chapters was passed by the Central People's Government Council at its 22nd session on February 11, 1953.

The law stipulates universal adult franchise. All Chinese citizens above the age of 18, irrespective of nationality, race, sex, occupation, social origin, religious belief, education, property or length of residence, enjoy the right to elect and to be elected. Women enjoy equal rights with men to elect and to be elected. Special provisions have been made for the elections among the people of minority nationalities, the armed forces and the overseas Chinese.

The Election Law denies the right to elect and to be elected to landlords who have not changed their social status, to counter-revolutionaries who have been deprived of their political rights according to law, and lunatics. Thus, all who may offend the Government can be denied the franchise.

Every citizen has one vote. The Law provides that the number of delegates would be proportionate to the population. But taking into consideration of the different conditions of the various constituencies and units, different proportion is stipulated as between city and country, between the Han (Chinese) people and the minority nationalities.

According to *Hsinhua News*, "The number of delegates to the people's congresses at all levels has been fixed according to two principles, namely: First, the people's congresses at all levels, must be made compe-

tent state organs so that they are in the position to call the people together and discuss and settle problems; second, the people's congresses at all levels must have close relations with the people." The number of delegates to the All-China People's Congress will be approximately 1,200.

Every province will have at least three delegates to the All-China People's Congress. For every eight lakhs of people in the provinces there will be one representative in the All-China People's Congress, while in industrial cities every one lakh will send a delegate. Similar provisions have been for election at all levels. *The overseas Chinese numbering some eleven millions will send in 30 delegates.* The number of delegates from the minority nationalities shall be 150 in all, apart from members of minority nationalities who are elected from other fields or units. The minority nationalities constitute about a fourteenth of the total population but they have been allotted nearly one-seventh of the seats in the All-China People's Congress.

Thus, representation also is variable according to occupation, location and national characteristics.

All election expenses will be borne by the state treasury. This provision has a special significance as a material guaranteed to the electors and candidates that they will really be able to exercise their rights.

The Law provides for free and fair elections. Moreover, the law gives the electors the right to recall delegates already elected, and elect others in their place. This again may mean that any delegate may be unseated at any time by the leaders of the People.

Direct elections will be held only in such basic administrative areas as the Hsiang, the small town, municipal districts and municipality with no districts under it, while indirect election will be held in the country and administrative units above the country level. On account of the lack of electoral experience among a great part of the people and the existence of illiteracy, the Election Law makes the secret ballot obligatory only in the country and administrative units above the country level; optional in the basic administrative units, where a show of hand will as a rule be used.

Candidates will be nominated by the Communist Party, the various democratic groups and organisations and others not belonging to any party as well. The electors are free to vote for the candidates on the list or vote someone not on the list they like.

Fourth Session of Chinese PPCC

The fourth session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Council adopted a number of resolutions.

All attention was to be concentrated to "increase production, practise economy, fulfil and overfulfil the economic, national defence, and social and cultural plans of construction for 1953, so as to make a good

start in the first Five-year Plan of national construction."

A decision was also taken to make preparations for the next general elections. All the Chinese, at home and abroad, were urged to stand behind the Government and the Communist Party and "mobilise themselves to strive for the victorious fulfilment of the three great tasks mentioned above."

Before the close of the meeting, Chairman, Mao Tse-tung, spoke before the Committee on February 3 and urged as imperatives to strengthen the 'resist American aggression and aid Korea' struggle; to learn from the Soviet Union, and thirdly to oppose bureaucracy among leading organs and leading cadres at all levels.

Burmese Govt. Conditions for Foreign Capital

The *People* reports that the Government of Burma had laid down seven conditions for foreign investors. The conditions, as published in the paper, are:

(1) Foreign enterprises should be self-sufficient as regards foreign exchange. They would be permitted to take out money from the country for the purchase of capital equipment and renewal; foreign enterprises would also be allowed to export a certain percentage of current money subject to the general foreign exchange position of the country.

(2) The Government would not allow the import of unskilled labour from abroad.

(3) The Government would undertake not to nationalize the concerns for a period determined by the ratio of the initial capital outlay to the annual value of the turnover.

(4) The period of guarantee might be renewed except in the case of extractive industries like minerals.

(5) Protection might be given considering the position the industry occupied in the economy of the country.

(6) Proposals for partnership would be welcomed.

(7) The foreign concerns should be prepared to undertake the training of qualified Burmese candidates, whenever the Government could supply them.

The Government was also prepared to allow prospective foreign investors to survey industrial opportunities before they reach any agreement on actual investment.

U. S. Foreign Trade

The U. S. Department of Commerce, in its annual review of foreign trade, predicted major fluctuations in U.S. foreign trade this year as unlikely. According to the report, both exports and imports would continue close to the near-record levels set in 1952. The monthly *Survey of Current Business* of the Commerce Department said:

"Basic supply scarcities, which explain most of the wide gap between exports and imports, have largely disappeared as a result of increased production in the United States and the rest of the world and, in some cases reduced consumption."

According to the survey, the demand for most of the imported goods was likely to continue to be at least as high as it was now. Therefore, foreign countries should be able to earn sufficient dollars to maintain their existing purchases from the United States at or near current rates.

The *American Economy* reports:

"Foreign trade figures, for the full year 1952 show that great progress was made during the year in reducing the dollar gap between U. S. commercial exports and imports.

"Total exports from the United States in 1952 amounted to \$15,200 million—some \$140 million lower than the record high of 1947. Imports totalled \$10,700 million, about \$250 million lower than the 1951 peak.

"This resulted in an apparent gap of \$4,500 million. It was more than in 1951 or 1950, but less than in any other post-war year. However, when \$1,980 million of military aid shipments are excluded from the exports, the commercial trade gap amounted to only \$2,520 million, less than in any post-war year except 1950, when it was \$1,400 million."

U.S. and Underdeveloped Countries

The *United Nations World* for February, 1953, writes:

"A recent episode at the United Nations may be compared to a false alarm causing a kind of moral stampede among international business circles.

"A resolution has been passed by the General Assembly concerning nationalization of natural resources, the reaction to which was so strong that the whole future of American capital investment abroad seemed to be threatened.

"Shortly before the Christmas recess, the General Assembly's Economic and Financial Committee was startled by a Uruguayan draft proposal affirming the right of each country to nationalize and exploit freely its natural wealth. American delegates were astonished that Uruguay should press for U. N. recognition of sovereign rights already safeguarded by international law and practice. They were immediately concerned that such a gratuitous slap at private investors, with no mention of compensation or other rights, might dampen the ardor of American investors and disrupt the flow of U.S. capital to underdeveloped areas.

"These fears were increased several days later when a majority of the committee, composed of delegates from underdeveloped countries, approved the resolution following a dramatic debate in which the United States and other defenders of the rights of private investors were silenced, and any reference to such rights was rejected. The National Association of Manufacturers called it an action which 'dims the hopes of underdeveloped nations raising their standards of living through foreign investment.' This sentiment was echoed by—among others—Keith Funston, President of the New York Stock Exchange. The action, said Funston, would have 'unfortunate and long last-

ing effects on the full flow of capital abroad from this country'."

The paper's comment was that though "the incident was almost harmless and could even be considered constructive," still the "attraction of underdeveloped countries for American capital has undoubtedly been damaged by the U. N.'s policy declaration on nationalization. Indeed, the U. N. itself has suffered in the eyes of many Americans."

There are two sides in this question. Americans should study the history of British, French and Dutch colonialism. These predatory nations always started with the "export of capital." Good faith can only be established on the basis of bilateral friendliness, devoid of any superior attitude and stripped of all ulterior motives.

U.S. Trade Policy

The Public Advisory Board for Mutual Security is a body of private individuals and was created by law to advise the directors of the Mutual Security Agency. Recently the Board have submitted their recommendations on the trade policy that should be followed by the U.S.A. These recommendations will be considered in formulating the New Administration's foreign trade policy.

In their report to President Eisenhower, the Board have emphasized the point that decisions on trade policy should be based on national interest rather than on the interest of particular industries or groups. The Board said:

"So long as the import policy of the United States is based on the concept that imports cannot come into the country if they threaten injury to a domestic industry, there is little scope for increasing imports.

"Under present-day conditions, this concept is insufficient. The concept of the national interest in trade policy must start with the principle that the object of trade policy is to strengthen the national economy, to increase domestic production, and to raise levels of real income and standards of living in the economy as a whole. Beyond that the national interest in trade policy must be concerned with the relation of trade to the defence and security of the United States, including its effect on foreign relations."

The Board have recommended the abolition of the "escape clause" and "peril point" procedures as now provided by law; under which the President could withdraw tariff concessions if increased imports injured a domestic industry. Under the latter procedure the Tariff Commission submitted advance judgement as to how far the President could go in making tariff concessions without threatening serious injury to a domestic industry. Instead the Board suggested a government assistance programme to affected industries in the form of longer unemployment insurance benefits for displaced workers and retraining of workers; and Government loans to aid conversion to new lines of production or to start new industries in communities affected by tariff reductions.

The Board was hopeful that the dollar payments problem could be met in the course of the next few years. They estimated the dollar gap as about \$1,500 million in 1952. If the Board's recommendations were carried out, it was said, U.S. imports could be increased from about \$700 million a year after three years to \$1,000 million annually after five years. The largest increase in imports would be in manufactured goods of about \$500 million to \$700 million a year.

Trade between India and Denmark in 1952

The *Danish News*, March 15, reports that trade between India and Denmark decreased considerably during 1952. India's exports to Denmark dropped from 23.7 million kroner (145 kroner=100 rupees) in 1950 to 15.9 million kroner in 1951 and in 1952 to 6.9 million kroner. Danish exports to India amounted to 20.3 million kroner in 1950 and 26.6 million kroner in 1951. It decreased considerably and was only 13.5 million kroner in 1952.

In the view of the *Danish News*, the fall in Denmark's exports to India is only temporary. The drop was due to import restrictions of the Government of India and to the fact that certain Danish specialities fetched higher prices in other countries than in India. Of the Indian imports from Denmark Dairy products (butter, milk and cheese), pharmaceuticals and machinery and electric goods together constituted more than 60 per cent of the total.

Rising Income of Soviet Peasants

Yakov Usherenko writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*: "In the Soviet countryside meetings are today being held to hear report of the management boards on the results of the year and to elect new management boards in collective farms. The members of each of the 97,000 collective farms, uniting the peasants of the Soviet Union, are discussing the results of work of the management boards they elected last year, are distributing the incomes gained in 1952 and are mapping out production tasks for this year."

In 1952 the gross harvest of grain in the U.S.S.R. collected 8,000 million poods—the highest compared with all the preceding years. The harvest of wheat increased by 23 per cent; there was a considerable increase in the gross yield of cotton, sugar, beet, sunflower, flax and other technical crops as well as potatoes and vegetables. The commonly owned livestock in the collective farms also increased appreciably.

The striking success of Soviet agriculture was due to the fact that "Socialist agriculture is conducted on the largest scale in the world and is the most mechanized, it has more up-to-date machinery than agriculture anywhere else."

"In 1952 the income per working peasant increased by 8 per cent. Life is becoming ever prosperous in the Soviet countryside. This is particularly seen in the

extensive construction of new farm buildings in collective farms, of collective farm hydroelectric stations, cultural institutions, as well as the mass construction by collective farmers of new houses. In 1952 in rural localities of the Soviet Union 370,000 new houses were built."

Agrarian Reform in Viet-Nam

Discussing the significance and scope of the land reform in the territories under the rule of Ho Chi-Minh, I. Podkopayer writes that one of the most important achievements of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam had been agrarian reform. The significance of this reform, he writes, "may be judged from the fact that peasants make up 90 per cent of the country's population, of the People's Army, the territorial units and the partisan detachments."

"Prior to the August revolution of 1945 over 7,000,000 peasants out of a total of 19,000,000 had no land at all, and approximately half of the peasant population had only tiny plots, manifestly inadequate to produce enough food for the tiller and his family. On the other hand, 75 per cent of all the land was concentrated in the hands of the big landlords, colonial companies, French settlers and Catholic missions. For example, 705 big French planters possessed between them 377,000 hectares of rice land. The municipal lands, comprising one-tenth of the arable, were virtually controlled by a handful of big landlords and French planters. The French colonialists were constantly adding to their possessions by seizing idle lands, or by appropriating the plots of Viet-Nam peasants in payment of debts.

"The democratic government of Viet-Nam launched on a programme of agrarian reform immediately after its accession to power. It introduced a number of measures to ease the lot of the peasant masses; rents were cut by 25 to 50 per cent and interest on peasant debts was either substantially reduced or cancelled altogether. Peasant committees were set up to see that rents were reduced and to settle all disputes with landlords. In pursuance of its agrarian reform programme, the government subsequently turned over to the peasants, in temporary tenure, lands confiscated from the colonialists and traitors. Municipal lands were likewise distributed among the labouring peasants. By the end of 1951, 420,000 peasants had received, in temporary tenure, additional plots totalling 250,000 hectares.

"The uniform agricultural tax law enacted in the summer of 1951 contributed in no small share to the extension of peasant crop areas. The new law abolished the multiplicity of taxes and levies and exempted from the tax, for a long period, peasants who brought additional land under cultivation. The tax does not extend to private and state-owned experimental farms, and technical crops are taxed at a much lower rate than previously."

This report gives us something like the background to the struggle in Indo-China. This shows where

lies the weakness of French colonialism, and the strength of the opposing force.

World Industrial Production

The *American Economy*, a weekly bulletin published by United States Information Service, reports:

"World industrial production in 1951 was more than twice as great as in 1929 and about 75 per cent greater than pre-war 1937, the *U. N. Statistical Yearbook* for 1952, just published, reveals."

Among other interesting things disclosed by the *Yearbook* is the fact that since World War II, the United States has replaced Britain as the world's largest trading centre. The U. S. total of exports and imports (in dollars) rose from 11.8 per cent in 1938 to 16.5 per cent in 1951. During the same period U.S. imports have increased faster than exports (by 405 per cent against 385 per cent).

In India, the consumption of electricity has increased by 51 per cent in 1951 as compared with 1937. India and Japan lead other Asian nations in the field of mass communications. India ranks next to the United States in world production of feature films. The number of broadcasting transmitters in India has increased from 4 in 1932 to 25 in 1950. Japan leads other Asian nations in the number of wireless receiving sets. India came first in Asia with a total of 578 daily newspapers with a combined circulation of 3,000,000 and an average seven copies per 1,000 population.

Press Council for Britain

Mr. Ernest Atkinson writes that the Royal Commission on the Press in Britain recommended among other things that the British Press itself should set up a General Council of the Press "to encourage the growth of the sense of public responsibility and public service amongst all engaged in the profession of journalism—that is, the editorial production of newspapers whether as directors, editors or other journalists and to further the efficiency of the profession and the well-being of those who practise it."

According to Mr. Atkinson, if current discussions in the various constituent bodies are successful, the Council will be set up on July 1, 1953.

Its objects were to be "to keep under review any developments likely to restrict the flow of information of public interest and importance"; to improve the methods of recruitment, education and training for the profession; and "by censuring undesirable types of professional conduct...to build up a code in accordance with the highest professional standards."

It would consider complaints about the conduct of the Press or of any persons towards the Press and would have duties with regard to the promotion of a pensions scheme for journalists, the establishment of common services, and the promotion of technical research. And it would study tendencies towards monopoly, would represent the Press in discussions with the Government,

the United Nations and Press organisations abroad, and would enshrine its work and decisions in published reports.

Getting agreement on a constitution for a voluntary body of this kind proved to be an unexpectedly long business. It has taken from 1949 until now to get a draft for submission to the Newspaper Proprietors Association, representing the national, or London-published, Press; the Newspaper Society which represents the daily and other provincial Press; the Scottish Daily Newspaper Society; the Scottish Newspaper Proprietors Association; the Institute of Journalists which includes a trades union section; the National Union of Journalists, which was most active in the original demand for a Royal Commission; and the Guild of British Newspaper Editors.

What these bodies are now being asked to approve is a constitution to embody a council with the objects of preserving "the established freedom of the British Press," of maintaining its character "in accordance with the highest professional and commercial standards," of keeping "under review any developments likely to restrict the supply of information of public interest and importance" and, in brief, of doing the other things suggested by the Royal Commission.

The Royal Commission had suggested that 20 per cent of the members of the proposed Council should be laymen. The Press bodies which have drafted the proposed constitution would have no lay members; on this point there has been some criticism, from within and without the Press. Moreover, the Council would hear representations only "from complainants actually affected," whether about the conduct of the Press or of any persons towards the Press. That provision also has been criticised.

A third line of criticism is that of the eight objects listed for the Council, some six serve the interests of the industry rather than those of the public, though indeed it has to be owned that many of those that would better the industry would better its service to the public in consequence.

Mr. Atkinson discounts the natural nervousness among the Press that what was being done might lead to "a kind of Fleet Street Bureaucracy."

Prof. K. T. Shah

The death of Professor K. T. Shah leaves a gap amongst the illustrious figures that adorned the Indian academic and political circles. A distinguished scholar and an equally distinguished academician he will be missed particularly in Bombay. Economist, historian, political scientist, author and teacher, Shah has left his mark also as one of the first Planners.

In the Constituent Assembly Shah left the impress of his keen intellect. It is in the fitness of things that he—and some few others—was left out of the herd of mediocrities that got elected into the House of People.

RISE OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

By DR. RAJANI KANTA DAS and DR. SONYA RUTH DAS*

A most important institution of a modern society is the Parliament, which not only serves the political and, to a large extent, economic ends, but also influences almost every phase of social life. Unlike most other institutions, Parliament is a dynamic organization and deals with the actual needs and problems of a society in the process of its development. Herein lies the advantage of the British Parliament, which is based on the flexible social tradition rather than on the rigid written constitution. But even the written constitution is subject to amendment and the Indian Constitution, although installed on January 26, 1950, has already been amended. What is more significant is the fact that Parliament is both a stabilizing and stimulating force in social life. While it defines the code of procedure for its members, it also grants them immunity or perfect freedom of speech and thought within its scope, thus assuring, at the same time, social stability and social progress.

EARLIER LEGISLATIVE SOURCES

The origins of the Indian Parliament may be traced back to a number of sources; first, the Council Act of 1833 renewing the Charter of the East India Company and empowering the Governor-General's Legislative Council to act as a law-making body for the whole of India, and its subsequent amendments, especially in 1861 and 1909, increasing the size of the Council and adding more and more non-official members with greater power of asking questions, criticizing the executive and moving resolutions. Second, the Government of India Act of 1919 making the Indian Legislative Council a Central Legislature with two chambers and providing a legislature to each of the ten major or Governor's provinces with one or two chambers as well as of five minor or Chief Commissioners' provinces; and the Government of India Amending Act of 1935 raising the Central Legislature to the Federal Legislature of both British India and Indian States and granting autonomy to all the major provinces with effect from April 1, 1937.

A more direct source of the present Parliament was, however, the Constituent Assembly, provided by the White Paper of May 16, 1946, which had representatives from all communities and political parties except from the Moslem League, and convened its first session under the chairmanship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad on December 9, 1946. The Constituent Assembly was created both to frame the Constitution of India and to pass various bills including the budget during the transitional period. With the establishment of the Dominion of India and the transfer of power, the Indian Interim Government

ceased to exist and India became a Dominion or practically an independent State under the Statute of 1926.

On November 17, 1947, the Indian Constituent Assembly met in the new capacity of a sovereign legislative body as the representative of independent India and elected a veteran Congress Party leader, G. V. Mavalankar, as the first Speaker. This new Parliament had representatives from all political parties and governments and consisted of 229 members from the Indian Provinces and 69 members from the Indian States. In spite of representation by other parties, the Congress Party practically dominated the first Indian Parliament.

THE FIRST GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Indian Republic was inaugurated on January 23, 1950. While the Central Legislature, as constituted under the Government of India Act of 1919, represented only two per cent of the population, and the Federal Legislature, as provided by the Government of India Amending Act of 1935, would have represented only 13 per cent of the population, the Parliament of the Indian Republic represents all the people of India as elected and determined by adult suffrage, i.e., by all men and women of 21 years of age and over. In order to give the people of India to exercise their right and to elect their representatives to the Union Parliament and the State Assemblies, the Government of the Indian Republic undertook the task of the first general elections as soon as it came into power.

In carrying out the project, the Government of the Indian Republic met with several difficulties. First of all, as the world's second largest populous country (361 million), its electorate was also very large, amounting to about 175 million, of whom about 80 per cent were illiterate. The problem of illiteracy was solved by devising a symbol for each political party, such as two bullocks yoked together representing the Congress Party and a few ears of corn against a sickle the Communist Party. Secondly, there were 75 political parties, although only a few of them on the All-India basis and only about a score of them were recognised by adequate number of voters for the House of the People. Moreover, the very fact that there were 17,000 candidates, including 1,800 for the House of the People, complicated the situation. Thirdly, an aspirant for Parliament was allowed by

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law to spend Rs. 25,000 for his campaign in a single member constituency and Rs. 35,000 in case he contested a seat in double-member constituency. Finally, the extensive area of the country, lack of modern transport systems in most of the rural districts, and the presence of the purdah system especially among the Moslem women in various parts of the country, added to the confusion.

The Government succeeded in overcoming most of the difficulties, divided the electorate into 33,259 constituencies, provided 244,000 polling booths and supplied an extra personnel of 600,000 and the cost of the whole program amounted to Rs. 500 million. The actual and direct elections of the 3,772 representatives to the House of the People and to the State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges lasted over three months between October 1951 and February 1952. They were followed by the indirect elections of 546 representatives to the Council of States and the Legislative Councils of several States. Finally, a few members were nominated by the President from backward areas or communities as well as from highly and specifically qualified groups in science and philosophy and art and literature.

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE AND STATE ASSEMBLIES

The Indian Constitution provides both for direct and indirect elections. The people elected directly 489 members to the House of the People or the Lower House of Parliament, 3,279 to State Assemblies and 90 to Electoral Colleges. In view of her earlier election of the members of the Constituent Assembly, Kashmir and Jammu did not take part in the first general elections of India. For the sake of economy and convenience on the part of both the Government and the electorate, all the three elections were held simultaneously.

The House of the People: The center of the legislative organization of the country is the House of the People. Of the total electorate of 175 million people, 107.5 million* or 61 per cent of the total voted and elected 489 representatives of a total of 499 (the remaining 10 being nominated by the President) to the House of the People. Of the total elected members, the Congress Party secured 362 seats or about three-fourths and the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party (peasant workers party) secured respectively 23, 12 and 9 seats. (Appendix I).

Since the elections, there have taken place important changes due partly to nominations and partly to the co-ordination of, or working alliance among the political parties. All of the above Parties,

* Including about two million invalid votes. Since most of invalid votes have been excluded for some technical reasons, these votes indicate at least the preferences of the voters for some particular candidates or political groups.

except the Socialists, have gained new seats. The present relative strength of different political parties including ten nominated members is indicated below. It will be seen that the Congress Party still maintains three-fourths of the seats in the full House of the People, the Communist Party retains its leadership among the opposition parties with added strength, and other opposition parties have also gained in strength.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE, 1952

Political parties	Number of seats	Per cent of total
The Congress Party	373	74.75
The Communist Party	31	6.21
The Socialist Praja Party	28*	5.61
The National Democratic Party	37**	7.41
Other Parties, including Independents	30	6.00
Total	499	100.00

Source: *India News* (The High Commission of India, London), August 23, 1952.

* It is a parliamentary arrangement between the Socialist Party with its 12 seats and the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party with 16 seats including additional 9 seats since the election.

** Three rightist parties, Ganatantra Parishad, the Hindu Mahasabha of which Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was the former president, and the Jana Sangha, which Dr. Mookerjee has recently founded, are grouped together.

State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges: Of the electorate of 175 million, 103.5 million or 59 per cent voted and elected 3,369 members to 22 State Assemblies and 3 Electoral Colleges (see Appendix II). Of these seats, the Congress Party secured 2,295 seats or 68 per cent, and the other parties secured less than 5 per cent each. It will also be seen that a little over one-tenth of the seats were distributed among other political parties and about one-tenth of the members remained independent or without affiliation with any party.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN STATE ASSEMBLIES AND ELECTORAL COLLEGES, 1952

Political parties	Number of seats	Per cent of total
The Congress Party	2,295	68.12
The Communist Party	161	4.77
The Socialist Party	125	3.72
The Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party	77	2.28
Other political parties	377	11.19
Independents	331	9.91
Total	3,369	100.00

Source: *India News* (The High Commission of India, London), May 17, 1952.

The Congress Party has not only secured the absolute majority in the House of the People, but also in the 18 of the 22 State Assemblies and has become the largest single party in the four others, namely, in the State Assemblies of Madras, Orissa,

Travancore-Cochin, and Pepsu (Patiala and the East Punjab States Union). In Orissa, the Congress Party was four short of an absolute majority and in Pepsu five short. In Pepsu, the Akali Dal, a Sikh Radical Party of the Punjab, together with the Communists and dissident Congressists, formed a new common-front party and secured the control of the Legislative Assembly. Both in Madras and Travancore-Cochin, the Congress Party secured a little over two-fifths of the seats and, with the help of the independents, formed the Congress Government. Shri Rajagopalachari Chakravarti, former Governor-General of the Indian Union, has become the Chief Minister of Madras and declared the Communists as enemy No. 1 (Appendix II).

Next to the Congress Party, the Communists have secured the largest number of seats both in the House of the People and State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges, specially in the latter, securing 62 seats in Madras, 42 in Hyderabad, and 28 in West Bengal. The Socialists secured the next largest number of seats, winning 23 seats in Bihar, 18 in Uttar Pradesh, 13 in Madras, and 11 each in Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin. The next in importance is the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party, which won 35 seats in Madras and 15 seats in West Bengal. (Appendix II).

Voting Strength of Political Parties: Both the general popularity and potential strength of a political party are best indicated by the number of votes received at the polls. (Appendix III). What is more important is, however, the strategic organization of the votes to secure the largest number of seats possible rather than mere gathering of votes. In the House of the People as well as in State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges, for instance, the Congress Party received respectively 41 and 41 per cent of the votes and secured 74 and 68 per cent of the seats as compared with the Socialist Party which received respectively 11 and 10 per cent of the votes and 6.3 and 3.4 per cent of the seats, and as compared with the Communist Party, which received respectively 5.4 per cent and 6.2 per cent of votes and 12.1 and 4.7 per cent of the seats; in other words, the Congress Party is a more solidly and efficiently organized political body in India and next to it is the Communist Party which is also very well-organized. The large numbers of votes received by the Socialist Party as well as by the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party indicate, however, that a large number of people have confidence in them.

COUNCIL OF STATES AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

The members of the Council of States or the Upper House of the Federal Parliament and of Legislative Councils of seven States were elected indirectly. The Council of States has 216 members, 200 of whom were elected by the members of the State Legislative

Assemblies and 16 members were nominated by the President, four to represent Jammu and Kashmir and 12 to represent special knowledge or experience in literature, science, art, and social services. The position of political parties in the Council of States is best indicated by their present representatives, such as the Congress Party, 146 or 73 per cent of the elected members, and the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party gaining respectively 9, 6, and 4 or a total of 19 seats or 9.5 per cent and the remaining 17.5 per cent consisting of other political parties and independents.*

The members of the Legislative Councils of Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal have been chosen by the following methods:

- (1) One-third each by Legislative Assemblies and by municipal and other local bodies;
- (2) One-twelfth each by University graduates of at least three years standing and by teachers of not lower than secondary schools; and
- (3) The remaining one-sixth has been nominated by the Governors of the States on the basis of their knowledge or experience of literature, science, art, co-operative movement, and social service.

SPEAKER, VICE-PRESIDENT, AND PRESIDENT

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was elected by the Constituent Assembly to become the first President of the Indian Republic, was re-elected by the Electoral College consisting of 669 members of the Federal Parliament and 3,358 members of the 23 State Legislatures on May 6, 1952. Dr. Prasad thus became the first popularly elected President of the Indian Republic. Under Section 4(1) of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election Act of 1952, the Vice-President is authorized to act as the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States and as President in the event of any vacancy in the office of President, to hold office for a period of five years and to draw the same salary as the Speaker of the House of the People. Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan was elected as Vice-President on April 25, 1952. Shri G. V. Mavalankar, former Speaker of the House of the People, was re-elected to be the Speaker also of the first popularly elected House of the People.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC

The first Parliament of the Indian Republic, elected on the basis of the adult suffrage, held its inaugural session on May 13, 1952. On the advice of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the Congress Party and re-appointed as Prime Minister of the Government of the Indian Republic, President Rajendra

* Consisting of Schedule Caste Federation 2, People's Democratic Front 2, Krishikar Lok Party 1, Forward Block (Marxist) 1, Hindu Mahasabha 1, Jana Sangha 1, and Independents and others 27. (*India News*, High Commission of India, London, April 5, 1952).

Prasad appointed 14 other members of the new Cabinet, 4 Ministers of the Cabinet rank and 2 Deputy Ministers. The President, the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House, Members of the Cabinet and other members of Parliament were all sworn in on the same day. After the ceremony, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said :

"I have just taken the oath of office as President and affirmed my determination to dedicate myself to the service of this great country. As President I stand before you as a sign and symbol of the Republic of India."

On the 16th of May, President Rajendra Prasad addressed the joint session of both the Houses of Parliament. "I welcome you here today," said the President, "as the members of the first Parliament of the Republic of India elected under our Constitution," and pointed out a threefold role of India : First, India has after a long period of subjection gained her freedom and independence. That freedom has to be maintained, defended, and enlarged at all costs, for it is on the basis of that freedom alone that any structure of progress can be built. Second, freedom must, however, bring happiness to the people. It has, therefore, become of vital importance for the people of India to labour for rapid economic advancement of the people and to endeavour to realise the noble ideals of equality and social and economic justice which have been laid down in the Indian Constitution. Thirdly, India will continue her support for the struggling nations of Asia and Africa for their liberation and will consistently pursue a policy of friendship with all the countries of the world.

The President mentioned India's food shortage for many years and of the necessity of her importing food-grains from abroad, and expressed his gratefulness to the United States for generous help in this regard and welcomed India's attempts to build up substantial reserves of food-grains (except rice) for meeting future emergencies. The President also referred to the finalizing of the Five-year Plan to which has been added 55 community projects throughout the country with the help of the United States through their Technical Co-operation Plan. These projects intend not only to increase food production, but also to raise the whole-sale level of community living. Finally, the President expressed his satisfaction at the progress of the integrated program for agricultural production as indicated by increase of jute, cotton, sugar, and food-grains, between the period of 1947-48 and 1951-52, although the production of the last group of crops were somewhat affected in certain areas.

A most important phase of the President's speech was his reference to some specific aspect of Indian culture.

"India has represented throughout her history," continued the President, "certain other urges of human spirit. That has perhaps been the distinguishing mark of India and even in recent years we

saw the noble example of that ancient spirit and urge of India in Mahatma Gandhi who led us to freedom . . . And he taught us . . . that it is not through hatred and violence that great ends are achieved, but right ends must be pursued and achieved only through right methods. That is a basic lesson not only for us of India but, if I may venture to say so, for the people throughout the world."

CO-ORDINATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Government by political parties is the basic principle of the Parliamentary system. It is only under constant vigilance and constructive criticism by opposition parties that a dominant and ruling party can develop an effective and efficient policy of service to a country. Under the Dominion Government of India, the Congress Party ruled almost single-handed, but even in the elections, the Congress Party has secured three-fourths of the votes. All other parties combined together have received only one-fourth of the votes, which being divided among 19 parties varied from 1 to 23 seats. The most important among these opposition parties as mentioned before, are the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party, and the National Democratic Party, representing respectively the extreme leftist, the leftist and the rightist parties.

The Congress Party : The most important political organization in India is the Congress Party, the political spearhead of the Indian National Congress, which was founded over two generations ago and which counted among its "Founding Fathers," the standard-bearers of what were the best and noblest both in the East and the West and had amongst its leaders such an outstanding personality as Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi added his moral and spiritual forces to the national political movement and succeeded in liberating India from foreign domination. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the successor of Mahatma Gandhi and the leader of the Indian National Congress and the President of the Congress Party. The Congress Party took charge, first, of the Interim Government on September 2, 1946 ; secondly, of the Dominion Government on August 15, 1947, and finally, of the Government of the Indian Republic on January 26, 1950. Two outstanding achievements of the Congress Government during this period were, first, the integration of the Princely States into the Indian Union ; and, secondly, the publication of the Five-year Plan, especially for increasing the production of food and raw material and for enlarging the scope of employment and of social welfare in a relatively short period of time. In the first general elections of 1951-52, the people of India overwhelmingly showed confidence in the Congress Party and, on May 13, 1952, re-appointed Dr. Rajendra Prasad as their President and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru as their Prime Minister. Although out of 489 elected seats in the House of the People, the Congress Party secured only 362, by nomination and

other procedure, the number of Congress representatives has been raised to 373 out of a total of 499 members, i.e., 74 per cent.

The Communist Party : The second important political party in India is the Communist and their Allies, who, though not officially so recognized, act as opposition party in the House of the People with only 31 members. They have also obtained the second largest number of seats in State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges, which have added to their prestige. The Communist movement in India has, however, a checkered history, such as arrests, detentions, imprisonments, and banishments for life of their leaders during the period of 1927-42. Several of their leaders were still in prison in 1942, when they were released by the Government of India on condition of their support in fighting the Axis and the Congress Party. Recently, the Communist Party has been accused of participating in the uprisings in Hyderabad against the Government of India, subversive activities in railway strikes, armed raids near Dum Dum in 1948, and participation in agrarian upheavals in Madhya Bharat in 1949. On June 4, 1952, the Communists were also accused in the House of the People by an Indian fellow ex-Communist* who happened to be also an

* Dr. S. Sinha, a former Captain in the Soviet Army.

army officer in the Soviet Union, of working under the direct Cominform instruction from Moscow. This charge was challenged by A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist Party in the House of the People ; and the case is under investigation by a Parliamentary Committee. Although the Communists secured only 23 seats by direct elections, this number has been raised to 31 by combinations and nominations.

The Government's Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill, permitting the detention of a person for 12 months without trial and extending the existing measures up to the end of 1954, was strongly opposed by the Communist members of Parliament, practically all of whom had been interned some time or other as well as by other non-Congress members. The approval of the bill by Parliament, especially by the Council of States, early in August, 1952, enraged P. P. Sundaraya, leader of the Communist Party, who threatened that if the Communists come into power, they would shoot outright all landlords, *jagirdars* (feudal landholders) and blackmarketers and refused to surrender all illicit arms possessed by his followers, unless they were granted immunity from arrest.

The Socialist Party : The third important political group in India is the Socialist Party, which came into existence in India in 1924, and since 1931 had formed a part of the Congress Party. The Congress-Socialists opposed the civil disobedience movement of the Congress in 1942 and the entry of the Congress Party into the Interim Government in 1946. In 1947, under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narayan, the Congress-

Socialist Party held a conference at Kanpur, changed its name into the Socialist Party of India and defined its objective to be the following :

"The working class will have to shoulder increasing responsibility not only for the nationalization of the means of production, but, also for the preservation of national unity and territorial integrity of India."

The Parliamentary leader of the party is Acharya Narendra Deva. The Socialist Party is, however, not very well organized. In spite of the fact that the Party received twice as many votes as the Communist Party, it secured only 12 seats, i.e., less than one-half as many. Next to the Congress Party, the Socialist Party received, however, the largest number of the votes, indicating its popularity among the people.

The Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party (Peasant Workers' Party KMP) : The fourth political party in India is the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party, which was founded by J. B. Kripalani, a former President of the Indian National Congress. It aims at a casteless and classless society, consolidation of the holdings into economic units, co-operative farming, ownership of land by the cultivators, the revival of the village as the basis of regional economy, and co-ordination of agriculture and industry. Shri Kripalani was, however, defeated in the general elections, and his wife, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, once a staunch Congress member and Gandhi follower, took the leadership of the party. The party received only nine seats in the general elections, but since then by nominations and combinations with other parties, the number of its representatives has been raised to 16.

The Socialist Praja Party : This is a new parliamentary party formed by the members of the Socialist Party and the Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party soon after general elections. The total number of seats of these two parties in the House of the People is 25. The combined voting strength of these two parties in the general elections was 16.6 million as compared with 47.8 million for the Congress Party in electing the members to the House of the People, thus indicating the popularity of these parties. In brief, these two political parties have found a common formula for the co-ordination of the efforts of several political parties on a common basis. They expect that other leftist parties will join them in the formation of a genuine opposition Party. Moreover, they have taken steps for merging these two organizations into one larger political party.

The National Democratic Party : The conservative or moderate rightist party consists of the Ganatantra Parishad, the Hindu Mahasabha of which Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, though not a communalist, was the President, and the Jana Sangha which was founded by Dr. Mukherjee himself on a threefold platform, such as re-united India, alliances with progressive nations, and a network of co-operatives for cheap supplies of

cultivators' needs. On the tickets of these three political groups, there are 37 representatives, who may be rightfully regarded to be the nucleus of the Conservative Party under the leadership of Dr. Mukherjee. The Jana Sangha secured over three million votes or the fifth largest number. The popularity of Dr. Mukherjee has, however, been built on a much stronger foundation, i.e., his championship of the cause of over ten million Hindus who have been left in East Pakistan, and his resignation from the Congress Cabinet as a protest against Nehru's Pakistan policy. Moreover, with his great personality, wide experience, and brilliant oratory, Dr. Mukherjee has become an outstanding opposition leader and the spokesman of the non-Congress members in the House of the People.

DEVELOPMENT OF A WELFARE STATE

The Parliament of the Republic of India has taken its rise in the most creative and, at the same time, critical period of her national life. All the members of Parliament, irrespective of their political affiliation, are the representatives of the people, by far the majority of whom have been long subjected to starvation, ill-health, illiteracy and unemployment. The salvation of this submerged mass of Indian humanity from misery and degradation is the first and foremost duty of the Indian Parliament. Of these problems, the most outstanding is the food shortage which has been aggravated since Partition by the loss of a proportionately larger share of food-grain growing areas to Pakistan. "The one thing needful" to India today is the self-sufficiency in food supply to meet the basic needs of her people.

The Constitution of India has made some provisions for the development of the Welfare State under what are known as Directive Principles. They envisage a social and economic order based on the equality of opportunity, the right to work and to an adequate wage, and a certain measure of social security for the people. The most important measures taken by the Government of India for the welfare of the people are, first, the acceptance by the Government of India of population control as the national policy. Second, the development of her agrarian economy into industrial economy by rapid industrialization of her productive process. Finally, the application of science and technology to agriculture to intensify and diversify its productivity and to augment national food supply.

Indo-United States Relationship: Although the American people have always been interested in India's freedom from British colonial rule, it took sometime to establish amicable diplomatic relations between the two countries. The achievement by India of her national independence on August 15, 1947, was followed by the establishment of the Indo-American diplomatic relationship on traditional lines. This did not lead to a close and cordial relationship between the two countries for a while. A great need was felt in

certain higher quarters for raising the Indo-American diplomatic relations to a higher cultural level, and Chester Bowles, formerly Price Administrator of the U. S. Government and Governor of Connecticut, was chosen for the task. In the course of a year, Ambassador Bowles has succeeded in bringing about a much better relationship between India and the United States.

In his statement on August 15, 1952, the sixth anniversary day of Indian independence, Ambassador Bowles showed a wonderful grasp of India's past and prospective contribution to mankind and a very high appreciation of India's struggle for national independence, integration of 550 States into the Indian Union, and the drafting of the democratic Constitution and the foundation of the Republic of India, each of which is "a unique record."

"We find in India," declared Ambassador Bowles, "a great symbol of man's determination to live his own free life and man's faith that perfectibility of the human individual can be achieved by non-violence. You are building that new India. Yours is the major contribution and ours is only a part. We wish you all well as we are convinced that the welfare of mankind is wrapped up in India's future."—(*India News*, High Commission for India, London, August 9, 1952).

There is a great need in India of a similar understanding and appreciation of American culture and American position in the world. It was the "Pilgrim Fathers" who brought to America the "rugged individualism" of the "dissenters of dissenters" and "European Culture," the best human achievement of the time. Both of them served as rock bottom, on which the mighty American civilization has been built. Any threat on the American concept of individuality by Fascism, Nazism, Communism, and dictatorship is strongly resisted by the American people. And any attempt by foreign powers to conquer Western Europe, especially Great Britain and France, the fountain-heads of American culture, has been met by the United States with armed forces, as in World War I, and partly also in World War II, although the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour was its immediate cause. World War II has been followed by "cold war," "iron curtain" and "fifth column." The American people are fully convinced that until a better method, e.g., effective disarmament is found, the best way to avoid the third world war and to maintain peace is the preparation for self-defense by all means at their disposal. The country, which played a most important part, not only in the supply of arms and ammunition, but in the winning of World War I and World War II could not be expected to do otherwise, especially in this tense period of world history.

United States Aid to Food Self-sufficiency: America's desire to help India in her economic development is not hard to understand. First of all, the benevolent spirit of the American people arising from

successful economic conquest of their vast territories and a subconscious impulse of revolt against colonial policy of Britain in India, against which they themselves have fought. Secondly, the enlightened self-interest of the American people to improve the productive capacity, purchasing power, and living standard of the backward people so that they can supply a better market for export and import trade. Finally, the strategic importance of India, which the United States first realized in Japan's drive against Burma in World War II. Moreover, since the loss of China to democracy, the importance of India to the free world and, especially to the United States, has become quite evident.

Recently India has received financial and technical assistance including loans from different sources, such as the World Bank, the Colombo Plan, the Ford Foundation and the Indo-American Agreement under the Point IV Programme. The Economic Aid by the U.S. Government to India during the year amounted to about \$100,000,000. Moreover, the United States also completed the delivery of 2,000,000 tons of food-grains which was promised a year ago as loans. The most important need of India is, however, assistance from the United States to her development of self-sufficiency in food production. Ambassador Bowles has also pointed out that the foundation of Indian society must be built on the production of food as she had to avoid the huge expenditure of 600 million dollars on her food imports. The savings can be utilized for the rapid industrialization of the country.

An unusual, and at the same time very important, development in the United States is the pledge by a bi-partisan group in Congress of the United States aid to India for the completion of her Five-year Plan. The signatories of the group consist of several senators and representatives of both Republican and Democratic parties who would like to assure India of the continued and sympathetic interest of the United States no matter whatever party might come to power after the November elections. India's five-year investment plan, as different from the technical assistance of undetermined value, calls for a total outlay of \$3,765 million and intends to make India self-sufficient in food production. The proposed bi-partisan resolution reads as follows:

"The Congress . . . favors assistance to the Republic of India from public and private sources, consistent with the financial capability of the United States to enable the people of India to plan with continuity and assurance for the economic development and improvement of their country."—(*New York Times*, June 5, 1952).

There is every reason to believe that the Government of the United States, whether Republican or Democratic after the elections, will accept the Congress bi-partisan policy and continue its assistance to the completion of India's Five-year Plan, especially in

regard to her self-sufficiency in food supply. The greatest service that can be rendered to India is the training of her people in the art of producing her own food requirements. It will not only supply sufficient food to her starving population, but will also save her about Rs. 3,000 million a year with which she can rapidly industrialize her productive processes. Thus the welfare economy, some elements of which were founded under British rule and some provisions have been laid down by the new Constitution, has been taking shape around self-sufficiency in food production under the Five-year Plan.

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The first general election in India is a great event in the history of popular and democratic suffrage. It involved a gigantic task of mobilizing the world's second largest and mostly illiterate electorate of 175 million voters to the polls. About one-half of them voted and elected directly 3,772 representatives to the House of the People and State Assemblies and indirectly 546 representatives to the Council of States or the Upper House of the Union Parliament and to the Legislative Councils or the Upper Chambers of the States of Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. The election was free, fair, and peaceful. The orderliness and efficiency with which the whole programme of the elections was carried out, added credit to the Government of India. India has also set an example to underdeveloped countries as to the possibility of organizing illiterate masses for popular suffrage and establishing democratic governments.

The Congress Party has achieved an overwhelming victory both in federal and State elections. With about three-fourths of seats in the House of the People as well as in the State Assemblies and Electoral Colleges, the Congress Party has established strong governments in the Indian Union and in most of the States. Although the opposition parties secured only one-fourth of the seats, they showed both strength and vitality. Since the general elections, they have even regrouped and reorganized themselves into more solid and larger political parties. Extremism, whether to the right or to the left, may have "nuisance value," nevertheless, it is wiser to have it in the open and within the scope of Parliament than underground and outside. While the extreme rightist parties or the communists were badly defeated at the polls, serious accusations against the Communist Party in both Houses of Parliament and the refusal of the Communist leaders to surrender their illicit arms have done more harm to the cause of Communism than any anti-Communist measure.

The first and most important outcome of the general election is the rise of political parties, which is an essential requirement of a parliamentary government. Although the combined strength of the opposi-

tion parties is only one-fourth of the total number of the representatives in the House of the People, they are well organized, founded upon definite principles, and guided by competent leaders. Secondly, the people of India have reiterated their faith in a secular State by a decisive verdict against all parties with communal and religious policies. Thirdly, the election of a large number of women, i.e., 33 in the Union Parliament and 82 in the States Legislatures, is very significant. As compared with men, women are in a better position to present their own cause as well as that of the children to the nation, take more active part in social reform in which they are vitally interested, exert salutary influence on all questions of national and international importance and even carry Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence message to their colleagues in other lands and work for international disarmament and world peace.

APPENDICES

(Abbreviations used represent: Con., Congress; K.M.P., Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party; Com., Communist; O.P., Other Parties; and Ind., Independents.)

APPENDIX I

House of the People: Final Election Score

State	Con.	Soc.	KMP	Com.	O.P.	Ind.	Total
Assam	11	1	..	..	..	12	12
Bihar	45	3	..	..	6	1	55
Bombay	40	..	..	..	2	3	45
Madhya Pradesh	27	..	..	..	..	2	29
Madras	35	2	6	8	9	15	75
Orissa	11	1	..	1	5	2	20
Punjab	16	..	..	..	2	..	18
U. P.	81	2	..	..	1	2	86
West Bengal	24	..	..	5	4	1	34
Hyderabad	14	1	..	7	2	1	25
Madhya Bharat	9	..	..	..	2	..	11
Mysore	10	..	1	..	0	..	11
PEPSU	2	..	..	..	2	1	5
Rajasthan	9	..	..	..	5	6	20
Saurashtra	6	..	..	..	0	..	6
Travancore-Cochin	5	..	..	..	2	5	12
Ajmer	2	..	..	..	0	..	2
Bhopal	2	..	..	..	0	..	2
Bilaspur	..	..	..	..	0	1	1
Coorg	1	..	..	..	0	..	1
Delhi	3	..	1	..	..	..	4
Himachal Pradesh	2	..	..	..	0	1	3
Vindhya Pradesh	4	1	1	..	..	..	6
Kutch	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Manipur	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
Tripura	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
Total	362	12	9	23	42	41	489

Nominated 10

Total 499

Source: India News (The High Commission of India, London), May 17, 1952.

(1) Other parties winning seats are: Hindu Mahasabha 4, Jana Sangha 3, Ram Rajya Parishad 3, Peasants and Workers 2, Schedule Caste Fed-

eration 2, Ganatantra Parishad 5, Jharkhand Party of Bihar 3, Lok Sewak Sangh of Bihar 2, Tamil Nad Toilers Party of Madras 4, Commonwealth Party of Madras 3, Krishikar Lok Party 1, Forward Bloc 1, Revolutionary Socialist Party 1, Travancore Tamilnad Congress 1, Moslem League 1, Akali Dal of the Punjab 4.—(India News, The High Commission of India, London, February 23, 1952).

APPENDIX II

State Assemblies: Final Election Score

State	Con.	Soc.	KMP	Com.	O.P.	Ind.	Total
Assam	76	4	1	1	9	14	105
Bihar	240	23	1	..	53	13	330
Bombay	269	9	..	..	19	18	315
Madhya Pradesh	194	2	8	..	5	23	232
Madras	152	13	35	62	51	62	375
Orissa	67	10	..	7	35	21	140
Punjab	97	1	..	4	20	4	126
U. P.	390	18	1	..	6	14	429
West Bengal	151	..	15	23	29	15	238
Hyderabad	91	11	..	42	15	14	175
Madhya Bharat	75	4	..	..	17	3	99
Mysore	74	3	8	1	2	11	99
PEPSU	26	..	1	2	23	8	60
Rajasthan	82	1	1	..	41	35	160
Saurashtra	55	2	..	..	1	2	60
Travancore-Cochin	43	11	..	..	16	38	108
Ajmer	20	..	..	..	6	4	30
Bhopal	25	..	..	..	1	4	30
Coorg	15	..	..	6	..	9	30
Delhi	39	2	..	..	4	3	48
Himachal Pradesh	24	..	3	..	1	8	36
Vindhya Pradesh	41	10	3	..	4	2	60
Electoral Colleges	28	..	..	..	..	2	30
Kutch	10	1	..	2	16	1	30
Manipur	9	..	..	12	3	6	30
Tripura	9	..	..	12	3	6	30
Total	2295	125	77	161	377	334	3369

Source: India News (The High Commission of India, London), May 17, 1952.

APPENDIX III

Voting Strength of Political Parties

	House of the People		States Assemblies and Electoral Colleges	
Chief Political Parties	Total strength (million)	Per cent of total	Total strength (million)	Per cent of total
Congress Party	47.83	44.47	43.47	41.46
Socialist Party	11.00	10.25	9.95	9.60
Communist Party	5.89	5.44	6.25	6.20
Kisan-Mazdoor- Praja Party	5.66	5.26	5.07	5.00
Jana Sangha	3.22	2.99	2.81	2.71
Other Parties	17.74	16.55	26.14	15.58
Independents	15.52	14.42	10.90	10.52
<i>Total</i>	107.58*	100.00	103.59†	100.00

Source: India News (The High Commission of India, London), March 5 and 15, 1952.

* Including about 2 million invalid votes.

† Including over 1 million invalid votes.

CATTLE WEALTH IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

INDIA happens to be one of the important countries possessing about 29 per cent of the cattle and 84 per cent of the buffalo population of the world. The following table shows this fact¹:

Continent	No. of Cattle and Buffaloes (in Thousands)	Cattle	Buffaloes	Total	Remark
1. America	141,448	1,064	141,448		Reporting countries only.
2. Africa	31,082	1,064	32,146		
3. Asia—					
(a) Excluding U.S.S.R. and India	9,451	1,990	11,441		
(b) India (pre-partition)	151,881	46,220	206,081		
4. Europe	57,757	389	76,155		
5. Oceania	18,960	—	18,960		
6. U. S. S. R.	46,800	—	46,800		
Total	483,379	49,652	553,031		

India (partitioned)	136,371	40,617	176,988
Estimated for uncovered area	3,600	910	4,510
Total	139,971	41,527	181,498

India's share	29.0%	83.6%	34.0%
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The following table gives the total number of cattle and buffaloes in India before and after partition²:

	Cattle (000)	Buffaloes (000)	Total	Remarks
Pre-partition:				
Reported India	111,457	32,021	143,478	Based on 1945 Census
Reported Indian States	48,065	14,112	62,177	
Estimated for uncovered areas	3,600	910	4,510	
Total	163,122	47,043	210,165	
Post-partition:				
Estimated India	89,233	28,814	116,047	Figures worked out on the basis of divisions
Estimated Indian States	41,138	13,803	60,941	
Estimated for uncovered areas	3,600	910	4,510	
Total	139,971	41,527	181,498	
Percentage	77.1	22.9	100%	

1. The figures are taken from the latest issue of International Year Book of Agriculture and Statistics.

2. Vide T. T. Mulwani: "Cattle Wealth in India" (Rural India, October, 1950), p. 381.

It has been worked out that the proportion of males is more than half (54.4%) amongst cattle, while in case of buffalo the females predominate and are about three-fourths (72.8%) of the total. The reason for this disparity lies in the comparative utility of the two species. The oxen males are preferred to male buffaloes for agricultural purposes owing to their comparative lightness and active nature. Cows in the rural areas are maintained for producing bullocks rather than for milk. She-buffaloes, on the other hand, are considered to be better dairy animals than cows. The male buffaloes are neglected and many of them die or sold for slaughter before they attain maturity.

In 1940, of milch cattle in undivided India 96 per cent of the cows and 94 per cent of the she-buffaloes were located in rural areas and only 4 per cent of milch cows and 6 per cent of she-buffaloes were found in cities and towns.

The largest number of cattle is found in the Uttar Pradesh which possesses over 214 lakh heads or 15.4 per cent of the total strength in the country. This is followed by Madras with 165 lakh heads or 11.8 per cent while Madhya Pradesh, Berar, Bihar, Bombay and Rajasthan closely follow each other with 139, 114, 103 and 86 lakh heads respectively.

The density of cattle is highest in Rajasthan closely followed by Kashmir, possessing as many as 88 and 81 cattle per 100 acres of cultivated area. Hyderabad, Bombay, East Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Madras and C. P. show the densities having 32, 30, 28, 85, 80, 83, 71, and 54 cattle per 100 acres respectively. This stands in fair contrast with Holland, Egypt, China, and Japan which have 38, 25, 15 and 6 cattle per 100 acres of sown area.

The position is somewhat different when the density per square mile is taken into account. The West Bengal is densely populated, 283 animals per sq. mile followed by Uttar Pradesh with 192 animals per sq. mile. The places with lowest density are Saurashtra and Rajasthan with 67 cattle per sq. mile each and Kashmir with 25 cattle per sq. mile. For the country as a whole the density works out to 115 cattle per sq. mile and 44 cattle for 100 persons.³

3. In 1940, the densities of animals in the various provinces were as follows:

Provinces	Density per sq. mile		Density per hundred acres of cultivated areas	
	Oxen	Buffaloes	Oxen	Buffaloes
Bengal	292	14	78	4
Bihar	181	42	47	11
Bombay	94	32	21	7
C. P. and Berar	85	16	39	8
Madras	129	49	39	15

Although India ranks high among the countries of the world in the cattle population yet she is not the most densely cattle-populated country of the world, nor she has a high ratio of cattle to human population, unlike the countries known for stock raising, as will be clear from the table reproduced below :

Country	Cattle population (000)	Cattle per sq. mile	Cattle per 100 persons
Argentina	34,010	32	241
Austria	2,187	68	32
Australia	14,184	5	199
Canada	10,759	3	90
Denmark	3,184	192	79
France	14,273	67	35
India	139,971	115	44
New Zealand	4,628	45	268
U. S. A.	81,909	28	58

TYPES OF CATTLE

(a) *Working Bullocks* : India has approximately 540 lakhs of working bullocks. Their largest number is found in the Uttar Pradesh followed by Madras and Bihar. The proportion of working bullocks to the total cattle population in any area depends upon the agricultural requirements of that area, the type of bullocks available and the nature of crops generally grown. Generally speaking, areas which grow crops like sugarcane, cotton, wheat, etc., or have a heavy soil, possess comparatively a larger proportion of working bullocks than areas which are either hilly or sandy or which have more forests or have light soils or grow more of crops like rice, jute, tea, coffee. The proportion of working bullocks is 47.7 per cent in the U. P., 43.7 per cent in Bihar, 43.0 per cent in Bombay, 40.6 per cent in Saurashtra and 40.5 per cent in East Punjab. These areas grow mostly wheat, cotton or sugarcane, etc. On the other hand, this proportion is low in Rajasthan (28.4 per cent sandy soil), Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and Kashmir (29.1, 31, and 32.1 per cent respectively, mostly hilly and forest land) and in Kerala, Mysore and Assam (29.5, 32.7 and 33 per cent respectively growing rice, jute, tea, etc.). On the whole the working bullocks form 38.6 per cent of the total cattle population in India.

Punjab	53	62	30	20
U. P.	218	87	60	24

(b) *Breeding Cows* : Approximately 422 lakhs of breeding cows comprising 30.1 per cent of the total cattle are estimated to exist in the country. The largest number of breeding cows is found in the Uttar Pradesh, viz., about 55 lakhs or 12.9 per cent of the total population of breeding cows. Next come Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan which have about 50, 49 and 29 lakhs of such animals respectively.

(c) *Unserviceable Stock* : These comprise old and emaciated animals which are permanently unfit for work or breeding, but nevertheless kept by their owners, mainly on religious or sentimental grounds.

The total number of such animals is 29 lakhs or 2.1 per cent of the total cattle in the country. Of these, about 22 lakhs are males and only 7 lakhs are females. The largest number of unserviceable stock is found in Madras, viz., about 5.6 lakhs or 19.2 per cent of the total population of unserviceable stock. This is followed by West Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and Orissa with 2.9, 2.7, 2.5, and 2.4 lakhs or 10.1, 9.3, 8.5 and 8.4 per cent of the total population of unserviceable stock.

IMPORTANCE OF CATTLE IN NATIONAL ECONOMY

In so far as India is essentially a farming country the importance of efficient cattle for the stability and prosperity of the rural zones can scarcely be exaggerated. The number of livestock have an important effect both on the total output of agriculture and on the form in which the output appears.⁴ "Cattle play a very important part in Indian agriculture. But unlike in other countries of the world whose cattle are maintained mainly for milk and meat, in India these primarily are kept as draught animals for the plough or the cart as the camel, the horse, the donkey and mechanical vehicles are rarely used." Without them no cultivation would be possible, without them no produce can be transported.⁵ Cattle supply the most important motive power for almost all agricultural operations, such as ploughing, lifting water from the wells, and the transport of produce from field to the markets. They provide most of the manure used by the farmers in India. They again yield valuable products, such as milk, butter and ghee—food products particularly valuable in a country with a vegetarian diet. Cattle are given much importance in Indian agricultural economy. Quality and quantity of cattle not only raise the social status of the Indian farmer but improve his economic condition materially. Thus in India, without cattle fields remain unploughed, store and bins stand empty, and food and drink lose half their savour, for in a vegetarian country what can be worse than to have no milk, butter or ghee.⁶

According to the estimates of Dr. N. C. Wright, the milk and milk products provided by the cattle have been valued at about Rs. 300 crores per year. The annual output of products, such as hides and skins is valued at roughly 40 crores of rupees. While Dr. Rao has estimated the value of the individual products obtained from the livestock in Indian Provinces as Rs. 28.3 crores.⁷

According to the Marketing Department of the Government of India, the contribution of the cattle in the economy of India is estimated to be Rs. 1,900 crores

4. Russel : *Agricultural Production in Continental Europe*, p. 49.

5. *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 169.

6. M. L. Darling : *Punjab Peasantry in Prosperity and Debt* (1932), p. 30.

7. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao : *National Income of India*, p. 100.

annually.⁸ That is why the average Indian cultivator feeds his bullocks as well as he can while they are at work; if they have cost him dear he is proud of them . . . he will go to some expenses and trouble to keep them in good condition during slack seasons,⁹ and he is unwilling to destroy them even when they become an economic burden on his one-and-a-half-acre farm.

Mr. F. Ware states that figures from other countries fade into insignificance when compared with India in this matter, and even the U.S.A. which possesses the second largest animal population of 140,000,000 excluding the pigs and poultry in the world.¹⁰ The annual values of the livestock and animal products have been calculated by him as below:¹¹

Products	Crores of Rupees
1. Milk and milk products	540
2. Cattle labour in agriculture	408
3. Manures	180
4. Labour for purposes other than agricultural work	107
5. Other products	30
6. Live animals exported	0.12
Total	1,265.12

More recently, Mr. Mulwani¹² has estimated the monetary contribution of our cattle as follows :

Cattle labour, Rs. 480 crores; Milk, Rs. 450 crores; Manure, Rs. 312 crores; and Hides, Bones and Beef, etc., Rs. 58 crores, totalling Rs. 1,300 crores per annum.

Thus our cattle wealth adds a very great amount in our national wealth every year.

SOME IMPORTANT CATTLE BREEDS

According to trade demands and climatic and social conditions, a number of breeds of both the species have developed in different parts of the country. These may be classed as milch, draught and dual purpose breeds. In foreign countries, 'a dual purpose' breed means one in which the females yield a fair quantity of milk and the males produce good quality calves. In India, beef production is of little importance. A 'dual purpose' breed is, therefore, one in which the females are good milkers and males powerful draught animals. The existence of such indigenous breeds has been utilised for the purpose of cattle improvement and the main breeding areas in the various provinces.

TRACTS KNOWN FOR CATTLE BREEDING

The concentration of a large number of cattle is no index to the production of milk or higher standard

of agriculture. Good breeds of cattle are confined to comparatively dry areas, such as Haryana tract of the Punjab, Rajasthan, Kathiawar, Central India and in such parts of other States where similar conditions exist. Pasture in these dry areas may be good in quality but is often scarce and the uncertainty of rainfall makes it obligatory on the part of owners to grow crops, the residue of which provides a good supply of fodder for cattle. Conversely in tracts with a humid climate which are subject to heavy rainfall or are provided with ample irrigation a very poor type of cattle is found in spite of the availability of grazing.

TRACTS WITH POOR CATTLE

It is a well-known fact that in rice-growing tracts, viz., Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madras, Travancore, etc., cattle are generally found to be greatly deteriorated, both as regards their physical development and capacity for work and milk production. They are also more prone to diseases and reproductive defects are common to them. In these areas the cattle being inefficient, the number of cattle required for agricultural purposes and for milk production is necessarily larger, even 3 to 4 times as compared with that of other areas where good cattle exist. The larger number of cattle causes greater strain on the available pastures, which results in their further deterioration, thus producing a vicious circle. In Travancore and Cochin where cattle are of mongrel, non-descript type and where there are no recognised breeds, cows are notoriously poor milkers. The bullocks are puny and weak and on this account the cultivators are generally unable to adopt and make use of modern, efficient and labour-saving implements.

Various Indian breeds are noted for their milk-yielding capacity. In Bombay province there are two important breeds, viz., "Kankraj breed" useful for draught work and "Damgo breed" of the Western Ghats useful for work in the rocky regions. In the south Kathiawar, "Gir cattle" is well known for their milking capacities. The uplands of C. P. offer good grazing grounds and facilities, where "Malwa breed" useful for agricultural work in the field is to be met with.

"Hansi or Haryana" in the Eastern Punjab and Montgomery district, having a scanty rainfall and extensive pasturage, are the best. The improved breeds of the "Sahiwal" cattle breed at Ferozepore have an average lactation yield of nearly 7,000 lbs. of milk and can stand in comparison with European stock.

Unlike cows, buffaloes thrive best in the areas of moderate heavy rainfall as they require plenty of water for their daily bath. They are dual purpose animals useful both for milking as well as draught. They live on coarser grass and even then they are heavy yielders of milk. "Murra buffalo" of the Punjab has an average of 400 lbs. of milk per lactation period while the better types may yield as much as 1,000 lbs.

8. *The Indian Veterinary Journal*, September, 1944, pp. 87-90.

9. *Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 192.

10. R. K. Mukherjee : *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 139.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

12. For details see T. T. Mulwani's "Cattle Wealth of India" in *Rural India* (October, 1950), p. 384.

The "Rohtak breeds" are also famous for milk. The "Kathiawar or Jafarbadi buffalo" are large in size and the daily yield of milk is 30 lbs. "Deccan breeds" are more serviceable for heavy cartage but they are poor milkers. The buffaloes are better cared for because it is the more important milk cattle. Her milk is richer, containing as it does from two to three per cent more butter fat than that of ordinary cow, and supplies the major part of the demand for milk. She is more profitable to maintain, as she possesses a remarkable ability to convert coarse fodder into milk.

The following table gives the important breeds of cattle of both the species in India :¹³

Province	Oxen	Buffaloes
1. Madras and Mysore	Kangayam, Amritmahal, Hallikar, Alambadi, Ongole, Krishnavally, Bargur.	
2. Bombay	Dangi, Gir, Kankrej, Khillari.	Jaffarbadi, Mehsana, Surti.
3. C.P. & Berar & C.I. States	Gaolao, Malvi, Nimari.	Nagpuri.
4. U. P.	Kanwariya, Kherigarh, Mewati, Ponwar, Deori, Ellichpur.	
5. Hyderabad	Bachaur, Purnea, Shabbadi.	
6. Bihar	Haryana, Hissar.	Nili Ravi, Murrah.
7. Punjab and Delhi	Shahiwal, Montgomery, Malvi, Mewati (Kosi), Nagore, Rath, Tharparkar.	
8. Rajasthan		

PRESENT POSITION OF CATTLE IN INDIA

In view of the great importance of cattle, in Indian agriculture their present position is deplorable. Malnutrition is perhaps the greatest single factor responsible for the degeneration of cattle to their present state. Promiscuous mating, improper and insufficient care, ignorance and lethargy of the people are some of the atrocities which are responsible for degeneration.

A large portion of the cattle in this country depends entirely on grazing for their food and nourishment and such grazing is of value for about 5 months in the year. The livestock of India at present cannot compete with the cultivated crops, hence, cattle-breeding is relegated to those parts in which no crops can be grown.¹⁴ With the increasing popularity of the cultivation of food and commercial crops the majority of the farmer have come to regard animal husbandry as an accident of agriculture, rather than as an integral part of it. The extension of cultivation has reduced the amount of grazing land available and the majority of the Indian cattle are small, ill-fed and inefficient and thus has adversely affected the technique of Indian agriculture.¹⁵ Thus the U.S.A. with 53 million cattle produces more milk, viz., 6,400 million gallons,

than India with her 215 million cattle, viz., 6,400 million gallons, and Canada compared with India produces 25 per cent milk but with only about 6 per cent of the number of cattle.¹⁶

The causes of their deterioration in the condition of the cattle may be discussed under the following heads :

- (i) Lack of adequate and proper fodder supply,
- (ii) Want of proper care,
- (iii) Lack of good breeding stock, and
- (iv) Diseases and pests.

LACK OF ADEQUATE AND PROPER FODDER SUPPLY

The majority of the Indian cattle are seriously underfed, particularly the cows in rural areas. In India, stall-feeding is rare and the grazing and the grasslands in the country are hopelessly overstocked.

Because with the rapid growth in the size of India's population and the growing pressure of land, the absence of alternative avenues of employment, the quantum of land available for grazing has declined considerably. The natural grazing lands are usually to be found within the areas classed for statistical purposes as "forests," "cultivable waste" and "not available for cultivation." But forests, as a source of fodder supply are of limited value due to stringency of the forest laws and the policy of enclosure. According to John Russel, about 10 per cent of the cattle of the five provinces (possessing such forests) have access to forest grazing and where grazing is unrestricted the quality of pasturage has rather deteriorated because of early practice of over-grazing. Cultivable waste land, though another source of fodder supply, is useless for grazing purposes because it does not produce any useful herbage. Similarly a very large portion of the land marked as "not available for cultivation" is not useful for grazing because it is absolutely barren. Hence, natural grasslands are utterly lacking.

The ordinary cultivator in India who treats his plough cattle and she-buffalo well when he can, usually lets his cow, young cattle and he-buffalo to thrive as best as they can by grazing on the common ground or by reared crops. That most of the Indian cattle are under-fed can be seen from their very appearance, the slow rate of their growth, their late maturity and the long dry periods of the cows. The majority of the Indian cattle obtain their requirements from whatever grazing is available from straw and stalk and other residues from the human foodstuffs, and are starved seasonally in the dry months when grass withers.

Over the greater part of India there is an acute shortage of fodder from December to July and the cattle are reduced to mere bags of bones. By this time the insufficient supplies of stored fodder become so much depleted that the ration of the cattle of the poor farmers undergoes serious diminution. Even in

CATTLE WEALTH IN INDIA

ordinary years, a severe pinch in the months of May and June. It is a common sight during these months to see herds of cattle wandering about the village grazing grounds and licking the bare fields after harvests in the hope of picking up something to keep body and soul together. The seasonal shortage is felt by all classes of farmers, and if the monsoon is delayed even the richer farmers have no reserve of fodder.

The chronic starvation on the part of the cattle accounts for an average of one-third of the total cattle mortality. The starvation of this period cripples our cattle, "makes the cow an irregular breeder that reduces her natural milking qualities until she is unable to suckle a healthy calf, that leads to scarcity of good bullocks, and that creates the urge which covers the village grazing grounds of India with useless and decrepit cattle." Many plough bullocks are sold off in winter or their rations are ruthlessly decreased whenever they are not worked in full, while milch cattle are kept on after lactation on poor and adequate grazing. Scrub bulls are allowed everywhere to cover heifers which are generally immature, so that herds multiply although many of the animals do not get a chance to live.

Mr. Leake writes in this connection that during the rains there is abundance of green fodder, both in the natural growth of uncultivated areas and in such crops as *chari* grown to supply fodder. With the cessation of the rains and the coming of the cold weather natural growth ceases and the fodder crops ripen off. During dry months of the year, grass is very poor because dry weather hinders its growth. As compared with the grazing lands in temperate climate, Indian lands are of very little use to the cultivator even when they are readily accessible, not because the grasses are bad but because they are abundant and of high feeding value only for a very short period of the year. But where the supply of grass on grazing lands is more certain and reliable, the quality of cattle is better and it is here that some of the best quality cattle in India are reared.

Fodder is limited to the dry stalks of the jowar and maize and to the *bhussa* (in silo-pit) produced in the cold weather cereals, to which must be added the weathered grasses of the waste lands. Grains and pulses are little used as cattle food. On these fodders, having a small oil nutrient value, ckd out with such little natural grazing as is available the cattle have to struggle along till the succeeding rain brings forth a new supply. Moreover, within this period falls the season of maximum demand for power, for agricultural purposes for threshing, ploughing and carrying loads. Thus in a year of famine, the cattle die by hundreds, and the survivors become inefficient workers for some time. No sufficient excess of fodder is produced in good years and owing to the bulky nature of the fodder it is

impossible to import it from other countries to make up the internal deficiency even if the external resources were available. The actual shortage of the fodder can be easily realised when we compare the conditions of fodder supply in India with those in England, where three acres are necessary for supporting 4 heads of cattle, while in the U.P. not more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre of less fertile a land is available for grazing of the same number of cattle. The result is heavy cattle mortality. In the Punjab *chambri* grass is the principal fodder but *shaftal*, *berseem*, and *lucerne* can be grown as green fodder. In C.P., the fodder situation is somewhat more satisfactory than the adjoining provinces. It is in the cotton belt that jowar is chiefly cultivated as the fodder crop, while cotton seeds also provide a very nutritious food with the result that cattle become strong and efficient. In the wheat belt though grazing lands are rare but *kans* (a grass of low nutritive value) grows over wide areas and hence no fodder crop is raised, with the result that the cattle fed on it are weak and incapable to bear the burden. In the rice belt, as also in Bengal, green catch crop is utterly lacking. Muddy straw is the only available fodder which offers a bare sustenance for cattle. In Bengal, the banks and slopes of the embankments of public roads are the only grazing grounds and the cattle subsist mainly on paddy straw, paddy-husks and the coarse grass which grows in tanks almost silted up. Just after the rice crop has been cut they get enough to eat, but at other times of the year they are half-starved. The lack of sufficient pasture, the absence of good fodder and the inability of the peasants to stall-feed their beasts have led in Bengal to a deterioration of cattle. In the Chattisgarh Division of C.P., a variety of grass of low nutritive value (*sukla* or spear grass) grows in abundance but it being short season grass provides no grazing in June and July when there is a real need for the fodder. Hence, the cattle of Bengal and C. P., are usually inferior both for milking and draught purposes. Western Ghats, enjoying rains varying from 80 to 150 inches, are quite unsuitable for the growth of good-quality grass and hence cattle-rearing is not largely carried on there. But in Mysore, Nellore, and Coimbatore up-land areas having a moderate rainfall and natural drainage are conducive to the healthy growth of good grass and it is here that some of the best cattle breeds of India are found. Gujarat is also suitable for good cattle. The grass and various leguminous crops are largely produced owing to the alluvial loamy soil in the area around Rann of Cutch.

No definite information is available on the total quantity of foodstuffs available in the land and little attention has been paid to the need of milch cattle. In most parts of the country, the grass which grows in the monsoon either shrivels up entirely in the dry season or becomes so coarse

13. Vide *Cattle Marketing Report and Miscellaneous Bulletins*, (Nos. 17, 24, 27, 46, 47, and 54 of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research).

14. *Indian Year Book*, 1941-42, p. 131.

15. *Ibid*, p. 330.

16. R. D. Tewari : *Indian Agriculture*, p. 143.

as to be incapable of nourishing cattle properly, while poverty prevents the average cultivator from purchasing fodder.

The following table gives the feeding standards of livestock in India:

Live Weight	Feeding Standards (Pounds per head per day)			
	Maintenance (at rest)		Work (8 hr. ploughing)	
	Digestible crude protein	Starch equivalent	Digestible crude protein	Starch equivalent
600	0.26	3.6	0.86	6.8
800	0.31	4.6	1.00	8.5
1,000	0.37	5.7	1.21	10.4

It is needless to state that in the U.P., Bihar and Orissa, and Bengal, the cattle cannot obtain their minimum feeding requirement at all. The competition of both the human and bovine population for maintenance on small holdings which yield both food and fodder crops has resulted in the steady deterioration of animals' food supply and of their breed and efficiency. It is a striking paradox that the provinces which have the smallest crop area per capita maintain the largest number of cattle; i.e., the deficiency in cattle food is greater in the thickly than in the thinly populated areas. According to Dr. Burns, the smallest deficiency is in the region in which rainfall is under 30 ins. and the greater in that in which it is over 70 inches.

The region with a rainfall of between 30 to 70 inches lies between these two extremes.¹⁷

17. These regions respectively include (1) Punjab; N.-W.F.P.; Sind; Baluchistan and a part of Bombay lying to the East of Western Ghats and four ceded districts in Madras. The cattle in this region may be said to be fairly adequately fed for here a comparatively large

According to Dr. N. C. Wright, to produce India's total output of 800 million maunds of milk, the milk cattle alone require 29,55,000 tons of digestible nutrients and 2,675,000 tons of digestible crude protein. The supplies available in India amount roughly to 51,013,000 tons of nutrients and 2,760,000 tons of crude protein.¹⁸ Against the total estimated annual requirements of 381 million tons of concentrates there are only 169.1; 135.2 and 7.5 million tons available respectively. This clearly indicates an acute shortage of cattle feed in India. These have to be sufficient not only for the milk cattle but also for the draught cattle. Thus there is a marked deficiency of cattle feed in India, as a result of which the cattle, in ordinary years, are left to graze on the dried fields in summer while the famine years have cattle mortality as the usual consequence.

(To be continued)

area is under fodder crops. (2) Bihar, Orissa, C.P. and Berar, U.P., the eastern part of Madras and the northern part of the Bombay Presidency having rainfall between 30 to 70 ins. where there are smaller areas under fodder crops. (3) Those parts of Madras and Bombay which lie west of the Western Ghats, Coorg, Bengal and Assam. The position of feeding is worst here.

The differential productivity and capacity of work of cattle in these regions as well as the distribution of cattle among them may be seen from the following table which relates to undivided India:

Region	Areas of cultivated land (Millions)	No. of animals			No. of milking cows	Milking capacity (lbs. per annum)
		Male	Milch cattle	She-buffa.		
		(Millions)	(Millions)	loes	vated per pair of bullocks	Cows He-buffaloes
(1) Above 70 ins.	48.6	12.7	11.0	0.7	7.6	371 732
(2) 30 to 70 ins.	137.3	28.1	20.4	9.5	9.8	463 1060
(3) Below 30 ins.	78.2	8.2	5.8	4.8	19.2	774 1615
Br. India	264.1	48.9	37.3	15.0	10.8	484 1216

18. Vide Dr. W. Burns: *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India*.

THE UNIVERSITIES OF EUROPE

By ALFRED S. SCHENKMAN,

Acting Deputy Director, The International Institute of Educational Sciences, University of Utrecht

I shall try in this talk to give a bird's-eye view of the universities of Europe. Now, every bird has two eyes. This bird's-eye view, let me say in advance, of the European universities, is based on one eye's vision only. I have been to most of the British Universities, to most of the Swedish, of the Belgian, the Dutch, the Danish, etc. But I have not been to Switzerland, to Italy, to Germany—to say nothing of the Eastern countries of Europe. I must give a report, then, which is near-sighted in that it ignores the universities of whole sections of Europe. It is not, I hope, biased by any stigmatism which affects the focus on the countries here viewed directly. And with the other eye there

has been study by reading and some of the gaps are thereby filled.

The itinerary that I set for you tonight (and that I followed in my actual travelling) starts with England, includes Scotland, takes in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, then finishes with Holland, Belgium, France. It covers much mileage and many institutions. But it is not too difficult to make a rough classification of the universities of these countries, a classification based not on national boundaries. In most of the countries there are the ancient universities and the "new" institutions. There are conflicts between the two types, and the strangleholds of prestige. Of fundamental

differences there are now few, but age does provide us with one convenient classification basis.

To be sure, in Scotland, the "new" University, the University of Edinburgh, was founded in 1582—whereas the venerable old institutions, Aberdeen, Glasgow, St. Andrews, go back only to 1494, 1450, 1411. In England, the antithesis is clearer between Oxford and Cambridge and the newer municipal universities—Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, Reading. Compare, to see what I mean, the twelfth century birth-dates of Oxford and Cambridge with those of Durham (1831), Manchester (1880), Reading (1926).

The same pattern is to be seen in Sweden, with Upsala founded in 1477 and Lund in 1668—whereas the Universities of Stockholm and Goteborg go back only to 1877 and 1889. Similarly, in Holland, the University of Leiden dates back to 1575 and the University of Utrecht to 1636; but Amsterdam established its municipal university only in 1877. In Belgium, the State Universities of Liege and Ghent, and the Université Libre of Brussels, were founded in the not too distant past; Louvain, the venerable Roman Catholic institution, goes back to 1426.

For the sake of completeness I must say that France follows a different pattern. Almost all of its 17 Universities date back many centuries. Lyons (1808) is an exception—which stands out in a group including Montpellier (going back to 1125), Paris (to 1150), Toulouse (1230), Grenoble (1339), etc.

In our classification, then, we have on the one side the venerable old-age universities such as Oxford, Cambridge, Upsala, Lund, Copenhagen, Leiden, Utrecht, Paris—and opposing them (sometimes very literally) such newer Universities as those of London, Manchester, Stockholm, Aarhus, Amsterdam, Brussels, etc.

Age, of course, is not the only possible classification basis. It should properly be combined with size, type of organization, finance, and other factors, if we are to get a really meaningful picture. I am afraid that because of the short time at my disposal here I shall have to be an impressionist. I can say that the University of London has 22,000 students, and the University of Paris 53,000. But I cannot describe the organization of the London Colleges or show why so many of the Paris students can be "external." I can cite the statistics which show that Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Oslo, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Montpellier all have more than 5,000 and fewer than 8,000 students. But it is impossible here to discuss at length the organizational peculiarities of these institutions or of Nottingham, St. Andrews, Ghent, Lund—all roughly universities of about 2,500 students.

As regards organization I shall make but two points. Every university today is an emergent, is the product of its own history (influenced of course by

the history of the country) but is also the product of the history of all universities. When we consider what Rashdall calls the "servile fidelity" with which the "institutions of a mother-University" are reproduced in its daughters, we should not be too surprised at the similarities of universities. Rashdall, again, says that "the Universities of all countries and of all ages are in reality adaptations under various conditions of one and the same institution." If this is so, then although there are important local differences (of size, financing, etc.) there is also the all-important thread which leads from the first Universities (Bologna, Paris) to the newest, perhaps the Visva-Bharati or the Gujerat Universities in this country. Some of the differences, incidentally, such as the present-day absence of "Colleges" in Paris or Louvain, are due to the loss of institutions (several centuries ago) and not necessarily to a different upbringing.

Secondly, there are in Europe today State (or municipal) Universities and there are privately-run institutions. Oxford and Cambridge are privately-run, as also are the Universities of Stockholm, of Aarhus, of Louvain. In Holland, the Free (Calvinist) University of Amsterdam and the Roman Catholic University at Nijmegen are private institutions. St. Andrews is a private University. But in the long run it makes little difference in most instances, at least if we can learn from the history of European universities, whether an institution is publicly or privately governed. Countries have the education rules and regulations, which provide for a certain uniformity; and, more pleasant to think about, they aid the private as well as the public universities with grants of money. Though, of course, some nations do more for their universities than do others.

With this as a background, I want to discuss in pretty general terms the European Universities as I see them. I wrote a paper not long ago on "Human Relations in the Teaching Industry." May I say that there is in actual fact a much closer relationship between a university and a factory than many starry-eyed and ivory-towered educationists would recognize. As a distinguished Englishman has said, "A University, to put it bluntly, is a factory for the production of a particular type of product." I accept this analysis despite all of the educationist's "Pep talks" about culture and general education.

Now, I know that this is an heretical view; I know that I shall be unpopular. But universities do have as their main job today the training for the professions. You can see it—anywhere in Europe. And the more idealistic "ideas of a university" are based less on fact than on the seductive art of wishful thinking. Therefore I want to stress, as part of my setting of the stage, that universities are something like factories, seeing that their function is to produce

a product, albeit an animate and learned and trained product.

I shall skip over here a listing of all of the problems faced by European universities today—problems of increase in enrolment, of student housing, of overcrowded curricula, etc.—problems which your own University of Allahabad and also the other great Indian universities have to face too. In the remainder of the time given me I want to make several main points.

Universities in Europe, just like the Indian or the American, are too much bound by strong forces of tradition; this is true regardless of whether we think of Upsala, founded in 1477, or of Stockholm or Amsterdam, founded 1877. The "servile fidelity" to the mother form is operative in most universities. So, by and large all of the European universities, at least all I know, use outmoded methods in attempting to build the "defences of civilization" in the minds of men. As Sir Walter Moberly has quoted in his *The Crisis in the University*, in the educational world "nothing must ever be done for the first time."

There are, to be sure, bright students in the European universities who know that they are suffering under outmoded and outdated systems. In all the universities that I have been to, at least a number of the students see the urgent need for reforms in teaching methods and press actively towards these. Different universities, being of course in different stages of development, show different reform movements. I should say that in Sweden at the present time the students have been most successful in getting a say concerning teaching and the curriculum. And the influence of these Swedish students is probably increasing. This development, by the way, has been the result largely of the support the students are receiving from the Swedish Ministry of Education. I say that it is a good thing, although I am not sure that I can go quite as far as a Swedish ex-student who looks forward to a future where the State provides the money and "the students the ideas."

In the Belgian universities, to take another example, there is a growing opposition to the *grand cours*, the big unwieldy lecture course; but the exceedingly strict legal requirements of attendance at so many hours of lectures per week so far has made difficult the formation of strong student groups pressing for real reforms in methods of teaching. Student committees, rather, concentrate on problems of housing, social life, financial pressures, and the democratizing of university admissions.

Let me say here, apropos of such student activities, that I am impressed by the calibre of the present-day university student in Europe—in England and in Norway as well as in Holland and Denmark, or Sweden

or Scotland. We have our pessimists in Europe just as you have them here who complain that the students of today are so narrow and apathetic and dull. But I think, on the basis of personal observation and not just of armchair philosophizing, that this interpretation of the character of the modern student is far wide of the mark. While, of course, it is almost impossible save in a subjective manner to compare the qualities of one generation of students with those of another I am quite satisfied with the quality of the modern student especially considering his not infrequent unpropitious social background. I am convinced, noting the ever greater numbers of students in European universities who come from poor backgrounds and who are not given generally exceptional social amenities—or educational—in the universities, that the present-day scholar is in no way inferior to his 19th century or 18th century counterpart.

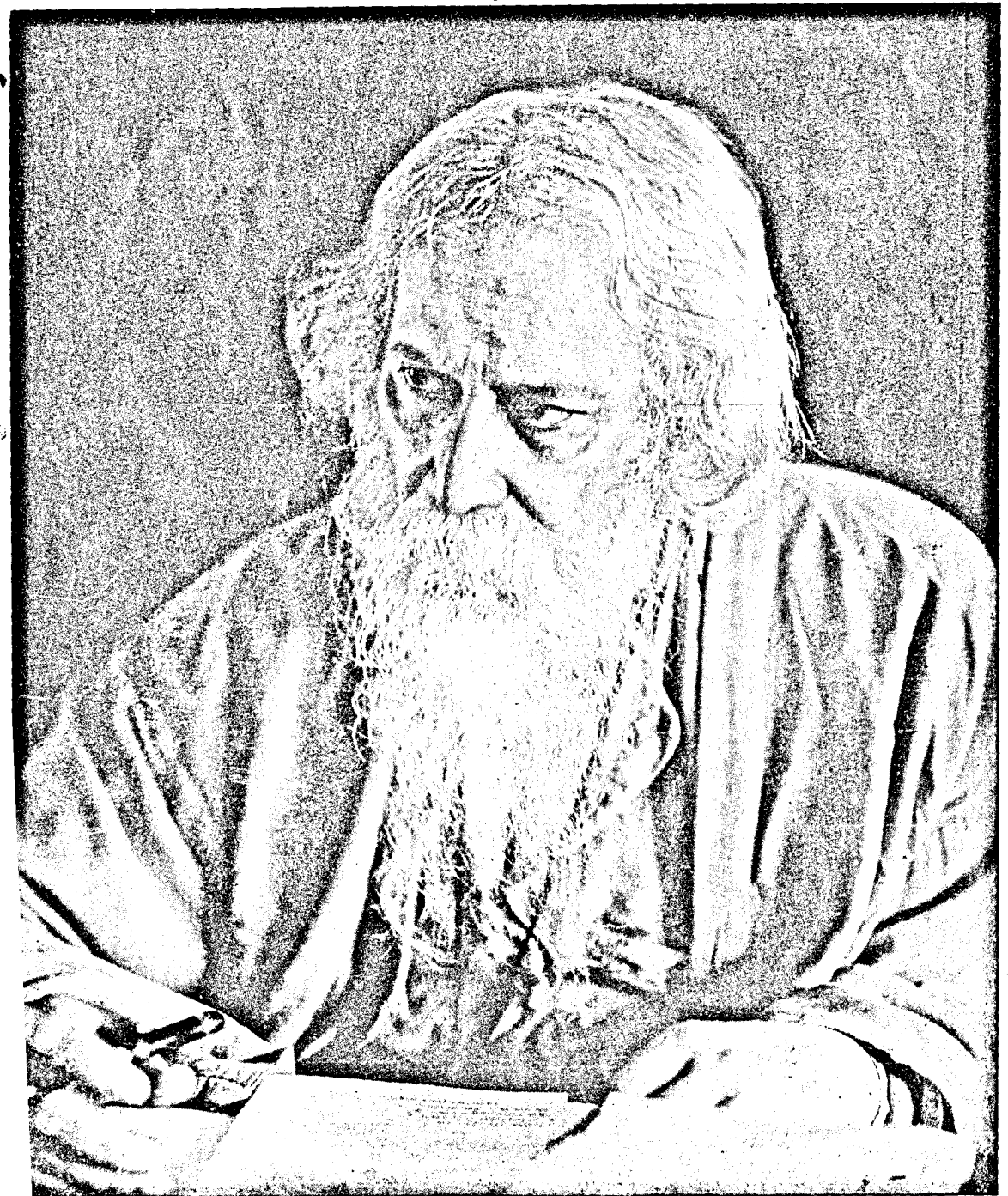
European university students naturally feel the frustrations of the times. The phenomenon is prevalent in Europe, as in India. A time of frustration is just as unhealthy for the students as for anyone else. But the frustrations are not dissolved away by talking as if they do not exist—not even by talking against them—nor, certainly not, by substituting denunciation of results for denunciation of causes. When we consider the "crisis in the university" we must be realistic and realize that the crisis is in the society.

I need not go into this, but my bird's-eye survey of the Universities of Europe would be incomplete without my touching on the teachers at these universities. When university staffs are attacked, as is the hobby today, for not providing "moral leadership," I counter-attack here too and charge that the immoral society itself is responsible and not the usually very capable—and highly moral—university teachers. Let me not as a university teacher whitewash the teaching profession or side-step just attacks. I have already touched on the damage wrought by conservative university teachers who hold with such strength fast to tradition. But I must do my bit to deny the charges as usually levelled against us.

We do our best, whether in Europe or in other parts of the world. In European universities we are probably doing a better job than our predecessors did in many of the so-called "golden ages." And European university teachers would do a better job yet if society gave them the tools in the shape of better equipment, more personnel, fairer salaries, and so on. But considering the problems of Europe as a whole, I am convinced that the universities are reasonably healthy institutions and that the teachers, as well as students, do their best continually to improve from within.

Courtesy : All India Radio, Allahabad Station

IN MEMORIAM



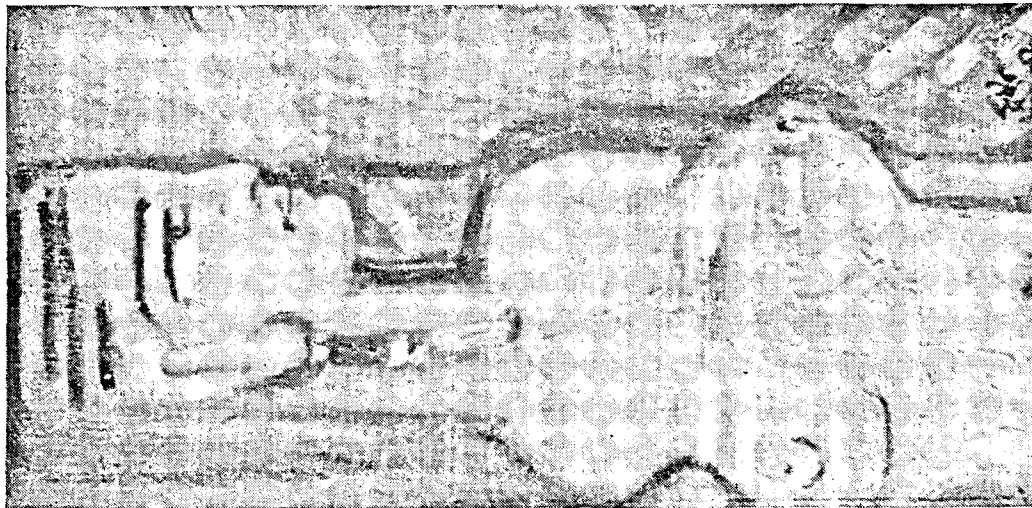
Rabindranath

Birth : May 7, 1861

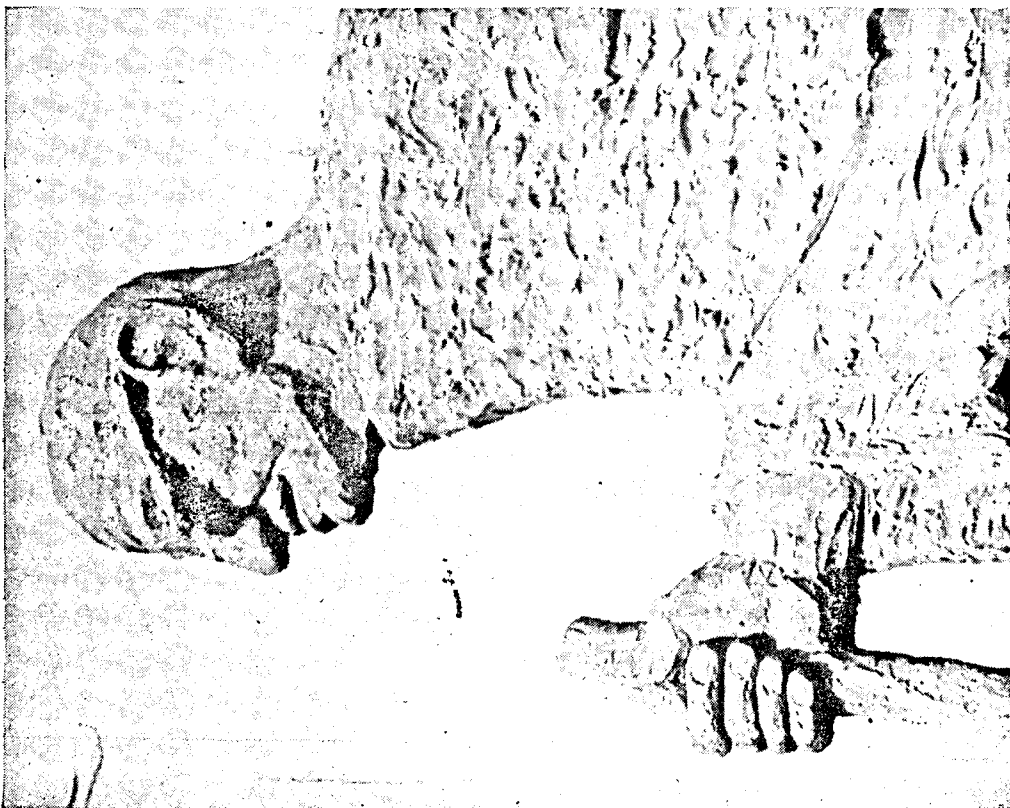
Death : August 7, 1941

FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

By MANKUMAR SEN



Study in oils (1951)
By S. Khastgir



Gandhiji (cement concrete)
(Detail from a life-size figure, height 9 ft.)
By S. Khastgir

ALTHOUGH it is agreed on all hands, the Government of the country not excluded, that 'India lives in her villages,' 'Indian economy is basically village economy,' 'the decay of Indian agricultural wealth and rural industries and crafts is the root cause of her economic disintegration and unbalance,' the nature of the problem or problems has seldom been realised, or realised in part; and even this partial realisation has mostly remained unredeemed. From partial realisation flowed piecemeal and half-hearted measures giving perhaps some relief to some sector, somewhere for some time, but the pool of potential resources remained unexplored, as stagnant as ever.

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Indian economy is, as we have said, essentially rural and its basic constituents are agriculture and village industries. Not only basic, they are inseparable parts of one system and indissolubly bound up with each other. This historical truth and very fundamental position has often been bluntly ignored to the wanton detriment of our economic renaissance and programme of revival from the periodical ravages. One cannot but incidentally refer to the number of committees and commissions engaged on food problems and the huge budgetary provisions, made every year for the 'grow more food campaign'. But, along-side, there has been woeful lack of urge and enthusiasm to 'grow more buyers' to tone up the rural industries and crafts to resuscitate them on their proverbial foothold and thereby release a refreshing current of buying capacity to the teeming millions of Indian villages. 'Grow more food' may have added to food production, but has it, in any manner, added to the strength and vitality of the agricultural people? Has it opened up the ways for absorption of the peasants suffering under forced idleness for 4 to 6 months in a year. Has it relieved the landless agricultural labour of his pristine squalor and poverty? The emphatic reply is of course—'No'. Because, the campaign was unplanned so far as it was divorced from village industries and their requirements. What we produce is by no means less important than how much we produce. Land has been made to yield food and other cash crops while the village industries have either been starving from scarcity of raw materials, or decaying sharply in the face of cut-throat competition from the large-scale industries or foreign imports or both. With this unhappy record at hand, one will immediately react favourably to the Planning Commission's recommendations on village industries. The Commission, in its final five-year plan, has categorically stated:

"The development of village industries should, therefore, be as much a matter of State action as the increase of agricultural production. Indeed one cannot be separated from the other, for, increase in agricultural production presupposes fuller utilisation of the available man-power and release of surplus workers for other occupations."

This—the planned development of agriculture and village industries to fully and fruitfully utilize the man-power, which is the real power of a vast sub-continent like India, is one aspect of the question; another aspect, no less vital, is the determination of State policy towards village industries vis-a-vis the city-centred large-scale industries engaged in the production of same categories of goods. In fact the one handicap that has hindered the growth of rural industries is the very indefinite, indistinct and foggy Governmental attitude towards them at a time when an objective, well-defined programme was urgently called for. Though not absolutely uncompromising, the Planning Commission has made a realistic approach this time and has not faltered to call a spade a spade. The Commission has thoroughly denounced at least some of the large-scale or power-driven industries which have been mercilessly letting down their village colleagues. It is indeed a matter of deep satisfaction that the bearing of a balanced industrial planning on the health, hygiene and employment situation of the society and country has received weighty recognition at the hands of the Commission.

CAUSES OF DECLINE AND CURE

Causes of the decline of village industries are generally attributable to, according to the Commission, (and also according to the consensus of public opinion) defects or deficiencies in (i) Organisation (ii) State Policy (iii) Finance, (iv) Raw materials, (v) Research, (vi) Technical guidance, (vii) Supply of equipment and (viii) Marketing; of which, in our opinion, 'State Policy' (ii) is the first pre-requisite to any industrial organisation and methods of development.

Exhorting that "in view of the growing importance of the problem of employment, the Central Government must now give some attention to village and small-scale industries as it has undertaken in view of the shortage of food and raw materials, to agriculture," the Commission has thus outlined the State Policy:

A cottage industry should be provided a field within which it can organise itself; in case of a large-scale industry coming into competition, a 'common production programme' should be tried and formulated, in which "the aspect of employment will naturally receive special emphasis", one or more of the following elements may also enter into such a programme: (i) Reservation of the spheres of production; (ii) Non-expansion of the capacity of a large-scale industry; (iii) Imposition of a cess on a large-scale industry; (iv) Arrangement for the supply of raw materials, and (v) Co-ordination for research, training, etc.

QUESTION OF EMPLOYMENT AND NUTRITION

As an instance of harmful expansion of a private-owned industry directly affecting rural employment and nutrition, the Commission has cited the *Rice Mills*. Quoting it verbatim:

"In the paddy-growing areas rice-pounding was always a substantial source of employment, both whole-time and spare-time, especially by women.

"The introduction of Rice Mills of the huller type greatly diminished the employment and was also wasteful in various ways. It appears to us that in the interest of rural employment and to ensure better nutrition, the Government should now formulate a programme for replacing the huller type of rice mills by organised hand-pounding of rice."

To what a staggering extent the rural people engaged in hand-pounding industry has been displaced and deprived of a major source of income is conclusively revealed in a report that was published in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* (June, 1950), the organ of the All-India Village Industries Association, Wardha. The report states that

"The number of paddy-husking *dhenkis* that were working in Abjuganj (Bhagalpur, Behar) and eight neighbouring villages was 4200 employing 64,000 men and 23,000 women and producing 21,000 mds. of paddy per day. Except the three rainy months this industry worked all the year round. And now mills, big and small, have cropped up and have swallowed the paddy, leaving these people high and dry,—only a few of the *dhenkis* are able to work, that too for two months in the season."

And we all know the double or treble polishing through which dehused rice in a mill passes to make itself bright and palatable to the civilized taste! But what is the nature and content of the polished commodity thus turned out? The following table speaks for itself:

Type of rice	Value	Loss
(1) Unpolished	100.0	Nil
(2) Once polished	45.0	55.0
(3) Twice polished	25.0	75.0
(4) Thrice polished	17.5	82.5

(Rice—A.I.V.I.A. publication)

So thrice polished rice has perhaps cent-percent attractive appearance with of course only 17.5 per cent of the original food value! This is what 20,000 mills of our country are allowed to do in respect of nearly 20 million tons of rice annually! The tale does not end there: calculating the constituents of paddy and its rice out-turn by rice mills it has been found that they waste no less than 7 per cent of the 30 million tons, that is nearly 2 million tons of paddy they process. We are glad that the Commission particularly pointed to this rice mill cancer, and the above facts leave no manner of doubt as to what unrestricted and ill-advised allowance for a large-scale industry run purely on profit motive can mean to a nation.

STATE POLICY

The Government should now take up the cudgel fearlessly and, as the Commission has unambiguously suggested, replace the rice mills by indigenous processes. The wooden chakkis manufactured by the A.I.V.I.A. should receive prior consideration in common with the *dhenkis*. Similar stand should also be taken gradually and in right earnest while dealing with sugar mill vs.

gur industry, oil mill vs. *ghani* industry and cotton mill vs. handloom industry. A cess has already been declared on mill cloth which is expected to fetch some 2 crores of rupees annually. This amount, as the Commission recommends, should be expended on Khadi and village industries. It is, however, wild dreaming to look at the problem as one of giving out doles only. Village and cottage industries can be given a new base of life on the basis of effective local demand only and this the Commission has fully agreed with. Again local demand means increasing exchange of commodities between different categories or classes of artisans in a village or group of villages, which again presupposes a village-level or decentralized system of administration—both political and economic. Once this reorientation in outlook and affairs is realised, false sense of money-values will tumble down, a revaluation of values will grow up and the tightening grip of money will be replaced by all-round co-operative exchange of goods, specially consumer goods. It is high time we retrace our steps and rebuild our socio-economic life on human values.

RESERVATION AND RAW MATERIAL SUPPLY

In the process of replacement, reservation of spheres is no doubt the first stage. It also appears that, in view of 'unemployment' which is a 'constant feature' in handloom weaving the Commission has found 'scope for extension of this principle' as between organised textile industry and unorganised and much weaker handloom weaving. The Commission has also referred to the 'outstanding case of yarn supply' under Government control in support of its contention for raw material supply. True, a quota of mills' yarn production has been earmarked for supply to the weavers,—but that it has not touched even a fringe of the problem should have been evident from the mass-scale delapidation of the weavers of Madras and West Bengal in particular. We do not for a moment question the noble sentiments of the Commission in favour of 'common production programme,' but such existing programme as between textile and handloom has thrown the latter to the lurch and for the very first thing i.e. raw material the weavers have been made to look helplessly to the munificent and honest dealings of the yarn-producing mills! So we dislike to call it a 'common' programme where not inter-dependence but dependence of the weaker party on the stronger is the first term of contract! It is really strange that no well-thought-out scheme of yarn production under State control to ensure adequate and uninterrupted supply has been envisaged in the Plan; and it looks stranger in view of the commendable outspokenness of the Commission that

"What is certain is that unless the planning and development of village industries and many small-scale industries is conceived as part of the process of formulating policies and programmes for the related large-scale industries it will be extremely difficult to promote the smaller industries and almost every technical and economic factor will weigh against them."

Save and except the general suggestion for cess on mill production no consideration has been given to the outpacing problem of Khadi industry. The argument that whatever tentative proposals have been framed will be considered by the central Khadi and Village Industries Board is virtually belittling the issue. It passes our comprehension how such a problem of national and rational importance could virtually be evaded by the first Planning Commission of India. The Commission's sound advocacy that 'the aspect of employment will naturally receive special emphasis' does not appear to have weighed with the suggestion of the Commission itself in respect of handloom and Khadi. In view of their special position in the employment situation of India these two major village industries should have been discussed specially and their exact roles defined distinctly.

THE BEGINNING OF THE BEGINNING

We welcome Commission's proposal and forthright comment that

"In the sphere of food processing industries the stage appears to have been reached when further expansion of large-scale industry should not be permitted."

After what we have already reproduced about the pernicious rice-milling systems, there is hardly any scope for difference of opinion on this score. Similarly the proposal to raise oil-seed pressing by *ghanis* from 10 lakh to 13.8 lakh tons, though moderately estimated,

should be well-received. Contrarily the Commission has maintained reticence on the expanding sugar industry and has simply made a passing reference to *palm gur* industry. Village *gur* industry consumes nearly 75 per cent of the total cane production; nearly 50 million tons, five times the mills', of cane is crushed by the villagers. Annual sugar production of the 138 sugar mills is between 10-13 lakh tons, and the millions of *gur ghanis* produce nearly 36 lakh tons of *gur* and employ several lakhs of rural people. So the revival of paddy-husking by rural process,—oil *ghanis*, *gur ghanis*, etc., along with handloom and Khadi, if taken up with courage, vision and effective measures, should mark the beginning of the beginning of a new economic life for free India. In the execution of such a project, finance will undoubtedly present itself as a formidable problem. We are absolutely at one with the Commission's views that the formation of industrial co-operatives and proper functioning of the State Industrial Finance Corporations should, to a large extent, solve this problem. To cottage and home industries, such as potteries, embroideries, etc. too little space has been allotted, probably because facts pooled by the Commission were too meagre and the problem is vastly complex and variegated. In this connection the Commission's mild strictures on the Industries Departments of the State Governments should be given due regard.

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ECONOMICS OF LINGUISTIC STATES

By S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

We are glad that the difficult problem of Linguistic States was once again discussed threadbare at the Hyderabad Session of the Congress. Usually such discussions generate more heat than light; but frank expressions of views on the reorganisation of States both in the Subjects Committee and in the Open Session of the Congress were very helpful in placing before the people the pros and cons of the linguistic States in the right perspective. The Congress did well in laying greater emphasis on the economic and financial factors involved in the redistribution of areas on linguistic basis. While we value the importance of regional languages in the administrative and educational arrangements of a free country, the basic aim of achieving economic freedom for the masses must receive top-most priority in our plan of national reconstruction.

It is wrong to think that in emphasising the economic factor, the Congress has gone back on its original promise of reconstituting States on a linguistic basis. The Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee, popularly known as the JVP Report, was quite clear on this aspect of the problem. While re-affirming the general policy underlying the formation of linguistic

States, the Report stated that "the first consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India," and the policy of creating new States on the basis of language should be applied after careful thought without "jeopardising the political and economic stability of the country." The Election Manifesto adopted at the Bangalore Session of the A.I. C. C. in July 1951 also observed:

"While linguistic reasons have undoubtedly a certain cultural and other importance, there are other factors also such as economic, administrative and financial, which have to be taken into consideration."

The latest resolution passed at Hyderabad, while confirming the general policy of linguistic States, has invited special attention to these "other factors" so that in our inordinate anxiety to create separate States on the basis of language we might not overlook the very important considerations of national unity, economic and financial stability and national defence.

It is also not correct to say that Government of India's announcement regarding the formation of Andhra was untimely and that arrangements for the constitution of other linguistic States should also have

been completed almost simultaneously. The JVP Report was quite clear on this point. It had recommended that, to start with, a separate Andhra State may be formed because :

"There appears to be a large measure of consent behind it and the largest compact area likely to form part of this linguistic province is situated in one province."

"It is impossible to take up all the projects simultaneously for implementation without seriously jeopardising the political, administrative and economic stability of the country."

The Hyderabad resolution also makes it abundantly clear that any further steps in this direction "will naturally depend on the stabilisation of the Andhra State." Those who think that the Prime Minister finally agreed to constitute the Andhra State owing to a fatal fast and the consequent violent disturbances are very much mistaken. It might be a rather unhappy coincidence; but the Government of India had been considering the question of Andhra for several months past and the final announcement had nothing to do directly with the fast or the disturbances. The announcement of the Prime Minister is also in accordance with the recommendations of the JVP Report. Let no one be under the false impression or hope that the Government of India would agree to the formation of other linguistic States under threats of fasts or acts of violence. Of course, if the necessary conditions in regard to general agreement among the people of the areas concerned and the economic solvency of the new States are satisfied, the Government is committed to the policy of forming separate administrative units on the basis of language.

It is very wrong to interpret the Hyderabad resolution as shelving the issue of linguistic States. The resolution has confirmed the previous policy as laid down in the JVP Report and the Election Manifesto. It should be clearly understood by all concerned that the Congress is not going to be hustled into any action by pressure tactics or virulent propaganda. It has, as a first step, agreed to form a separate Andhra State and all the supporters of linguistic States should try to create a favourable and healthy atmosphere for the early formation of this new State. It should be made very clear that the reorganisation of States on the basis of language has nothing to do with separate cultures: we stand for one Indian culture and not for numerous provincial cultures. The task of reorganising States on linguistic basis is purely a matter of administrative and educational convenience. If we desire to carry on the administration in the language of the region, it is always better to have one language for one administrative area. Similarly, the introduction of mother-tongue medium of instruction in place of English will be very much facilitated if the States are reconstituted on linguistic basis.

It should, further, be made very plain to the people that the formation of linguistic States should

not, in any way, interfere with the fundamental right of all citizens "to move freely throughout the territory, to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, to acquire, hold and dispose of property: and to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business." It would be most unfortunate if the redistribution of States on linguistic basis leads to narrow-mindedness towards those whose mother-tongue is different from the language of the region. The JVP Report was also worried about the possibility of migration of population as a result of the reconstitution of linguistic States. It is the duty of all concerned to see to it that the formation of Andhra does not lead to any such evil consequences. If the Andhra State is formed in a proper atmosphere and is stabilised satisfactorily, the Congress will not hesitate to consider the question of other linguistic States, provided there is broad agreement among the various areas affected by such reorganisation, and provided the new States are able to stand on their own feet financially and economically. At a time when all our energies have to be directed towards the solution of the main problem of poverty, hunger and unemployment through our Five-year Plan, it would be most unwise to fritter our energies in mutual squabbles relating to linguistic States. The economics of linguistic reorganisation cannot be overlooked by the Congress, although we have every sympathy with those who desire an early formation of linguistic States for administrative and educational convenience in different regions.

Let us not indulge in indecent haste in such matters. Our first and primary task is to consolidate our political freedom and then to build up our economic freedom. Writing in the *Harijan* on November 30, 1947, Mahatma Gandhi also appealed to the linguistic groups in the South "to settle their disputes and boundaries and produce an agreed scheme of redistribution according to language" and "not to put undue strain on the Congress." He observed :

"... since linguistic redistribution is desirable from almost every point of view, all delay in carrying out the project should be avoided. But the reluctance to enforce linguistic redistribution is, perhaps, justifiable in the present depressing atmosphere. The exclusive spirit is very uppermost. Everyone thinks of himself and his family. No one thinks of the whole of India. The centripetal force is undoubtedly there, but it is not vocal, never boisterous: whereas the centrifugal is on the surface, and in its very nature makes the loudest noise, demanding the attention of all... Even zealous reformers would postpone controversial issues to a more hopeful time, when in the interest of the country, the virtue of 'give and take' would be freely recognised and all sectional interests would be subordinate to the one interest of the good of India, which will include the good of all."

Let every one of us seriously consider whether we have still been able to create the necessary hopeful and healthy atmosphere for the early formation of linguistic States?

DEPUTY MINISTERS IN A STATE IN INDIA

By PROF. D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

[We received the following query in the form of a letter from Sri Girindranath Mitra. The letter was forwarded to Prof. D. N. Banerjee for reply. The answer is appended herewith.—Ed., M.R.]

Will any of your readers enlighten me if it is permissible under the Constitution to create such political posts as Deputy Ministers of the State?

The relevant provisions in the Constitution for creating Ministers are as follows:—

- (1) The article 163 Cl. (1) provides that there shall be a Council of Ministers with Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Governor, etc.
- (2) The article 164 Cl. (1) provides that the Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister.
- (3) The article 164 Clauses 3 and 5 respectively provide for the administration of oaths to the Ministers by the Governor and for salaries and allowances by law by the State Legislatures.

The State Legislatures are also empowered under Seventh Schedule List II Cl. (40) to make laws for salaries and allowances of the Ministers of the State.

From consideration of the above relevant provisions it follows that the Constitution does not provide for the creation of such political posts as Deputy Ministers who cannot be members of the Council of Ministers nor the State Legislatures can by law provide for salaries and allowances of merely such political posts of Deputy Ministers. There is also no provision for the administration of oaths of office and secrecy to the Deputy Ministers by anybody.

These posts of Deputy Ministers are not offices in the nature of Civil Service for in that event the Deputy Ministers would have ceased to be members of the Legislatures.]

It appears to me that there is no constitutional bar to the appointment of a Deputy Minister in a State in India. A Deputy Minister is a Minister and, as such, is a member of the Council (i.e., Body) of Ministers in the State. To my mind the expression "a Council of Ministers" in Article 163(1) of our Constitution as well as in 74(1) thereof, means only "a Body of Ministers." The Deputy Ministers in a State may be included in the category of "the other Ministers" occurring in the

following extract from Article 164(1) of the Constitution :

"The Chief Minister shall be appointed by the Governor and the other Ministers shall be appointed by the Governor on the advice of the Chief Minister."

Now, although all Ministers including Deputy Ministers are members of the Council of Ministers, yet their status, functions and salaries may differ and all of them may not have the same voice in the determination of the policies of the Government of the State. Thus, as in England, there may be an inner circle—we may call it the "State Cabinet"—within the Council of Ministers. The actual composition of this inner circle will obviously depend largely upon the discretion of the Chief Minister. Thus there may be Ministers in a State with "Cabinet rank" and Ministers without "Cabinet rank." But all of them together constitute the Council of Ministers for the State. As a Deputy Minister is a member of the Council of Ministers, the provisions of Clause (3) and also of Clause (5) of Article 164 of the Constitution, which relate respectively to the question of oaths, and of salaries and allowances, of Ministers, apply as much to Deputy Ministers as to other Ministers.

Let me cite an analogous case. In England, there is a "distinction between the Ministry and the Cabinet, between Ministers and Cabinet Ministers." All "Cabinet Ministers are Ministers, but not all Ministers are Cabinet Ministers."

"All members of Parliament," says Prof. Munro, "who hold important administrative posts of a political character, and who give up such positions when a cabinet resigns, are known as ministers. In other words, the ministers are the high officials of the Crown who hold office subject to the continued confidence of a majority in the House of Commons... The ministry does not meet as a body for the transaction of business. It has no collective functions. It is only the cabinet ministers who meet... The cabinet is composed of those ministers whom the prime minister designates to membership in his cabinet."

"At any given time," writes another authority, the Cabinet "consists of such members of the ministry as the prime minister (who is head of ministry and Cabinet alike) invites to join him in 'tendering advice to the King on the Government of the country.' A member of the Cabinet has, as such, no office; he merely is a minister who attends cabinet meetings because of having been asked by the prime minister to do so."

Further, at any given time, there are, broadly speaking, four main groups or categories of Ministers in England: Heads of Executive Departments, some "other high officers of State," Parliamentary Under-Secretaries and some other "Junior Ministers," and certain officers of the Royal Household. The number of members of the Cabinet has varied during the last few decades between 17 and 23. Often the number has been 20. During peace time the total number of Ministers, however, has varied between 60 and 70, and during the war time the number has sometimes swollen to more than 100. When a Cabinet "goes out of office, it invariably carries the entire ministry with it." Thus the Cabinet and the Ministry "stand or fall together."

It may also be noted here that the range of annual salaries payable to the different categories of Ministers of the Crown in England varies widely, under the Ministers of the Crown Act, 1937, between ten thousand pounds for the Prime Minister and one thousand pounds to each of the Junior Lords of the Treasury. In between these two scales of salaries, there are other scales of salaries for other Ministers.

In view of what I have shown above, there is nothing unusual if we have two or three categories of Ministers in our country, such as Ministers of Cabinet rank, Ministers of State, and Deputy Ministers. Our Constitution permits this, and, therefore, there is no illegality in it.

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BENEDETTO CROCE—HIS PHILOSOPHY

By Dr. S. K. NANDI, M.A., LL.B., D.Phil. (Cal.),
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THE present generation will remember the name 'Aquila' with pride for in the year 1866, she saw the birth of a baby who captured the imagination of the intellectual world in his youth; and his intellectual conquests, in his old age, were rather complete. Benedetto Croce, born in the province of Aquila of a Neo-politan family, had his schooling in the intellectual traditions of a Roman University and later settled in Naples. He adopted the career of a private scholar which he only allowed to be interrupted by the occasional acceptance of such public offices as those of a senator or of a minister of public instruction. Beginning as a student of Neo-politan history, he first widened the range of his erudition and then deepened his reflection upon it. His consistent logical thinking earned for him a reputation which any one of his tribe could reasonably consider as a treasure. Croce has to his credit the great achievement of installing aesthetics on its own pedestal. He has rightly been called the Adams Leverrier of the philosophical world. Adams Leverrier discovered Neptune and like Adams, Croce vindicated the existence of another science as yet unknown and assigned to it its proper function. Thus he liberated aesthetics from the age-old subservience to philosophy and established its autonomy in the commonwealth of human knowledge and culture.

Neo-idealist Croce follows Hegel in his basic idealism and in his view of reality as a spiritual life of which the driving force is a conflict of opposites, he rejects Hegel's 'panlogism.' This modification of

Hegel has had two effects. On the one hand, reality is with Croce unambiguously identified with the actual process of spirit rather than with its eternal or absolute logical structure; while on the other hand, Croce recognizes the autonomy of the several non-logical manifestations of spirit such as art and nature. We have in Croce the objectivistic view of spiritual life as objective self-fulfilment through objectified self-expression. In his view, life of the spirit is unceasing self-objectification as intuition-expression of the spirit's inner 'sentimental tumult,' the spirit's a priori aesthetic synthesis of feeling and imagination, the intuition or objectified expression of its inner stirrings. His philosophy is notable for its pluralistic flavour and breadth of inclusiveness.⁵ It is unfolded in three main works, the *Aesthetic*, the *Logic* and the *Philosophy of the Practical*, the last embracing Economics and Ethics and the whole setting forth the four fundamental forms of human activity. For Croce, the concrete reality of the spirit consists in its ceaseless activity. This spiritual activity is broadly divisible into two kinds, theoretical and practical. Knowing and willing are however very closely related because there cannot be any willing without knowing. Knowing again involves two kinds of activity, aesthetic and logical.⁶ Spirit's activity does not express itself in incessant muscular movement which have bearing on our practical life. When we are outwardly calm and not busy with the pen or the brush, the spirit works within and art takes its birth. When we externalize the already intuited 'work of art' and depict

it on paper or canvas, it is mere technique and not a part of the spirit's activity which really makes art what it is. Croce thus differentiates between the true work of art worked out within and what is commonly called the work of art⁷ and assumes the identity of art and beauty.⁸ Beauty is no quality of things,⁹ whether trees or pigments, but like every value, only comes into being as the result of a spiritual activity. Its esse is percipi. This spiritual activity is the aesthetic experience of the man who finds beauty in a cathedral or a tragedy, in a sunset or a tune. A man rich in such experiences has the artistic nature richly actualised, even if a rare temperament has enabled him to maintain its exercise without the common stimulus of communications and he remains for ever mute and inglorious. My work and my satisfaction as an artist are completed when I have made a melody or a poem and when I have seen or imagined in the perfection of every detail,¹⁰ a landscape; and nothing artistic will be added then by my putting pen to paper or paper to the press.¹¹ When we externalize the already intuited 'work of art' and depict it on paper or canvas, it is a mere technique and not a part of the spirit's activity which really constitutes the work of art. The reasons for Croce's exclusion of the 'external' work of art are various and complex; but none is more compelling than his intention of formulating in expressionism an aesthetic of complete and free creativity. To quote Croce:¹²

"If by art be understood the externalization of art then utility and morality have a perfect right to enter into it: that is to say the right to be master in one's own house."

For Croce, the structure of the work of art, the 'image,' 'intuition,' or 'expression' is precisely the form which permits us to distinguish freedom from that which the 'spirit can never apprehend in itself as simple matter . . .,' from mechanism and passivity which the spirit of man 'suffers but does not produce,' the complete creativity of the imagination produces the 'indivisible' and individual intuition, the image or the 'work of art.' Each image is novel and therefore incomparable.

"And as I have indicated elsewhere," writes Naham, "Croce's identification of the artist with the free creator, implies, inasmuch as he likewise identifies 'taste' with 'what produces it,' that judgment is likewise absolutely free."¹³

Rejecting every sort of transcendence, there will be as many aspects of reality as there are modes of

conscious life. The latter is divisible into the theoretic and the practical consciousness, of which the first is again divisible into intuition and intellect. Intuition is genuine knowledge, distinguished by its immediacy and by the concrete individuality of its objects. It embraces not only the field of perception but also that of imagination and feeling, since it is prior to the distinction between existence and non-existence. It embraces spatial and temporal characters as parts of its content, but it is not a spatio-temporal system as in Kant's *Aesthetics*.¹⁴ Croce regarded this intuition to be identical with expression and this intuition-expression, an elementary and spontaneous activity of the human spirit was taken to be identical with art or imaginative experience. Croce writes:

"Intuitive knowledge is expressive knowledge, independent and autonomous in respect to intellectual function; indifferent to later discriminations, posterior and empirical, to reality and to untruth, to formations and perceptions of space and time even when posterior."¹⁵

Intuition and representation are distinguished as form from what is felt and suffered, from the flux or wave of sensation or from psychic material; and this form, this taking possession of, is expression. To have an intuition is to express and we have already explained the import and significance of 'expression' in Croce's aesthetics. The most original feature of Croce's view of intuition lies here. His contention that it is essentially communicative or expressive does away with the age-honoured distinction between form and content in art and characterises it as a false relation since there is no content that is not already intuitively formed. This activity is referred to the theoretic aspect of human nature and here Croce is hand in glove with many other stalwarts of like eminence. Art or the experience of beauty is for Croce, as for Hegel, for Schopenhauer and in a sense for Kant, a form of knowledge or rather it belongs to the theoretic as opposed to the practical side of our nature.

But this intuition is only an important stage of the endless progression of man's spiritual life towards objective fruition and it is only the first stage. The satisfaction which it brings is that of successful expression. Side by side with this satisfaction, however, appears a new dissatisfaction, the dissatisfaction of the intellect to know, i.e., to sort and classify the image-expression as reality. Thus intuition passes over into perception, i.e., into the knowledge of reality. In this way the a priori aesthetic synthesis becomes a new synthesis, i.e., an a priori logical synthesis of representation and category of subject and predicate, which is the knowledge of a fact as the particularisation of a universal, the perception of the image

1. See Preface, *Philosophy of Croce* by Wildon Carr.

2. See "What is Living and What is Dead" in *The Philosophy of Hegel* by Croce.

3. *Philosophy of the Recent Past* by R. B. Perry, p. 160.

4. See *Contemporary Philosophy* by D. M. Dutt.

5. *Estetica*, Ch. XV.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 139 and 187.

7. *Ibid.*, Chs. xiii, xiv.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

9. *The Theory of Beauty* by B. P. Carritt, p. 180.

10. See *Aesthetics* (Ainslie edition), p. 16.

11. Milton C. Naham: "Structure and the Judgment of Art." (*The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. XIV, No. 25).

12. *Philosophy of the Recent Past* by R. B. Perry, p. 162.

13. *Aesthetics* (Ainslie edition), pp. 18-19.

as reality. Even logical synthesis, according to Croce, does not represent the last stage; with the satisfaction of knowledge appears a yet new dissatisfaction, the dissatisfaction of the desire for action. With the appearance of knowledge, in short, appears also the consciousness of value, every new reality known generating a new ideal possibility and a new sense of value, with new concomitant aspirations, desires and longings of the soul. And so, the logical synthesis prepares the way to a practical a priori synthesis which as a new desiring and a new feeling is a new passionateness of the spirit that craves for appropriate expression. And thus the spirit moves on spirally from expression, through logic and practical synthesis, to renewed expression at a higher level, this circular movement being repeated at higher and higher stages as spiritual life advances. Thus in Croce's Neo-idealism, we have a repetition, writes Prof. S. K. Maitra,¹⁴ of the objective view of the spirit as necessary circular movement from objectified expression, through reality and ideal aspiration, to objectivity again, the process dragging on without end.

This notion of the movement of spirit towards objective fruition is the main tenet of Croce's philosophy and this central notion gives his metaphysics a unity much looked for in the nineteenth century philosophy. Prof. Perry¹⁵ extols this unity and writes that such unity as is retained by Croce's system as a whole is to be sought in his conception of 'distinction' and 'opposition' as applied to the four fundamental divisions of the conscious life. Beauty, truth, utility and goodness are not opposed and there is no dialectical relation between them by which (after the manner of Hegel) one generates the other as its contradictory opposite. This being the case, art and science are not to be treated as forms of error or as bad philosophy; and there is no justification for the Hegelian attempt to substitute a philosophy of art for art or a philosophy of science for science. Art as it is to the artist and science as it is to the scientist, are not falsifying abstractions which have to be corrected and superseded but are themselves intact

modes of spirit to be incorporated as they stand in the richer fulness of reality.¹⁶

Croce has been misunderstood very often and his identification of intuition and expression has been severely condemned. Croce's expression has sometimes been taken for the technique of externalization and it has created much confusion. His identity of expression and aesthetic fact leads to the identity of philosophy and aesthetics. Listowel tells us¹⁷ that

"Croce's error in identifying art and language is so gross and palpable that even a child could perceive it. How can the richness and variety of aesthetic experience be equated with language in ordinary experience?"

If all utterances are artistic then every man even in his incoherent babbles, is a poet. Volkelt,¹⁸ the noted German aesthetician, condemns this identification of aesthetics and linguistics by Croce and calls it a 'curiosity of philosophy.' We consider that the position of Croce is not indefensible. Babbles of a child or the inarticulate utterances of primitive men and women were certainly prompted by a desire for communication. Language, whatever might be its form or content, had a definite mission to fulfil and that was to communicate with others. It is precisely here, in our view, where Croce's expression differs from language as expression. He tells us in so many words¹⁹:

"Another negation is implied in the definition of art as intuition: if it be intuition and intuition is equivalent to our theory of expression in the 'original sense of contemplation,' art cannot be a utilitarian act."

The main function of language is to communicate and it is done with a practical end in view. Language is art, not as a medium of communication; it is art only in the sense of 'intuition-expression.' While language has a definite object, viz., to make others understand what one feels, what one wants and what one stands for, a true artist is oblivious of himself and his wants and his art is not prompted by any end extraneous to the nature and autonomy of art as art.

16. *Ibid.*

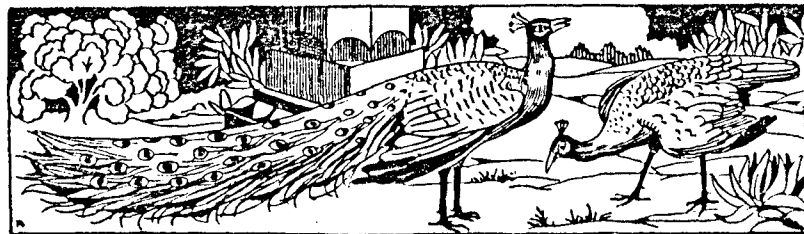
17. See his *A Critical History of Modern Aesthetics*.

18. See his *System der Aesthetik*, Vol. III (English translation).

19. *Essence of Aesthetics*, p. 11.

14. See his *Studies in Philosophy and Religion*, pp. 10-11.

15. *Philosophy of the Recent Past*, p. 165.



THE CREEP OF THE DESERT

By K. V. KRISHNAMURTHY,
Central Water and Power Commission, New Delhi

A plea is advanced in this paper for an objective and scientific assessment of the problem of the creep of the Rajasthan desert. The popular opinion about the advance of the desert and the steps that are under the consideration of the different governments are briefly mentioned. After referring to the analysis of Holland and Christie about the origin of salt deposits in Rajputana, it is pointed out that they do not deal with the problem of the advance of the desert. There does not appear to be a unanimity of opinion in scientific circles about the theory of the desert advance. The opinions of Pithawalla and Gorrie are given as examples of what appears to be a minority view. The analysis of meteorological elements in and around the desert made by Dr. Pramanik reveals that there has been no accentuation of desert conditions in the region over the last seventy to eighty years. The researches of Oldham and Stein are cited as indirectly supporting the view that the desert might not be advancing. As even the fact of desert advance does not seem to be universally believed, it is suggested, in conclusion, that the problem should be examined afresh in a scientific and unbiased way. The necessity is pointed out, firstly, to investigate the problem, and secondly, to suggest remedies on the basis of a scientific diagnosis of factors prompting this encroachment.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of arresting the spread of the Rajputana desert in the north and north-eastern directions has been engaging, in recent times, the attention of both official and non-official organisations interested in the development of the areas in and around the desert. The rate of the extension of the desert is estimated in certain quarters to be half a mile every year. To prevent this extension, programmes of afforestation are now under the active consideration of the Central and interested State Governments. The Central Government is considering a scheme of afforestation in the Sironi area, south-west of the Aravallis for the immobilisation of the desert. It is understood that the Government of Uttar Pradesh is also considering a similar scheme to protect the western districts of the State like Agra, Mathura and Aligarh. The Punjab has undertaken some experimental afforestation and Saurashtra is reported to have appointed a committee to study the question. In this context, it will be very desirable and necessary to undertake a scientific and objective analysis of the problem of the creep of the desert.

ORIGIN OF THE DESERT

The origin of the Rajputana desert is chiefly attributed to two agencies, firstly, the peculiar

geographical and topographical features and secondly the inter-play of different meteorological elements in the region. North-western Rajasthan is outside the path traversed by the main body of the monsoon currents originating from the Bay of Bengal. As these monsoons travel up the Indo-Gangetic Basin their moisture content progressively declines. They finally shed all their moisture near the Himalayan region and the adjacent plains in the Punjab. The S. W. monsoons originating from the Arabian Sea meet with no major obstruction until they reach the Himalayan ranges. The alignment of the Aravallis being parallel to the direction of these rain-bearing winds does not induce much precipitation. The little precipitation which the S. W. monsoons cause is only on the slopes of the Aravallis and thus the area to the west of the Aravallis does not benefit much from either of these currents. These particular factors are primarily responsible for the low rainfall of North-western Rajasthan which is of the order of 5" to 10" in a year. The low rainfall and the extreme variations of diurnal temperature, conjointly cause mechanical disintegration of the rocks. The existence of the Runn of Kutch south of the region facilitates the transport of enormous quantities of sand and salt by the wind currents starting from the Arabian Sea. The concomitant effect of these geographical, topographical and meteorological factors is the enormous expanse of the sandy waste which the region is, notwithstanding the sparse vegetation it supports here and there.

ANALYSIS OF HOLLAND AND CHRISTIE

A detailed analysis of the action of wind in the Rajputana desert was undertaken by Holland and Christie (3) in 1909. The objective of the analysis was, no doubt, an examination of the origin of the salt deposits in Rajputana; but it remains noteworthy for the fact that it is the only quantitative estimation thus far available of the wind-borne salt in the region. After examining the various theories put forward to explain the occurrence of salt in Rajasthan, they conclude that "wind alone is sufficient to account for the large saline accumulations in the region." On the basis of experiments conducted a year earlier, the estimate that the quantity of salt blown over a front of 300 kilometers will be about 1,30,000 tons in a year. The analysis of Holland and Christie is cited in certain quarters as an evidence of the role of wind causing the advance of the desert. This does not seem to be borne out by facts, because Holland and Christie offer no specific opinion on this aspect. It was the action of wind as the carrier of salt that was the subject of their study but not as the cause for the extension of the desert.

CONFLICTING OPINIONS

The notion that the desert has been advancing is fairly widespread, but, there does not appear to be unanimity of opinion in scientific circles about it. For instance, according to Pithawalla (5), it cannot be said that the desert "is expanding its north and east sides in any way." He further maintains that it was made to shrink on its west in the province of Sind and the Khairpur State as a result of the construction of Sukkur Barrage in 1932 and feels that similar shrinkage can be effected on the northern and eastern directions, "if only the aid of scientists and engineers is sought after a thorough geographical survey of the area." Likewise, Gorrie (2) thinks that the land adjoining the desert is not being engulfed by sand though it is slowly deteriorating as a result of increasing desiccation in south and south-western Punjab. It is, no doubt, difficult to distinguish between the land deteriorating as a result of desiccation and the land being engulfed by sand as a result of the advance of the desert. But the statement is indicative of the hesitation of Gorrie to accept that the desert is advancing.

NO QUANTITATIVE DATA

The one common feature of either of the arguments is that apart from general descriptive statements, little quantitative data is adduced in proof of the opinions offered. The existence of small marine deposits of foraminifera of the Tertiary age is quoted as an instance to prove that the present desert was at one time under the sea. But their existence all along the seacoast in Kutch and also in the vicinity of far away places like Bikaner is again quoted by others as an instance of their having been wind-borne. Even if the theory that they have been wind-borne is accepted as true, it can not serve as a conclusive proof of the fact that the desert has been extending.

METEOROLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The only scientific treatment of the problem thus far appears to be a detailed meteorological analysis undertaken by Pramanik (6). A number of stations from the arid and semi-arid zones were selected and their data of rainfall, relative humidity, temperature and wind velocity recorded over a period of eighty years was analysed with a view to see if a regular secular trend of either increase or decrease is indicated. If the desert were really advancing, an accentuation of the meteorological conditions on the northern and north-eastern fringes of the desert should have been noticeable. The conclusions arrived at on the basis of this study are very significant. It is stated that

(1) "The meteorological data indicate that there has been no accentuation of Rajasthan desert and that there has been no extension of desert conditions on any large scale over the adjoining areas during the last seventy to eighty years;

(2) "The extension of desert conditions has not been due to the deterioration of meteorological factors but due to other causes."

While on the one hand the chief instrumentality for the advance of the desert has been placed on meteorological factors, notably, wind, the analysis of Pramanik reveals there has been no accentuation of meteorological conditions characteristic of a desert in or around the region. The conclusions of this analysis seem to lend justification to the opinion held in contrast to the general popular belief about the advance of the desert.

THE INFLUENCE OF HUMID BELT

While the worsening of the meteorological conditions on the north-eastern fringes of the existing desert is discussed, the desert and its meteorology appear to be generally treated as a single isolated entity. For a truly scientific analysis, the region all round should be treated as being in a state of natural equilibrium with the desert. It will then be possible to realise that it is not only the characteristics and the behaviour of the wind currents from the Arabian Sea but also of those from the Bay of Bengal that jointly mould the physical features of the desert. The precipitation that these two monsoon currents cause near the Himalayas and in the adjacent plains in the Punjab leads to the formation of a sub-humid and humid belt in the neighbourhood of the desert, the existence of which does not seem to have been given adequate weight in a discussion of the problem of desert extension. For, this humid belt should naturally set an upper limit to any extension of the desert in that direction, even if such tendencies were possible.

RESEARCHES OF OLDHAM AND STEIN

If, then, the humid belt in the adjacent Punjab plains has been, as can reasonably be surmised, exercising a restraining influence on the desert, is there any proof of such an influence? The researches of Oldham and Stein seem to furnish an answer; for, they throw an interesting light on the extent of the desert in the historic and prehistoric times.

In a very revealing analysis, made as early as in 1893, about the disappearance of rivers Saraswati and Hakra, Oldham (4) points out that this drying up is not due to a diminished rainfall of the region in recent years, but is most probably due to the changes in the course of the river Sutlej.

Talking of the Saraswati and the Ghaggar, he writes, "There is nothing, however, in history to show that they ever contained much more water than they do now. Indeed, all records that have come down to us point to the contrary." And yet, "in the Rig Veda, we are told of a large and rapid river flowing from the mountains to the sea. The Mahabharata describes the same stream as losing itself in the sands."

According to Oldham, the now extinct river Hakra had, in the Vedic times, an eastern arm comprising the Ghaggar, Wah, Sonamwal or Sirhind Nadi and a western arm formed by the three branches each known as Naiwal. In the Vedic age, the Sutlej was flowing through the western arm of Hakra into the Arabian Sea, but when it changed its course to join the Indus through the

THE CREEP OF THE DESERT

Beas, "the Saraswati, which had been a tributary, was left in possession of the deserted channel in the sands of which its waters were swallowed up." "It is of course impossible to fix any period for this change, but it may be presumed that it took place between the Vedic period and that of Manu, when we first hear of the disappearance of the Saraswati in the sands."

The change in the network of river regimes in the Punjab is easily understood if the nature of the flow of a river over an unstable alluvium is remembered. As Oldham reminds us:

"Indeed only a century ago the river (Sutlej) deserted its bed under the fort of Ludhiana, which is five miles from its present course, and ten feet above its present level."

A keen insight into and knowledge of Indology is apparent in the analysis of Oldham as he quotes extensively from Hindu scriptures, mythology and history in support of his conclusions. But the significant point in his analysis in the present context is that the desert extended up to Phulra and Sirsa even in the Mahabharata age as it does now. The very interesting map given by him to illustrate the extent of the desert and the various changes in the river regimes which occurred in the Mahabharata era is attached at the end. The extent of the desert shown by him is much the same as that of the Marusthali shown by Nundo Lal Dey (1) in his map of Ancient India.

Viewing from a different perspective, on the basis of a survey of ancient sites along the Saraswati river, Stein (7) confirms the main postulations of Oldham, change in the regime of the river Sutlej and the consequential drying up of the Hakra and the Saraswati.

"Lower down the Hakra," writes Stein, "the main change was due to the Sutlej having in late prehistoric times abandoned the bed which before had joined the Ghaggar, the result of a law affecting all rivers whose course lies over the alluvial plains." Of the Ghaggar he says, "Evidence shows that down the historical times the Ghaggar carried water for irrigation under existing climatic condition much farther than it does now."

The reference to "existing climatic conditions" is significant in that it shows that the drying up of the river is not due to any possible meteorological changes in the region but is an off-shoot of the extinction of Hakra as a result of the change in the course of the Sutlej.

Incidentally, the researches of Oldham and Stein make it clear that the 'northern' of the Sutlej is not a result of the encroachment of the desert conditions but on the contrary is the cause for the desiccation in the region even in historic times.

All this goes to show that the desert conditions now existing are very nearly the same as those that existed over three to four thousand years ago and that, even, if there had been any increase in their extent in recent times, it is only very small. The rate of advance usually given, namely, half a mile a year definitely seems to be highly exaggerated. If the rate were operative over the

last ten centuries, as in fact it has been, the encroachment of the desert into the humid belt should have been to an extent of 500 miles which is far too much. This would be a virtual leap of the desert instead of its creep. If, on the other hand, it is stated that the rate of extension has been on the increase in recent years, it will be absolutely imperative to go into the causes for such a recent accentuation.

CONCLUSION

It is not the intention of this paper either to endorse or to reject the theory of the encroachment of the desert, and its rate. But it is only to point out that scientific opinion does not seem to believe in it unanimously. There appear to have been two sides to the problem and two approaches, both of them based on seemingly reasonable grounds. There exists an important and urgent need to go into this problem afresh in a scientific, unbiassed and objective way and to investigate, on the basis of factual evidence,

- (1) Whether the desert is really advancing and if so, at what rate;
- (2) Whether the accentuation of desert conditions has aggravated in recent times, and if this be the case, due to what causes.

Such a scientific diagnosis can alone help in suggesting and implementing the most appropriate remedial measures. The results of investigations undertaken against this background will also point to the relative priorities according to which solutions to the different problems of the desert should be attempted. For instance, if the desert is really advancing at an alarmingly rapid rate, the problem of arresting further deterioration should naturally receive the first attention. Otherwise, the emphasis should properly be on the developmental aspect.

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THE KALACHURI RELATIONS WITH BENGAL 9th to 11th Century A.D.

By: Miss. PUSPA NIYOGI, M.A.

THE dominions of the Palas and other rulers of Bengal were invaded by a number of foreign potentates in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries A.D. The power of the Palas began to decline from the 9th century A.D. until it was substantially revived by Mahipal I in the later part of the 10th and early part of the 11th century A.D. Foreign rulers, who invaded the dominions of the Palas and other Bengal rulers, belonged to different dynasties, namely, the Chamdellas, the Kalachuris, the Cholas and the later Chalukyas of Kalyana. With the decline of Pala power various parts of Bengal came under the control of other ruling families some of which had imperial pretensions. It was indeed a critical period in the history of Bengal, both externally and internally.

It appears that the Kalachuris were the first to invade Bengal during this period. The Ameda Plates of Prithvideva of Tummana dated 1079 A.D.¹ mentions that Kokkalla I raided the treasury of Vanga. According to Cunningham Kokkalla may be placed between 816-900 A.D.² There is another view which assigns him to the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. There is no definite information as to the political condition of Vanga during the time when Kokkalla may have led plundering expedition against that territory. There is, however, one inscription, namely the Chittagong C.P. of Maharajadhiraja Kantideva³ which refers to his kingdom of Harikela. The Chinese traveller I-tsing refers to Harikela as marking the eastern limit of Eastern India. Generally Kantideva is regarded as having been the ruler of a kingdom which included the region that later came under the control of the Chandra Kings of Vangala. Kantideva's inscription has generally been placed on paleographical grounds in the 9th century A.D. although Dr. Majumdar points out that a few letters used in the record may require to be placed in the 10th century A.D. It is probable that Kantideva and his family were attempting to extend their power towards the west if Vardhamanapura included in his kingdom is to be identified with modern Burdwan in West Bengal. I venture to put forward the suggestion that it was Kantideva's family which was attacked by Kokkalla. The attack could not have been more than a temporary raid, but if it is true that Kokkalla actually plundered the treasury of Vanga, it must have at least reduced the financial strength of the reigning family. It must have also created some political confusion—an unavoidable consequence of foreign invasion. The rise of the Chandra dynasty in East Bengal is to be attributed to a period not long after the time to which Kantideva's inscription

has been ascribed. It is not, therefore, improbable that Kokkalla's invasion produced a situation in Vanga which ultimately proved favourable for the establishment of the Chandra dynasty in that territory.

It further appears that the Kalachuris had a definite policy against Vanga-Vangala. This is evidenced by the fact that not only Kokkalla but a subsequent ruler of the Kalachuri family is credited with achievements which included the bringing about of the political disintegration of Vangala. The Goharwa Grant of Lakshmi-Karna⁴ mentions among other things that Lakshmanaraja (2nd and 3rd quarters of the 10th century) was skilled in causing the breakdown of Vangala (Vangala-bhanga-nipuna). There cannot be any doubt that during Lakshmanaraja's time the Chandras had already established their power in East Bengal. The expression "Vanga" which has been used in this inscription, shows that Lakshmanaraja's skill was employed in destroying the solidarity of a state engaged in unifying a territory which might have otherwise split up into a number of principalities. His attempt fairly succeeded in bringing about the intended disruption.

The history of the Chandras has many features which have not been satisfactorily explained. The opinion generally held is that the Chandras came from Rohtasgarh in Bihar. But the suggestion made by N. K. Bhattasali that Rohitagiri mentioned in the Rampal C.P. of Srichandra as the original home of his family is to be identified with the neighbourhood of Lalma hills in Tippera⁵ (East Bengal) has proved to be a reasonable guess in view of the discovery of an ancient site in this region during World War II. The inscriptions of Srichandra give a line of rulers but its connection with neither Layahachandra of the Bharella Narthesvara image (Tippera)⁶ inscription nor Govindachandra of the Tirumalai inscription has yet been ascertained. Nor do we know definitely whether Layahachandra and Govindachandra were connected by any family tie. It is clear, however, that these Chandra rulers were more or less connected with an identical territory. Govindachandra flourished in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. The exact date of Layahachandra cannot be fixed, but he has been tentatively assigned to the period 900-1000 A.D. Srichandra's line may have come to a close towards the end of the 10th century A.D. It has been suggested that his power may have met with a sudden collapse. It may be presumed that the net result of Lakshmanaraja's raid on Vangala was the blow it gave to the power of Srichandra's family which had effected political unification of Vangala. If this suggestion is accepted some information

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regarding the ancestry of Govinda will be available. Govindachandra was alive in 1021-25 A.D. when the army of Rajendra Chola invaded his dominion Vangaladesa. On the basis of old Bengali ballads it has been suggested that Govindachandra's father was king Manikachandra. After the fall of Srichandra's family which may have been hastened by Lakshmanaraja's expedition the family of Govindachandra may have risen to power. We have seen that Layahachandra may also be placed in this period. Thus the fall of Srichandra or his line seems to have been followed by the rise of two lines of rulers, the one represented by Govindachandra and the other by Layahachandra. Govindachandra may have removed his rival subsequently as he was the only ruler of Vangaladesa when the Chola army invaded it.

The reason why the attention of certain contemporary rulers fell upon Vangala was not merely that the Chandras were a growing power but also that there was possibly a potential danger from the eastern frontier of India in this period. Evidence of certain Chandras reigning in Arakan has been found⁷ and the relations between Pattikera in Tippera and Burma got complicated in the 11th century A.D.⁸ It may be quite possible that the Kalachuris were conscious of a potential danger and they may have tried in their own way to show that there was a strong power capable of checking any advance from the Eastern side. It may be quite possible that the Kalachuris were conscious of this potential danger and they might have tried in their own way to show that there was a strong power to check any advance from the Eastern side. The Kalachuris could not check the ardour of the Chandras of Vangala or Govindachandra seems to have extended his power to areas which were not known to have been comprised in the kingdom of Srichandra's family.

The Varman dynasty which was established in Bengal in close succession to the Chandras appears to have worked in alliance with the Kalachuris. It may be noted in this connection that there is a good deal of similarity between the accounts of the legendary origin of the Yadava-Varman rulers of Bengal and that of the Kalachuris. The reading of Anga in the Belava C.P. of Bhojavarma of the Yadava family though doubted by some scholars,⁹ has been generally accepted as correct. Gangeyadeva the father of Lakshmi-Karna according to the latter's Goharwa Plate defeated the ruler of Anga. The Pawan rock inscription shows that he was already on the throne in 1033 A.D. but there is some evidence to show that he had ascended the throne at least before 1030 A.D.¹⁰ It is not known who was

the king of Anga claimed to have been defeated by Gangeyadeva. Anga had been attacked by the Chamdella King Dhanga some time between 954 and 1002 A.D. It is to be noticed that neither Kokkalla nor Lakshmanaraja is known to have made any attempt to invade the western part of Bengal.¹¹ Attempts were now made by the Kalachuris to establish their sway in different parts of Bihar (Anga, Mithila) and Benares as available evidence regarding Gangeya's career will show. After the defeat of the Anga king Jatavarman may have been installed as its ruler by Gangeyadeva. The suggestion that Karna may have been responsible for the end of Chandra rule in East Bengal does not appear to be probable. There is no conclusive evidence to show that the Chandras reigned in Vangaladesa up to at least 1041 A.D. when Karna appears to have ascended the throne. Dated inscriptions of Govindachandra have been found, but as we do not know the date of his accession, we are not in a position to assert that the date contained in these inscriptions must be assigned to the period following the Chola invasion in about 1021 A.D. In view of this uncertainty it may not be reasonable to hold that the Chandra Dynasty reigned at least for about twenty years after the Chola attack to have been finally overthrown by Karna. It cannot be asserted on the insufficient evidence of the Rewa¹² inscription which does not specify the eastern reign whose ruler may have dealt with Karna that reference is to be supplied by his alleged operations against Vanga-Vangala. The Bheraghat inscription,¹³ says that a king of Vanga trembled before him. This need not be regarded as indicating any decisive military engagement. If the Vanga king was really killed by Karna, there is no reason why it should not have been explicitly stated in the Bheraghat inscription. In these circumstances it will be reasonable to hold that it was Jatavarman, whose sway extended from Anga to Kamarupa, who was able to include the territory of Vanga in his dominion at a date nearer to the time of the Chola invasion than to 1041 A.D. when Karna succeeded his father Gangeyadeva. His marriage with a daughter of Karna shows that he was not an enemy of the latter and as this has been mentioned in a panegyric style in the Belava inscription of the Yadavas it may be inferred that he was proud of this connection. About such a ruler the statement that he was afraid of the power of Karna as made in the Bheraghat inscription may not be regarded as very exaggerated.

11. Lakshmanaraja's father Govinda I is said to have made himself with the women of Anga. *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 397. It has been suggested (H. C. Ray *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 700) that the Gauda king may have been attacked by Yavaraja was probably Gopala II. But the above-mentioned statement regarding the Kalachuri does not definitely prove any military victory or engagement on his part.

12. *E. I.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 112.

13. *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 11.

1. *E. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 75.
2. *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 103. There is a proposal to place him in the period c. 840-885 A.D. *Ind. Hist.*, Quart., Vol. XVII, p. 117 ff.

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THE MANAGING AGENCY SYSTEM IN INDIA A Peep into the Past and an Outline of the Future

By "GANGA"

The long-awaited Company Law Committee Report has been published and its recommendations about the Managing Agency System in particular have been made after profound thought and make interesting reading. There is no doubt that in making the recommendations, the first place has been given to the interests of the investigating public. To have a clear picture of the Committee's studied observations and drastic recommendations it is imperative that one should have glimpses of the evolution and development of the Managing Agency System and the object of this article is to give a bird's-eye view of the past and then appreciate against that background the recommendations of the Committee.

A cursory glance of the history of promoting and pioneering of industry in India would reveal that its characteristic features are unique and almost without parallel in any other part of the globe.

The colossal task of planning, promoting, financing and managing the various companies fell on the ever-ready shoulders of a few British merchants (and a little later indigenous financiers also) with wide experience and financial resources whom India was fortunate to possess. Out of this nucleus grew an organisation which, though formally jointstock, combined in itself the advantages of the proprietary concerns (e.g., unity of management, quickness in decision, etc.) as well as those peculiar to the jointstock companies (e.g., greater resources and economy in purchases, sales, overhead expenditures, etc.) while eliminating the drawbacks of either. It was not long before the system developed into the very lynch-pin of the industrial structure and even the banking organisation of the country had to be patterned to suit the needs and peculiarities of this institution.

In human affairs a perfect institution is yet an ideal and this applies with equal force to the Managing Agency System as well as to any other. The disquieting features were too numerous, though not fatal, and it is not possible in an essay of this length to point out anything but the most glaring.

Many of the evils of this System flowed from this basic and inevitable fact that the Managing Agents were the leading share-holders of the concerns under their management. This meant that any agreement entered into was between themselves as (1) Manager and (2) Share-holders. It requires no logic to prove that this dual personality and the conflict of interests inherent in this arrangement could have been anything but beneficial to the shareholders at large. This led to the framing of such favourable provisions that, except in cases of gross mis-

management or utter incompetence the managing agents could not even be reprimanded, not to mention the impossibility of dismissal. In many cases the agreement required of the managing agents to hold a minimum stock of the company's share capital and this ensured their continuation in the managerial saddle.

The managing agents carried this art of playing Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde to such perfection that it was remarked of them that

"A company was being formed to buy the land of X at a fabulous price to build a mill thereon for the benefit of X and to appoint him and his nominees as agents for life and assure employment for the retinue of his relatives and friends."

Soon a distinct profession was made of company promotion and mushroom promoters cropped up all over the country in great numbers holding out impossible promises of fabulous profits which led to large-scale waste of capital. Transfers from one agency to another were effected with such frequency and at such highly bloated values that this practice alone inflicted greater injuries on the system than any other.

In short, the reward of the managing agents for promoting a company was the right to manage it with exclusive privileges and a free licence to receive commission on all conceivable kinds of activities pursued by the company. This meant that the managing agents were fed by a perennial stream of profits irrespective of whether the company under their management made a gain or a loss. Of course, the more sober and better enlightened among them were clever enough to realise that absolute extermination would be the ultimate result of this cruel exploitation and saw to it that the goose that was laying the golden eggs was not killed.

Not all the managing agents were technically qualified or organisationally efficient but this drawback was cleverly made up by importing foreign technicians (essentially British) but for whom industry in general and the textile industry in particular could not have made such rapid progress.

As Mr. P. S. Lokanathan has rightly observed, in no other industry is the extent or importance of the pioneering and experimenting work revealed to a greater extent and the part played by the managing agents seen in truer perspective than in the promotion of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. The prospecting operations which preceded the floatation of this magnificent enterprise constitute an interesting chapter in the history of company promotion in India and the enormous amount of wandering and

great privations which marked the prospecting operations is a vindication of the immense potentialities for good of the system.

The promoters were generally persons with considerable resources, able and willing to procure expert assistance for carrying out investigations and prospecting operations. Many a project upon which huge sums of money were spent could not reach the stage of floatations and the losses in such cases were willingly borne by the managing agents which otherwise would have made serious inroads into the meagre resources of the investing public in India. The services thus rendered by the managing agents were somewhat similar to the functions of the Issue Houses in the Western European countries. They were indeed what may be termed "universal providers of industry, being promoters, financiers and managers of the venture they established." The name of the Managing Agency was in itself a guarantee to the public of the soundness of the enterprise in which he was interested and the absence of it in a public issue a presumption against its trustworthiness.

True this sort of company promotion would have smothered many a project which was inherently sound but was not backed by a reputed agent. However, on the whole there is no denying the fact that the investing public would have lost more by encouraging too freely the brilliant but resourceless and opportunist promoters than by having this kind of operational check on the activities of capable promoters.

While the holding of a majority of shares had many evils, it had also one distinct advantage. This compelled the managing agents to take a greater interest in the fortunes of the concerns. Failure of one concern under management implied, (due to large-scale interlocking of funds) in addition to disappearance of dividends, commission, etc., a grave impairment of credit and consequent stifling of other enterprises, under the same management. This close association of ownership and control achieved a unity of aim and motive and the defects of jointstock enterprise springing from diffused authority were eliminated by a system in which the managing agents (who had the greatest interest) were able to work with a singleness of purpose and free from the crippling chain of a Board of Directors. The hesitancy and conservatism that is generally displayed by a Board of Directors were conspicuous by their absence in the managing agency system as the latter's control was assured over a period. After all 'where the risk lies the control must lie' and the managing agency system is nothing if not for this guiding principle.

Compared to other more developed countries the gap which exists in India between the demand for and supply of capital resources, which constitute an 'economic distance' is very great and this could not have been bridged effectively but for the managing agents who have functioned as a media for the transference of capital from the side of supply to that of demand.

No doubt the country could have been better served if the managing agents had been more adventurous and if they had not shown a greater tendency to rest on their oars than to embark on more risky and uncertain ventures. However successful the system might have been in the past it cannot be said that it is so at present or will continue to be so in the future. The past was a virgin and unexplored field and the going was smooth and ordinary ability was all that was necessary. The force of competition has rendered the task of promotion more difficult and possibility of success less certain and one cannot be sure that the managing agents will justify their permanent existence and so, the extent to which it is adjusting itself to the new requirements and is able to fulfil its new functions by inviting fresh talents and young blood is not a mere private matter but an important social problem.

Viewed in the light of this eventful, though chequered, history it would be difficult to question the wisdom of recommendations of the Company Law Committee which have been made with the twin objects of "eliminating current abuses and harmful practices on the one hand and for providing sufficient flexibility of law on the other."

The war years showed how far human ingenuity could go in driving a coach and four through the Indian Companies' Act and the extent to which the utter laxity in the administration of the laws could be exploited by the managing agents and unscrupulous promoters. One is all the wiser for the experience and the comprehensive recommendations of the Bhaba Committee are such as to avoid similar pitfalls in the future. The experience of Britain in this field has also been used to advantage and the recommendations follow broadly the changes made in the English Law in 1948.

The main directions in which the Committee considers amendments to the Act necessary are in regard to the appointment of managing agents, the conditions of service of managing agents, the powers of managing agents vis-a-vis the directors and the activities of the managing agents in regard to borrowing, sales and purchases made on behalf of the company.

APPOINTMENT

The Committee recommends that in future managing agency agreements should be limited to 15 years subject to renewal for a period of ten years and that reappointment of the same managing agent should not be made except during the last two years of the outgoing period. As regards the existing managing agency agreements the Committee has given a reasonable period for them to expiry date on the 15th August, 1959.

REMOVAL

The Committee has recommended that an ordinary resolution should suffice in the case of fraud or breach of trust, while in other cases a special resolution would be required; but no resolution should be required to dismiss

a managing agent who has been convicted to a non-bailable offence. Certain safeguards are, however, provided for managing agents which are firms or companies.

TRANSFERS

*Several restrictions have been recommended by the Committee which are intended to remove current evils of trafficking in or cornering of managing agency rights.

REMUNERATION

On the subject of managing agency remuneration the Committee recommends that the commission which managing agents would be entitled to draw in future should not in any case exceed 12½% on net profits, and the expression 'net profits' has been very carefully defined by the Committee in its elaborate re-draft of the present section of the Act dealing with this matter. The Committee has also recommended that no office allowance should be admissible to managing agents but that they would be entitled to be reimbursed by the company for any actual expenditure incurred on the maintenance of their office. They would not also be entitled to any commission on purchases on behalf of the company.

Further the Committee has suggested that in the event of absence or inadequacy of profits, the managing agents would be entitled to such minimum remuneration as is considered reasonable by the company in a general meeting subject to a maximum of Rs. 50,000 per annum, but no other additional payment in any other form would be admissible to them. The Committee further recommends that the remuneration of all existing managing agents should be brought in line with its recommendations within a period of 2 years from the enactment of the new Act.

DIRECTORS VS. MANAGING AGENT

In the scheme of relationship between directors and managing agents which the Committee visualises, the superior position of the former is sought to be assured by the requirement that the most important financial and administrative powers which are necessary for the management of jointstock companies should be reserved for directors and exercised by managing agents only if they are delegated to them by the directors, except that a few specified powers should not be delegated in any case. These are :

1. The power to make calls on shareholders in respect of moneys unpaid on shares of the company.
2. The power to borrow moneys except within limits previously fixed by the directors at a board meeting.
3. The power to issue debentures.
4. The power to invest the funds of the company.
5. The power to make loans except within limits previously fixed by the directors at a board meeting.

The Committee pleads for a complete re-orientation of ideas as to the position and powers of managing agents. In its view, managing agents should act only under the general control and direction of directors, but subject to this control their powers and duties should be clearly laid down in advance so that within their sphere they are free to carry on their duties.

No other practice has done so much harm as that of large-scale inter-locking of funds between the various companies under the same management and to tackle this ticklish problem the Committee has recommended that the limit on such investment should not be more than 10 per cent of the subscribed capital of the company in which the investment is to be made and should not exceed 20 per cent of the subscribed capital of all the investment companies in the group as a whole. The Committee has also tightened up the provisions relating to the powers of managing agents to engage in a business which is similar to and directly competes with the business of the managed company.

The subject is not free from difficulties and the Committee admits this when it says : "We experienced considerable difficulty in reconciling what we consider to be the fundamental right of a managed Company to be managed by the managing agent whom it has appointed and not by some third party who in fact might have acquired a controlling interest in such managing agency firm or company with the undesirability of imposing such rigid conditions on the acquisition of an interest in such company by persons who might be able to contribute towards the management of the managed company." But the Committee has expressed the hope that its recommendations coupled with the provisions it has suggested elsewhere in the Report regarding the enforcement of the rights of minorities, the disclosure by directors and persons deemed to be directors of their holdings in a company and the powers of investigation into the ownership of shares will provide a salutary check on any large-scale trafficking in managing agency rights in future.

It will be clear from the above that for purely historical reasons the managing agency system is given a further lease of life but under conditions which, one hopes, would greatly limit its potentialities for abuse and make the best out of this much-maligned system.

One cannot do better than associate himself with the Committee's opinion that "despite many abuses and malpractices which have disfigured the working of the system, in the present state of the industrial organisation of the country it may still be, on balance, an advantage to continue to rely on it." For, as the Committee puts it, shorn of its abuses and malpractices the system may yet prove to be 'a potent instrument for tapping the springs of private enterprise'.

SUDHIR KHASTGIR—AN ARTIST OF THE PEOPLE

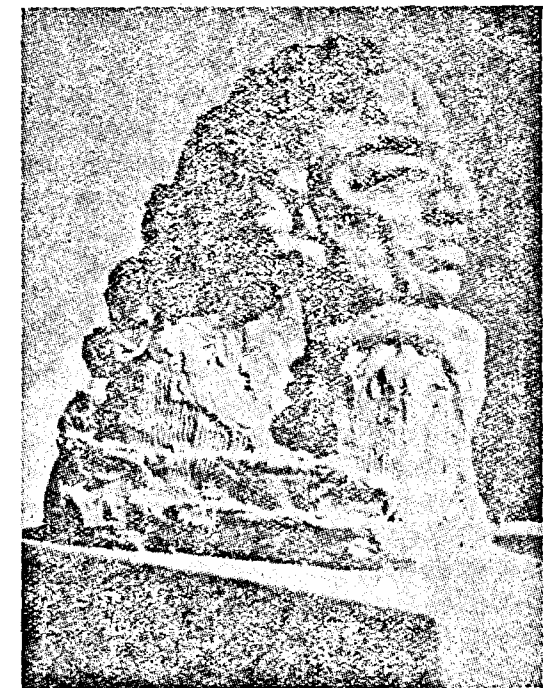
BY CAPTAIN RATNAMBERDUTT CHANDOLA

Nor many a celebrated artist have I met so far who impressed me more than Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir, whom I happened to see, as though by an accident, sitting in a rather pensive mood right into his own small studio situated in the heart of the Doon School estate. He gave me the looks of a poet more than a painter, or rather, a singer than a sculptor. It was more than a formal pleasure for me to greet him. After a brief talk, he so kindly took me round and showed me quite a few of his exhibits of paintings and sculptures,

his hand and grew into manhood with a brush and a chisel. His worthy father, Sjt. Satya Ranjan Khastgir, who hailed originally from Chittagong, now in East Pakistan, was serving as an engineer in Calcutta, when Sudhir showed visible signs of being a potential artist. No sooner he did his matric at the age of sixteen than he was switched over to the Kala-Bhawan at Santiniketan, the abode of Peace and Aesthetic Culture, for the study of art and craft. His passionately emotional creative genius quickly found



Major-General Thimayya
(Head-study from life)
By S. Khastgir

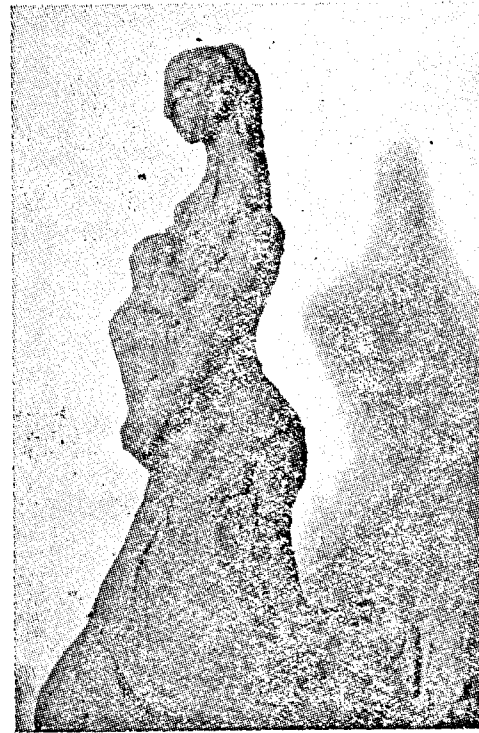


Study in clay (1952)
By S. Khastgir

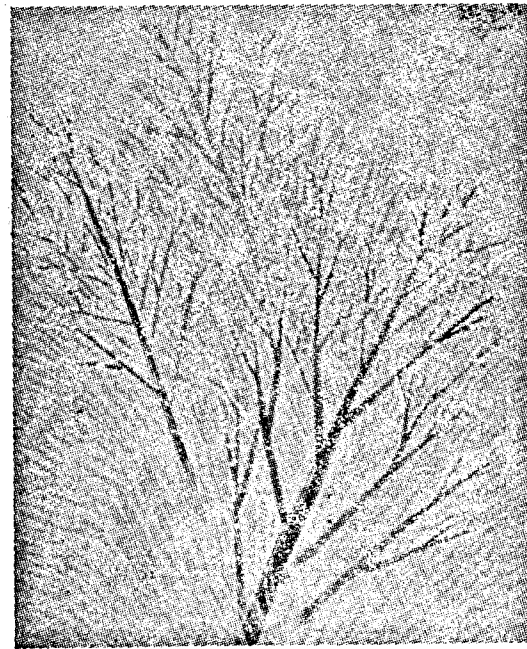
which interested me most. From what I saw during the short span of time, I am of the opinion that Mr. Khastgir's work as a painter is distinguished by skill and composition and his drawings are decidedly vigorous and vital. His sculptures show the versatility of his creative impulse.

Born at Calcutta on 24th September, 1907, Sudhir started his boyhood with a four-anna bamboo flute in

its expression in the field of constructive endeavour. He first exercised his talent for modelling. He firmly believes that "To build up something with one's own fingers, to give some shape to a lump of clay and to express one's own and other's feeling through it, is simply thrilling and marvellous." His sculpture found its development alongside his paintings. The first thing that strikes one about his sculptures is that they are the work of a two-dimension artist whose gifts tend towards plastic expression; thus his real and best work



Mother and child (clay)
By S. Khastgir



Spring (water colour)
By S. Khastgir



From the tank (oils)
By S. Khastgir



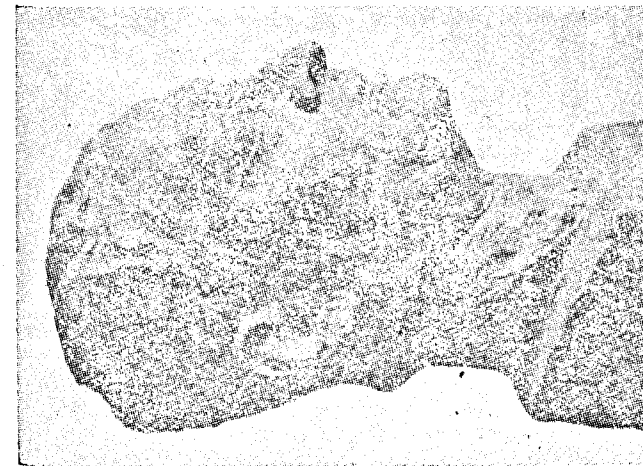
Flute-player (bronze)
By S. Khastgir



Trunks
By S. Khastgir



Slum-musicians (oils on paper, 1951)
By S. Khastgir.



C. R. Ranganathan
(President, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun)



Dronacharya (water colour)
By S. Khastgir

is Sculpture. Nevertheless, he is well-versed in those ancillary arts which a sculptor must exercise for the training of eye and hand. He possesses a double faculty of making a picture as well as a portrait. Some of his best water-colour drawings are in sober tones, and when the two moods of gay and grave come into contiguity, it is the "pensive mood" that ultimately predominates.

It appears that Sudhir Khastgir derived his inspiration from purely indigenous sources which drew him so near the earth that he fell in love with the simple realities of life. It was that simple joy of his innocent people which eventually made him "an artist of the people" in the true sense of the expression.



Dewali (oils)
By S. Khastgir

"Had it not been for the basic instruction I received at the feet of my Master, Sjt. Nandalal Bose, at Santiniketan, I wouldn't be an artist at all!"—confessed Mr. Khastgir to me. No wonder he stands in a very unique position today as one of the most talented artists of modern India. His work has a peculiar approach—a robust individuality, which is virtually a speciality, which enabled him to mirror in his works the true spirit of Indian life and culture beyond any shadow of doubt.

A proud product of Tagore's University—where he spent no less than five years—Mr. Khastgir toured extensively throughout the Union of India and Ceylon for the sole purpose of studying ancient Indian art

and architecture. A portable exhibition of his magnificent art and craft he carried with him to almost all the big cities of the country. In 1937, a remarkable exhibition of art work done at the Doon School was opened at India House, London, by the then High Commissioner, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, who paid a handsome tribute to the Art Master, Mr. Sudhir Khastgir, who toured over England and the continental countries for the purpose of exhibiting examples of the excellent work that he and his pupils had done at the Doon School. This was the first occasion when the work of Indian boys was shown in London.

Mr. Khastgir has been head of the Art Depart-



Rabindranath Tagore (terra-cotta)
By S. Khastgir

ment of the Doon School for over 15 years now. The School has made a remarkable progress in sculpture and painting under its Art Master, Mr. Khastgir, who feels that his pupils need encouragement as well as a measure of liberty, as both timid and troublesome boys display the benefit of art training after a certain specific time and become different boys altogether. They come into line with the rest, in developing their own imagination and power of perception not forgetting, perhaps, respect for difficulties and the determination to conquer.

Apart from his being a successful artist, he poses a challenge in the field of literature and is a staunch educationist.

His married life has been no more than a dream of sorrows. Manorama, his beloved wife, made him a husband, a father of a daughter and a widower, all within the space of a short year. He consoled himself thinking that "The path of sorrow is that path alone which leads to a place where sorrow is unknown!"

Shamoli, his only daughter, is now twelve years of age and is schooling at her father's *Alma Mater* and is also interested in Art.

In the words of Sjt. Asit K. Haldar, "Mr. Sudhir

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Ranjan Khastgir, in his work, throws open a window which reveals the mystery of his soul. In his work we can perceive a keen sensitive soul trying to express the imaginary impressions which it receives from the outer world in exuberant variety with dramatic appeal." This is undoubtedly the richest tribute that one artist can bestow upon another artist. It is a happy augury for the future of Sudhir Khastgir whose name will go down in history as "An Artist of the People."

CEREMONIAL CORN DANCE OF AMERICAN INDIANS

By W. NORTON JONES, Jr.

BOOM—boom—boom—boom! There it was at last, the sound for which the crowd had been waiting. Only that morning the governor of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso, a community of American Indians in the south-western State of New Mexico, had decreed that when the sun should stand overhead, the village would make its traditional appeal for success of its crops. The first muffled beats of the tom-tom, the Indian drum, warned that the ceremonial Corn Dance was about to begin. The audience comprised a crowd of several hundred Indians, a score or so of tourists, and a few other visitors.

The great dances and festivals of the pueblos of the American South-west usually take place on set dates. Most often they are held on the days dedicated to the patron saints for whom the early Spanish explorers named the various villages. Corn dances, on the other hand, are seldom held at fixed times. They are prayers for rain, for insurance of the crops, for an abundant harvest made by a people who live in a land of slight rainfall. As such, they take place whenever they seem necessary or desirable. They may be held in the various pueblos at almost any time during the growing season.

Nobody knows how long corn dances have been held at San Ildefonso. The village was old when the first Spanish explorers discovered it more than 400 years ago. It stood then as now in the shadow of Black Mesa and not far from the east bank of the Rio Grande River. The baked clay (adobe) houses of its people cluster about a great plaza in whose center is the kiva. The upper portion of this kiva, which is the semi-subterranean ceremonial chamber, makes a low, almost circular platform from which steps lead down to the ground. From a hatchway in the top have come the muffled sounds of the tom-tom.

An arbor-like shrine of green boughs erected especially for the corn dance stands at one side of the plaza. In it have been placed figures of the Blessed

Virgin and several saints taken from their niches in the village church. Images of the Blessed Virgin and San Ildefonso, the village's name-saint, occupy places of honor. Surrounding these are the figures of lesser saints.



Indians of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso in the American south-west, emerging from a typical adobe building to participate in the ancient Corn Dance offered in supplication for rain
Courtesy: New Mexico State Tourist Bureau

The governor of the pueblo has chosen his time well. The day is of that blue and gold perfection

peculiar to summer days in the plateau country of the American South-west. For protection from the hot sunshine the crowd has distributed itself about two sides of the plaza where adobe walls cast a narrow band of shadow. The quietness so characteristic of large groups of Indians has settled upon the audience, accentuating the drowsy stillness of midsummer noon-day. However, there has been a mounting tension of expectancy and all eyes are focused upon the kiva as the tom-tom first sounds.



Participants in the ceremonial Corn Dance performed by the Indians of the Pueblo of San Ildefonso

The beat of the drum continues for a time in measured rhythm—slow—monotonous. Then the tempo changes. Faster it grows, faster, and still faster. A roll. Then it falters, lapsing once again into its first hypnotic movement. Up the ladder, whose uneven ends project from the kiva's hatchway to stand in dramatic relief against the blueness of the sky, comes the drummer and his drum. Following him are six other men. Each is clad in moccasins, trousers, and velveteen blouse so prized by their wearers. The straight bobbed hair of each is bound with a bright cloth. Blouses are of brilliant hue: magenta, peacock blue, orange, cerise, canary, and the green of chrysoprase. Each blouse is belted with a band of hammered silver shells.

The men of the chorus and the drummer take their place at one side of the shrine of boughs. They begin a low, nasal chant which follows minutely the changing tempo of the tom-tom. After a time the monotonous rise and fall of this sound and glare from the hard-baked plaza begin to create an atmosphere

of unreality. All who listen are being made ready for the invocation of the gods.

Presently, when all is right and in readiness, a long file of ornately bedecked Indians emerges from the kiva. Up the ladder and thence in a long line down the steps to the ground come some 30 young men. Their faces smeared with white and their black-streaked chests proclaim them to be spirits of the dead. Around their necks are countless strings of beads and ornaments of silver. From the sashes of their kilt-like skirts hang fox skins and other trappings. Tied to their elbows are small branches of evergreen. On their heads downy eagle feathers betoken rain-bearing cloud puffs. These youths act as clowns of the day; they caper about the great square for a time enacting some pantomime which has come down unchanged from the days when protection of the pueblo from marauding bands of nomadic Indians was of paramount importance. Finally, they take their places in a long line before the green shrine.

Once more people emerge from the kiva. This time a column of women and girls move in solemn dignity down the steps from the roof. They take their places beside the line of men. Clad in black garments bound with bright sashes and bedecked with silver and turquoise necklaces and ornaments, they are somewhat less startling than the men. Gleaming, bootlike white moccasins encase their feet,

while on their heads they wear in vertical position small, flat wooden boards. These are decorated with cabalistic designs painted in bright colors and bear on their three peaks tufts of eagle down. It was from these flat wooden crowns that Spanish explorers gave to the corn dances the name of "tablitas"—or "little board dances."

The chant becomes more frenzied. The tom-tom beats more loudly, more insistently. The whole village is filled with sound, and supplication to the deity begins in earnest. Moving side by side the two columns begin to dance—now facing forward, now backward, and again facing each other. Each dancer keeps perfect time. Schooled in every significant movement handed down from generation to generation, they move exactly, unhurriedly, easily. Stamping, shuffling, turning, following the everchanging tempo of chant and drum-beat, they perform a ritual which is stately, dignified, full of symbolism, and perfect in its own way.

The whole ceremony is a strange mixture of pagan

and Christian rites. Devoutly these modern Indians perform before the shrine of a God to whose worship early Roman Catholic missionaries, the Franciscan Fathers, nominally had converted their forebears. The rites themselves are, however, as pagan as those which were sacred to their cliff-dwelling ancestors centuries before the coming of the Spanish explorers and the missionaries. There can be no doubt that the church plays a considerable part in the life of the pueblo villages of New Mexico. To what extent the old gods are revered, however, no one can say. At any rate, the beautiful and impressive dances of the Indians' pre-Christian days go on much as before.

During the ceremony dancers move back and forth in the area before the shrine. At length they begin to move almost imperceptibly toward the shelter of boughs. Each phase of the performance brings them a little nearer. At its very entrance the climax is reached. The drum rolls. The chorus chants more

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piercingly than before. The dancers weave back and forth—intricately—endlessly.

After the crescendo is reached, the retreat begins. The procession moves back into the holy precincts of the kiva. Down the ladder through the purifying smoke of the ceremonial fire disappear the women, their crowning tufts of eagle down waving a last farewell. After them follow the men while the chorus continues the chant which has not been allowed to die since the first celebrant came up the ladder from the sacred depths.

When the dancers have gone the drummer and chorus move slowly across the plaza to the kiva top. After the others have vanished, the drummer stands in brief silhouette before he too descends from sight. The thudding of his tom-tom becomes fainter—softer. It has ceased entirely before most of the audience is aware that the sound has stopped. The ceremony is over. A supplication has been made to the gods. The crops are safe.—From New Mexico.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN WEST BENGAL

By JYOTIRMOY ROY, M.A.,

Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

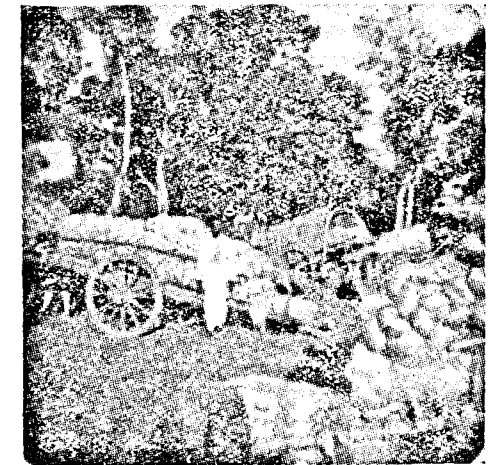
THE problem of agricultural development and amelioration of the condition of the peasantry has no doubt arrested the attention of the Government of India but it has been tackled from the point of agrarian reforms, relief to rural indebtedness and the introduction of better methods of cultivation while the sole assistance given to marketing was by the improvement in the means of communications. The Royal Commission on Agriculture pointed out that

"The incentive to grow improved varieties introduced by the agriculture departments is pro tanto diminished if the cultivator fails to obtain the full premium justified by their superiority over those ordinarily grown. Again, he has little incentive to market his produce in the best possible condition unless that condition is recognised in the price he gets for it."

Three parties are mainly interested in the marketing: the grower, the middleman and the ultimate consumer. The consumer plays an important part in determining the volume and nature of production and in fixing its price as all production has consumption for its objective; but the grower of the commodity does not realise this due to his lack of direct touch with the consumer. Boyle in his *Marketing of Agricultural Products*, says:

"If the Iowa farmer puts a bad egg in the egg case, he does not see the expression on the face of the New York or Boston housewife when this bad egg is opened. Her retail grocer hears her comment in the telephone."

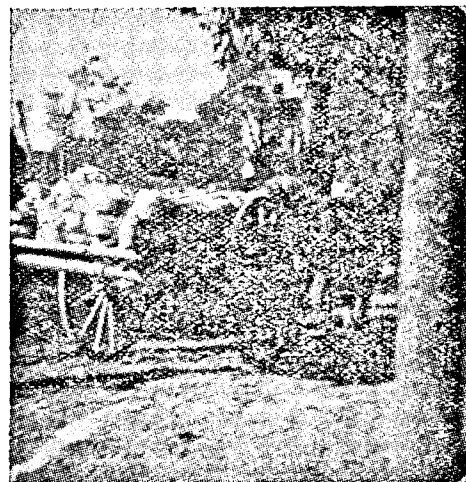
Agricultural production in India is carried on under varying conditions by a large number of people each owning small patches of land and the



Loading the carts with bales of jute

entire operations are carried on a very small scale. They are busy over production and have neither the time nor the ability for studying the markets so as to have an advantageous selling. Absence of credit facilities is another handicap for the farmer and as a result of all these a class of intermediaries have

emerged whose function is to assemble the surplus of the individual cultivators and despatch them to the bigger markets which act as a reservoir. Next comes the process of dispersion when the produce is arranged for supply to the manufacturers in adequate quantities, or for consumption in small lots by the concentrated population in the urban areas.



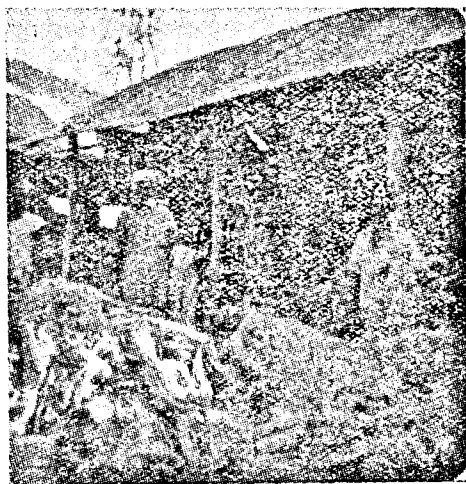
On way to the village

Agricultural marketing has certain peculiarities of its own—the bulk of the produce is considerable in relation to its value which makes transportation and storage difficult and costly. The crop matures during a short period and there is a tremendous rush in the market immediately after the harvest which depresses the price and puts abnormal strain on the means of transport. Some perish earlier than the others and this also varies under different physical conditions leaving its effects on the marketing. The effects of weather on production of agricultural commodities cannot be pre-calculated; favourable weather in a particular year or in several consecutive years may bring greater yield for the same acreage rendering storage and transportation hazardous accompanied by price depletion.

The networks of the Indian markets originate from the village where it is called a *hat* or bazar whence the commodities pass to the consumption points through a series of markets. Even though with the improvement in the means of communications the Indian village is being taken out of its age-old isolation and linked with the chain of bigger markets, it cannot be said that the road between the producer and the consumer is open and direct and the farmers have a free and competitive market in which to dispose of their products. From the village *hats* we pass on to the secondary markets located in big villages or towns which are mainly busy in the collection of the products during harvest for despatch

to bigger markets or *mandis*, as they are called in Upper India. Competition does not enter into the price structure in these secondary markets and both the dealer and the seller are entirely dependent on the price dictations from the bigger markets. These bigger markets can both be organised, e.g., Calcutta for jute, Hapur for wheat trade, and unorganised, e.g., Gaziabad which is also an important wheat market in the U. P. Before 1924, no market or *mandi* was organised in the modern sense of the term and the law-courts often condemned their speculative transactions as pure gambling. Various non-official measures were, however, adopted to organise the markets which were of very little significance.

The regulation of the Indian markets dates with the passage of Berar Cotton and Grain Markets Act in 1897 which aimed at the purging of many abuses prevalent in the then markets. The second step in this direction was the Bombay Cotton Markets Act of 1927. The comparative success obtained in the regulation of cotton markets in M.P. and Bombay suggested its extension in Northern India for regulating the wheat markets. In Bengal, no official step has yet been taken to regulate the markets although in



Grading of jute

certain towns they are controlled by the various Chambers of Commerce. Dr. J. C. Sinha pointed out that

"The present marketing arrangements (in Bengal) are chaotic, antiquated and prejudicial to the interest of the growers."

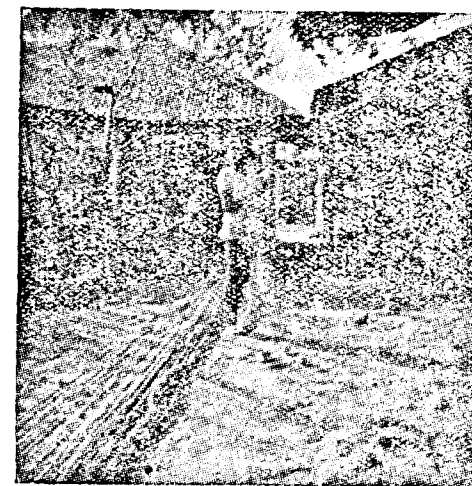
The economic condition of the jute growers can never be improved unless this state of things is improved and he is assured of correct weights, prompt payment and above all a square deal. Very recently the writer had the opportunity to investigate into the conditions of some of the important markets in

West Bengal and Bihar. It does not require great perseverance to find out that everywhere the middle-man predominates and they have quite mastered the art of cheating the innocent growers. No two markets have the same standard of weights and even when they tally, the grower is cheated with the help of over-weighted and under-weighted *balkaris*. In the important jute markets of Samsi and Harishchandrapur in the district of Malda in West Bengal, the standard of weight is 105 and 101 tolas per seer respectively. Here the growers are paid at the Calcutta price where the standard of weight is only 80 tolas. Price quotations from Calcutta are readily available through newspapers and radios and the writer found that the growers being quite ignorant of this discre-

profit of the balers still higher. Such cases do not manifest only in case of transporting jute to the Calcutta Port. In the inter-district operations also they are present due to the divergence of the standard weights in different markets inside the same district. In the district of West Dinajpur (West Bengal) I visited four important jute markets—Raiganj, Kalia-ganj, Balurghat and Hili and it is quite interesting to note that while the standard of weights is 120 tolas=1 seer for Raiganj, 123 tolas=1 seer for Kalia-ganj, it is only 60 tolas at Balurghat and Hili. Another noticeable feature of the markets in Balurghat and Hili is that there the seller is quite conscious of the difference between the local and the Calcutta weights and so he does not grudge the price deduc-



Weighing of raw jute



Making ropes for baling jute

pancy in weights thank the local merchants for offering them the Calcutta rate after which the merchants are supposed to bear the baling, transportation, etc., charges out of their own pockets. And even where the growers are conscious, they do not bother.

The cheating operations do not, however, end here. Weighing is invariably done by the merchant and some of them confided to me that this is not after all favourable to the seller. The *balkaris* used are generally of half-a-maund and instead of a stamped one, a piece of stone is used. In one case, I weighted this stone and found that its correct weight was 21.3 seers. In another case, I found that extra zine was inserted at the bottom of a stamped *balkari* of which the seller was obviously ignorant. In the markets in Bihar where no such disparity of weights exist, the above malpractice is highly in vogue. At Thakurganj (Bihar) it was found that very few jute balers are in possession of a stamped *balkari*. After all these, a moderate watering is done to the jute thus purchased thereby increasing the margin of

tions. Does it not become apparent that the merchants imparted this consciousness to their own benefit?

I am confident that various other malpractices can still be discovered after proper enquiry and strongest possible measures must be adopted for their removal. The standard of weight also varies commodity-wise. In the districts of Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Bihar, while the weight of 80 tolas is generally observed in case of jute, it is 93 tolas for tobacco. In these two districts, the system of *dadon* is gaining its stronghold every day and generally the cultivator taking *dadon* is compelled to sell his products to the creditor at a discount of 50 per cent than the prevailing market rates. In case of tobacco leaves another device is adopted to avoid the payment of the just price. Tobacco is brought for sale generally in the months of Chaitra and Baisakh (April-May) when hail-storm by the evening is a regular phenomenon. The grower coming from villages with a cart-load of leaves is made to wait the whole day under various pretexts and when the rain is about to come, an

abnormally low price is offered leaving the cultivator the only alternative of taking his merchandise back. The delicate leaves cannot even meet the jerkings caused on the uneven village roads while on cart and a shower is sure to bring total loss. The grower is obliged to accept whatever price may be offered! The writer was an eye-witness to some such occurrences while the complaint was recorded from a large number of farmers.



An essential item before grading of jute

The system of agricultural marketing in India is saddled with a long chain of middlemen and the remuneration they charge for their services increases the burden of the consumer while the producers in general live below the subsistence level. The utility of the school of middlemanship cannot be ignored when we take into consideration the lack of organisation of our farmers and their economic weakness. Marketing of foodgrains is mainly done through governmental agencies and as such there is very little scope for the well-to-do middleman to operate in this sphere though the smaller ones are not totally absent. Four types of middlemen we now encounter in the agricultural commodity markets: 1. Faria, 2. Bepari, 3. Aratdar and 4. Baler. It does not require much imagination to recount all the abuses and the iniquities of this system, many of them are real and demand reform but some of them arises out of the chaotic state of marketing and lack of any organisation.

In the trade of jute and tobacco in the State of West Bengal, the *farias* roam from village to village, collect the surplus and hand it over to the *bepari* who is his immediate superior. *Farias* are generally paid a commission by the *Beparis* but it is not rare that a *Faria* is doing independent business of his own thus bearing all the risks. The use of false weight and cheating in the process of weighing are too

common with the *Farias*. Adulteration either by damping the produce or mixing it up with that of inferior varieties is mainly done by the middleman and this increases with the rise in prices and fall in supply. Indian Cotton Committee has pointed out that this type of malpractices is rampant in the ginning factories. From his personal experience the writer can well assert that the balers of jute in this part of the country are in no way lagging behind their counterparts in Bombay and M.P. In the district of Jalpaiguri for every 100 mds. sold, the grower is to part with extra 5 mds. of jute which is commonly known as *dalta*. In the district of Malda and West Dinajpur, though no extra quantity is to be paid, how the growers are being deceived has been pointed out earlier. Another characteristic of these markets that deserves mention here is that though grading is practised in almost all the baling centres, the growers do not get any premium for superior quality thus killing the impetus for growing better variety of crops. In some places, there is no difference in price between the capsularis and olitorius variety of jute and even where it exists, the price paid for olitorius variety of jute does not justify the extra care required in its growing.

In the secondary stage of marketing, the Aratdar or Baler plays a leading part in moving the produce nearer to the exporting or consuming point and keeping the market steady by arranging for storage and gradual adjustment of supply to demand. In the first Marketing Report published by the Indian Central Jute Committee, the predominance of the Aratdars as a separate group was stressed but with the gap of twelve years since the publication of the above report, Aratdars as a class have almost been eliminated and their contribution to the present chain of middlemen in the marketing of jute is not worth mention. The balers in the mofussil markets are of *kacha* type and their bales are to be re-baled with hydraulic presses at the exporting centre when they are called *pucca* bales. The weights of *kacha* bales vary from 1½ mds. to 3½ mds. while the standard weight of a *pucca* bale is 5 mds.

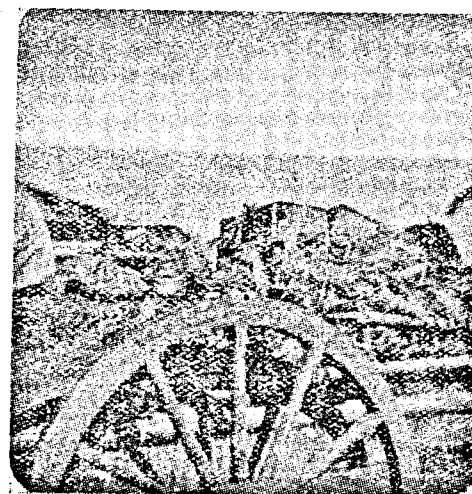
In the trade of tobacco, there is a tendency for the more prosperous ryots to buy up the produce from the poorer ones and start as a middleman. In the Dinhatta Subdivision of the district of Cooch-Behar, I found that a single ryot has purchased the entire crop of his own village. In Nowgaon (Assam), the Pradhans or Sarkars (headmen) of the villages exercise great power over the smaller peasants and jute and paddy in this region have to be marketed through them often at rates not favourable to the sellers.

In the marketing of fruits—mangoes in the district of Maldah and West Dinajpur and oranges in the district of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling—the common practice is to sell out the whole plantation while

in blossoms to the Bepari, the rate being fixed on an estimate of probable yield, the nature of demand and transport facilities. The prices are payable in full before occupation or by instalments, one-half at the time of signing the contract and the balance when the crop is harvested. An instance may be cited here to show the margin of profit of the middleman in the trade of fruit. In the village of Paharpur under Kharba P.S. (Maldah dist.) a petty cultivator sold out his total plantation consisting of 8 mango trees for Rs. 80 only while they were in blossoms to a Bepari who in his turn marketed the matured fruits to a merchant at Samsi (a distance of about 12 miles) for Rs. 240 only. The calculation is based on the presumption that an average plant bears 1,000 healthy

condition of the growers will also improve in no mean measure.

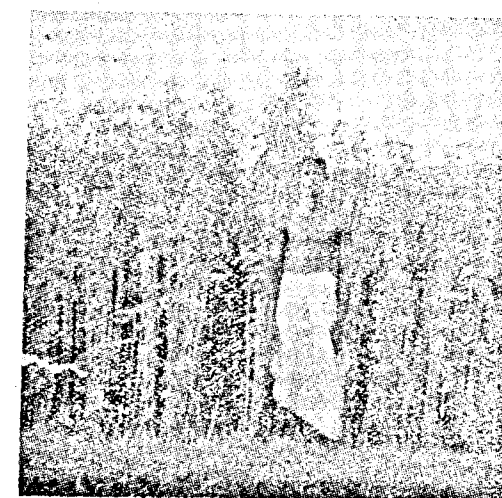
The question of marketing finance is also of great importance. It is a known fact that due to their precarious economic conditions, the farmer cannot hold on his produce and is compelled to dispose of the entire production immediately or soon after the harvest at a comparatively low price. The introduction of the debt settlement measures has removed the source of getting money (however defective it might be) and nothing has as yet been done to fill up the vacuum. The connection between financing and marketing is very close in this part of the country as every intermediary in a smaller or greater degree is also a financing agency; hence the advances given



On way to the baling centre

fruits that were sold at Rs. 3 per 100. This merchant at Samsi exported the entire proceeds to Calcutta where those mangoes were disposed of by the retail dealers at the rate of 5 to 6 fruits per rupee. Thus even allowing 50 per cent wastage (an abnormal figure), the same quantity of fruits fetched Rs. 800 from their retail buyers. The cost on account of railway freight and packing may as well be deducted from the above sum and the actual profit by these intermediate agencies be better contemplated than described.

The districts mentioned above provide ample scope for starting fruit-preserving factories in which case the growers may expect a better price besides providing occupation to a good number of persons. Situation as it is, the grower is obliged to accept whatever price is available due to the peculiar tendency of these fruits of being rotten in no time. If properly organised, the Himalayan slopes as well as the Gangetic plains offer ample opportunity for growing fruits on a commercial scale. If proper marketing arrangements can be made, the economic



Jute cultivation—sown in rows to minimise operation costs

by the Bepari or Paikar to the grower to secure the latter's crop is very important. As a result of my investigations in the village of Belakoba and adjoining areas (Jalpaiguri district) I found that out of 46 farmers receiving loan or *dadon* at the time of sowing, 41 had nothing left with them after the harvest and of the remaining five, the balance after the repayment of the loans did not even come up to 20 per cent of the total harvested figures. However, the popular notion that because the farmer has taken loan from the merchant or Bepari, he is completely under his control and has to accept any prices offered by him is not borne out by facts. This might have been a fact in olden days but at the present juncture, I have found everywhere that the cultivator is quite capable of asserting his rights. In undeveloped regions having no adequate means of communications, the grower is, no doubt, at a disadvantage in selling to the village merchant or Bepari but this is so, not merely because the buyer is also a creditor.

For the financial assistance rendered by the diffe-

rent grades of middleman the remuneration charged by them seems to be excessive in view of the risks they have to undertake and the absence of any organisation in the marketing business. The rate of interest in certain localities is as high as 20 per cent while 10 to 15 per cent is the general rule. Boyle has very well remarked that

"Credit for agricultural marketing has been and still is largely a question of credit for the dealers."

With the forging of new links to the chain of distributing services, new methods of manufacture and supply of credit have been developed in other countries. In the U.S.A., the cotton dealer gets financial aid on his promissory notes, warehouse receipt, compress receipt, bill of lading, banker's acceptances and trade acceptances.



Jute bales being carried to the market on buffalo carts

Until all the units in our marketing system are organised it is, of course, not possible to expect to secure all the facilities of finance as enumerated earlier but nobody will dispute that immediate attention should be paid to the matter. Dr. P. J. Thomas in his minute of dissent on the recommendation of the Banking Enquiry Committee has pointed out that

"The present system of financing marketing operations must be replaced by short-term credits which will keep money more mobile, bring down the rate of interest and enable the owner of the produce to market at the most auspicious time and the highest available prices. This is only possible by the creation and discounting of negotiable paper at every stage of the transaction."

Another difficulty presents itself in the shape of absence of any standard or grade in the agricultural produce of our country. The cultivator does not grade his produce not because he is unaware of its

benefits but because he is not paid sufficiently for the extra trouble involved. There are no markets in which a good grade is in demand. The advantages to be obtained from grading can hardly be exaggerated. It enables him to dispose of the inferior qualities in the local markets and despatch the superior consignments to the exact places where they are in demand and thus the cost of distribution can be reduced. Besides reducing the cost of storage in the actual process of marketing, the necessity for personal inspection of each consignment is to a large extent avoided and unseemly wrangles and arbitrations caused by the claims for allowances due to variations from samples of exported commodities are totally eliminated.

Indian Cotton Transport Act of 1923 and the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act of 1925 have improved the condition of the marketing of cotton in India and the Indian Central Cotton Committee has supplied specimen bales of pure cotton grown in the Punjab to be kept for inspection and comparison both by the buyers and the sellers at the Cotton Exchanges maintained by the Liverpool, Manchester and East India Cotton Associations.

As regards jute:

"The present form and methods of grading and marketing are in a hopeless muddle. The grower does not know these and the grading is done by the buyers and the exporting agencies who have branches in the outlying stations."—(Bengal Jute Committee's findings).

As a matter of fact, the actual grading is performed by the sorters or *jachandars* who are employed on a fixed remuneration and as they have no scientific training they carry on their work on a rough and ready knowledge of the fibre. The principle of grading, if any, is maintained as a trade secret and the growers receive no benefit from grading as they are paid at a flat rate. The Indian Chamber of Commerce was the first to demand governmental intervention in the fixation of standard of jute which was as early as 1928. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee was obliged to recommend that "the Local Government concerned should take prompt steps for the fixation of a proper standard for jute." Other sections of the trade including the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce voiced the same demand with no less vigour.

The present accepted grades of jute are: Top, Middle, Bottom and X-Bottom. Whatever may be the case at the exporting point, this standardisation has a tremendous elasticity in the mofussil markets. When the demand is high 'Middle' is often classed as Top and so on. Reverse is the case when a huge stock is accumulated with the balers.

In the marketing of rice, there is a rough and ready gradation into fine, medium and coarse but there is no uniformity in specimens of these grades

from different places. In case of fruits and vegetables, a rough classification of the articles is made before packing. It is usual to remove the fruits which are unfit for marketing and then to pack the container with fruits of inferior quality at the bottom, medium quality in the middle and a few layer of the best variety at the top. This can hardly be termed as grading and is better to designate it as "topping."

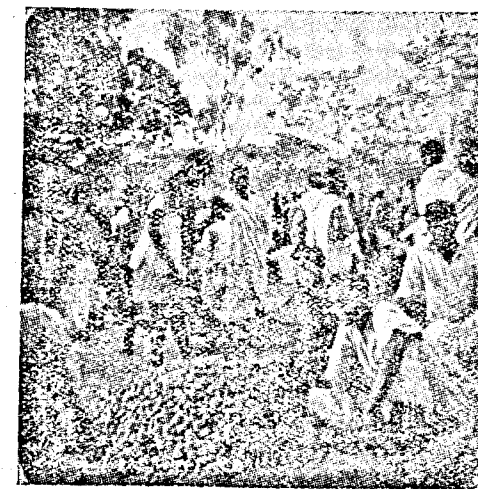
The introduction of the co-operative principles within the jurisdiction of marketing with a view to solve some of its difficulties has met with a considerable measure of success in the Western countries and it unfolds a new avenue of approach towards the identical problems in India. Before considering the scope of co-operative marketing in our country, it will not be out of place to make a rapid survey of the co-operative marketing in Europe. The most advanced country in this respect is Denmark and she has not only successfully remodelled her agricultural economy on co-operative basis but with State-aid she has built her marketing organisation with the main purpose of capturing the foreign markets.

"Credit societies exist no doubt but sale and supply societies predominate. Primary societies are grouped into commodity associations which are in their turn federated into the Central Co-operative Council. These commodity associations have no share capital but are on the principle of unlimited liability. Every member has to enter into a contract for marketing his entire produce through the association for a fairly long period and the produce is pooled before marketing. Grading and testing of the produce is performed with great care and this accounts for ready demand which the Danish co-operative produce meets with in the foreign market."

The value of international contact to the co-operative movement is well-illustrated in the development of the wheat pools in Canada. Agricultural prosperity in the U.S.A. is linked with co-operative marketing in no mean measure.

"The history of Co-operative Marketing in India is literally strewn with the wreckage of past attempts and it is a record of faulty organisation, ignorance of business knowledge and general inefficiency which converted in many instances seeming success into hopeless failures and put a brake on enthusiasm and progress. In the midst of these failures and general stagnation, a few bright patches deserve attention, e.g., the Cotton Sale Societies in Bombay and Madras and the Commission shops in the Punjab while the failure of the first large-scale attempt to market jute co-operatively in Bengal (pre-partition) has a great lesson for the future."

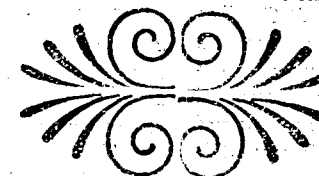
Various causes may be held responsible for the failure of the co-operative movements in India but the most important of them is the fact that instead of making the cultivators conscious of its benefits so as to encourage their active participation in its formation, co-operation has been thrust upon them from above. As a result the farmer had very little faith in the organisation and so naturally he preferred



A scene in a village *hat* (vegetable market)

outright purchase by the society and was not agreeable to receive payment in instalments. This accounted for the tremendous failure in co-operative marketing in jute in pre-partitioned Bengal. The society was compelled to make outright purchase of the produce from the members and thus to shoulder all the risks from the time of purchase right up to the sale. The funds of the society were blocked in raw jute and when the prices went down it was confronted with a huge loss. In his remarks before the Central Banking Enquiry Commission, Mr. A. P. MacDougall has rightly pointed out that

"Co-operative marketing is not worth doing if existing methods cannot be improved on. If it is to be of any real assistance to the producers in India then the whole problem must be tackled on entirely different lines. The co-operative movement throughout India has no clear line of advance. It is uncertain as to its future procedure with regard to marketing because it has no clear understanding of the goal aimed at; there is only one—clearing the line of surplus goods."



A NEW METHOD OF PASTEURISING MILK

By Dr. J. SIRCAR,
Bose Institute, Calcutta

The modern methods of pasteurisation of milk as practical in temperate climates are unsuited for a tropical country like ours where the temperature rises to 110°F in certain seasons.

It is specially so in a place like Calcutta where milk is produced in small quantities over a vast area and brought to Calcutta by private or public transport. The reasons are as follows:

- (1) A modern pasteurising plant capable of handling 100 or 1000 mds. of milk daily is a huge affair and is very costly.
- (2) It has to be established in a central place, where milk collected from a wide area has to be brought for pasteurisation.

A period of time, which is variable, is spent in collecting milk from different areas and bringing it to the central plant. During this period the bacteria in the milk multiply very rapidly as the conditions are optimum—such as unclean vessels, insanitary methods of milking, warmth of the udder milk where it gets contaminated by the milker, the warm morning or evening temperature—all favouring the rapid multiplication of bacteria. A bacterium dividing into two every half an hour produces a progeny of 281, 476, 587, 353, 856 members by the end of one day. In this condition—and the bacteria multiplying continuously—the milk is carried in open cans, over long distances, taking hours in some cases, to its destination either to the consumer or to the pasteurising plant. In the pasteurising plants, the milk after treatment may be stored in refrigerated room in bottles or other containers, till such time it is transported to the consumer, through the heat of the day in ordinary vans, where the milk gets reheated and bacterium starts multiplying again. Then it awaits distribution in centres allowing further multiplication, thus spoiling all the effects of pasteurisation. By the time the milk reaches the customer—he gets a very good “emulsion of dead and living bacteria in milk.”

To obviate these practical difficulties, I propose the establishment of small pasteurising plants, in centres where there is good communication with Calcutta or any consuming area, and a decent quantity of milk, say 25 mds., could be collected in a very short period of time. By short period, I mean not more than 45 minutes or an hour. On reaching the plant, where everything will be kept ready, the milk will be immediately pasteurised in specially sealed cans within half an hour, and chilled to 10°C. The chilled milk in cans will be kept in ice cold water till it is ready for transportation to the consuming centre in ordinary vans fitted with a more or less insulated chamber. During transport, the cans will be sprayed with circulating ice water from a small tank carried in the van.

At the distribution centres, the milk will be directly transferred to the consumers' vessels, thus avoiding the necessary nuisance of imperfectly cleaned and insecurely sealed milk bottles.

All this could be achieved by the use of a specially devised milk can and a very simple and cheap pasteurising plant as described below.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAN

The main feature of this method of pasteurisation is the special can. It consists of a cylinder made preferably of copper for it conducts heat very rapidly but could also be made of brass or galvanized iron. Its size should be about 36 inches long and 7 inches internal diameter. The two ends of the cylinder are strengthened by two rings of brass or copper about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. The ends are closed by two metal plates about 9 inches in diameter and three-eighths inch thick. In these plates there are two circular grooves to take the ends of the cylinder. At the bottom of the grooves there is a rubber gasket of suitable thickness in each plate.

Outside the groove, at 120 deg. distance there are three five-eighths inch holes in each plate. Three hexagon headed bolts— $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick, 3 ft. 3 ins. long, screwed at one end, pass through these holes. By means of flynuts the two lids could be clamped on to the cylinder, producing a perfectly air and water-tight container. The hexagon heads of the bolts are provided with suitable pins which engage in holes in the bottom plate, to prevent rotation. The fly nuts have holes drilled in their wings.

Of the two places one is for the top and the other one is for the bottom. The top plate has a hole in the centre, threaded for a $\frac{1}{2}$ inch gas plug. The plug has a hexagon head and a shoulder projecting $\frac{1}{2}$ inch beyond margin of the hole. Holes passing through the opposing faces and the centre are drilled in the hexagon head of the plug. The can as described is the ideal can as it could be cleaned very quickly and very thoroughly.

But another variety of cans could be used in which the bottom is permanently closed. These will be cheaper to construct, but will be more difficult to clean. The top plate will be the same as described and will be clamped on to the cylinder by means of three rods permanently fixed to the can.

Besides the above, there is a float. This is the most important item of the whole assembly. The float is about 4 inches long and one-eighth inch less in diameter than the inside of the cylinder. The float is air and water tight.

The cylinder is stood on the bottom plate (with the rubber gasket) through the holes of which the rods

are passed. The float is dropped in the cylinder and the top plate is put on with the R. G. in place, allowing the rods to pass through the holes in it. The whole assembly is clamped on by means of the three fly nuts.

The hexagon plug with a rubber gasket on its shoulder is screwed in. This completes the cylinder or can. Galvanized wire is run through the wings of the flynuts and the hexagonal head and the ends are sealed with a lead seal. All the surfaces of the cylinder cover and float, that come in contact with milk are heavily tinned with pure tin and the other surfaces and articles could be galvanised.

After assembly of the thoroughly washed and cleaned components of the cylinder, but before plugging live steam is introduced to the bottom of the cylinder by a pipe of suitable size, and the inside is thoroughly scalded. After scalding the plug with rubber gasket is put on tightly and the can is sealed in the way previously described.

All these operations should take place in a central place with copious water and live steam.

ACTION OF THE CYLINDER

At the pasteurising plant, the cylinder (the above dimension will hold about 4 gallons or 20 seers of milk) is filled through the filling plug with clean, strained, fresh milk, as quickly after milking as possible. The plug is replaced and sealed (with a special seal for each plant).

Now if the cylinder is stood in a can of water at 70°C very little heat will pass to the inside of the can. The float is now resting on the top of the milk. If the can is now inverted in the hot water, the float which goes to the bottom will try to rise slowly to the top, sending the milk below it. The milk can pass to the bottom of the float through the annular space between the outside diameter of the float and the inside diameter of the cylinder. This is only 3 mm (one-eighth inch). If the float rises axially a film of milk only 1.5 mm comes in contact with the wall of the cylinder which is at 70°C. Thus by inverting the cylinder several times every particle of the milk comes in contact of a surface of 70 deg. and thus the temperature of the whole quantity of milk is raised to that temperature. (In actual practice it has been found that the temperature is 2 deg. C below the surrounding temperature). According to the choice of the operator, the milk is kept in that temperature for the necessary period of time, and then the can is chilled by means of ice cold water, in the same way it was heated.

The chilled milk is kept in ice-water till the time of transportation to the distributing centres. On arrival at the distribution centre the milk is transferred directly from the cans to the consumers' receptacles, or if house to house distribution is indicated, this should be done, before the milk is warmed again by the surrounding temperature.

PASTEURISATION

A rectangular metal box about six ft. long, 3 ft. 3 ins. high and 3 ft. wide will hold about 32 cans of the size mentioned above (16 mds. of milk). The box has a watertight lid and is mounted on turnions which are hollow. If the milk-filled cans are stood in this box, and water at the necessary temperature is circulated through the box which could be turned on the turnions, the pasteurisation is achieved very quickly. The time taken by the float to reach the top is noted, and as soon as the float reaches the top, the box is turned upside down. This is repeated continuously as long as it is necessary to pasteurise the milk. As the centre of gravity of the whole system is not shifted, the power required to turn the box is very little and could be done manually by means of gear wheels.

After heating the milk to the requisite temperature, ordinary water from a well or a tank is circulated through the box bringing down the temperature of the milk to say 30 deg. C (ordinary summer temperature). Then ice water at 0 deg. C is passed through the system to chill the milk in the cans to a temperature of 10 deg. C—a drop of 20 deg. C.

Same weight of ice will bring down the temperature of boiling water to 10.6 deg. C—a drop of nearly 90 deg. C. To cool the milk through 20 deg. C the quantity of ice necessary will be $\frac{20}{90} = \frac{2}{9}$ of 16 mds.—the actual quantity of milk in the cans.

Checking: It may so happen that the milk is not properly pasteurised in one of the collecting centres and sent on to the distribution in that condition. Whether the temperature of the milk was raised to the proper height or not could be checked very simply. At the side of the 7 ft. diameter pasteurising can, a thin metal tube of about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter and the same height of the can is soldered. This tube is open at both ends. Near the middle of this tube for a distance of about six inches the wall of the tube is cut away to produce a slit. The slit need not exceed 120 deg. of the tube. A glass tube, 3 or 4 inches in length and a little less than $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter and sealed at both ends, full of paraffin of M.P. 70 deg. and some red oxide pigment and a lead shot, is inserted into the side tube and held in place by means of two pieces of dowselling. The end covers of the cylinder will close the ends of the side tube.

By centrifugalizing the tubes in warm water and then chilling, all the pigment and the shot could be collected at one end of the tube.

Action: As soon as the temperature of the can rises to 70 degrees, the paraffin will melt and the tumbling of the box will distribute the pigment through the whole length of the glass tube. Before the red oxide powder will have time to settle down it will be frozen in place by the chilling of the cans. Thus

by simply looking at the tube, the temperature reached could be ascertained. A second tube with 80 deg. C M.P.-wax will check excess heating.

The following points may be noted :

- (1) From the time the cans are sealed in the collecting stations to the time of distribution, the cans remain sealed avoiding any contamination at any stage.

- (2) From the time the milk is chilled in the pasteurising plant to its distribution to customers, it is possible to keep the milk at a low temperature, retarding or preventing the growth of bacteria.

- (3) The carbon dioxide which holds the calcium of the milk in solution can not escape, thus the calcium content of the milk remains constant.

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A PICTURE OF BENGAL IN THE DAYS OF KAR TALAB KHAN

By KSHITIS C. SARKAR, M.A., B.L.

AMONG the valuable and rare manuscripts numbering nearly four thousand or so deposited in the collections of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi (East Bengal) mostly comprising Tantra, Purana, Jyotish, Lexicon, Grammar (Paninian), Kavya and others to stimulate scholarly interests, one of the manuscripts dated 1626 Saka Era, corresponding to 1704 A.D. reveals a glimpse of a picture of the economic and political condition during the administration of 'Kar Talab Khan', as the Dewan of Bengal.

The manuscript itself is a valuable lexicon *Sabda Ratnavali*. The colophon of the manuscript runs thus (in Bengali script) :

“অরজেদে যদা পারসা দিল্লিতক্বে মহাদেশাঃ
কার্চল্য খাং যদা দেশান্ বজ্জলায়াং প্রতাপবান্ ।
মৌমিহা বৈপিত প্রাণাঃ শূকজীয়াঃ প্রজাস্তদা ।
সোনাপাতিল (?) (লাত) আরম্ভ্য গৌড়াপাচ্ছা সমাপিত ।
শকাব্দা ১৬২৬”

The codex was commenced to be written from a village named Sonapatil, but was brought to completion at Gonragaccha. Both the villages still exist but the last-named village has undergone a phonetic change as Ghoragacchi. The places are not very far from the Nator Railway station on the E. B. Railway section in North Bengal. The find place from where this manuscript was recovered is a village, named Lochangarh which also is situated quite hard by in the district of Rajshahi. From this village, many other manuscripts have also been acquired by the Varendra Research Society.

The colophon is significant in view of the name and designation—*Kar Talab Khan*, as a Dewan of Bengal. History tells us that he was originally a son of a Brahmin purchased by one Haji Shafi Ispahani who made him a convert and named him Mahammad Hadi. He had distinguished himself and won the confidence of Emperor Aurangzib by his ability and honesty in many minor offices in the Deccan and was created—*Kar Talab Khan*. In 1701, from the Diwani of Orissa he was transferred to Bengal with the title 'Murshid Kuli Khan', but came to be recognised it appears by his former designation 'Kar Talab Khan' till later days in 1704 A.D.

The colophon refers to the plight of the zamindars as 'trembling in his presence' and the subjects or the people as 'starving or famishing.'

The colophon in the manuscript, therefore, justifies in a way, as a contemporaneous record, the remarks made by historians that the defaulting zamindars were put to unspeakable kinds of torture in order to make them pay the Government dues.

In fact, resources of Aurangzib had been exhausted by the continuous warfare in the Deccan with the Mahrattas and Murshid Kuli Khan in order to placate the Emperor, used to squeeze out and send large sums of revenue from Bengal. In one year, Murshid Kuli Khan sent two crores and thirty three lakhs in silver rupees and 16848 gold coins from Bengal to the imperial coffer at Delhi. For this act of faithfulness Aurangzib not only rewarded him highly but also assured him in writing that all his prayers would be recognised. It is said, that the defaulting zamindars used to be confined to a dungeon or a reservoir full of filth, improvised for the purpose, sarcastically called 'Baikuntha-basa' or a 'residence in Paradise'.

The *Riyazu-s-Salatin* (1785-87) by Ghulam Hussain Salim, an account in Persian of the Mahammadan History of Bengal confirms the torture and various privations the defaulting zamindars and the collector of revenue had to undergo during this period.

In the year 1704 A.D., when this manuscript was being written, Murshid Kuli Khan was promoted to be a commander of 2000 and a few years after the death of Aurangzib when the Government of Delhi declined, he declared himself as the independent ruler of Bengal.

The mention of 'starving people' in the manuscript gives a gloomy outlook of life and positively indicate that the material prosperity of the people of Bengal had also waned during the regime of Murshid Kuli Khan when the people must have lived in a distressing condition.

× মৌমিহা ব্যপিত প্রাণাঃ ।

† শূকজীয়াঃ প্রজাঃ ।

†† শূকজীয়াঃ প্রজাঃ ।



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

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION 1876-1951: By Jogesh C. Bagal. *Indian Association, Calcutta*. Pp. viii + 262 + lxiii. Rs. 7-8.

One by one the stone blocks which will go to the building up of a worthy history of that new life in Bengal which we call our 19th century Renaissance, are being quarried, chiselled and displayed in our libraries, waiting for the master writer who will make a synthesis of them. Our new education, new literature, new religions and reform movements are being carefully traced in a large number of monographs in English and Bengali. To this work, the contribution of J. C. Bagal has been second to that of none else. After compiling some authoritative college histories, and one on the liberty movement, he has recently produced this authentic history of the Indian Association of Calcutta.

Today it requires some straining of the imagination to visualise the society in which this Association was founded and the work that it set out to do. We can, however, capture the atmosphere of that distant epoch if we read W. S. Blunt's *India Under Ripon*, *A Political Diary*, or the lives of A. M. Bose and Bipin Pal. "With this Association true democracy entered British India,—democracy in the old and honoured sense of government by the elect, the leaders of the people, whose claim to leadership was a natural one derived from intellectual pre-eminence and disciplined character. No longer was Indian life and thought to be guided by mere land-owners, the heirs of hoarded wealth, but by men who had risen from the ranks, the new aristocracy of the intelligentsia."

This volume is fully documented and enriched with accurate details and appendices of now rare records which last cover 63 pages. It is thus a granary of the utmost value to the student of our political progress.

As we lay down the volume after reading it and ponder on the three quarters of a century that some of us have personally witnessed, we are struck by the change in the method of our political leaders. The old school,—all honoured names,—were not democrats (using that word in the kindred sense of *demagogues*). They were Liberals of the school of Gladstone and Asquith, (not Radicals like Lloyd George). They were almost entirely urban and they established no mass-contact. The cynic may say that the Indian liberals' sole work was to petition and weep before an alien Government (as we read in a stinging satire of Rabindranath Tagore). But the answer to such a charge is best given in the words of M. G. Ranade to G. K. Gokhale. Justice Ranade was Gokhale's political guru. When young Gokhale saw Ranade

writing an elaborate, well-argued, well-documented representation to Government against some illiberal measure, he told him that he was merely wasting his time, as judging by all their past experience, the British rulers would not listen to them. The sage replied, "I know full well that our petition will not move the Government to grant our political demand. But I am writing this paper for the benefit of our countrymen; they will read it and will be politically enlightened by it. Thus a party in support of reform will grow up in the country and in the next generation the British will have to listen to them."

The Indian Association represents the life's toil of Surendranath Banerjea (its Secretary for 36 years and President for five years), A. M. Bose (President for ten years), Rev. K. M. Banerjea (President for seven years), Rash Behari Ghosh (President for three years). Many other selfless worthies have done silent work under it. Outside Calcutta, it fought for raising the condition of the Assam tea garden coolies. But on the whole, the fact remains that it was essentially an urban body, an assembly of *bhadralok* (men dressed in laundry clothes, *sufed pash*, as they say in the Panjab); it made no mass-contact, because the Indian masses were not yet awake. Therefore, in the end history repeated itself. The Jacobins devoured the Girondists: in his home constituency of Barrackpur, Surendra Babu was defeated by Bidhan daktar!

What future has the Indian Association, as it nears its centenary? Will it go the way of the Muhammadan Literary Society of Abdul Latif Khan, which held only one meeting in the year (to elect the same office-bearers) and every five years assembled once more to present an address of thanks to the retiring Viceroy or Lieutenant-Governor and another of welcome to his new-coming successor?

JADUNATH SARKAR

THE GOSPEL OF THE GURU-GRANTH SAHIB: By Duncan Greenlees, M.A. (Oxon). *The World Gospel Series, Volume 3. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras*. Pp. xciv + 278. Price Rs. 6-8.

The aim of this series, as the author tells us in his short foreword, is to offer to the modern public "in a handy and attractive form the essence of each of the world's great Scriptures" based on the author's conviction "that all the great Religions and their Scriptures come from the one Divine Source—the authentic Word of God to man." The present work, dealing with the Scriptures of the Sikhs, opens with a long introduction of over 160 pages in course of which the author traces with sympathetic insight the whole history of Sikhism from its origin to the present times and concludes with brief but important

notes on the fundamental tenets of the faith. This is followed by a short Catechism of the Sikh religion. The rest of the work consists of two Parts. In the first Part, the author gives us in his own translation extracts from the Scriptures under eight appropriate chapter-headings. The second Part contains a complete translation of the Japji, Guru Nanak's own hymn with which the Granth Sahib opens. Though the author has based his monograph in the first instance upon Macauliffe's great work entitled *The Sikh Religion* (in six volumes), he has added fresh extracts to fill in the gap, has re-arranged the material and has prepared a fresh translation of the whole, while giving full reference in each case to the original. As far as it is possible for us to judge, the author appears to have taken great pains to ensure the accuracy of his translation. He has further earned the gratitude of his readers by accompanying his translation with explanatory notes and comments. A good index and a select bibliography add to the usefulness of this volume which can safely be recommended as a valuable guide, based on first-hand study of the available material, to our understanding of one of the most interesting religions of modern India.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CHUGHTAI'S INDIAN PAINTINGS: A collection of paintings, represented in 35 Plates, 27 in colour, with a Foreword by Dr. Tara Chand and Introduction and Notes by Principal S. Kashmira Singh, M.A., 21 pp. with descriptive sheets for each picture. Published by Dhoomimal Dharamdas, Connaught Place, New Delhi. 1951. Price Rs. 40.

Chughtai's paintings are known all over the world as the important representative of the new movement in Indian painting, based on the oldest heritage of Indian painting and developed on new paths to suit the taste and conditions of the new age. It may be useful to recall that Chughtai was trained in the Mayo School of Art under Principal Samarendra Gupta and his works at one time formed one of the most reliable support of the movement initiated by Acharya Abanindranath Tagore. His art, therefore, belongs to the context of the new Renaissance of Indian painting begun about the end of the 19th century, and is an integral part of the Art of undivided India. Chughtai's genius is best revealed in the complicated but the harmonized orchestra of lines based on the finest traditions of the old master draughtsmen of India. In the present album, planned and produced on a generous scale (16 inches by 12 inches), the publishers have reproduced in large size four-colour plates, a selection of his creations in the field of Indian sagas, with essentially Indian motifs, as will be evident from some of the titles, Usha, Nataraja, Ambapali, Krishna instructing Arjuna, Yasoda, Devadasi, Shakti-Devata, Visvamisra, Chitralekha, Chaitanya's wife. Though several Islamic painters of the Mughal School, had painted Hindu mythological subjects and Ragini pictures with considerable success, the tradition of tributes to Hindu sagas by Mussulman masters was interrupted for many decades, before Chughtai revived the happy traditions. In the Mughal School, we have hundreds of examples of Persian classics and Islamic themes painted by Hindu painters of the Mughal Darbar, where the percentage of Hindu painters originally trained by the Persian masters ultimately outnumbered the painters imported from Persia. And the Mughal School was the joint and co-operative product of Mussulman and

Hindu talents, for Art knows no frontier or divisions based on religious beliefs. A similar thing happened when Abanindranath Tagore started to rebuild Indian painting on an all-India national basis and his efforts received the enthusiastic support of talented artists like Hakim Khan, Shami-us-Zama and, a little later, by A. R. Chughtai and others. And very significant are the introductory words of the artist to this magnificent album: "These humble creations are redolent of those good old days when we were making efforts to live and dream with our brethren of this land." As pointed out by Dr. Tara Chand, the artist has consistently endeavoured to realize one aim, portrayal of the joy and beauty of India's wonderfully rich composite and variegated life as seen through the eyes of a poet-artist who has identified himself with all the aspects of this life and who has sought to rise above all differences of race and creed." We owe a compliment to Principal Kashmira Singh's excellently worded Introduction and descriptive Notes despite a few lapses, here and there, e.g., when he naively asserts that "Indian painting first developed under the Mughals." Many will endorse his remarks that Chughtai's art is undoubtedly the outcome of his wide outlook and universal sympathy. "He transcends all political and territorial limitations. He paints the Hindu gods with the same astonishing vitality as he interprets Omarkhayam or Sadi or Hafiz. His work is steeped in primal race-consciousness." Professor Singh's introduction is marred by occasional exaggerations and hyperboles. It is doubtful if many will agree with his assertion that Chughtai is a unique artistic phenomenon of our age or that he represents the "highest achievement of Modern Indian Art." Everybody will agree that "his place is among the great masters who keep the artistic national spirit alive and make their achievements universal." But our warmest praise is due to the publishers for this expensive and generous tribute to an Indian artist presented in a sumptuous dress and offered at a price, which is a marvel of cheapness in these times of expensive production costs. The album should find its place in every library in India and Pakistan.

O. C. G.

EMOTIONAL DISORDERS OF CHILDREN: By Gerald H. T. Pederson. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 18s net.

The book under review may be considered to be a further elaboration of the topics discussed in the two widely known books written by the author in collaboration with Dr. O. S. English, viz., *The Emotional Problems of Living and Common Neuroses of Children and Adults*. It deals with the common neuroses and psychoses of children. The methods of studying psychiatric problems of children have been enumerated and almost all possible cases of neurotic and psychiatric disorders of children have been delineated. Of special value is the actual case records given in details by the author in illustration of particular types of mal-adjusted behaviours of children. The approach is psychoanalytic and as such the fundamental roots of the diseases have been sought out.

Almost all parents have occasionally to come across behaviours of their children which they completely fail to understand and do not know how to deal with. The author introduces to the parents many such possible situations, e.g., delinquency, sexual perversions, etc., and shows them the whys and hows of the apparently surprising behaviours of their children. Of course he does not consider his task to be finished

by merely pointing out the causes of behaviour disorders but he gives definite and elaborate instructions regarding the means and methods of remedying them. Every parent will be benefited by reading the book. An elaborate knowledge of psychoanalysis is not required on the part of the parent to understand the contents of the book and follow the instructions of the author, but for the physician who proceeds to treat the emotional disorders of children a thorough grounding in psychoanalysis is an absolute necessity. The reviewer fully endorses the view that no other line of approach helps us better to understand the neuroses and psychoses of children than psychoanalysis. Everyone who has to deal with children, parents, teachers, physicians, social workers, will do well to familiarise themselves with the contents of the book before they undertake the most important task of their life, the most responsible of all their social duties, viz., the bringing up of children in a healthy and proper way.

S. C. MITRA

MADRAS FINANCES—SIR WILLIAM MEYER ENDOWMENT LECTURES (1947-48): Lecturer Dr. B. V. Narayanswami Naidu. Published by the University of Madras. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 5.

Sir William Meyer was, we think, Finance Member in Lord Chelmsford's Executive Council during the first World War. He has not done anything special to be remembered by Indians. He was a Madras Civilian and his admirers there raised a fund which they placed in the hands of their University. This was the genesis of the Meyer Lectures.

Dr. Naidu has not cared to tell this story. Every lecturer should describe the qualities that lead to University Foundations and Commemoration addresses, annual or otherwise. This defect apart, the 1947-48 Meyer Lecturer has indicated for us the ruling features of the economic situation that have been confusing our national leaders since they took over from the British. These are well-known. But less known to the Indian public are the economic-social aspects of Madras life.

In pp. 30, 34, 36, 37, 40, 43 and 46 specially readers will find these. In Chapter III, pp. 49-60, the consequences of prohibition are described. Whether or not this reform has come to stay, one cannot say. But, Madras, as the pioneer, will learn by mistakes from which other provinces may profit. Since the lectures were delivered, things have worsened in this State. But the truth of Dr. Naidu's thesis holds good.

S. D.

FRENCH

L'INDE : HIER—AUJOURD'HUI—DEMAIN (India: Yesterday—Today—Tomorrow): By Alexandra David-Neel. Librairie Plon. Printed in France. 1951. Pp. 311. Price 495 francs.

Madame Alexandra David-Neel, a leading French Buddhist, well known for her books on Tibetan Buddhism, first came to India many years ago, fresh from her study of Sanskrit literature in Paris. She has visited India many times since and has actually lived there for several long periods, engaged on "the study of the profound aspects of the religious mentality of Indians." That has led her "to move almost exclusively in this world of mystics and pseudomystics, which extends from the very erudite pandits, interpreters of the Vedas to the haughtily agnostic sannyasins and the ecstatic sadhus."

Her book on India, while not a mere travel book, although much of the material is concerned with her

experience of her travel in India, is a book intended less for the enlightenment of the professional orientalist than for the edification of the sophisticated lay reader. It sets out, in a series of word pictures, various aspects of the religious life of India. It gives a simplified although a learned account of the significance of certain esoteric ritual ceremonies. Western readers will be grateful to her for her personal evaluation of the tradition sustaining the ideal of sannyas and also of the personalities of the many gurus—Aurobindo Ghose and others, sadhus and sannyasins—Ramashram and others, with whom she has discoursed. Implicit in her description of the actual religious climate of to-day is her sincere desire to measure the influence of the moral power of the gurus and sannyasins on the political and social life of the India that belongs to the future.

Undoubtedly, the special interest of the book to her French readers will be in her detailed account of the various ceremonies at which she had been present. She is never content to rely on the accounts of others—she insists on seeing things for herself and if possible experiencing the very traditions for herself. She contrived to get herself invited to a kirtan celebrated according to the most orthodox of Chaitanyist traditions, to the representation of the entire Ramayana which used to be given at Benares every few years, to a display by "devadasis," to ashrams, to maths and to temples all over India. And all with the eyes of a disciplined and urbane mind which can distinguish the sublime from the ridiculous, the faith-evoking from the bizarre and describe them with a detachment which can make the readers feel the mystery and the magic of a profound religious experience and at the same time persuade them to take a kindly view of the eccentricities and make-believes which are the frequent sideshows of all ancient religions.

Her Indian readers will find the reactions of a European Buddhist to the orthodox Hindu ceremonies most interesting. Some of her adventures in connection with them are extraordinary even from the Indian point of view: some aged and learned Brahmins suggested Madame David-Neel that in order to show that she was truly engaged in the "mukti marga," she should emulate a yogini and practise total nudity. The authoress has made a detailed study of Shaktism and her comments on it are penetrating. Incidentally, she refers to the interesting conjecture that it may have been imported into India from Central Asia. Not satisfied with merely studying the texts of the different Tantras, which in itself is no mean achievement for a Westerner, she has assiduously gleaned information from the many initiates she has come across. She has herself been present at the consummation of some of the rites. On one occasion she accompanied a disciple and his wife to a celebration of the "pancha tattva" as the "pujya shakti" of her friend. On another occasion her spirit of adventure led her to witness, unknown to the participants, a celebration of the "pancha tattva" rite which included a sacrifice and the "fifth element" in its material reality.

Her book is admittedly mainly concerned with religious life but her long sojourns in a religious milieu have caused her to over-emphasize the threat to secularism from some of the faiths expounded to her. For instance, she quotes a devotee of "Kali-Durga" in the South of India as saying, "We sacrifice goats to the Mother, she would prefer men but we cannot give them to her. The English forbid it," and goes on to express the fear, in her excessive and innocent simplicity, that it might become possible under the new political regime for such

individuals in remote parts to translate such wishes into acts. Again, she fears that there exists in the minds of certain people a feeling of morbid sentimentality for the rites of sati and comments, "The English who had enacted laws punishing ritual murders have left . . . Has one reason to be perfectly reassured for the future?"

The last two chapters of the book deal with post-war India. While her first-hand accounts of the famine, rioting and disorders are vivid and at times shrewd, her fellow countrymen will certainly receive a distorted view of some of the events, as her physical proximity to the incidents which she describes and her prejudices throw many of her contemporary comments out of perspective. In a book professedly devoted to the study of the religious face of India, the wisdom of projecting her views on extra-religious matters for the examination of which she does not appear to have any special competence or capacity is questionable—"Numerous are those who foresee the establishment of a communist regime in India, in a future more or less near. . . And as many of those who think in this way do not feel inclined to live under a communist regime, they contemplate ways of emigrating," is a statement regrettably facile and no less prone to cause mischief.

Deeply immersed in spiritual matters and insulated from the grim realities of economic struggle, she sees the future of India in terms of a possible religious reaction and gives herself hostage to gloominess. On this question as to what extent secularism will survive in India, one can at best only speculate, but rationalism is not divisible and once tasted appetites for it seem to grow. As Professor Arnold Toynbee (Reith Lectures, 1952) has said: "In our own day in India, President Ataturk's great Hindu contemporary, the Mahatma Gandhi, did realise that, in cultural intercourse, one thing insidiously leads to another. Gandhi saw that a myriad threads of cotton—grown in India, perhaps, but spun in Lancashire and woven there into clothes for India's people—were threatening to entangle India with the western world in gossamer meshes that might soon be as hard to break as if they had been steel fetters". . . "When they had become used to spending their working time doing western jobs, they would take to spending their leisure on western amusements—movies, talkies, greyhound racing, and the rest—till they would find themselves growing western souls and forgetting how to be Hindus."

The book is dedicated to the memory of Swami Bashkarananda.

MARGARET BASU

SANSKRIT

SHRI TUKARAMA CHARITAM: By Pandit Kshama Rao. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay 1. Pp. 43 + 60. Price Rs. 5.

A classical work, indeed, in every respect—in spirit, for it is elevating as can be the life of a saint like Tukarama of Maharashtra, in subject as can be the heroism of an aspirant after the Supreme Reality; in style which is marked by the beauty of economy and the economy of beauty. In ten cantos (together with an English translation by the eminent author herself) we have a vivid portrait of the devotee of the god Vitthal as well as a simple presentation of his principal teachings. The Pandit has added one more laurel to the chaplet of laurels already won by her as an illustrious Sanskrit scholar.

G. M.

BENGALI

RABINDSA SANGITER DHARA: By Subho Guha Thakurta. Dakshinee Prakashan Bibhag, 132, Rash Bihari Avenue, Calcutta 29. Price Rs. 5.

Some of the books, recently published, on Rabindranath's songs are more or less in the nature of personal records or appreciations of their sweetness and variety. The present work attempts to be comprehensive and analytical. The author has indicated the basic character of Tagore songs, classified them in chronological order, marked out the three periods in their course of development and mentioned the influences that have worked on them. We would have liked this otherwise nice volume to be free from misprints. To include various Indian tunes and even Bengali folk-tunes in the chapter on "Bideshi Sur" (foreign tunes) is, in our opinion, highly inappropriate.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

KAVI-KATHA (About the Poet): By Sudhir Chandra Kar. Published by Suprakashan, 3, Circus Range, Calcutta 19. Pp. 203. Price Rs. 3-3.

This book of reminiscences of Rabindranath Tagore by Sudhir Kumar Kar has been widely praised in the Bengali-language press. The author starts with a particular day about 25 years back when he was appointed as a worker in the Santiniketan Library. Six months later he was asked by the poet to be one of his personal secretaries, to have the hang of the work from Shree Amiya Chakravarti. Thus a relation was established that enabled the author to observe the poet's habits, and think over their significance in the new age that was in the making before our eyes. This intimacy is the source of the many books that the author has written on Rabindranath, the most well-known of which is *Rabindra of the People* (Janaganer Rabindranath).

Today Rabindranath's Birthday Anniversary is celebrated all over the world. The author has done a little research work into the birth of this celebration. Though the Santiniketan inmates began to celebrate the occasion on the completion of his 49th Birthday, the poet had been always conscious of the significance of that particular day. In proof of this he quotes in pp. 165-66 of the book his prayer on the day in 1894 (1306 B.S.). The title is—A Birthday Song.

The author concludes with the assertion that the poet never acknowledged the truth of death, of its power over human life which changes but is eternal.

S. C. DEB

HINDI

PRITHIVI PUTRA: By Vasudevasharan Agawal. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi Pp. 237. Price Rs. 3.

A saga of the delight, diversity and divinity of the earth, which is not a mere illusory appearance but instead, a veritable school for acquiring self-knowledge, self-expression and self-realization. The various essays contained in the book and written with the writer's proverbial profundity, combined with felicity, are a kind of an illuminating and elaborate commentary on the text in the *Atharva Veda*: "The earth is my mother and I am her son." They are, therefore, a passionate plea to the son to know the Mother firsthand: her flora and fauna, her folk-literature and folk-legend—those undistorted mirrors of the people's visions, wisdom and ways of living, loving, laughing and working. For, thus known, the earth becomes indeed, the next-of-kin to heaven. The author has

written a great book to help us, Hamlets as we are with cloudland as our usual habitat, mentally, come down to the solid bedrock of our existence, the earth, and revelling intelligently in her glory proclaim to the world, "Behold the Mother!"

PANCHADASHI: Compiled by Yashpal Jain. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi Pp. 128. Price Re. 1-8.

A collection of fifteen essays from the pen of eminent essayists, led off by Gandhiji and Vinobaji, each personally impersonal and pleasingly effective, on a variety of subjects: Truth and non-violence; Life in the village; Hospitality; Aspect of happiness; Renunciation and charity, etc. Besides the selection,—a happy one, indeed—there is an introductory chapter by Vijoyi Hari and at the end, the contributor's "Who's Who" by Vishnu Prabhakar, both useful aids.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SITAHARAN: By Chandrashankar Pranshankar Shukla. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. April, 1950. Price Re. 1.

The author, a disciple of Kakasaheb Kalelkar, has spared no pains to present a picture of Sita made captive in a new setting. The volume is designed to help school students realize the greatness of the episode in the Ramayana. The prices are small and forcible, and the select notes on words that occur in the text will help the young learners a good deal. In the excellent Introduction written by Mahadev Desai,

we are told that the author has taken liberally from various sources—the Sanskrit Kavyas not excepted. The result is a blend, particularly suited for children for whom it has been meant.

P. R. SEN

SAMYAVAD: LOKSHAWVAD: By the Rev. Dr. W. Graham Mulligan, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., of Bhavnagar Para. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 54 : 57. Price four annas each.

These are two lectures, 17th and 18th on Communism and Democracy, of a series of lectures on the Philosophy of Religion (*Dharma*) planned by the Rev. Doctor. Both the subjects, which are the interesting topics of the day, all over the world, including India, are discussed from every point of view, and the discussion brought up-to-date from olden times. The language is easy enough considering that the matters are technical and above the head of the ordinary reader.

GANDHI BAPUNO PAVADO: By Kavi A. F. Khabardar, Bombay. Printed by the Associated Advertisers and Printers, Bombay. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 85. Price Re. 1-4.

Pavados are historic songs, in the nature of epic poems, narrating the adventures of warriors and great men. In three parts and 149 stanzas, Poet Khabardar has epitomised the activities of Gandhiji, in his characteristic style, and paid his heartfelt tribute to one whom he knew from 1915 onwards and helped with his poetic genius.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

WHY LINGUISTIC PROVINCES ?

By DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hon. M.R.A.S. (London)

THE DANGER OF BALKANISATION OF INDIA

THE cry is being raised with increasing volume that India should be cut up into homogeneous self-sufficient administrative units, each using one language only and gathering all the children of that speech into one State. It would not be the work of statesmanship to dismiss this claim with a blunt refusal as a doctrinaire's dream or to ignore it with contempt as a vulgar electioneering trick. It is all that, but something else, something more ominous, too. Farsighted thinkers cannot help feeling that this attempt at Balkanisation is the greatest danger that now threatens a country which geography and history, war and culture, alike have moulded into one, overcoming its continental vastness. We must ponder on the pros and cons of this movement, and analyse the feelings that lie at its bottom and the effect of its success on the defence and economic growth, education and administration, power generation and irrigation, of the nation as a whole, before we yield to it.

The polar difference between Hinduism and Islam in theology did not, in actual administration, divide India into two mutually exclusive nations in the past, in spite of Jinnah's misapplication of the term *nation*. Hindus and Muslims have been only two *sects*, and have lived and worked together under the same political structure so long as the sovereign was wise or indulgent and guarded himself from intolerance at the dictation of fanatical mullahs. No provincial separation was dreamt of during the six centuries of Muslim rule, but rather integration and expansion. The British followed the same wise policy during the first century of their rule (1800-1900), and it was only the "sedition of 1905" that drove them in despair to try the *divide et impera* plan. Such integration of India was possible, because the Centre was strong and acted as the common, if autocratic, father of all the provinces, the system of administration was uniform all over India, and only one official language was used,—it being under Muslim rule Persian, the easiest of Asiatic languages, and in British times English, the simplest of European tongues.

Moreover, the State in the past undertook only a few functions and left all other spheres of human activity to the public, with full local option in all non-essential matters. Society was stationary; do as your

ancestors did, was the rule. But the modern Government is dynamic. The State today is all-pervasive; its agents have multiplied a hundredfold in number and penetrated to every branch of human activity—work, travel, food, the rearing and even the begetting of children. Hence, the threat of provincial separation to national solidarity is infinitely greater today, unless the unifying influence of the Centre is made paramount. This fact has dictated the complete change in the working of the American Constitution from sacred State rights to Federal paramountcy. The same trend is bound to assert itself here, if India is to survive in the modern world.

THE FORCES LEADING TO SEPARATISM

The better minds that support language as the sole bond of union in a State, are moved by a feeling that is quite understandable. They honestly believe that though forming a majority in their own sub-area (say, the Andhra districts of Madras) they cannot rise to the full height of their growth under a government conducted predominantly by the speakers of another tongue (Tamil), who are naturally ignorant of their peculiar needs and usually devoted to the interests of their own political supporters in Tamilnad. Such too are the feelings of the Kannad-speaking majority in the Belgaum and Dharwar districts of the composite Bombay State. They see their only relief in snapping their political tie with Madras (or Bombay), annexing the adjacent Andhra (or Kannad) speaking districts of neighbouring States, and thus forming a new viable State of their own. Megalomania then seizes the politicians carving up India; there must be a greater Kannad stretching from Karwar across the Peninsula and embracing Mysore, the Kannad-speaking two districts of Hyderabad and the large Kanarese area of the present-day Madras Presidency. Similarly, Greater Maharashtra, shorn of Gujrat and Kanara, must swallow up Berar as a compensation. Greater this and Greater that, but not a thought for Great India.

What lends a solid basis to this feeling is (I must admit) the short-sighted and contemptuous (rather than dishonest) attitude of the ruling party in a multilingual State towards the minority leaders and their ignoring of the special needs of the sub-area.

Again, there is no denying that a one-language State where it is practicable has some advantages. It makes

education and administrative work cheaper and somewhat more efficient by cutting out the cost and time necessary for the translation and duplication of documents and the bifurcation of teaching of the same subject in the same school.

One of the topmost I.C.S. officers in Bombay told me that he did his district administration work quite well in Marathi (his mother-tongue) and Gujrati (which he had learnt). But when he was transferred to Kanara, his ignorance of that language at first led him into a pitfall. In a small matter he rejected a widow's petition written in Kannad, because his Kannad-translator had been bribed by the opposite party and misrepresented the facts of the case to him. Happily the pertinacious widow waylaid him one afternoon and gave him a glimpse of her case by means of the few Kannad words that he then understood. Next day Mr. B. on coming to his court had the widow's petition translated by another clerk who did his work honestly; justice was done to the widow, and the dishonest translator fell down on his knees when threatened with sacking.

Again, when a world crisis comes, "the country in danger" is proclaimed, a *levee en masse* is ordered, and the tocsin is sounded, the masses must be harangued in the tongue they understand; that work cannot be done by the classical Urdu of the Lucknow drawing-rooms nor by the classical Hindi which Seth Govind Das used to dictate to the House of the People.

But let me come down to the brass tacks. The impelling power behind this Balkanisation cry is not that of saints and philosophers, but the caucus of professional politicians, who find in this type of agitation the best engine for their own elevation to the rank of State rulers, distributors of control in essential commodities, givers of offices, and, more than any material gain, the gratification of their pride as leaders of a nation, and heads of public bodies like Universities, High Courts, permanent Commissions, and learned societies, all created at their doors. It is a most tempting bait, and success is very easy; they have only to eject their rivals (who are "foreigners", because their language differs from the language of the majority in that sub-area), and then they themselves will automatically fill those vacant thrones.

HOMOGENEOUS LINGUISTIC PROVINCES IMPOSSIBLE

Apart from the good or harm done by forming separate States on the basis of language alone, do any clear-cut homogeneous areas speaking only one language exist anywhere in India, when we rise above the taluqa or village level? In every province where one language is spoken by a majority of its people, other speeches are the mother-tongues of minorities who are often not negligible either in number or in cultural contribution. And none of our capitals—and even very large industrial centres like Kanpur or Jamshedpur—has a majority of their inhabitants speaking the language of the rustic population of the State.

In Calcutta-Howrah less than 50 p.c. of the people speak Bengali, in Bombay City barely 50 p.c. speak Marathi; so also, in Madras City Tamil is not the overwhelming people's speech. It is the inexorable facts of geography and economics that make Calcutta the capital of Bengal, Bombay of Maharashtra, and Madras of Tamil-land, and not the imaginary linguistic preponderance of the Bengali, Marathi and Tamil languages among their citizens.

And even within the same province is the so-called provincial language really one? A glaring example to the contrary is supplied by Lucknow, the capital of the U.P., and the home of the spectre of all-conquering Hindi linguistic domination. Even the cultured classes of the U.P. do not speak the same dialect. On 2nd April, 1944, I attended the All-India Women's Conference in Bombay, by invitation, and kept my philological ear cocked on the rostrum. First came Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, who spoke impeccable Urdu, which would have made the members of the Anjuman-i-Tarakki-i-Hindusthani of Lucknow stroke their beards and cry out in ecstasy, "Wah! Wah! The days of Wajid Ali Shah have come back. This is the very language which the Houris use when they welcome the Faithful to the mansions that Allah has built for them in heaven." Then came Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, who spoke in Hindi, and in one sentence I caught her using three words which I challenge the long-bearded ones of Lucknow to explain without the help of a Sanskrit dictionary; it was—*unnati ka marg jo hamara dhyeh hai*.

If language is the means of correctly communicating thought and persuading the reason of the listener, then the language spoken by Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru was not the same as that used by Mrs. V. L. Pandit. Can we hide this difference by putting one label *Hindustani* on both? Therefore, in strict logic you must cut the U.P. up into two sectors, speaking the two languages in their respective areas.

Lucknow City has a population of just under five lakhs, but only 53 p.c. of its people speak Hindi, while as many as 27 p.c. speak Urdu. How can "Hindi written in the Nagari script" be called the language of these 27 p.c. of Lucknow citizens? Would it be wise for the State Government to "liquidate" these Urdu-speakers who are numerically more than half the strength of the Hindi in the Nagari script group and culturally much more?

Strictly mono-lingual States (which would inevitably crush out all minority tongues within their area) being undesirable, nay impossible, the division of India into self-contained political units must be based on economic, geographical and military considerations only.

PROPOSED REMEDIES

This new danger of Balkanisation is advancing against India with growing momentum. Where lies the remedy? A force can be counteracted only by a stronger

opposite force. Therefore, we must strengthen the unifying forces already existing among us. The factors that make for India's unity are (1) The Central Government and its powers of inspection and correction in the provinces, (2) The all-India services, (3) The Defence Forces, and (4) All-India educational institutions (school, college, and university) functioning in every province and conducting their work through the medium of the English language, with some vernacular freely chosen as a subsidiary. For this last I have long pleaded in public, though as a lonely voice crying in the wilderness.

Above all, Public Schools of the British type and Defence Academies are the best agencies for grinding down provincial angularities and so-called special cultures, differences of speech and meals, and fostering a standardized Indian citizenship and social camaraderie. Catch them young and throw them together under the same band of teachers, in the same mess, playground and examination hall. Compel every province to send there its quota of the most promising lads, and when they have passed out with the all-India stamp on their life and thought, post them to any province at random, and thus stifle the mad cry of *mulkis* and *ghair-mulkis*, domiciled and non-domiciled. All higher administrative offices will be opened to only such as have passed through this unifying process.

For the immediate present, relief needs to be afforded by a constitutional provision that every linguistic minority is entitled to keep its own schools in a linguistically "foreign" province, and that province is bound to pay it subsidy *per capita* of pupils at the same rate that it does to the schools of the dominant language, out of the public taxation. Let only a working knowledge of the majority language be insisted upon in the case of all candidates for public employment, but let not language dominate the entire public service examination curriculum.

All the measures suggested above are acts of State and therefore external. Our ultimate hope must lie in a cleansing of hearts; the leaders will have to rise above the American spirit of "the spoils to the victor" after a general election and think in terms of all-India; and the common people must realise the basic oneness of India which Hinduism has always taught and which we are fast forgetting in the present machine age.

On a distant view, I see some reasons for not despairing. There can be no denying the fact that since Independence—I prefer to say, after World War No. 2,—the iron chains of caste are being loosened, while the vastly increased inter-provincial travel forced on us by our new Plans and Projects, economic development and cultural world conferences, has been silently acting as a steamroller, flattening the old provincial angularities in dress, food and manners. Time is on the side of the reformers, but will the Western World give us the time?

—Hindusthan Standard.

George Santayana

A GREAT MODERN THINKER

Nirmal Kumar Lahiri writes in *Careers and Courses* :

In the death of George Santayana this century has lost one of its wisest men. A great thinker of modern times, Santayana, breathed his last on Friday, September 26, 1952 at Rome. He was aged 83 at the time of his death. Born at Madrid (Spain) in 1863, he left for America at the age of nine. He spent his boyhood days in America and graduated from the Harvard University in 1886. He served Harvard from 1889 to 1912, first as an instructor and later as a professor of philosophy.

The striking things about this modern philosopher are his life-long bachelorhood and his mastery over the English language: a language which has received the gift of all his works.

Santayana left Harvard in 1912 and moved about in the continent and Great Britain. He was the Hyde lecturer at the Sorbonne University in Paris during 1905-6 and was the Spencer lecturer at Oxford in 1923.

In 1894 he published *Sonnets and other Poems*. This was followed by smaller volumes of poetry. His poetry has the warmth and emotionalism of poets from the sunny land of bullfighters but they have also a sense of Latin restraint about them.

FIRST ESSAY IN PHILOSOPHY

But today he is famous as a thinker and as a philosopher and his first essay in philosophy *The Sense of Beauty* was published in 1896. *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion* appeared five years later. He worked for the next seven years and produced his five volumes of *The Life of Reason*. These five volumes, *Reason in Common Sense*, *Reason in Society*, *Reason in Religion*, *Reason in Art*, and *Reason in Science*, made Santayana a prominent figure in the period just before the first World War and its conclusion four years after. These works are not purely philosophical nor absolutely literary; they stand on the borderline between philosophy and literature.

Between 1918-1935, George Santayana almost faded out of limelight but came back to the focus in 1935 with his only novel *The Last Puritan* which is believed to be autobiographical in character. The volume is important as material for understanding his philosophy. It is a literary masterpiece in so far as its style is concerned, which is at its best here.

LATEST PHILOSOPHICAL WORK

His latest work on philosophy which is an outstanding book of its kind is entitled *Domination and Powers*. An ambitious work of 500 pages, the book deals with politics. In it the readers are likely to find the "glimpses of tragedy and comedy played unawares by Governments." The author has described the contents of the book as "a continual intuitive reduction of political maxims and institutions to the intimate spiritual fruits that they are capable of bearing."

With an unusual sense of penetration the author analyses in its pages the maladies of the modern age and the problems that confront the United Nations. There is here a thought-provoking discussion on the future of Russia and the Western democracies.

But it is far more than a tract for the times; it presents a comprehensive and ordered philosophy of living.

In the course of the book Santayana observes: "My own sympathies go out to harmony in strength, no matter how short-lived. The triumph of life lies in achieving perfection of form; and the richer and more complex the organism that attains this perfection, the more glorious its perfection will be and the more

unstable. I would gladly extirpate all the crawling ugliness in the world in order to obtain anything lovely. Yet the love of beauty, in an intelligent creature, runs over into concern about the causes and the enemies of the beautiful, into a study therefore, of these Dominations and Powers in whose train the beautiful lives and in whose decline it withers. Moreover, as the beautiful is a mark of vital perfection and live everywhere its movements, there is potential beauty of all sorts latent in the world; and the Power or Domination that roots out one beauty plants another; so that through the tears of the historian there often comes a smile and the evening of one civilization is the morning of another."

In the words the "evening of one civilization is the morning of another," is revealed the crux of Santayana's philosophy. He is not a defeatist in thought; nor is he a pessimist. He has hope for humanity; he believes a better world can come. The world for him can still emerge out on the threshold of a new civilization.

This attitude reveals in him the sympathy of a poet and the tolerance of a sage.

SOBER OUTLOOK ON LIFE

Santayana had a sober and sensible outlook on life. Compared to that notable thinker Bertrand Russell he appears to have been less influenced by the impact of science and its tremendous progress in our century.

About religion Santayana had a very tolerant outlook. He said: "Religion is human experience interpreted by human imagination. Matters of religion should never be matters of controversy.... We seek rather to honour the piety and understand the poetry embodied in these fables."

Santayana can be called (almost) Aristotelian in his thoughts. He says: "In Aristotle the conception of human nature is perfectly sound. Everything ideal has a natural basis, and everything natural an ideal fulfilment. His (Aristotle's) ethics, when thoroughly digested and weighed, will seem perfectly final."

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATION LIKELY

It is believed that the world has not seen the last of this great philosopher's book. The two titles (i) *Persons and Places* and (ii) *The Middle Span* in the series, *The Background of Life*, will be followed by a posthumous publication.

The last of the series, if it comes, will deal with living contemporary personalities about whom Santayana did not want to express his opinion during his lifetime and hence the book could not come out then.

The scant respect paid to this great modern philosopher by outstanding dailies in this country reveals the little that we know of our great thinkers.

Santayana will remain an outstanding thinker of our age. In him knowledge was great, scholarship profound. But what strikes one most is the fact that a study of his work, makes the reader feel that he was born a wise man; that wisdom was his heritage, a part of his very being.

Jain Studies in Italy

The following article is published in the *Italian Cultural Digest* :

Jain research in Europe did not start at the very outset of Indology. Colebrooke and Wilson, to whom we owe the first hints at the religion of the Jains, gave us somewhat inaccurate accounts.

The wealth of religious and profane Jain culture and its antiquity were revealed only later. The wide resonance Buddhism enjoyed from the very beginning outshone Jainism somehow, and led a few to think of it in terms of a minor Buddhist sect, a delusion into



The crest which adorns the literature, forms and advertisements of the Hindusthan since its inception has a story behind it. The map of India in outline serves as the background of the romantic history of India's struggle for economic freedom—and the Hindusthan can rightly claim that it has done all the pioneering works with an outlook of national service. It is Indian in ideal and outlook, Indian in capital and management—it is cent per cent Indian in everything so to speak. The crest therefore serves to throw into relief the patriotic endeavour of the great men of the time to bring economic salvation to our nationals.

The crest is the symbol of economic security, protection and peace and is significantly tied up with the life of our nationals.

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which they were drawn the more easily, as both religions began in the same historical age and looked to some extent alike.

That the only essential feature in common was the doctrine of the world whirl (samsara) and a spiritual law to save man from it, a law that did not stop at the stage of philosophic system, but spread among the masses as a religion, also became apparent later. But as research delved deeper, it became clear why Buddhism had become a universal religion, whilst Jainism remained exclusively India's. As such, Jainism grew side by side with this country's art and thought, and struck deep roots in her culture, thus embodying more and more of her literature, architecture and sculpture. Only the number of its followers stayed at the same level.

The great German Indologic school of the later half of the last century grappled decisively with Jainism as a subject by itself. In 1865, Weber published his *Ueber Ein Fragment Der Bhagavati*, in the Abhandlungen of the Berlin Academy, starting a long series of studies and works in which shared Jacobi, Leumann, Klatt and R. G. Bhandarkar. Weber himself ordered, studied and catalogued the Ms. of the Berlin Library, while Jacobi finally established the different origin of Buddhism and Jainism, having recognized in Mahavira a distinct historic personality not to be mixed up with Sakyamuni.

An Italian pupil of Weber's in Berlin, Pulle, was the trailblazer of Jainism in Italy. He published a three-volume work entitled *The Jaina Literature and Some Sources of the European Short Story*, where he showed, on the wake of Weber's, Jacobi's, Klatt's and Leumann's researches, how much European tales and short stories, especially in the middle ages, are indebted to the Indian sources as embodied in the Jain canonical texts. Such a work, presented in the way of a general research, roused the interest of Italian scholars in Jainism. Pulle himself continued to work in that line and edited Haribhadra's *Saddarsanasamuccaya* with Gunaratna's tika. These works were published in the *Giornale Della Societa' Asiatica Italiana*. Till the end of the century Pulle carried on his work on the Jain short stories and produced essays on, Rajasekhara's *Antarakathasangraha*, where he detected an ancestor of the Italian medieval popular figure of Bertoldo, a good-natured peasant jester, full of pep and horse sense. His book *I Novellieri Giainici* (1879-98) shed further light on the Indian short story and its relationship to the medieval fund of European tales. Pulle also reviewed and listed such Jain manuscripts as are contained in the Italian libraries.

The same subject attracted a much younger Italian Indologist: Emilio Pavolini, who wrote essays on the Prakrit tales of Mandiya, Agaladatta and Muladeva. The fine story of Bambhadatta, belonging to the commentaries of Santyacara and Devendrasuri to the Uttarajj hayana found in Pavolini, its first European translator according to the text as edited by Jacobi in his *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Maharashtra*. But Pavolini also made known in Italy another genre the Jains had treated: sayings and sentences. He translated part of the Gathakosa of Muncindrasuri, the Prasottaratnamala and the Sinduraprakara.

E. E. deStefani, a pupil of Pavolini, also studied at Florence, whose library is rich in Jain Ms., and translated the story of Madirvati. A. Ballini, who died recently in Rome, a disciple of Pulle and Jacobi, followed in the footsteps of the masters. His first essay was on the queer story of Agadatta, according to the two Ms. versions given by Jacobi. Shortly afterwards he translated the first fifty tales of the Pancasatiprabodhasambandha.

Between 1904 and 1910 he published an Italian translation of Siddharsi's Upamitibhavadprapancakatha, an allegoric tale of human life with the stress on Jain salvation, the first known Indian allegoric work after the Buddhist dramas discovered in Turfan, which were written one thousand years earlier.

To Ballini we further owe an accurate study of the life of Siddharsi and of Vasupujya, the twelfth Tirthankara, an edition of the Vasupujyacaritra, and a translation of the Vivagasuyam, the eleventh chapter of the canonical literature on the fruit of human actions. His two final works were treatises on Jainism in general, its features and contributions to the development of Indian culture.

L. Suati, also a pupil of Jacobi and still a professor at the Pavia University, translated Haribhadra's *Lokatattvaniraya*, and soon afterwards the *Saddarsanasamuccaya* with Gunaratna's commentary, and further edited *Dharmabindu* and *Yogabindu*.

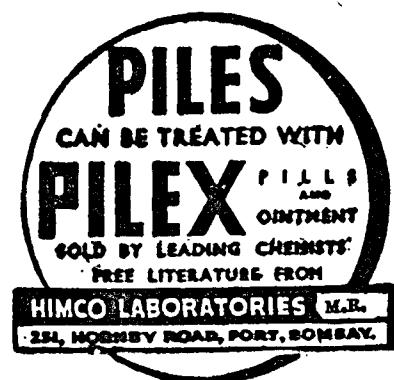
Still alive and active is F. Belloni-Filippi, another disciple of Jacobi. He gave a critical edition of part of the *Yogasastravrtti*, Hemachandra's didactic poem, and a complete edition of *Munipaticaritasaroddhara*. He also wrote a general treatise on Jainism (Pisa, 1941) and an article on the modern svetambara Dharmavijayasuri, who was born in 1868 and headed the Tapagaccha, thus calling the reader's attention on the present activities of the Jains.

In 1939, a young Italian Indologist died nearly unknown in Bikaner. He had a short and brilliant career but, as he was in the employ of the British Government, most of the Ms. he was engaged in at the time of his death could not be traced any more. He had learned Marathi and was busy with an edition and translation of Tukaram's works.

His name was L. P. Tessitori. Before dying, he had had time to publish the first Italian translation of the Prakrit anthology *Bhavavairagyasataka*, and a critical edition of Dharmadasa's *Uvasanala*. Further news on Tessitori, from which the whole purport of the work he left unfinished on his deathbed will perhaps be traced back one day, are contained in the archives of the Italian Consulate in Calcutta.

From this short and necessarily incomplete account it is already apparent how many among the outstanding Italian Indologists of the former generation felt attracted by the old traditions of Jainism, the most Indian among Indian religions. Their example has contributed to make the Jain community known and appreciated in Italy, and will not be lost among the younger scholars of that country.

(Adapted from an article by Mario Vallauri in *East and West*, III, 2)



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Volga-Don : A Great Economic Factor

Academician A. Winter writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*, September, 1952 :

A new splendid triumph has crowned the peaceful constructive labour of the Soviet people : the Volga-Don Shipping Canal has opened for service. Together with it, the Tsimlyanskaya Hydro-Electric Station and the first irrigation works have begun operation.

This first of the great construction projects of Communism has been named after the founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, under whose direct guidance the beginning was laid for extensive hydrotechnical development in young Soviet Russia.

V. I. Lenin time and again pointed out that the Communist society can be built up only on a powerful material-technical basis, by the wide electrification of industry, agriculture and the transport services of the Soviet State. "Communism," V. I. Lenin taught, "is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country."

As early as 1918 the Soviet Government, on V. I. Lenin's initiative, passed a decision to contact the Volga and the Don by a canal. But at that time the country was unable to effect this plan : the Civil War and foreign intervention interfered. They compelled temporarily to cease the work that was begun on the construction of the Volga-Don Canal.

Now the Volga-Don Shipping Canal has been built on the instruction and under the guidance of J. V. Stalin, the brilliant disciple and continuer of Lenin's cause.

And the canal has been built in record short time too. This has become possible thanks to the fact that the construction job was amply provided with first class Soviet building equipment and highly qualified specialists. Ninety-seven per cent of all earthwork and more than 90 per cent of all construction work on this project was carried out with the aid of machinery.

The V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Shipping Canal is a graphic example of multipurpose utilization of natural resources, which is a distinctive feature of Soviet hydro-technical development. The canal is a great factor for the further growth of the productive forces of the USSR as it solves a number of essential economic problems.

First of all, the Volga-Don Shipping Canal makes for the further rapid development of river transportation in the USSR. The canal has linked into an integrated transport system some 43,000 inland waterways and has made possible through navigation between five seas of the European part of the USSR, namely, between the Northern, White and Baltic seas with the Southern Caspian, Azov and Black seas. Moscow and all the big cities along the Volga, the Don and on the Caspian coast have now become ports of five seas.

The opening of the Volga-Don Shipping Canal for regular passenger and cargo traffic has made for a large increase of cargo transportation over the major waterways of the Soviet Union and at the same time has raised their economic importance. Already hundreds of caravans of cargo ships have sailed the new waterway

and tens of thousands of passengers have travelled over it.

From the Volga rafts of timber now go through the canal to the Don and further south, chemical fertilizers from the far-away Northern Kola Peninsula, ore from the Urals, oil from Baku, machines from the central districts of the country, automobiles and tractors from the Trans-Volga cities.

In the opposite direction through the canal to the Volga flow barges with grain of the new abundant harvest grown in the Kuban, with Donbas coal and metal, with rolled steel and pipes from the southern metallurgical plants. In four years, cargo transportation through the V. I. Lenin Canal will increase more than five times compared with this year, while the transportation of such essential cargo as Donbas coal and Ural timber will increase tenfold.

The Volga-Don Shipping Canal is substantially cheapening cargo transportation both from the Volga to the Don and in the opposite direction. Thus, for example, the prime operating cost of carrying oil over the Volga-Don waterway will come down to nearly a



fourth, and timber to a sixth as compared with the cost of railway transportation. Besides this, the canal takes a considerable load off the railways that connect the Donbas with the Trans-Volga area and releases some 400,000 railway wagons for other needs of the national economy of the USSR.

Simultaneously with solving the problem of navigation, the Volga-Don Shipping Canal and the Tsimlyanskaya hydropower system connected with it, solve a great national-economic problem of irrigating and providing a water supply to the arid districts of Rostov and Stalingrad regions. The first 100,000 hectares of arid land in Rostov Region have been irrigated already this year. The water have come to the fields over the new irrigation network extending for more than a hundred kilometres into the steppes. And the neighbouring collective farms have raised bumper harvests of grain and industrial crops never before heard of in these parts.

Construction of the irrigation and water-supply network of the Volga-Don Canal is planned to be accomplished in a space of five years. Such a high tempo is unknown in all history of irrigation development. By 1956, an area of 2,750,000 hectares of arid steppeland will be irrigated and provided a water supply. As a result of this the Soviet Union will every year produce additionally more than 1,250,000 tons of wheat, 160,000 tons of rice, over 600,000 tons of potatoes and vegetables, and so on. On the irrigated land of Rostov and Stalingrad regions cotton and other valuable agricultural crops will be raised.

An abundance of fodder will make for a tremendous upsurge in animal husbandry and for improvement of the livestock herd. The cattle herd, for example, will increase by about 200,000 head. And production of milk, butter and meat will step up at least three to four times.

Thus the Volga-Don Canal makes for an abundance of consumer goods and a further upswing in the well-being of the Soviet people.

The Volga-Don project includes the Tsimlyanskaya Hydro-Electric Station with a capacity of 160,000 kilowatts. Joined with the general electric network, the power of this station now goes to Donbas mines and to the industrial centres of the south; powers the mechanisms of the locks, and pumping plants of the canal and the pumping installations of the irrigation system.

The cheap power produced by the Tsimlyanskaya Hydro-Electric Station is beginning to be widely used for the all-round electrification of collective farms, state farms, and machine and tractor stations in the area of the canal. Greatly lightening labour and making it more productive, it will increase the incomes of the collective farmers and raise still higher their standard of living.

In Rostov and Stalingrad regions, construction is already being launched of new enterprises for processing agricultural materials which will be abundantly produced on the irrigated and watered land. There will greatly develop such branches as textile manufacturing, vegetable oil extraction, sugar refining, wine making, starch and syrup production, lacquer and dye manufacturing and other industries. A distinguishing feature of the new enterprises will be their high degree of operation by electricity and automatization of productive processes. Thus the V. I. Lenin Volga-Don Shipping Canal raises Soviet economy to a new and still higher stage.

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The Unique Economic System of Yugoslavia

Vlajko Begovic, Director, Yugoslav Planning Board, writes in *Tanyug*, October 1952:

"A pauper sitting on a chair of gold" is an unhappy phrase more than one country could use to describe itself. Yugoslavs—ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed despite their nation's wealth of human and material resources—could use it well. But they would add that the pauper is bestirring himself after centuries of oppression, and that the phrase will someday be nothing but a bad memory.

The natural riches of this country are endless. Its 52,700 square miles of farmland yield all the luxurious crops of Central Europe and the Mediterranean plus a variety of subtropical plants. Forests of high-grade wood stretch over another 33,649 square miles. The torrents of water that pour down Yugoslavia's mountains could generate some 40 billion KWH of electric power. Known coal deposits reach 11 billion tons, while Slovenia, Croatia, and Montenegro contain rich oil fields; in these invaluable resources the country already rates as one of the richest in the world—and prospectors are regularly revealing new wealth. There are impressive deposits of bauxite, copper, lead, zinc, antimony, pyrites, mercury, molybdenum, chrome, manganese, wolfram, asbestos, magnesite, gypsum, rock salt, and iron.

During the country's struggle against the Nazis, capitalists and landlords who had collaborated with them were expropriated in each newly liberated area. By the end of the war in 1945 over half (51 per cent) of industry was under state control. Twenty-seven per cent was foreign property under provisional state management and the remaining 19 per cent was still in private hands.

Agrarian reform was carried out at the same time. Large holdings were distributed among the peasants who had farmed them—particularly among those taking part in the People's Liberation Struggle. But the land was not nationalized. It remained under private or co-operative ownership. Nor were the artisan shops nationalized.

The mantle of nationalization thus covered a large portion of Yugoslavia's economy when the nation began the herculean task of repairing its war-devastated economy.

These conditions led naturally to a state, or administrative, type of socialism. The state took direction not only of the nationalized sector of the economy but of the nation's entire economic life, a centralistic system of socialism which was embodied in the State Economic Plan (SEP). The SEP determined the flow of country's resources into production and investment. It did more than this. It not only planned what goods and services were to be produced, but directed the individual phases of production—raw materials, fuels, manpower, etc., and controlled the distribution of the final product. This detailed direction of the economy was made necessary by the collapse of a free market based on supply and demand. With little or no supply and an enormous demand profiteers would have reaped benefits at the country's expense without rigid controls.

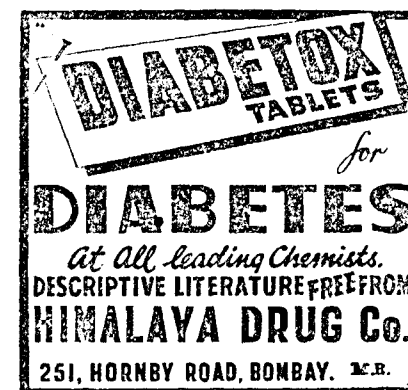
This first phase of socialism in Yugoslavia was considerably influenced by practices in the Soviet Union, where direct state management of the economy has long been a fact. And before long the negative aspects of this system started bobbing up. The bureaucratic machine became top-heavy; economic enterprises lost their freedom of action and thus their efficiency and profitability; state control of distribution led to poor quality and limited range of products.

This unfortunate phase lasted until 1951. By that year the country had regained its economic legs. Rehabilitation and capital construction were progressing well, supply had climbed toward demand to permit a reasonable stable market, and the country's balance of payments problem had been solved with American and other foreign aid. The country was able to move on to a new and happier phase in which the state gave up many of its controls and granted ever-wider freedom to citizens in their economic activities.

Workers' councils were established, and the enterprises they managed were given independence. In addition to this fairly comprehensive freedom for individual enterprises, the state abolished its over-all direction and distribution plans.

Economic decentralization was paralleled in the political realm. Jurisdiction passed from Federal to Republican departments and from there to Districts. This process led in 1952 to a strengthening of local self-government in districts, cities, and communes. These are now responsible, through their elected representatives and committees for the conduct of social, economic, and cultural activities in their particular areas.

Such are the basic contours of Yugoslavia's new economic and social system. Representing a profound detente in the administrative power of the state, it is a movement to bring socialist democracy to the country's



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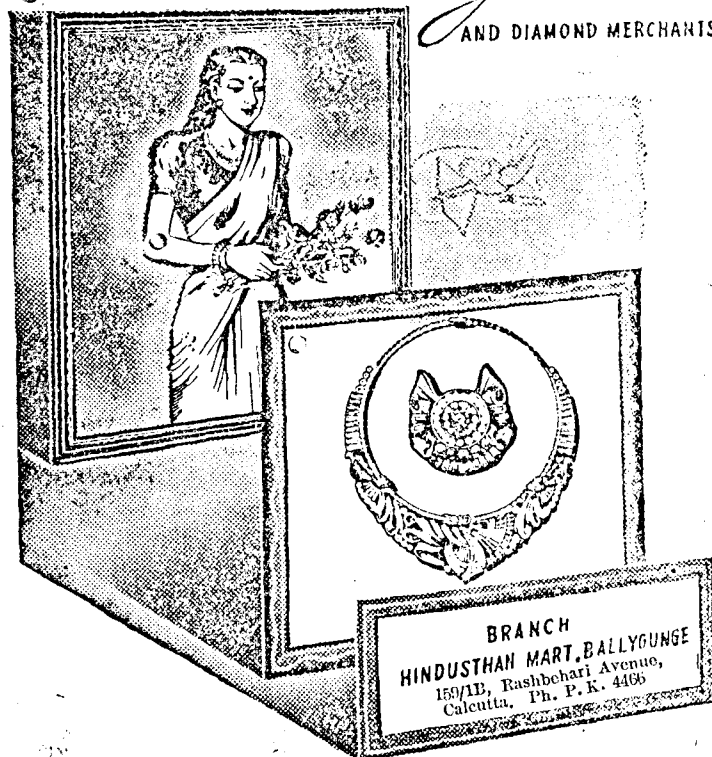
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economic life through workers' councils and local self-government; to grant freedom and initiative to enterprises while co-ordinating their general activities; and to establish a free market for producers and increased competition among them. Under the new system, workers and other personnel in the economy are under hire to no one; they produce a net profit for distribution amongst themselves.

(Abridged from *United Nations World*)

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Centenary of a World Faith

Bahai Jubilee Celebrations Committee publishes on the occasion of Bahai Centenary the following life-sketch of Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Bahai World Faith:

If we study the story of the "ascent of man" as recorded in the pages of history it becomes evident that the leading factor in human progress is the advent from time to time of men, who pass beyond the accepted ideas of their day and become the discoverers of truths hitherto unknown among mankind. In no domain is the supreme importance of the great man and his message more clearly evident than in that of religion. All down the ages, whenever the spiritual life of men has become degenerated and their morals corrupt, the most wonderful and mysterious of the men, the prophet, makes his appearance. Every few centuries a great divine revealer—a Krishna, a Zoroaster, a Moses, a Jesus, a Muhammad, appears in the East, like a spiritual Sun to illumine the darkened minds of men and awaken their dormant souls. And in this chain of spiritual evolution the Baha'i Faith declares the advent of the 'Educator of mankind' in the noblest self of Baha'u'llah, the last link in this chain of spiritual revelations.

Born about the middle of nineteenth century in Persia, the Baha'i Faith (or the mission of Baha'u'llah) was assailed from its very infancy by the forces of religious fanaticism. The Middle East at the turn of the 19th Century was unlike Europe, in a state of decay. Ignorance, and slothfulness re-inforced by fanaticism, were the order of the day. And Persia (now called Iran) had reached the extreme depth of this condition. It was in this social and political set-up that an enlightened youth of Shiraz, the Bab, the fore-runner of Baha'i Faith came forward in 1844 and challenged the old order. His mission was twofold: as an independent manifestation of God and to herald one greater than himself (Baha'u'llah), who was to inaugurate a new and unprecedented era in the religious history of mankind. The dusk before the dawn of this era witnessed the blackest of deeds that the human history has so far recorded. The Bab became the centre of

a storm fiercer even than that which raged around the founder of Christianity. In the course of a few years that followed, tales of magnificent heroism illumined the blood-stained pages of Babi history. Twenty thousand men, women and children were martyred in circumstances of horrible cruelty, at the hands of the orthodox church functionaries and their followers. The Bab himself, after continuous persecutions for six years, was sent to the scaffold and subjected to death at the hands of a firing squad in 1850. The leader silenced with death, the orthodoxy hoped to stifle the urge of the devotees, but the Babis came forward to suffer and be persecuted in thousands, amongst whom were many crusaders of the calibre and conviction of the Qurat-ul-Ayan, Tahiri, the world famed Joan of the East, the poetess-heroine of Qazvin.

And in these stormy and tumultuous times came forward Baha'u'llah—the Glory of God, the World Educator, whose advent, Bab had proclaimed with His life-blood. Baha'u'llah, born in Tihiran, on November 12, 1817, hailed from one of the noblest and wealthiest families of the period. His father was a minister of state. As a child Baha'u'llah revealed extraordinary powers of attraction. His amazing knowledge, combined with an innate modesty, proved irresistible to the people around him. He was known for his versatile acumen in discussing religious subjects even at the tender age of fourteen. Kind and generous, he had an inherent love for nature and spent most of his time in the gardens and shrubberies.

On the death of his father when he was only of 22, he refused an offer to succeed him in the court of the Shah as a dignitary. To this the then Prime Minister remarked: "He has some higher aim in view. I cannot understand him, but I am convinced that he is destined for some lofty career. His thoughts are not like ours. Let him alone."

After some two years of Bab's martyrdom a fresh wave of terrible persecutions broke out. A youthful follower attempted to assassinate the Shah. Though unsuccessful, he was not only put to death, but this was used by the officials as a pretence for a new massacre of the Babis. Baha'u'llah was at that time in the countryside. He decided to ride to the camp of Shah, to vindicate His position, in that this stray incident was not the result of any Babi conspiracy, but He was arrested on the way and kept in prison in Tihiran. What followed in the next four months can be better judged from Baha'u'llah's own account: "We were in no wise connected with that evil deed and our innocence was indisputably established by the tribunals. Nevertheless, they apprehended . . . and conducted us on foot and in chains, with bare head and bare feet to the dungeon of Tihiran . . . The dungeon was wrapped in thick darkness, and our fellow prisoners numbered nearly a hundred and fifty souls: thieves, assassins and highway robbers . . . No pen

can depict . . . nor any tongue describe its loathsome smell."

After four months of imprisonment in this underground cell, through the intervention of the Russian minister, Baha'u'llah though released, was exiled to Baghdad. His properties were confiscated. With Baha'u'llah's banishment, the Persian Government of the time thought that the roots of the Babi movement were torn up. Little did those mortals know, that He was carrying with him into exile, on an agonizing journey, over snow-covered mountains, the roots of a noble cause, soaked in the blood of the martyrs, which were destined to blossom into Persia's greatest contribution to mankind.

Shortly after arriving in Baghdad, Baha'u'llah withdrew himself into the wilderness of Sulamaniyyah, where for two years, as Christ in the wilderness, Buddha in the forests of India, as Muhammad in the fiery hills of Arabia, He became prepared for his momentous task ahead.

Baha'u'llah returned from the solitude, more

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effulgent with hope and astoundingly prolific in his writings. His return to Baghdad in 1856 kindled new hopes in the hearts of Babi crusaders. His fame spread far across the land. Not only the Muhammadans, but also Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians came to hear him speak.

To Israel He was neither more nor less than the incarnation of the "Everlasting Father," the "Lord of Hosts" come down "with ten thousands of saints"; to Christendom Christ returned "in the glory of the Father," to Shi'ah Islam the return of the Imam Husayn; to Sunni Islam the descent of the "Spirit of God" (Jesus Christ); to the Zoroastrians the promised Shah-Bahram; to the Hindus the reincarnation of Krishna; to the Buddhists the fifth Buddha.

From Constantinople after four months he was moved to Adrianople where he remained in exile for four and a half years. Here He publicly proclaimed His mission.

In 1868, Baha'u'llah and his companions were sent into a yet more distant exile, this time to the 'Holy Land'—to Akka, at the foot of Mount Carmel. Here under dreadful conditions, they lived for some years.

After forty years of exile and imprisonment, this noblest of crusaders for the cause of truth, passed away in the Holy Land on May 28, 1892, with the spirit "I have Oh my Lord, offered up that which thou hath given me, that thy servants may be quickened and all that dwell on earth be united."

The Divine Mission founded by Baha'u'llah was henceforward carried on by His son Abdu'l-Baha. Gentle and wise, humorous and just, a healer to every

sick one, a comforter to the oppressed, he was known to one and all as the Master. Ever since his childhood he was the closest companion of his father and shared all his sorrows and sufferings. He remained a prisoner until 1908, when the old regime in Turkey was overthrown and all religious and political prisoners throughout the empire were liberated. After that, he continued to make his home in Palestine but set out to take the message of the new day to the western world undertaking extensive tours in Egypt, Europe and America explaining and exemplifying the spirit of the new Message. Abdu'l-Baha passed away in 1921, after a luminous career of service to humanity.

And now in the wake of the sacred legacy left by Him, the first Guardian of the Faith, Shoghi Effendi, His eldest grandson is the pivot of Baha'i activities both in the East and the West with his headquarters at Haifa (Israel). And today in over 126 countries of the world, the members of the Baha'i World Community drawn from various nations, religions and races are proclaiming the message of unity and hope. They are becoming effectively instrumental in creating a heaven of liberty, where search for truth is free and orthodoxy and prejudice forbidden. Through their peaceful and spiritual approach, and a vision of a brighter and better world these crusaders following in the footsteps of their prophet are marching forward to make through love and persuasion, the earth as one country—a single unit bereft of injustices and inequalities. *That is their mission, that is their hope and that is their vision, which these pioneers of peace are struggling for.*

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Jawaharlal Nehru performing the opening ceremony of Aijal-Lungleh Road, during his recent visit to Aijal (Lushai Hills)



Jawaharlal Nehru inspecting a Guard of Honour provided by a contingent of Burmese troops on the occasion of his recent arrival at Singkaling (Burma)

advise a policy of Wait and See, regarding the new Cabinet's actions and results. Further he says:

"Then there were others who reacted to the news. Some said that it was 'best news' they could have heard. Others predicted the solution of the problems in no time. But I was surprised to read the statements of those who had till yesterday basked under the sunshine of Khwaja Sahib's favours. Such people vie with each other in issuing statements against the outgoing Ministry."

Reactions in the political spheres of India are diverse and not quite crystallized in effect as yet. Many are frankly skeptical about the ultimate results, so far as Indo-Pak relations are concerned. Others are a bit hopeful, though even there, most are somewhat cautious in the light of the slippery behaviour of Pakistan authorities during the last five years.

The new Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, starts with a clear slate. We in India have had very little to do with him and as such he carries some credit though based on negative considerations. Indian papers have given the following interview with him considerable prominence:

Pakistan's new Prime Minister Mohammed Ali has sent a communication to Prime Minister Nehru in an effort to place India and Pakistan on a friendly basis.

Discussing home and foreign affairs with *Press Trust of India's* correspondent at Karachi he said he looked upon Mr. Nehru as "an elder brother."

He expressed "optimism" that Indo-Pakistan differences could and would "be settled peacefully and amicably."

He said after settling the Indo-Pakistan disputes and creating a "favourable atmosphere" India and Pakistan could very well sit down and discuss the possibilities of "joint defence of India and Pakistan."

The Premier said that left to himself he would like to meet Mr. Nehru "the soonest" but then he said he thought the meeting might not take place until after the Queen's Coronation in June.

He said during the month of May he was wanting to tour the country and then to go to London. He said while in London he would "naturally" take the opportunity of meeting Mr. Nehru.

Then the correspondent said to him: "Sir, may I ask a rather touchy question? Political observers and diplomats in their discussion with me say it is all very good that you sincerely and wholeheartedly desire peaceful settlement of all Indo-Pakistan disputes but then they argue 'are your officials, your politicians and your press unanimous and determined in the desire for a peaceful settlement with India.' To put it in other words, do you think you will be able to carry your country with you in your determination to make friends with India?"

With the clarity and firmness so characteristic of him, he replied, "I think that all right-thinking people should and will support me. In any case I am determined

to go ahead to make friends with India." He then said that he would like to appeal to the press both in Pakistan and India to help create a "favourable atmosphere" for placing India and Pakistan on a friendly basis.

Pandit Nehru's comments as yet are surprisingly brief, as the following news report indicates:

Shri Nehru referred to Pakistan and said economic situation in that country at the present moment was rather disturbing. He made clear that he would like Pakistan to progress and be strong. He said what happened in the neighbour State had always interest in this country. Everything was in favour of Pakistan especially the food position after the partition. They had plenty of food and could even export. But today they were deficient in food and thousands of people in that country were hungry. "Here we must remember that what good we were able to do to our people in the past five years was because we stood steadfastly to our principles," he said.

Of course there is a quaint section in our Congress circles that always is on the look-out to build hopes on empty prospects. Such frothy speculations as appended below, are quite common in those quarters, which unfortunately are too near Pandit Nehru:

Dr. Syed Mahmud, a member of the Indian Parliament, writes in the Lahore weekly *Star*, that India and Pakistan were spending more and more amounts on defence because of mutual suspicion. But even that vast expenditure would not be of much use against a big power. "By having a joint defence," the writer says, "we will be able to make a huge cut in the Rs. 300 crores which India and Pakistan are spending over defence. This huge amount can be best utilized by spending it on development projects. Something more beneficial can be achieved by bringing the Middle East and South-East Asian countries closer to each other, thus to materialise the idea of third Area."

Certain foreign powers were bent upon fomenting ill-will and discord between the two countries. The U.S.A., according to Dr. Mahmud, was interested in the formation of South-East Asian bloc which "may play a second fiddle to her dictates. On the other hand, there is the bait of MEDO. It is the last mentioned trap that the American strategists are trying to drag Pakistan into." And, unfortunately, a certain section in Pakistan was also favouring the MEDO. Warning of the dangers of Pakistan's joining the MEDO, Dr. Mahmud writes that "it will not merely be a serious loss to Pakistan's own interest but also to the Arab-Asian unity as such."

The military-cum-political strategists of the Big Powers were trying to divide the strategic areas into several blocs. That would weaken India's position which was a great danger to the larger Asian-African interests. "If," he asks, "India and Pakistan are likely to be made pawns in the hands of big powers then why

not evolve a system of common defence between India and Pakistan?"

From the statement of the Pakistan Governor-General it seems that the main causative factors for the necessity of a change were two-fold. Scarcity and want, prevailing all over Pakistan was the major one. Foods crops had failed to a disastrous extent, and cash crops fetched not even the bare costs, so low were the prices and so poor the demand. The second factor was the widespread anti-Ahmediya riots, which resulted in thousands being killed, women being raped and abducted in thousands and loot and arson being rife. Lahore, Karachi, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Rawalpindi being the worst affected areas. Law and order having collapsed, martial law had to be proclaimed over large areas. It is said that over 10,000 persons have been killed, either in the riots or in the quelling thereof by the military, over 25,000 persons are under arrest, and that more than 5,000 women have been abducted or are as yet untraced.

The second factor, though far more disastrous in its consequences, seems to be an outcome of the first. In the past, whenever there has been widespread want or discontent, cries of *jehad* were raised by those in power, with dire consequences on the poor helpless Hindus in Pakistan. Now that the Hindu has been almost completely driven out of West Pakistan, new victims have to be found. The Ahmediyas are well-to-do, well-placed and a mere half-million in number, so the bolt has fallen on them!

It would be interesting to learn the reactions of Zafulla Khan, ardent champion of Pakistan, at home and abroad, both before and after the Partition.

Linguistic States

On April 28, at Belgaum, Prime Minister Nehru assured the people that a Commission on Linguistic States would be appointed. The Commission would be set up after the formation of the Andhra State and watching its progress for "some time, say, one year," Shri Nehru told a public meeting of 50,000 people.

Shri Nehru said the Commission's terms of reference would include feasibility of redistributing States on a linguistic basis and also whether any such State after the formation could be an economic and viable unit.

Shri Nehru added that the Commission would examine all aspects of redistribution on linguistic basis and recommend measures for the creation of these States. Then the Government would draft a bill on the basis of the Commission's report and call for public views on the bill, he said.

The Prime Minister expressed himself as not against the formation of linguistic States but said: "I am certainly against anybody trying to draw a line between two peoples living together." For instance, he said, "In Belgaum itself two languages were being

spoken and when a State was formed on the basis of one language they could not drive out the people speaking the other language." In forming linguistic States, "we should not become instrumental in encouraging communal and parochial elements," he said.

Quite so, we agree on that point. But when there is an attempt to suppress, by foul methods, the use and the learning of a mother-tongue as in the Bengali districts of Bihar, or an attempt to deprive a very large section of a State's population of their rights because of a difference in the spoken language, as in Assam and a few other places, then what should be the remedy?

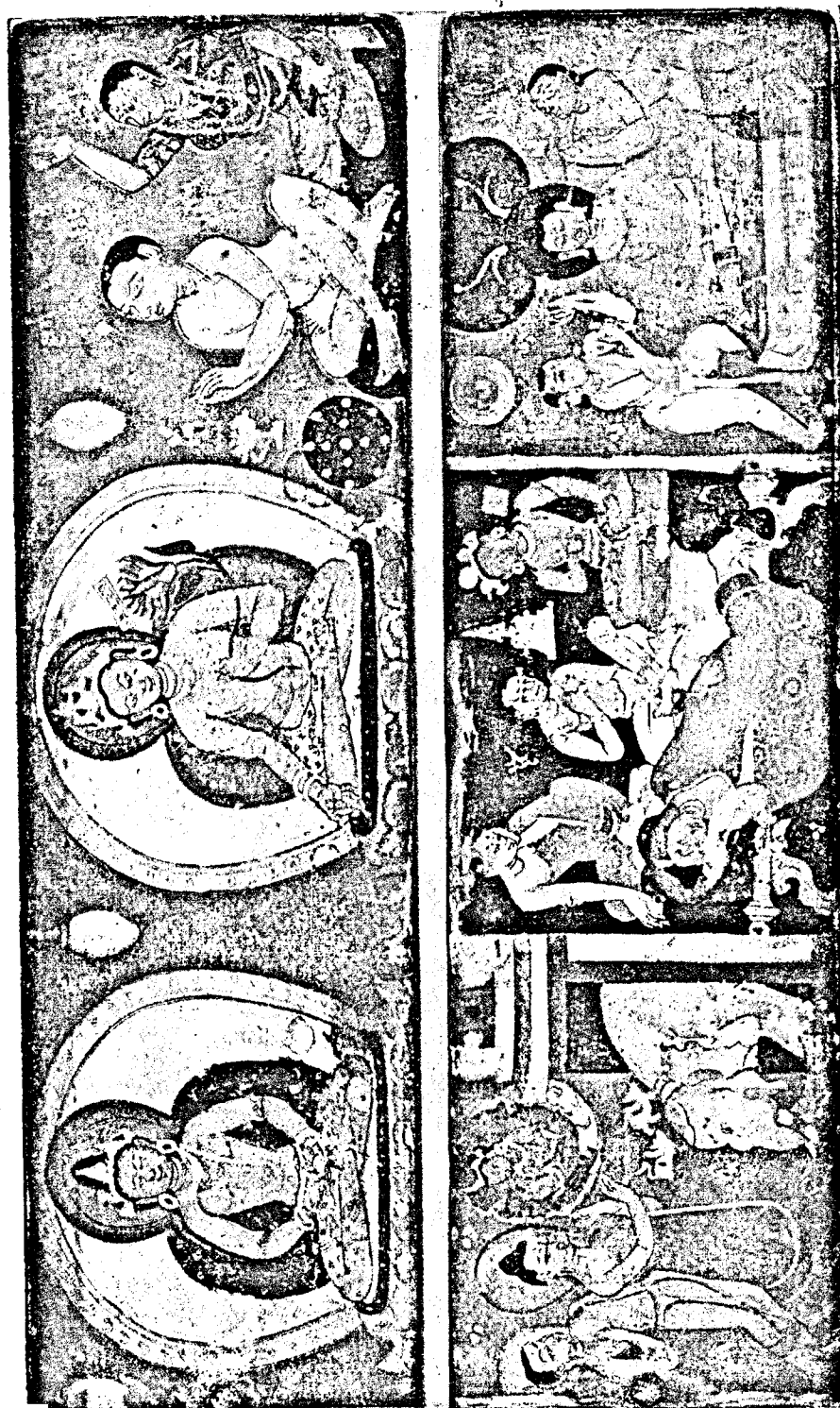
Shri Nehru said: "We have to give careful thought to social and economic considerations in the formation of linguistic States. We should not force any division anywhere in the country any more. We have to see what harm has been done to the country by the partition to create Pakistan. When are we going to learn lessons from history? Are we still immature? Are we going to ask for our weakening by demanding divisions in the country?"

The Prime Minister impressed on the people the need for attaining national consciousness and said: "Are you going to gloat over achieving linguistic States and call yourself Karnataki or Andhra or Maharashtrian or are you going to be known as an Indian? We have a sacred duty to uphold the prestige of the country and every citizen must be Indian first and last. Ours is a vast country and people on the Assam-Burma border or in Ladakh in Kashmir may look different and speak languages which might sound strange to others of the country but it is a fact they are all Indians."

Here again the exhortation is misdirected. If the majority in each State could be persuaded to act along fair and democratic lines, if their office-holders could distinguish between right and wrong in the treatment of linguistic minorities, if the Centre could force fair-play on depraved, power-blinded Ministers, then there would be no demand for linguistic States. In the absence of all that, such statements are mere incongruities.

Prime Minister Nehru made pointed reference to the demand for Karnataka State and said there was never any doubt about the case for a separate Karnataka State. Karnataka was to be formed by merging Kannada districts in Bombay and Madras States with Mysore. But Mysore did not accept this suggestion and he would never force Mysore to accept something by force. "Where there is no agreement we will not force the issue and we shall leave the matter to the people. When all the concerned agree the Government would certainly consider how best it can be brought about."

He deprecated a tendency to coerce the Government by fasts and hunger-strikes. "If you think Andhra



Cover (pata) paintings in the oldest MS. of the *Buddha-Charita* found in Nepal (circa 8th century)
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NOTES

Pakistan Affairs

With the dismissal of the Nazimuddin Cabinet, the affairs of Pakistan have entered into its third phase, since the inception of that State. This change also has come with the suddenness of a *coup d'etat*, on the world outside Pakistan. There might have been prolonged planning and intrigue inside Pakistan but the world outside had no inkling.

There have been floods of contradictory news and comments to explain the why and wherefore of this *coup*—for *coup* it is without doubt—but somehow the background seems to be as yet full of gaps. Urdu papers, both in Pakistan and in India, have gone in for speculation on a large scale, in regard to the consequences as also regarding the probable causative factors. The name of Feroze Khan Noon has appeared in some places as being the main factor in the overthrow of the Nazimuddin regime. There are other comments that merely show that Nazimuddin was a victim of circumstances, the main villain of the piece being Fazlurrahman.

Whatever be the factors that led to this drastic action, the issues as yet seem to be uncertain. Khwaja Nazimuddin is an old hand, although in the past all the intriguing was done for him by his brother Shahabuddin, now the Governor of the N.-W.F.P. But all the same it is clear that he does not intend to retire and resign himself to fate. He has a considerable following—and a good few enemies—in East Pakistan, and is not altogether without any strength in the West, although with Feroze Khan Noon back in Punjab (P) and Quayum in the new Cabinet, the odds there are heavy against him.

English papers in Pakistan are taking an ultra-

cautious line in commenting on the change. That seems to indicate some apprehension on their part that the last scene has not yet been rung down on this act.

Thus the weekly *Star* of Lahore says in its April 25 issue :

The dramatic dismissal of the Nazimuddin cabinet and the formation of a new Government at the Centre headed by ex-ambassador Mohammad Ali has not only been generally welcomed in West Pakistan but even produced a 'good riddance' feeling in the people. If this feeling of relief is born of a mere passion for change, it is hardly an attitude worthy of a politically-mature people. Thanks to the mounting discontent and frustration in the country, the desire for a top-level change was as natural as patriotic, but downright condemnation of the old regime bracketed with undue eulogy of the new team cannot possibly establish our ability for a rational approach.

Sanity demands that we welcome the new Government not because it is sure to work a miracle and change overnight the face of the country but because a new set of men from amongst us have been given a chance to serve the people. Since they have been given a chance, let us try them and not pronounce judgements before they had the time and opportunity to prove their worth. Let us remember that fonder the hopes we pin in the new Government, more the disillusionment, if they fail to deliver the goods. All that we can say is that Mr. Mohammad Ali's men enjoy a uniquely propitious position, as their predecessors had created a general public impression of a government which had tragically allowed itself to be ruled by a policy of drift, indecision and procrastination.

The paper further quotes its representatives in Karachi as saying that the political observers there

State is being formed because of Potti Sriramulu's fast you are in a fool's paradise. The Government had decided to form an Andhra State long before his fast. If anything, his fast has slowed the process of the formation of the new State."

"Government's policies are not going to be influenced by fasts," he gave a warning and added, "If we are to decide our policies this way then the whole Government will be a farce. We are not going to be deterred by fasts and such things. I am not going to take notice or take seriously any fast undertaken demanding the creation of Karnataka," he declared.

Prime Minister Nehru said: "We cannot be childish. Remember our policies are mature. We cannot be coerced.

"If you are in the middle of an ocean we could separate you and form a State but you are in the midst of other people who are Indians. We are doing a disservice to the nation by propagating linguistic differences."

The West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee meeting at Garbeta (Midnapore) on April 25, last urged the Indian National Congress and the Central Government to take early steps for extending the boundaries of West Bengal.

The Committee felt that the urgency for extension of the State boundaries rested not only on the linguistic principle but on other factors including the administrative necessity of connecting the three separate parts of West Bengal and refugee rehabilitation.

Earlier, addressing the meeting, Mr. S. N. Agarwal, General Secretary, of the AICC, expressed the hope that the Central Government would appoint a high-power commission to study the question of redistribution of States dispassionately and present a plan to solve the question and not to shelve it.

He said it was wrong to think that the Congress desired to shelve the question of reorganization of States on the basis of language and other considerations. The Congress always stood for a more rational reconstruction of States in which language would naturally play an important part. But there were some other considerations which had also to be taken into account—economic and financial factors which could not be neglected.

The reorganization had to take place as early as possible, but there was "need for caution, restraint and broad thinking."

Mr. Agarwal said they should regard this question primarily as a matter of convenience for education and administration.

It was not proper to talk very much about State cultures. They should be proud of "our one, rich Indian culture." If they could emphasize on this underlying national unity, there was no reason to think that the reorganization of States on a linguistic basis would lead to any disintegration.

The Language Controversy

We append below the translation of Vinobaji's speeches in Manbhum as given in the *Harijan* of April 25:

"Here in the Manbhum District the Hindi-speaking and the Bengali-speaking people have come together. The districts which lie on the border between two provinces and where therefore two or more languages meet one another are, I should say, extremely lucky, because the people have there the God-given opportunity of loving one another and learning not only their own language but also those of others. But quite unfortunately we find that these different languages are not given each its due place and honour. One of them is sought to be imposed on the people in suppression of others or all are equally neglected and English allowed to retain its present position."

"Bengali is a rich language and its modern literature perhaps stands superior to that of any other language of India. On the other side Hindi is not a rich language but our accepted notional language. If the people of the area, where these two languages have met together, demand that the students there should be taught through their own language, their demand cannot be dismissed as wrong. It is quite just and proper. There are at present two or three different views in the field on this question. There is a powerful section of public opinion which holds that the provincial language should be the medium of instruction at every stage of education. Others say that while the provincial language should be the medium of instruction in the primary stage, it would be well thereafter to take recourse to Hindi for every purpose for which at present we use English. Hindi is the national language and if students all over India receive their education through it, all will be equally benefited. There are still others who hold that English should not be rejected because it is a very rich and widely spoken language. It should be continued as it is at least in the university stage. Thus there are three different views with regard to this question and each can count among its advocates, distinguished scholars and servants of the country.

"In my opinion while the entire education from beginning to end should be imparted through the provincial language, the national language should be compulsorily taught to all along with the former. When professors from one university are invited to another for delivering a course of lectures, they may, if they do not know the provincial language, speak in the national language. I have expressed this view quite frequently and I feel that this will be better able to serve our best interests than any other. This will not retard Hindi in any way. On the contrary I hope it will promote its growth and expansion. Most of these provincial languages are quite developed languages and they are possessed of the genius to develop new words and expressions. If they are adopted as the media of

instruction each in its own area and the national language is taught compulsorily alongside of them, the latter will not suffer any diminution of importance and both will enrich each other. Unfortunately there is disagreement among the scholars about it and it has led to some bitterness. I would like, however, that in this part where fortunately Hindi comes into contact with Bengali which is a rich language, the latter should be compulsorily taught along with the former. I would go even further and say that those whose mother-tongue is Hindi should be compulsorily taught some other Indian language. While formerly I merely wished that this should be so, I now insist on it. I am sure that if those who are concerned with this question will look at it from the educational point of view, they will agree about the desirability."

—(From the speech at Purulia, 18-3-53)

"The workers in the Manbhum District are greatly agitated over the language policy of the State Government. Whatever the justification for their feeling of discontent, Bengali and Hindi are mere words after all and one cannot eat words. People are hungry for bread and hunger will not be satisfied with Hindi or Bengali. The question can be solved only through love and kindness. Given the atmosphere of love for one another, all our problems can be met quite easily. I therefore urge those of you who love the poor to apply themselves to the Bhoodan work. When the house of our neighbour is on fire, we do not insist on the solution of our minor differences as a condition precedent to offering our services for extinguishing that fire. There are certain things which cannot brook a moment's delay and must be immediately attended to. The solution of the land-problem belongs to this class of things. Bengali and Hindi are both old languages. Who can suppress the Bengali of Rabindranath and Chaitanya and Ramakrishna? There is therefore no question of any danger to the Bengali language. But the land-problem is more important and must be given precedence over others."

—(From the speech at Garhjaipur, 20-3-53)

It is too much to expect power-drunk people to listen to the words of *rishis*. But it would solve a world of problems if Congress authorities could absorb a little of the wisdom in the above quoted words and enforce attention to them from the aforementioned political inebriates.

Governmental Inertia

We have received a circular letter over the signature of Shrimati Mira Behn. The letter speaks for itself. We append below the part relating to her negotiations with the India Government. The letter is addressed to the readers of the *Bapu Raj Patrika* which has not appeared for some time. We agree with Shrimati in regard to the necessity of the operation. But where is the surgeon that can trim into shape the swelled heads of the unworthy?

"Please forgive me for my long silence, and let me explain as briefly as possible what has happened during this time in which no issue of *Bapu Raj Patrika* has appeared.

"Last October, as horses were not available, I had to abandon my idea of riding through the villages. Fate had quite a different programme in store for me. I accepted it as it unfolded itself before me day by day. At the end of October I went to Wardha and Sevagram to meet all friends there and discuss the situation. It so happened that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came there also for some conferences, and I took the opportunity of putting before him my idea of a Project on Bapuji's lines for the interior of the Himalayas, of which I have spoken two or three times in *Bapu Raj Patrika*. As a result of our talk I proceeded to Delhi for further discussions on the subject. These discussions took some two or three weeks, and, since they were satisfactory, I went to Lucknow to see Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant. From there I had to go all the way to Bombay to satisfy a long-standing call from Shri Devadas Gandhi for assistance in a documentary film of Bapuji. This was to have taken only five days, but the work actually lasted three weeks. From there I took the train straight back to Delhi to continue the negotiations for the Project. At last we reached the stage where I could return with the papers to Lucknow. I thought everything would now go through in a few days but the work took over a month. In spite of my sad experiences in the past of the Government machinery, I had miscalculated its capacity for delays and complications! At last, weary and worn, I reached Tehri at the end of February for a final conference with the district officials. Again difficulties arose. It was beyond me to go back to Lucknow, so others took letters for me, and I came on up to Gopal Ashram. Another three weeks passed, and now, as I sit here in the Ashram writing this letter (March 22nd), still one more conference is taking place in Tehri, which the Deputy Commissioner Planning has come from Lucknow to attend, but to which I am physically unable to go, as I am quite worn out and cannot manage a two days' trek on foot and horseback down burning hot valleys, and then another two days' trek up again. However, I have full confidence that all will be well in the end, because the Government really wants the Project to materialize. The Government itself becomes paralysed by its own machinery, just as a man becomes helpless if his body does not function properly. Surely it is time to perform a major operation on the diseased body of the Government!"

Peace Prospects Brighten Up

The political firmament seems to be distinctly less overcast, as a result of the moves and statements of the successors to Stalin in the Kremlin. It is as yet

too early to determine whether it is but a temporary lull or whether the world is entering into a new phase in international relations.

Statements made by world figures on the situation as it develops day-by-day is as yet very cautious as no one wishes to be caught out in a state of undue optimism. But even so the tone of such declarations is clearly more hopeful than it has been in a matter of years. President Eisenhower has put forward some tests in a speech which, if fulfilled, will give the lull a more permanent aspect. Pandit Nehru speaking at Belgaum on April 25 also sounded hopeful.

Mr. Churchill said that the Kremlin's recent moves had brought "sudden hopes" to the whole world. He said: "New men have obtained a supreme power in Moscow and their words and gestures, and to some extent their actions seem to be token of a change of mood."

Mr. Bevan, the Left-wing British Labour leader, said in Paris on April 11 that he thought the latest Russian peace moves were dictated by self-interest.

The improved situation was reflected in the almost unanimous election of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld as the new Secretary-General of the U.N. Another indication was the general agreement in the U.N. over Burma's complaint against the K.M.T. forces operating on her territory. M. Vyshinsky, the permanent Soviet delegate at the U.N., while commenting on the unanimous vote in the Political Committee, is reported to have said that "rays of sunshine are visible through the clouds."

President Eisenhower in his first major foreign policy speech on April 16 outlined his terms for a settlement with the Soviet Union and asked the U.S.S.R. to agree to:

1. Sign the treaty with Austria freeing it from economic exploitation and military occupation.
 2. Free and secret elections looking towards a free and united Germany.
 3. Freedom and independence for eastern European nations.
 4. An end of the flow of arms from the Soviet Union to aggressive forces in Asia and of direct and indirect Communist attacks upon the security of Korea, Malaya, and Indo-China.
 5. Free elections in a Unified Korea.
 6. Acceptance of United States disarmament proposals now before the United Nations.
- The United States, in particular, would agree to:
- (a) Devotion of the world savings from disarmament to a global fund for aid and reconstruction including the Communist world.
 - (b) An end of the present 'unnatural' division of Europe including expansion of the benefits of the present Western Europe community of nations to include the Eastern European nations.

The Prime Minister in a short reference to world affairs said peace had not yet "come to stay" in the world. India had to be careful and should not swerve

from her path of neutrality if her voice was to be heard in the councils of nations. "All we want is peace here and peace elsewhere. If we can do anything to establish peace, we will do our utmost."

New hopes of a settlement of the international disputes have appeared on the horizon. On March 28, Kim Il Sung, Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army, and Peng Te-huai, Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers, sent a letter to General Mark Clark, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces fighting in Korea, expressing their agreement to his proposal for the exchange of sick and wounded war prisoners. Two days later followed a statement by Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, who announced on behalf of the Chinese and North Korean Governments their acceptance of Gen. Mark Clark's proposals and declared that "it is entirely possible to achieve a reasonable solution of this problem in accordance with the provisions of Article 109 of the Geneva Convention of 1949." He also proposed the reopening of the armistice talks and the repatriation of all the prisoners insisting on repatriation and handing over the remaining prisoners to a neutral State. On March 31, Marshal Kim Il Sung supported these proposals. M. Molotov, on behalf of the Government of the Soviet Union, also expressed "full solidarity" with these proposals.

As a result of this it was agreed to exchange 600 United Nations prisoners for 5,800 Communists and the first convoy of 12 British and 30 American sick and wounded prisoners exchanged on April 20. The truce talks also were resumed on April 26 at which the Communists made the following suggestions:

- (1) Within two months after an armistice is signed both sides repatriate those prisoners insisting on repatriation.
- (2) Within one month after that both sides shall "be responsible for sending the remaining prisoners to a neutral State agreed upon through consultation by both sides."
- (3) Within six months after the arrival of prisoners in the neutral State parties to which they belong shall be free to send personnel to explain matters relating to the return to their homelands, "so as to eliminate their apprehension."
- (4) Within six months of arrival in the neutral State those prisoners then requesting repatriation shall be repatriated by the neutral State.
- (5) After a six-month period any prisoners remaining shall have their fate decided by a political conference dealing with the entire question of peace in Korea.
- (6) All expenses of persons during the stay in neutral State including travelling expenses shall be borne by the nation to which the prisoners belong.

Since then, there has been an *impasse* over the neutral country question. U. N. proposals suggest that prisoners unwilling to be repatriated be kept in Korea or their present quarters in the custody of Switzerland, a neutral State. The Communists say that they want an Asiatic neutral and further, they require that the

prisoners should be transferred to that State's own terrain. This *impasse* shows some signs of solution at the time of writing.

Cambodia Must Be Given Freedom

The Indo-Chinese struggle has suddenly taken a serious turn for the French forces. The Laos area has been penetrated deeply by the Viet Minh forces and there does not seem to be much chance of stopping their advance in the future.

This situation has resulted in the release of the pent-up feelings of the nationals of Indo-China, submerged as they are under the ruthless colonialism of France. The following news is an indicator:

The Cambodian Premier Penn Nouth said in a statement to the Press at Paris on April 29 that France should grant his country the same independence that Britain had given to India and Pakistan. He said he was making this statement following instructions from his King, who wanted to clarify the declarations he had made during his recent stay in the United States.

"If France does not grant Cambodia the attributes and prerogatives of independence which the whole nation has charged the Sovereign to demand, the Cambodian people might revolt against the French authorities if difficulties arose, at the moment when Vietminh pressure might make itself felt as in Laos," the Premier said.

"If France has the wisdom to grant in time the powers we are claiming, the common defence against Communism would be strengthened and we would win the mass support of rebel nationalist anti-Communist leaders," he said.

"Our Sovereign considers that the French and American authorities as well as those of the other nations of the free world should be warned about the need for a solution to the crisis in Cambodia which, together with South Vietnam, constitutes the last bastion of resistance to Communism, which will submerge north and central Vietnam as well as Laos."

The French Minister for the Associate States, M. Jean Letourneau said today, conversations with the Cambodian Premier were still continuing. There were no problems between the two countries for which a mutually satisfactory solution could not be found, M. Letourneau said in an interview with the evening newspaper *Paris-L'Espresso*.

Racial Discrimination in South Africa

37,000 Indian children in Natal Province of South Africa alone were refused admission to schools this year according to information received in New Delhi. This is considered to be one of the by-products of the Apartheid policy of the South African Government. African children have hardly any facilities for education. Facilities in their case exist for only about 40% of the children of school-going age.

The reason for thousands of children being without schools is stated to be the neglect of the Natal Provincial Administration—a body composed of white people—in building sufficient schools to meet the demand over the years.

In sharp contrast to this discriminatory policy, education is compulsory for European children of school-going age under 16 and European parents are liable for criminal prosecution if they neglect to send their children to school. This policy makes it obligatory on the authorities to build sufficient schools to accommodate all children but there is no such policy in regard to Indian and African children and therefore the Administration does not feel obliged to build sufficient schools to meet the demands of the Indian and African children for accommodation.

The second big factor influencing the acute shortage of schools is the fact that non-whites have no say in the expenditure policy of the State or the Province. It has always been the policy of the Union Government to discriminate in the subsidies allotted for European and non-European education. The ratio of money spent by the Union Government was for a period of over 20 years, three to one in favour of the European. The Province too has continued to follow this policy of discrimination and figures for the last few years will bear ample testimony to the fact that expenditure on European education has been between three to four times as much as on non-white education.

For a period of 25 years, when education was subsidised by the Union Government, the Province of Natal received a grant of more than £16 for each European child but only £5 each for an Indian child. This policy of spending three to four times as much on European education as on Indian education has been continued by the Provincial Administration ever since. In 1947-48, the Province spent £2,224,922 on European education and £541,148 on Indian education.

In 1950-51, the amounts were £2,916,449 on European education and £834,154 on Indian education. The result was that in 1951, there were 357 European schools including 27 Government-built schools as against only 199 Indian schools including 167 Government-built schools. Last year, the Natal Provincial Administration had voted £170,000 for European schools in the Durban city area alone.

The official records support the above statements of facts. The official year book of the South African Union published under its authority says at page 341:

"European education is mainly public or State education, i.e., it is administered and financed by the State; private or local enterprise playing a very diminutive role, while non-European education is mainly State-aided education. That is, it is partly supported and controlled by mission enterprise. The relative contribution of the State, therefore, for non-European education is very small in comparison with that for European education."

"European and non-European children do not attend the same schools. While segregation is difficult in other respects, in education it is complete."

Even in regard to such facilities as medical inspection and joining of the Cadet Corps, non-Europeans are not allowed any facilities.

Kenyatta Trial Judgement

Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenyan African Union, was sentenced on April 8 to seven years' hard labour in prison for 'managing and being a member' of the Mau Mau Society. The five other African leaders charged with him were also given the same sentence for assisting in management of the society and of being members of it. Kenyatta declared that he did not accept the verdict.

Commenting on the judgement, the London *Times* wrote: "It is true that the trial took place in an inconvenient and inaccessible spot so that it imposed a considerable strain on all those taking part." Still the paper commended the manner in which the Kenya Government had brought the African leaders to the trial.

The *Manchester Guardian*, though "rather surprised" that all the convicted men received equal sentences, approved the Court's verdict. The *Daily Telegraph* wrote that the African leaders were "given a trial of scrupulous fairness."

Mr. Joseph Murumbi, General Secretary of the Kenyan African Union, commenting on the judgement, said in New Delhi on April 9: "The inefficacy of British justice has been amply demonstrated to us right through the emergency in Kenya, the arrest of Walter Odede, a most moderate leader in Kenya and acting President of the Kenyan African Union, and the judgement in the Kenyatta trial proves our conviction that the settlers in Kenya hold the reins of Government."

Dewan Chamanlal, who together with Mr. D. N. Pritt defended the African leaders, said: "The Magistrate appears to have misconstrued the evidence depending for his verdict on solitary prosecution witnesses who have been contradicted by the very persons named by such prosecution witnesses, but never produced by the prosecution."

"A great deal of absolutely inadmissible prosecution evidence has gone on the record. The conviction is wrong. The sentence of seven years' hard labour is outrageous."

He said that an appeal would be filed against the judgement. Mr. D. N. Pritt was also proceeding to Kenya to prefer the appeal.

Colonialism dies hard, particularly in the case of ante-diluvians like Britain and France. The plain fact is that the British have been badly shaken at the reaction of the Kenya Africans who have suffered in dumb agony decades of expropriation and ruthless

exploitation. We are not surprised at the comments in the *Times* or the *Daily Telegraph*. They have always applauded dragooning of helpless people. But the reaction of *Manchester Guardian* is rather curious.

India's Case for Water Dispute

For some time charges and counter-charges are being made over the Indo-Pakistani water dispute. Pakistan is pressing for arbitration by third parties, while India suggests that a commission composed of an equal number of representatives from each side should settle the dispute. India considers her water to be her own, and there is no rule of international law imposing any obligation on an upper riparian State for the benefit of a state lower down the river. It may be pointed out here that the USA was not prevented from building the Boulder Dam over the Colorado river because Mexico was adversely affected. Such water disputes between the upper and lower riparian states should be settled by bilateral agreements or commissions, and not by arbitration.

Notwithstanding the fact that India has unrestricted right over the Indus water, she entered into an agreement with Pakistan in 1948 by which she undertook not to reduce the supply of water to Pakistan all at a time, but progressively, so as to enable Pakistan to develop alternative sources. India claims that she has kept this agreement, but that Pakistan repudiated it in 1950. Pakistan stopped the payment of "seigniorage" charges and the capital costs of certain works which she promised to deposit with the Reserve Bank of India.

Taking the Indus basin as a whole, Pakistan has 2.2 crores of population and 4.5 crore acres of cultivable area, and India has in the Punjab (I) 2 crores of population and 4 crore acres of cultivable area. Pakistan has 1.8 crore irrigated acres and 6.6 crore acre feet of irrigation water as compared with India's 50 lakh irrigated acres and only 90 lakh acre feet of irrigation water.

India in fact has not yet followed her rights under the 1948 agreement. There are only two canal systems in dispute out of a total of 31—the Central Bari Doab from the Ravi and the Dipalpur from the Sutlej. No new canal works have been built by India to use Ravi water, and the Harike and the Bhakra-Nangal works which will use the Sutlej water are not yet ready. The Harike weir and canals will be completed in 1954, and the Bhakra project in 1959. This season there has been drought in both the Punjab and the flow of the Ravi and the Sutlej were below 45 per cent of the normal. Pakistan consequently received less water—and this is purely due to drought. India did not cut water supply to Pakistan.

Before partition, the west Punjab and Sind were better irrigated than the east Punjab. The British preferred to undertake irrigation works in west Punjab and Sind, as they were partly paid for by selling land. In the east Punjab land being mostly privately owned, the cost of irrigation works had to be paid by the Government and as such they did not undertake much

irrigation works in this region. India's point is that more than five million refugees migrated from west to east Punjab after partition and they have to be rehabilitated in underdeveloped and unirrigated areas. On humanitarian ground India requires the Indus water flowing through her own territory and Pakistan is quite unjustified in basing her claim on grounds which remain unsupported by international law.

Of the six rivers in the Indus basin, India gets little water from the Indus and from the Jhelum. The former carries more than half the total amount of water carried by all the six rivers put together and these two rivers flow only through the mountainous regions of Kashmir where no use of their water can be made. India at present does not get anything from Chenub. She however hopes to use 3½ million acre feet of Chenub water by erecting a tunnel through from the Chenub to the Ravi and therefrom a link canal to the Beas in Himachal Pradesh. India will however make use of the water flowing to the sea, and not from Pakistan's water. The Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej rivers have among them less than one-fifth of the water of the Indus basin and this water India expects to divert from Pakistan in due course. Pakistan cannot reasonably grudge if India makes use of this one-fifth of the Indus basin water as she will have the rest. The Harike weir would divert 8½ million acre feet of Beas water and the Bhakra dam would store 1½ million acre feet of Sutlej flood waters. Some flood waters of Ravi may in course of time be diverted to the Indian Upper Bari Doab system.

Under 1948 agreement Pakistan has undertaken to build a canal across the Punjab for the purpose of bringing water from the Indus and Jhelum over to Pakistan Ravi and Sutlej and this will replace the water that may be cut off by India. Pakistan has already dug a canal and another will be completed shortly. But instead of building up the other canal, and necessary cross canals, Pakistan is now engaged in using its Indus water on new barrages in upper Sind and at Dehra Ghazi Khan in the Punjab. This is an attempt by Pakistan to keep its own water and at the same time compel India under the compulsion of international opinion to supply her with Indian water. Pakistan is thus trying to have both ways to her advantage.

Further, in recent years, there has been a considerable switch in Pakistan from wheat to cotton cultivation, and cotton needs water for maturing when the wheat must get it for sowing. The water scarcity in Pakistan is therefore also due to change-over in vegetation. Sikhs before partition held considerable land in Pakistani canal colonies and they were farmers of irrigated land. But Muslim refugees from India who have now taken their place are mostly labourers and a small number of them are farmers and are used only to dry farming. Pakistan's case therefore for more water from the Indus basin is made by outside wire pullings in order just to

keep India embarrassed. In this dispute Pakistan seems to be a scapegoat to behind-the-scene politics.

Taxation Enquiry

The Government of India have set up a Taxation Enquiry Commission to investigate and report on the taxation structure of the country. The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows:

- (1) To examine the incidence of Central, State and local taxation on the various classes of people and in different States.
- (2) To examine the suitability of the present system of taxation—Central, State and local—with reference to (a) the development programme of the country and the resources required for it, and (b) the objective of reducing inequalities of income and wealth.
- (3) To examine the effects of the structure and of taxation of income on capital formation and maintenance and development of productive enterprise.
- (4) To examine the use of taxation as a fiscal instrument in dealing with inflationary or deflationary situation.
- (5) To make recommendations, in particular, with regard to (a) modifications required in the present system of taxation and (b) fresh avenues of taxation.

The Government have indicated that they expect from the Commission far more than a report on taxable capacity and distribution of tax burdens. The appointment of the Commission was long overdue as in the changed political set-up a thorough investigation of our taxation structure was more than imperative. In Britain recently a committee was appointed to report on the taxation structure of that country and the committee has already submitted its report.

In recent times, three main trends in taxation of a country are discernible: (i) Central taxation has greatly increased in importance as compared with local taxation; (ii) progressive income taxes levied on total personal income from all sources have tended to take place of the older systems of "scheduled" taxes levied at fixed rates on different types of income, which have proved wholly inadequate as instruments of a modern tax policy; and (3) in the field of taxes on outlay, the most important development is the large-scale application, in nearly all countries, of general taxes on production and turnover, and a corresponding decrease in the relative importance of the traditional taxes on specific commodities.

In India, the basis of taxation is crucially important in securing greater social justice, and also in securing internal stability of prices and incomes. Taxation in India, as in other modern States, should be viewed from three broad purposes. Firstly, comes the need for raising State revenues for running the administration of the country. Administrative purposes include also the normal defence measures of India. Secondly, the aim of taxa-

tion as a measure of deliberate democratic instrument is to even out the distribution of income and property. There should be the realization in the Indian taxation structure that a tax should not so fall as to be a higher proportion of the poor man's income than of the rich. The third major aim of taxation should be to secure internal financial stability, that is, full employment without bringing about a steeply rising cost of living. Of course, this aspect of taxation is more ignored in India than observed. It may be pointed out here that in the United Kingdom it is only since the war that the taxation side of the budget has been deliberately directed towards securing financial stability, and that this has become the main criterion for deciding the level of total taxation, and the size of surplus or deficit at which the Chancellor should aim. It is now increasingly being realised that the size of the Government expenditure on capital and current account, and the amount of private incomes which it withdraws by taxation is bound to affect decisively the level of spending and hence the level of prices and employment.

The achievement of full employment, reduction of inequalities of wealth and income and the fight against inflation or deflation should receive the major priority. The other objects of the Commission will be to show what are the evils resulting from the unplanned development of our tax system under pressure of expediencies of different types during the last two decades and how the system can be improved so as to assist the development programmes of the country. As regards indirect taxes, no attempt has been made till now to estimate the extent of their incidence on the middle classes in the country, particularly in the urban areas. These are within the terms of reference of the Commission and their findings will be awaited with interest.

Commonwealth Development Finance

The incorporation of the "Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd." is a recent event of considerable importance. The object of the Company is to finance the development of economic resources of countries in the Commonwealth. It may be remembered that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in December last made recommendations that within the limits of the Commonwealth savings, development should be undertaken towards expanding its resources and strengthening the sterling area's balance of payments position. The formation of the Company is a sequel to that recommendation.

The Company has an authorised capital of £15 million, divided into 8.25 million "A" ordinary shares of £1 each and 6.75 million "B" ordinary shares of £1 each. The "A" shares are to be subscribed by the leading industrial, commercial, mining, shipping and financial interests, and the "B" shares by the Bank of England. Although the whole of the authorised capital is being offered for subscription, only up to 10 per cent of the capital will be called up in the initial stages. The

Company's own resources will however be inadequate for its business. It will therefore finance its projects by borrowing in the world capital markets, including the IBRD. It can borrow up to an amount equal to twice its issued capital, that is, up to £30 million. Its operations will be mainly financial through the operations of this borrowing power. Sir Frederick Godber, Chairman, Shell Petroleum, "Shell" Transport and Trading, Trinidad, has become the Chairman of the Company. The projects seeking financial assistance from the Company will have to satisfy three conditions. Firstly, they will have to be shown to be directly relevant to the sterling area's dollar balance of payments. Secondly, they will have to be shown to be firmly earthed in ordinary commercial prudence. Finally, they will have to be shown not to have been brought to the new company as a means of bypassing the ordinary and existing channels of international finance. In short, the Company will be the financial lender in the last resort when ordinary sources are exhausted and its financial assistance will be directed towards improving the sterling area's dollar position.

The Company's aim at financing the exploitation of the resources and strengthening the balance of payments of the sterling area is commendable. In the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, British capital flowed freely into the colonies for industrial and business development. With the disintegration of the colonies and the abolition of the gold standard, British foreign investment progressively deteriorated and the two world wars completely exhausted Britain's surplus resources. The sterling area is no longer co-extensive with the British Dominions and Colonies. British goods are met with hard competition everywhere outside the Commonwealth and Britain is awakened to the danger of the economic disintegration of the sterling area. She sees the red light in the horizon where American aid is gradually infiltrating and this would mean ultimately the entrenchment of American goods and services in the aided regions. This Company will be the regional counterpart of the IBRD in the Sterling area and by means of financing it will strike its roots in member countries. It will be just a counter-thrust to the American expansionism.

Expanding International Monetary Fund's Facilities

While presenting the annual report of the Fund recently to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Mr. Ivar Rooth, the chairman and managing director of the International Monetary Fund, made a significant comment on the future policy of the Fund. He indicated that directors and officials of the Fund had been engaged for some time in working out procedures designed to facilitate a more extensive use of the Fund's resources as a means of providing secondary reserves for member countries. The Fund has revised its scale of charges so as to make the use of its resources for short period less expensive. The initiative taken in June 1952 to make "standby arrangements" for the sale of currencies

to Belgium has now been generalised. If a member country expects to experience temporary balance of payments difficulties, it may now establish, for a period of six months, an account on which it can draw in case of need. These developments however do not throw the door wide open to increased co-operation between the IMF and the European Payments Union. Mr. Rooth suggested that though many proposals were made for revising the Fund's Articles of Agreement, "there was little that the Fund could usefully and sensibly do that it was at present prevented from doing by its existing statutes."

The main hurdles to its more effective intervention in world monetary affairs have been the essentially political character of its administration and its dominant concern with the danger of world inflation. The late Lord Keynes at the christening ceremony of the Brettonwoods Twins sounded this note of warning that if these two institutions were dominated by political considerations, they were doomed to failure. The general belief among the nations are that these two are now the national preserves of the USA and unless the power and influence of the essentially political executive directors is in any way diminished, the IMF will go the way of its predecessor, the Bank for International Settlement, Basle, Switzerland. Mr. Rooth has issued an invitation to all member countries of the Fund to join in the task of improving its techniques and attitudes. Members should take this opportunity to put forward the pleas that the Fund should be directed towards achieving those purposes for which it was created. It should be the clearing house in the trade of the nations and increasing facilities for overdrawing would prevent the world trade from being a one-way affair which it is now—all gold find its way towards the American coffer.

To Rob Peter to Pay Paul

The Khadi and other Handloom Industries Development (Additional Excise Duty on Cloth) Bill, 1953, passed recently by Parliament, reflects a new departure by Government in the sphere of taxation. The existing practice of the Government of India has been confined to the levy of cesses on a few agricultural commodities, the proceeds of which were specially used for the purpose of research and intensification of production and marketing of the commodities so taxed. This is perhaps the first time that Government have taxed a particular commodity for the purpose of assisting the development and expansion of other rival industries.

In the statement of objects and reasons, Government state that both the Khadi and the handloom industry have a definite place in the economy of the country. Khadi will contribute towards the relief of unemployment and provide a supplementary source of livelihood to the agricultural population of the country, and the handloom industry will increase the supply of textiles in the country. "Both these industries, however, have been suffering from many handicaps of late, mainly in finding an adequate market

for their products. They have to cater to certain special markets and to individual and local tastes. For this purpose, they need assistance in order to obtain adequate supplies of cotton and yarn at reasonable rates." The purpose of the Bill is to encourage the adoption of improved methods of manufacturing khadi and other handloom cloth by promoting research in the technique of production and designs, assistance to the maintenance of institutions which have similar objects, improvement of the marketing of these products and introduction of standardisation and quality control measures in the production of khadi and handloom industries. For the purpose of financing these industries towards the achievement of above-mentioned objectives, the Bill has proposed to levy a cess of three pies per yard in the form of an excise duty on mill cloth other than cloth exported out of India.

The Bill evoked considerable opposition in Parliament. Nobody would deny that our agricultural population need alternative and supplementary sources of occupation; but will the spoon-feeding measure enable the khadi and handloom industries to stand on their feet without continued aid from the Government? This is a debatable measure and may benefit neither the handloom industries nor the consumers, not to speak of the mills who stand to suffer. While the Five-Year Plan leaves to private initiative and enterprise to develop our industries, it is a question whether Government should place planned hurdles before the large-scale private industries. In an economic order which is neither socialist nor communistic, small-scale industries are doomed to wither away against the speed and technical superiority of large-scale industries unless they have intrinsic worth of their own. The statutory cut in the production of mill-made cloth has already shot up the price of dhuties by a substantial margin and by levying a cess, Government will unnecessarily impose a burden on the community. The khadi and the handloom industries can never hope to compete with the mills nor can they be expected ever to fill up the gap in the short-fall of production in mill-made cloth. Government should have realised the plain fact that the cotton textile industries are vital to our economy and instead of curtailing their production, they should have been given further scope for increasing their production. It would have been much more judicious if subsidy were given to the khadi and handloom industries—not of course by levying a cess on mill-made cloth, but from the national exchequer. To impose the cess is to punish the mills and the consumers as well. The Government suffer from a defective vision in their approach to our national problems. With the consumers, cheapness with quality is a great consideration and this advantage the khadi industry lacks at present, the handloom industries if properly organised, without fanaticism, can stand on their own. That is why in recent years the demand for khadi products is progressively on the decline. But handloom industries will survive and to protect them against the onslaught of the speed of the mills, industrial co-operatives should be formed with State

assistance. The levying of the cess is a mere stop-gap arrangement and the evasion of the real problem. It seems that speed is a *bete noir* with our Government. No one should wonder if they curtail the railways by taxing the goods and passengers in order to preserve our bullock carts, the primitive survivals. The handloom industries, will appeal to selective tastes and will have selective markets—they cannot claim to command general markets and they will survive if given good dyes and fine yarn.

India's Adverse Trade Balance in 1952

In post-war years, chronic trade deficits have become a feature in India's foreign trade and the year 1952 makes no exception to that. In 1952, India had a deficit in her foreign trade to the extent of Rs. 170.93 crores, as against Rs. 59.05 crores in 1951. It must however be pointed out that the total balance of payments deficit in 1951 was Rs. 129 crores. It is therefore quite likely that the deficit in our balance of payments position in 1952 will be considerably higher than the trade deficit. The total imports into India in 1952 were valued at Rs. 791.17 crores as against exports valued at Rs. 620.24 crores. In 1951, India's total imports amounted to Rs. 843.03 crores as against exports of Rs. 783.97 crores.

On the import side, the value of imported food-grains in 1952 amounted to Rs. 233.87 crores in 1952 as compared with Rs. 215.42 crores in 1951. In the manufactures group, imports were marked down from Rs. 325.61 crores to Rs. 297.20 crores. In the raw material group, imports were slightly higher at Rs. 233.68 crores, the previous year's figures being Rs. 224.68 crores. The import of vehicles increased from Rs. 29.39 crores to Rs. 31.40 crores and that of electrical goods from Rs. 9.16 crores to Rs. 12.92 crores.

On the export side, there was a marked decline in the value of a number of goods exported from India. In the food group, the value of exports declined from Rs. 162.50 crores to Rs. 146.46 crores—a fall of about 10 per cent. In the raw material group, exports dropped from Rs. 160.83 crores to Rs. 147.78 crores. In the manufactures group, there was a marked decline in the value of exports—the exports declining from Rs. 416.86 crores to Rs. 294.07 crores—a fall of more than 25 per cent. Exports of tea came down from Rs. 96.85 crores to Rs. 80.90 crores, the quantity decreasing from 450.24 million lbs. to 409.13 million lbs. Exports of mica and quarry products dropped from Rs. 14.62 crores to Rs. 10.49 crores and those of lac by nearly 50 per cent from Rs. 18.30 crores to Rs. 9.17 crores. Despatches of manganese moved up from Rs. 16.19 crores to Rs. 38.57 crores. Exports of jute goods declined from Rs. 240.09 crores (1951) to Rs. 162.54 crores. The sharp fall in the prices of jute goods and the substantial reduction in the export duty on them are responsible for this marked drop in the export of jute products. Exports of cotton piecegoods and yarn dropped from Rs. 94.07 crores to Rs. 73.15 crores.

The UK continues to be the best customer of Indian goods. Indian exports to the UK in 1952 were valued at Rs. 126.48 crores, as compared with Rs. 196.14 crores in the preceding year. Next to the UK comes the USA, which imported Rs. 119.76 crores of goods, as against Rs. 137.05 crores in 1951. Japan has become the third best customer, her offtake from this country being Rs. 26.48 crores worth of goods as compared with Rs. 15.55 crores in 1951. Exports to all the Commonwealth countries amounted to Rs. 284.57 crores, as compared with Rs. 382.12 crores in the previous year.

In the sphere of import trade, the USA continues to be the best seller to India. It has now become the principal supplier of foodgrains and raw cotton to India in recent years. Total imports from the USA stood at Rs. 272.34 crores, as compared with Rs. 201.69 crores in the preceding year. Imports from the UK rose from Rs. 144.11 crores to Rs. 149.74 crores. In her foreign trade, India is a debtor to both the USA and the UK. After the stoppage of mineral oil imports from Iran, her exports to India sharply declined from Rs. 32.82 crores to Rs. 3.93 crores.

"Rethinking Our Future"

The *Science and Culture* for April, 1953, commenting on the Five-Year Plan, writes that the failure of the plan to ensure a higher living standard for the people was "mainly to be attributed to the industrial policy adopted by the planners on the advice of its invisible advisers, for, in a country like ours, it is only a bold plan for forced industrialisation which can pull the country out of the depression in which it has fallen."

The National Planning Committee headed by Pandit Nehru himself and including Big Business had envisaged a 200 per cent increase in national wealth in ten years whereas the present plan showed an increase of 30 per cent only in 25 years. Pandit Nehru, the paper writes, had written in his *Discovery of India* that industrialisation was the essential prerequisite for the solution of the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and economic reorganisation in general. If India had to do away with the extreme pressure on land, a plan was necessary providing for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries and small industries.

The paper regarded the industrial policy of the Planning Commission, headed by Pandit Nehru, as surprising and mystifying in the content of the well-known views of the Prime Minister. The Planning Commission had accorded industrialisation third priority and all the initiative had been left to the private sector.

Summarising its findings the paper writes:

"(a) The plans for industrialisation are absolutely inadequate and on ridiculously small scale.

"(b) The Planning Commission's classification

of industries adopted from the Government's Industrial Policy of 1948, is hopelessly confused, for they have laid more stress on consumer industries than on capital goods' industry, but it is obvious that consumer goods' industry cannot flourish without the prior development of capital goods' industry, just as irrigation canals are of no avail, if the river feeding them is without water.

"(c) By consigning the development of industries—consumer as well as capital—mainly to the private sector, the Planning Commission has committed the blunder that in a country like ours, development of industries can take place in the same way as in the U. K. and U.S.A. out of the motive of private gain."

But it was not possible without a colonial empire which could yield the surplus for capital formation. The only alternative, relying on the policy of the Planning Commission, was to fleece the people.

"We submit in all humility," continues the editorial, "that the present planners and their visible and invisible advisers have created round themselves a Moral Prison-House," and "no liberal and fruitful idea can penetrate the barriers created by them."

"In fact," the editorial concludes, "if the industrial policy is not radically altered, it is feared that India will remain for all times to come 'a producer of raw materials and raw men' as it has always been under British Imperialism."

In short, this much-vaunted Plan is only a plan of drift and meander, with no promise of relief for the present and little hopes for the future. We agree.

The Industrial Policy of the Planning

In an article under the above title in the same issue of the magazine, Prof. M. N. Saha examines the effect of the Government's industrial policy of 1948 on certain classified industries.

He first takes up the case of the iron and steel industry which he describes as "*the key of key industries*." The iron-foundry industry was almost in a state of collapse because the country required at least 600,000 tons of pig iron, while only 200,000 tons were available from the country's factories. India's requirements of iron and steel had been estimated to be 2½ million tons in 1949. The Sub-committee on iron and steel of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1950 had calculated that the probable demand would be 2.9 million tons by 1954. The estimates were clearly inadequate "if a more progressive industrial policy, as was wanted by the Prime Minister in 1942, were to be adopted."

Prof. Saha felt that India could easily consume 10 million tons of iron and steel. Even if the whole of the quantity could not be consumed, she could earn dollars by selling it outside and the margin of profit by export would be about 30 crores of rupees per million ton.

The ridiculously small production of iron and steel could be readily appreciated if it was remembered that the U.S.A. produced 110 million tons annually. The U. K. forced up her steel production from 11.8 million tons in 1945 to 16.3 million tons in 1951, in spite of the fact that she had to buy ores from abroad. Soviet Russia provided the most spectacular example. In 1920, she produced only half a million tons and by 1939 she "built up an industry producing 21 million tons of steel and 18 million tons of pig iron. . . . Even Australia has built up an iron and steel industry producing 2 million tons, though she has no good ores."

Therefore Prof. Saha regarded the members of the Planning Commission as shortsighted when they planned to increase the production of iron and steel from 1.32 million tons to 2.30 million tons after five years through private sector. That was the speed of the tortoise when the world was moving with the speed of Achilles.

The fixing of such a low target seemed particularly queer when it was considered that India had advantages in the field of production of iron and steel which to quote Prof. Saha, "no other country in the world has got." We have the best of iron ores and in plenty. We have the best raw materials needed for the industry within economic distances; and experience of the last forty years of working has shown that since 1943 we are producing iron and steel at half to two-third of the cost in other countries."

"As a matter of fact," continues Prof. Saha, "in 1949, the cost of production in India was Rs. 166 per ton which was the lowest in the world, and the cost price of steel was less than that of imported steel by Rs. 400 per ton." As for technical skill, on the testimony of the Koppers' Corporation, one of the biggest specialist firms in Europe and America in the manufacture of iron and steel, in India, "A well-trained operating organisation has attained a background of experience which enables it to function with very little or perhaps no guidance from non-Indian technologists."

He then illustrates an example how the question of forcing up production of iron and steel was handled by the Government of India. In 1949, the Ministry of Industries in a communique declared that Government intended to set up new works for increasing the production of indigenous steel by one million tons a year and that decision would be taken in three months. According to Prof. Saha, "Complete plans were ready to start two factories in C. P. and Orissa respectively, and sites were also chosen, but no action has been taken for 4 years . . ."

He urged the Government of India to inculcate self-reliance and says that "the growth of iron and steel industries in Soviet Russia and Japan should convince the Government that after the erection of

one or two factories with the aid of foreign experts and foreign machinery, the technique of duplicating everything can be evolved if there be the will for work." India was in a much better position than Soviet Russia had been at the initial stages and "what Soviet Russia has done can be repeated in this country," provided our Government develops sturdy self-reliance. "But in this country, the financial jugglers are mistaken for experts and on account of the Government's pathetic dependence on them, no progress has been so far possible."

Prof. Saha commended the way the Soviet Union financed all the great five-year plans amounting to Rs. 50,000 crores up to the stoppage of the third Five-Year Plan, a period of 13 years. "This was done mainly by the imposition of a new kind of tax, known as the Turnover Tax. It provided 60 to 70 per cent of the capital required to finance the projects." The turnover tax was dismissed in a single sentence in the voluminous report of the Planning Commission. However, the "Programmes for Industrial Development, 1951-1956" recommended the imposition of turnover tax. And it was really distressing that "the Government planners have taken four years to realize its importance."

The Government today has no Brain-Trust worth mentioning. Private advisors of the calibre of Prof. Saha or John Matthai are excluded on ridiculous political considerations. The private sphere of industrial enterprise is overrun today by intrusive elements that are mere speculators, with no background of industrial capacity or acumen. They understand only quick profits by adulteration and black-marketing.

The Government relies on so-called experts in the bureaucratic sphere. Such persons were discredited even in far more efficient governments abroad, as they move extremely slow, and plan for extravagant expenses in the expansion of the office-holders' field only, regardless of expense and economy in production.

Railway Fuel Economy Enquiry Committee

The Railway Fuel Economy Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Government in October, 1951, "to examine the supply, consumption and reserve stocks of coal on railways and to make recommendations for economy in expenditure for coal used as fuel," have submitted their report to the Government. The committee was presided over by Shri Durab Cureseti Driver.

The Committee revealed an interesting fact that the Indian Railways were now consuming nearly one-third of the total annual coal production of the country.

This, incidentally reveals the urgent necessity for evolving methods for the effective utilization of poorer grades of coal and lignite for railway traction, either by comprehensive electrification or adaptation of latest fuel-technique for boiler-firing.

The Committee took sixteen months to submit their report. They made a detailed investigation on the various aspects of the problem and paid special attention to the problem of the South.

Regarding increasing the production of coal, the Committee suggested immediate steps to be taken to develop the outlying fields, particularly in Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad in order to meet as far as practicable the requirements of Western and Southern India and a part of Rajasthan. Northern India and the rest of Rajasthan might draw upon the coal-fields of Bengal and Bihar. The lignite resources in South Arcot, Madras, should be developed without delay and the Government should give high priority to it. In this connection steps should be taken to draw upon the experience and knowledge of brown coal-mining in Germany, where the problems of water infiltration and handling had been solved. The Committee also suggested that Assam and Orissa should be self-sufficient in their coal requirements; and production of high grade non-coking coals should be increased in the Raniganj and Karanpura coal-fields in order to release coking coals for (a) metallurgical purposes and (b) feeding the export market. Different types of pilot washing plant should be installed at the Fuel Research Institute without delay to obtain evidence of the most suitable and economical types for coals of different washability characteristics and government should explore the possibilities of coal-washing and set up plants at selected sites.

An official committee has been recommended to be set up under the Coal Board to examine in detail new proposals for coal grading and pricing. The Fuel Research Institute and the Ministry of Railways should be represented on this committee.

Regarding loco coal supplies, the Committee's recommendations were:

"The railways should in future select their own coals by inviting offers from collieries and by arranging for supplies on contract basis.

"A standing loco coal committee should be set up to undertake all work connected with the framing of loco coal programmes, inviting offers from collieries for scrutiny and acceptance, and the allocation of their approved offers according to the supplies and transport available. The committee should consist of representatives of the six Railways, the Ministry of Railways and the Coal Commissioner. The Chairman of the Railway Board or his nominee may act as chairman and the Chief Mining Engineer, Railway Board, as member secretary of the standing loco coal committee.

"In order to simplify and rationalise transport and to ensure regular and reliable supplies of coal to Railways, steps should be taken to introduce the system of grouping collieries, with distributing centres to serve as primary receiving points in respect of supplies to railway zones;

"To meet the fuel requirements of the South, the Government should give priority to the development of Talchur, Singareni and coalfields in Madhya Pradesh; and

"The Ministry of Railways should immediately undertake the development of the junction yards and line capacities along the rail routes from the above-mentioned outlying fields to the South."

A "standing coal transport planning committee" has also been recommended to be set up, consisting of the representatives of the Ministry of Railways and Production and of Planning Commission to ensure that due importance was given to coal transport in the economic development of the country. Other suggestions for improving the transport position included the appointment of a railway officer of senior administrative rank who should function as Liaison Transport officer and make day-to-day allotment of wagons in collaboration with the Coal Commissioner, and the modification of the existing practice of allocating coal orders and wagons to give effect to regional distribution of coal.

The Committee also suggested the evolving of a simple and effective system of fuel accounts for adoption on all the Indian Railways and to enlarge the scope of railway fuel statistics so that the effects of various direct and indirect factors affecting coal consumption were adequately brought out by the statistical figures.

Early action should be taken to set up a "standing railway power and electrification planning committee," consisting of representatives of the Ministry of Railways, the Planning Commission and the Central Water and Power Commission, for ensuring co-ordination among the authorities responsible for industrial, power, transport, fuel, and other national developments; initiating, scrutinizing, and recommending the execution of railway electrification and dieselisation schemes in a specified order of priority; and examining the possibilities of indigenous manufacture of machinery and components to meet the maintenance requirements of electric, diesel, and other types of traction.

More attention should be given to provide proper stacking facilities and stacking ground and to the adequate stacking of all supplies of coal as a check on consumption and pilferage; and immediate steps should be taken to set up (a) six Regional Fuel Control Departments, (b) a Central Fuel Directorate, (c) six Regional Training Schools, and (d) a Central Training School, for giving effect to the proposed economy measures. These can broadly be divided into (a) control over consumption, and (b) power and fuel research.

The control measures should be the function of the Fuel Control Organisation, and power and fuel research should be the concern of the railway testing and research centre, working in collaboration with the Fuel Research Institute.

Indian Railways and the Five-Year Plan

Shri F. C. Badhwar, Chairman, Railway Board, writes that competing interests, such as industry,

agriculture, trade and commerce and passenger associations, were naturally pressing for those railway facilities which affected them most. Conceding that the majority of the demands were neither unreasonable nor unjustified, he says that still their fulfilment was not possible within five or even ten years. Besides, the railways themselves had their particular requirements connected with the removal of operational and engineering difficulties and with the need for achieving self-sufficiency in respect of specialised components which they used. Moreover, the nature of the country's railway requirements had also changed since partition.

A total sum of Rs. 400 crores had been allotted in the Five-Year Plan for the Railways; "this figure being based on the assumptions that the Railways will themselves contribute 320 crores, representing the estimated difference between their gross earnings and their total working expenses during this period, and that the remaining 80 crores will be found from Central revenues.

"During the first two years of the plan period, expenditure of a capital nature on Railways has amounted to about 150 crores, thus leaving approximately 250 crores for the remaining three years. Railway programmes, therefore, have to be contained within an average overall annual expenditure of about 83 crores during 1953-54 and each of the two succeeding years. Any downward fluctuations in net earnings, or tightness of funds in the central balances, will tend to slow down, or curtail, such programmes, while increased railway revenues will enable quicken progress to be made, or additional items to be included."

The Railway programmes, according to Shri Badhwar, "must necessarily concentrate on rehabilitation and some operating, technical and productivity improvements next, with a few of the more urgent expansions being added, if funds permit."

"Some indication of the benefits that has already been obtained from such measures is provided by the average monthly net ton miles carried in 1952-53 as compared with 1948-49. The increase has been over 40 per cent, though the number of locomotives and wagons in the total holdings of railways was practically the same throughout this period. The increase in performance by railways, during the same period, of which the train-miles run is an index, was also substantial. The monthly average passenger train-miles went up by about 16 per cent while goods train-miles rose by about 25 per cent. These figures show the significant efforts made by railways, since partition, to get the best out of the equipment they have had to work with."

Closely related with this task of rehabilitation and improvement was the task of training the staff and providing them with better living and working conditions. Stressing the importance of this aspect he writes

that "there has been much loose talk about the low productivity of Indian workmen without a fair and objective analysis of the conditions under which they have to live and do their work and the physical and nutritive factors that must affect them." Provision had, therefore, been made "to obtain increased output and higher efficiency from the existing staff by better training and improved working and living conditions as well as modern equipment."

"The more urgent operating improvements being undertaken include the provision of about 40 per cent increased line capacity between Bezwada and Madras, various items essential for the additional rail movements required for the expansion of our two steel works."

Next in importance were additions and expansions of new rolling stock and new lines. According to Shri Badhwar, "There were 8,209 locomotives, 19,193 passenger carriages, and 1,99,049 wagons in service on March 31, 1951, and of these 3,956 locomotives, 9,916 carriages and 73,371 wagons will be overage at the end of the Plan period, viz., on March 31, 1956, many of them being of obsolete types." On account of financial limitations "it has not been possible to plan for more than 1,444 new locomotives, 6,166 new passenger coaches and 52,662 new wagons during these five years." He agreed that the doubts expressed in certain quarters regarding the adequacy of the provision for progressive increases in the movements of goods and mineral traffic were "therefore, not without some foundation."

Demands for new lines were many, but the magnitude of the problem could be appreciated only when it was remembered that the inclusive cost of a new line through average terrain was near about at Rs. 4 lacs per mile—it was less for metre gauge but somewhat more for broad gauge—and on this basis each 100 miles of new line would cost about 4 crores. These figures did not include the cost of the additional rolling stock that would be required to work those sections. Where mountainous country, or heavy bridging, had to be faced the cost might well rise to about nine to twelve lakhs of rupees per mile. "Construction to austerity standards, designed for light traffic only, may reduce first costs by 10 to 15 per cent," writes Sri Badhwar, "but there is still the question of working expenses, i.e., recurring costs, to consider as new lines can seldom even pay their way for the first six to a dozen years. Therefore, finance would, necessarily, restrict construction of new lines."

"Electric trains would be introduced in the Calcutta suburban sections which had reached saturation point with steam traction. The extension of electric traction from Igatpuri to Bhusaval, on the main Central Railway line serving Bombay, would also be undertaken before long."

The Railway Board, after careful consideration of the various aspects of all the problems, had, according to Shri Badhwar, decided on a distribution of the

250 crores they expected to get for expenditure of a capital nature during the next three years under which Rs. 193 crores were allocated for Rehabilitation, including steps to attain self-sufficiency; Rs. 33 crores for operating and technical improvements and amenities for passengers and staff; Rs. 30 crores for additions and expansion under rolling stock and new lines (including works in progress); and Rs. 4 crores for miscellaneous, including investments in road services, etc.

The "single most urgent and vital requirement of Indian railways," says Shri Badhwar, was a "blood transfusion" of about 500 new locomotives and 20,000 new wagons, which our existing line capacity could easily and usefully absorb, would enable Indian railways to move fully practically all the goods traffic offering today. "Without this replenishment, however, it may take some time, beyond the Plan period, to equate the carrying of Indian railways to the increased production aimed at in the Five-Year Plan," concludes he.

Let us hope that the occasion will arise and that the Railways would be able to cope with it within this century. Our stocks of optimism are nearly run out.

Abolition of First Class in Railways

First classes in all the Indian railways would be abolished by October 1, 1953, according to the decision of the Ministry of Railways. Various factors prompted the Government to take this decision. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister for Railways and Transport, writes that economic and other considerations justified the step. Many people inside and outside the Parliament were demanding the abolition of first class. In other countries generally there were only two classes whereas in India besides the air-conditioned, there were four classes. Again he did not doubt that a large number of third class passengers, also favoured the measure and the number of passengers travelling by third class at present was 1,192 million out of a total of 1,232 million passengers.

The abolition of first class coaches would release money for improvement of other class coaches. Besides, the first class traffic on ordinary passenger and other branch trains was very poor. *Though there would be some immediate loss, he was sure, in the long run "even from the financial point of view this move will be found to be a sound proposition."*

The decision to retain the air-conditioned coaches was justified on commercial grounds, and for providing more comfortable travelling facilities to foreign tourists. According to the information furnished by Shri Shastri, the number of tourists had gone up from 20,000 in 1951 to more than 25,000 in 1952.

He had proposed a gradual abolition as "undue hastening of the process may cause substantial loss. At the same time the process should not be allowed to work itself out over an indefinite period."

We can quite realise the urgent necessity to provide some sop to allay the "popular" clamour generated by mob psychology. But why hurry into undue financial loss in this fashion? It will not silence the clamour against corruption and inefficiency.

Wages of Factory Workers

Sri Prem Chand writes in the fortnightly *Economic Review* that the rise in real earnings of the workers "has not kept pace with the rise in money earnings. While there has been a rise of 68.5 per cent in the money wages between 1944 and 1949, real wages have risen only by about 22 per cent during the same period. It has to be borne in mind that the rise of 22 per cent in real wages has been arrived at by taking 1944 as the base year . . . real earnings had declined considerably during 1939 and 1944—a decline which, possibly, has not been compensated by the above-mentioned rise in real earnings between 1939 and 1944."

A comparison of the indices of the earnings of the factory workers between 1939 and 1949 revealed that there had been a narrowing down of the regional differences in the levels of their earnings. A similar trend, though less conspicuous, was also indicated by the index number of different industries.

It could not be definitely said "that there has been an addition to the total welfare of the factory workers, because to say so involves the intricate problem of the inter-personal comparison of utilities. Nevertheless if we assume that the utility of money to lower income groups is higher than the utility of money to higher-income groups, it can safely be concluded that the above trends indicate an increase in welfare in 1949 as compared to 1939, in so far as the factory workers are concerned. Of course, this conclusion is subject to the limitation that possibly real earnings of factory workers in 1949 were lower than their real earnings in 1939, as had been already said."

Of course this does not take into consideration the factor of subsidized rations where such systems exist, as they do in a fairly considerable section of labour in certain areas.

New Oil Refinery at Visakhapatnam.

The Government of India have concluded an agreement with an American firm, Caltex (India) Ltd., for construction of a modern oil refinery at Visakhapatnam. Reporting this the *American Reporter* writes:

"This agreement, the third with a foreign oil firm, lays the basis for a modern petro-chemical industry, utilizing numerous by-products of the refineries according to the Government announcement. Direct benefits to the Indian exchequer in the shape of taxation are also likely to be considerable."

The agreement with Caltex (India) Ltd., which is at present an important distributor of petroleum products,

follows the general lines of agreements reached in 1951 with the Standard Vacuum Oil Company of New York and the Burmah-Shell group of companies.

"Caltex (India) will form an Indian firm to own and operate the proposed refinery. Indian investors are to have an opportunity to subscribe 25 per cent of the capital. Construction of the refinery, to have an initial annual capacity of 500,000 long tons, is expected to start within two years.

"The three refineries, when completed, will have a combined output of some four million tons a year. The figure is about equal to India's present imports of refined petroleum.

"The Government of India has given Caltex certain assurances to facilitate the project, it was announced. In return, Caltex has agreed to a programme for employing and training Indians, using Indian tankers, if available, and providing suitable housing for its labour force.

"Caltex affiliates are producing crude oil in several countries within economical distance of the proposed Visakhapatnam refinery. Should India's oil production increase, some of this presumably would be refined at Visakhapatnam also.

"In the course of the negotiations, which began in 1951, the company surveyed possible refinery sites at Cochin, Madras, Calcutta, and Visakhapatnam. Of these, Visakhapatnam proved to be the most suitable, particularly for the berthing of modern tankers drawing 32 feet or more of water, and it was selected."

We realize that the oil-companies will benefit, some few undeserving Indian profiteers would benefit and the Government of India will have some more money to waste. But how would the Man in the street gain, anyway?

Conflict in the Madras Congress Assembly Party

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports: "Some disturbing trends within the Madras Congress Legislature Party were brought to the fore by the elections to the Upper House held recently.

"The bye-election was caused by a writ filed by one Mr. Subramanya Bhat for declaring the election of a panel of 24 members null and void consequent on the rejection of his nomination papers on improper grounds. In this panel of 24 members whose election was declared null and void, 10 were Congressmen.

"The Congress Party which had only 153 members last year put up only 10 candidates then. Since the present strength of the Congress Party is 170, it was decided to put up 12 candidates to contest this bye-election. The Congress Party Secretariat assigned, after very careful thought and planning, the minimum number of members required for each of the 12 Congress contestants to come out successful. Thus each Congress candidate was given the number and names of Congress Legislators who had been asked to vote for each one

of them. It was devised in such a way as to ensure success to all the 12 Congress candidates. But on the day of voting the entire plan went awry.

"Barring Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, who got all the 15 first votes assigned to him, none of the Congress candidates secured the assigned votes in full. On a calculation it was found that 28 Congress Legislators failed to cast their votes as per instructions of the Congress Legislature Party Secretariat."

Since Rajaji took over the original strength of the Congress Party, which was 153, was increased to 170. According to the paper's Madras correspondent, "Even if these 17 new members could be taken as having failed the Congress candidates, the conduct of the 11 original members who seem to have betrayed Congress interests requires examination." As for the reasons, the correspondent adds that it was freely rumoured that money, political pressure, communal considerations and personal friendship had brought about this debacle.

As the paper remarks: "Whatever it is, this situation provides lurid commentary on the calibre of Congressmen who are members of the Congress Legislature Party."

And, what is even more significant, it shows how soon Pandit Nehru's chickens are coming to roost. You may fool the country by high-falutin' sentiments expressed at pre-election speeches, but can you change the thoroughly debased metal of the Congress thereby?

Bihar M.L.A. Proposes Car Advance

The *Behar Herald*, dated the 11th April reports that Mr. Prabhunath Singh, a Congress M.L.A., had brought a resolution in the Bihar Assembly proposing that the Government should advance loans of Rs. 10,000 to the M.L.A.'s to buy cars to tour their constituencies. He had also demanded a car allowance for members like the one given to Deputy Ministers.

Commenting on the proposal the paper writes, "Loan is euphemism. Once the M.L.A.'s get Rs. 10,000 from the Treasury it will be easier to draw blood out of stone than to make them repay the amount."

The Bihar Assembly does provide a good few outstanding examples in political criticism.

Ferment in Rajasthan

Rajasthan is in a political ferment. The recent visit to that State by Dr. Kailashnath Katju, the Union Minister for States and Home Affairs, from the 3rd to the 5th April was politically significant, writes the *Vigil*. "There had been much agitation against the inclusion of Sri Kumbharam in the Cabinet reconstituted by the Prime Minister, Sri Jaynarain Vyas. Even a section of the Congress did not conceal its utter disgust for Sri Kumbharam. In this context the object of the visit was presumably one of solving that political tangle."

The *Vigil* reports that "Local executives put obstacles in the way of the people who tried to place

their grievances before Dr. Katju who was always kept aloof at the instructions of the Chief Minister of Rajasthan." The Chief Minister "rushed to Bikaner eight hours before Hon'ble Katju and ordered the executive officers to suppress the anti-Kumbharam demonstrations at any cost. . ."

Even papers were influenced to blackout the news of those demonstrations. But all such attempts failed. The people were able to put their views before Dr. Katju who assured a public meeting held at Bikaner on the 5th April that he would apprise Sri Nehru and his colleagues of the situation. But, the *Vigil* concludes, "All this, we are sure, cannot prevent the Chief Minister from including Sri Kumbharam in the Cabinet. So wooden and irresponsible to public opinion has he become that he shames the memory of our foreign masters."

If the comments be correct then the degeneration in the mentality of Sri Jaynarain Vyas has been lamentable. But then, it is not an exceptional case where Congress politicians are concerned.

Lucknow Hospital Affairs

The Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent of the Gandhi Memorial and Associated Hospital have been put on compulsory leave without pay and eight contractors suspended for their involvement in a conspiracy to defraud the hospital funds in a systematic manner covering a period of three years beginning with 1948-49, which resulted in a loss amounting to Rs. 81,485 to the hospital. An enquiry committee has also been appointed to go into the matter.

According to a report published in the *People* of April, 4:

"A probe into the irregularities by the Local Fund Audit revealed a very clever device adopted for giving contracts to a favoured contractor. The estimate for supply of costly fruits was unduly inflated. The contractor quoted much lower rates for them and higher for other ordinary fruits. His tender naturally was lowest and was accepted. In actual practice, however, the former kind of fruits were purchased in negligible quantities, and the contractor derived huge profits by supplying cheaper fruits at higher rates."

"Not infrequently the tenders of the favoured contractors were accepted, even though they were not the lowest, without any justification. There were deliberate manipulations and alterations in the Diet Abstract Sheets relating to supply of fruits. The loss on this account alone amounted to Rs. 19,483 during the three years."

"Similar irregularities were noticed in the case of other commodities. The ration card was handed over to the contractor and no check was ever exercised to see that the rations drawn were not misused. A compensation between the ration drawn and that actually supplied to the hospital by the contractor disclosed differences and the surplus in all probability went to the blackmarket."

Rupees one thousand were misappropriated by draw-

ing ghost diets for discharged patients. In the medical stores the accounts were maintained in the most irregular manner and in the retail sections medicine costing Rs. 4,872 were fictitiously shown as consumed.

"Eight bottles of French Brandy valued at Rs. 240 were misappropriated and efforts were made to conceal misappropriation by manipulating the stock-books."

"A huge shortage of medicines valued at Rs. 6,773 was brought to light during checking. No paper accounts of even costly medicines like streptomycin were maintained. Medicines for the private use of the Superintendent were also irregularly purchased out of hospital funds."

Free treatment "was extended in an unauthorized manner to the private patients of hospital doctors and to high-placed and influential personalities and authorities. This was responsible for a recurring loss which totalled Rs. 16,647."

The report put the responsibility to all the irregularities on the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent. In fact, some of the irregularities were quite within their knowledge but they failed to take cognisance thereof. To quote the *People*:

"Even the rules of accounts were ignored by them. The former grossly abused his position and bestowed favours on contractors at the cost of the hospital. His daily domestic requirements like wheat, coal, vegetables, etc., were supplied by the contractors. They were even required to pay the monthly salary of his servants."

This is democracy in Pandit Nehru's home province.

Expenditure Habits

The fortnightly *Economic Review* of the All-India Congress Committee reports the following:

"The National Sample Survey for the period of July 1948 to June 1949 revealed the spending habits in various parts of India. According to it, an average South Indian spent Rs. 136.63 on all food items. Pan, tobacco and intoxicants accounted for Rs. 9.61 and other non-food items for Rs. 56.31."

"With per capita expenditure of Rs. 5.98, Rs. 7.57, Rs. 1.01, Rs. 9.39, Rs. 3.80, Rs. 1.10 and Rs. 1.66 on vegetables, meat, egg and fish, salt, spices, pan, utensils and amusements respectively, South India ranked first in respect of these articles. It was second in the matter of per capita expenditure on edible oils, refreshments, tobacco, miscellaneous cloth, toilet service, education, newspapers and periodicals and medical service with Rs. 9.61, Rs. 5.50, Rs. 4.63, Rs. 1.67, Rs. 1.37, Re. 0.84, Re. 0.16 and Rs. 1.34, respectively. It stood last with regard to per capita expenditures on bedding (Rs. 1.22), foot-wear (Re. 0.54), ceremonials (Rs. 8.46) and house rent and taxes (Re. 0.52)."

"An average North Indian spent Rs. 142.89 on all food items during the same period, while pan, tobacco and intoxicants, accounted for Rs. 4.88 and other non-food items Rs. 55.87."

"North India headed in respect of per capita expenditure on pulses with Rs. 10.36. It was second with regard to per capita expenditure on bedding with Rs. 2.55. It ranked last in the matter of expenditure on refreshments (Re. 0.53), spices (Rs. 4.26), toilet articles (Re. 0.58), educational service (Re. 0.32), newspapers and periodicals, medical (Re. 0.090), medical service (Re. 0.043), miscellaneous household articles (Re. 0.81), domestic and other services and utensils (Re. 0.75)."

We do not know how far accurate these figures are. But they open up a new field of investigation regarding the standard of living in different parts of India.

Sonarpur Scheme

The *Weekly West Bengal* reports the completion of the first part of the Sonarpur-Arapanch drainage scheme. The scheme was part of the Master Plan (mapped out by a committee of Technical experts before partition for solving the drainage problem of Greater Calcutta) and was initially framed for the drainage of an area of 105 square miles, partly by pumping and partly by gravitation. Later the scope of the scheme was reduced and confined to an area of approximately 57 square miles.

Drainage by gravitation being no longer possible, drainage was done by pumping. Land drainage by pumping was a novel thing in India though the system was prevalent in Holland, Italy and England and some other countries. The Sonarpur-Arapanch drainage scheme was the first project in West Bengal and perhaps, in India, under which good cultivable lands turned swampy were proposed to be reclaimed and brought under cultivation once again by means of pumping.

According to the paper, "Pumps to drain off the unwanted water on land, every inch of which is now precious to West Bengal's farmers are working full steam. The net expected yield of foodgrains including *rabi* crops is nearly five lac maunds." In addition it would be possible to have an equal quantity of straw. The money value of the total yield was estimated at Rs. 44 lacs per annum.

The main features of the scheme, to quote the paper, are: "(i) Installation of four electric pumping sets of capacity 250 cusecs each or a total capacity of 3,75,000 gallons per minute; (ii) Excavation and improvement of drainage channels aggregating 25 miles in length; (iii) Tapping electrical energy to the extent of 3,000 k.w. from Majherat, and carrying it by means of an overhead high voltage transmission line operating at 33 Kv; the length of the transmission line will be approximately 19 miles; (iv) A number of structures connected with the drainage system."

Chandil Sarvodaya Conference

Sri Suresh Ramabhai, giving an account of the fifth Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Chandil in the

Manbhum district of Southeast Bihar on March 7 to 9, writes in the *Harizon* that the conference was an object-lesson in simplicity. All arrangements were quite simple. The two thousand delegates attending the conference were given rooms having their walls and roofs made from palm leaves. Simple straw called *pyal* served as their bed.

"The conference sitting twice everyday, was presided over by Shri Dharendra Majumdar, the well-known president of the All-India Spinners' Association. The Sarvodaya exhibition was opened by the veteran and indefatigable constructive worker of Orissa, Shri Gopabandhu Chaudhuri, with a brief speech. The presidential address was briefer still. Dhirendrabhai (as the president is lovingly called) drew the attention of his audience to the high hope of the Indian masses and the warning of the death-man. If the former was not fulfilled, he declared, the latter would swallow us all; and it was for the conference, he concluded, to devise ways and means to realize that hope. Thereafter the report of work done since we met last was submitted by Shri Shankarrao Deo, the General-Secretary of the Sarvodaya Samaj."

Among the distinguished visitors were Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, and Sri Jayaprakash Narain, the Socialist leader. President Prasad declared his firm belief in the Sarvodaya ideal, but felt lost and wayward and could not act up to it. He confessed that the expectations of the people has not been realized at the advent of Swaraj and the future also was uncertain, people in power were not courageous enough to attain the desired objective. Sri Narain appealed to all to come forward in Vinobaji's "Bhoodan Yajna" movement and asked the students specially to abandon their schools and colleges for one year for the sake of "Bhoodan." Sri Kakasheeb Kalelkar, President of the newly formed Backward Classes Commission of the Government of India, called upon the young men to come forward and help him in the work of ameliorating the lot of the down-trodden and the oppressed without which there could be no Sarvodaya.

In a hundred-minute speech on the first day Acharya Vinoba Bhave outlined "the objective, the method and the programme. The objective was to generate an independent public force which ran counter to violent force and differed from legal force." According to Sri Ramabhai, "Vinobaji remarked that the said objective could be achieved by following a two-phased method. Conversion or thought-administration and work decentralization. For this he had a four-fold programme: (i) organization of constructive work institutions into one well-knit body, (ii) collection of five crores of acres of land in the Bhoodan Yajna by 1957, (iii) Sampatti-dan Yajna or wealth-donation, and (iv) *Sootanjali* or Yarn-gift."

Many women attending the conference donated their ornaments.

Clarifying his attitude towards Government schemes and political parties, Vinobaji said that the essential difference was in approach and outlook, but he discouraged mere criticism. Criticism must be constructive. In the concluding speech Vinobaji dwelt upon the shortcomings of the workers. Again to quote Sri Ramabhai, "Firstly, he pleaded for tolerance and humanity. Secondly, he urged upon them to study and continue enhancing their knowledge thoughtfully together with work. Thirdly, they must see things as a whole and not confine themselves to the solitary aspect. Fourthly, they must vitalize their daily prayer which was more like good behaviour rather than act inspired by real faith. Finally, he asked those who could devote whole time to Bhoodan Yajna work to give him or the provincial conveners their names."

Yehudi Menuhin on Indian Music

Mr. Yehudi Menuhin, the well-known violinist, who visited India last year, writes in the American literary magazine, *Saturday Review of Literature* that in India he "found there was so much new and satisfying to me as an artist that I cannot resist a feeling that in India the equilibrium of life is better balanced than elsewhere, that a greater unity of thought and feeling prevail than in the West." In his view Indian music, Indian culture and Indian philosophy "are quite self-sufficient, soundly conceived, and adequate for the needs not only of India, but capable of being beneficial if adopted in a wider sphere of humanity." The essential differences between the music of India and the music of Europe were, according to him, that the Indian music "is a traditional, crystallized form of expression in which the performer and auditors partake of a resignation to environment and fate. It is a more contemplative, meditative, and passive form of music. It does not allow the surges of emotion and fury, the interplay of opposing forces to mar its detachment. It invited the listener to attain a state of meditation, of oneness with God."

"The music of the West, of course, proclaims and asserts the personality of two individuals: one absent (the composer), the other present (the performer). This stimulates, by communication, the personality of each listener in the audience. It spurs him to proclaim in like manner his domination over, or at least his wrestling with, his fate and his environment."

He thought the West could learn from the Indian musician's dedication to his art. The intense sensitivity of the Indians to rhythm, the freedom of their melodic pattern might provide new resources to the Western composers. If Indian music should become as familiar in the West as Western music in India, Mr. Menuhin was of the opinion that "Indian music would require a profound readjustment of the sense-of-time by which life is ordered in the West, the opening up of an awareness of completely different tangible and intangible factors."

ASSEMBLED INDIA

By PRABUDDHA N. CHATTERJEE

BRITISH Government in India has ended more than five years from now, but we are still a long way off from any semblance of political stability. Of course, the division of India has been a tremendous shock, but even then our house could have been put to some sort of order by this time. But this has not been done. Instead of consolidating what remains of India after partition, fissiparous tendencies have been and are being allowed to grow. Acute dissensions among different peoples in the provinces and in the country as a whole are taking serious proportions—when they should have been wiped off at the outset by a courageous policy of reconciliation and consolidation. It is not only impossible but actually harmful to overlook the present distrust and ill-feeling, even rancour among peoples of India—and the blame for this state of things lies on the Government of India led by Mr. Nehru.

Consolidation of India cannot come without disposing of the claims of the different peoples of India, each struggling for self-realisation and self-development on a national basis—yet within the frame-work of the Indian Union. Let us be frank about it and face facts. The aspirations of these peoples have been viewed as antagonistic to our nation by Mr. Nehru. But is this so? Is the formula of linguistic redistribution of States within India, embodying these aspirations—so many times in the past solemnly adopted by the Indian National Congress—antagonistic to the interest of the Indian nation? Will the acceptance of the formula disintegrate India? The answer to these questions depends upon a careful analysis of the factors which contributed to the origin and the growth of the Indian nation itself.

What is this Indian nation? India's inhabitants come from a remarkably variegated stock. Her citizens include people of pure Aryan origin as well as people with Mongolian and Negroidal blood. Viewed from a true perspective, the Indian nation is not simply a collection of individuals; it is also a collection of groups and subnationalities. It is a result of the combination of subnationalities like Bengalis, Marhatas, Oriyas, Tamilians, Punjabis, etc., with one another. Their existence—a very real and ancient fact—must be recognised. Each has its "own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, food and dress, customs and calendar, character and appearance, sense of value and proportion." The difference in these respects among them probably is even greater than any corresponding difference among the nations of Europe.

This is certainly no suggestion to parcel out India among various independent subnationalities. That would be a sacrilege. For, however may the Indians

vary among themselves, Indian nationhood is a real concept.

Neither community of language, nor that of customs and culture is an essential ingredient of nationhood. If they were so, Americans in the United States of America could not have developed into a nation; a very large proportion among them would have separated long ago and fused with the British. On the same assumption the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic also would not have endured. The only element that can be called indispensable to nationality is the common desire among its members to organise themselves into or remain a separate independent State. Common struggle against a tyrannical power, foreign or domestic, has in numerous cases, welded a heterogeneous people into a single nationality. The 'esprit-de-corps' born of the united resistance to tyranny breaks down the barriers of narrowness and prejudice among the subjects, and creates in them a common aspiration to build a liberated State of their own—no matter how different they may be in point of language, customs, and manners. A new vision opens out before them.

The history of India has witnessed common sufferings in the struggle against foreign exploitations in which all the subnationalities of India participated. The unity of Indian history is the result of the battles these subnationalities fought in common so long against their foreign masters, by stirring up discontent, disturbances, open rebellions, taking and giving lives. The aspiration of the Indian subnationalities to form a common State is the reward of their common struggle for independence in the past.

The desire for a united State of India thus born of historical antecedents has been strengthened and made natural by the peculiar geographical configuration of India. India (with Pakistan) spontaneously forms a distinctive entity in a physical map of the world. The lofty mountains on the north, east and west have separated her from the rest of Asia. In the south, she is encircled by waters from the Indian Ocean. This markedly separate geographical entity is the second important basis of Indian nationhood.

There are also certain other circumstances, for example, common interests—commercial as well as diplomatic—which would strengthen the union of different subnationalities of India into the Indian nation.

Nevertheless, the main thing is the desire of the people to form a common State. Nationality is essentially a spiritual sentiment which exists in the

mind of men as a *fait accompli* in spite of polemics, often in disregard of contrasts.

Thus there should not be any defeatist mentality as to the nationhood of India. It is not a brittle thing. It is the outcome of political factors working for a long time.

But this should not blind anybody to the variations among people in different parts of India. On the contrary, these should be recognised for the sake of stability of the State, as the basis for the formation of provinces. Talking of parochialism—parochialism would be weakened rather than strengthened by this policy. If the demands of the subnationalities are reasonably met, their self-centredness will lose its edge and they will be able to live together in easy fraternity. On the other hand, to ignore their demands is to add to the strength of parochialism. Disappointed provincials would feel that their province has been betrayed. In a vast country like India, where provinces differ so much from one another, regard for one's province is comparable to regard for one's country. Like all egotism, it thrives on a sense of grievance from being unjustly balked of opportunities for self-realisation and self-fulfilment. The dissimilarities with other peoples are then emphasised, the similarities overlooked and a separatist sentiment springs up. The bottom will be taken out of the parochial chauvinism, if subnational demands are met halfway. People will then learn to think more in terms of conciliation and compromise in matters affecting provincial interests, and strong provincial antipathies will die a natural death.

Now, what are the real demands of subnationalities? It is this, that within the framework of the Indian Union, the demographic integrity of each subnationality should be recognised. That is subnationalities should have the right of self-determination. The guiding principle should be one subnationality, one province.

This claim may not have been made so clearly, in so many words. But it reflects the general will, conscious or sub-conscious.

The delimitation of provincial boundaries in India is not scientific. To draw the boundaries on scientific lines, one must take into account the homelands of the various subnationalities.

For about 200 years, India was under the subjugation of the British. Today we have entered into our heritage. What does a householder do after ejecting a trespasser at considerable expense and sacrifice? The trespasser has, let us assume, out of neglect, or minding only his personal convenience, worn out the floor, set up a partition here, demolished a wall there, creating on the whole a grotesque effect. When the householder comes into his own, he would naturally want to refashion the house tastefully on scientific lines, he would like to rearrange the system of walls and partitions to secure the symmetry

of the rooms. The time has come today for us Indians to set the house of India in order. Its rooms should be arranged in a well-considered, elegant and systematic manner. This means that we should in many places drastically alter the plan of the erstwhile rulers of our country. The British were not interested in all-round and symmetrical development of India. Hence they planned provincial boundaries in their "Indian Empire" mainly with an eye to administrative expediency as suited them. They did not bother for the consent of their subjects. Consideration for the political progress of their Indian subjects certainly did not very much affect their decision in this matter. Hence, it is, that the provincial boundaries are so placed pell-mell, that they do not correspond with the hopes and aspirations of our people. It is true that if provincial boundaries have now to be adjusted systematically on the basis of subnationality, there would be some violent changes in the position of boundaries of some existing Provinces or 'States.' But once the process is complete, the system of division of India into 'States' will plainly be on a far more logical and simple foundation than is the case today.

The apprehensions in this regard felt by the Linguistic Provinces Commission under the chairmanship of Shree S. K. Dar, a retired Allahabad High Court Judge, were ill-founded. The Commission was appointed a few years ago, to examine the prospects of creating linguistic States in the Deccan. It was alarmed at the adverse effect which the possible creation of any new or additional provinces would have on the general economy and finances of India. It expressed concern at the possibility of splitting up the three then existent provinces of South India into six provinces as a result of a change in the *status quo*. (Cf. *Dar Commission Report*, para 132). But then, apparently it was not in a position to visualise that some unwanted existent States could disappear altogether, if the principle of subnationality was properly applied. For example, at present there are the following 'States' in South India: (1) Madras, (2) Travancore-Cochin, (3) Coorg, (4) Mysore, (5) Bombay and (6) Hyderabad. Of these, Hyderabad should be divided among the three peoples inhabiting that 'State'—Telugus, Marathas and Kannadigas—who would join their respective subnational States of Andhra, Maharashtra and Karnatak. Mysore and Travancore-Cochin should go to form the major portions of the 'States' of Karnatak and Kerala respectively. Thus, out of the six cumbrous and mostly heterogeneous 'States' will arise not more than five compact, well-knit and homogeneous 'States' in the South—Maharashtra, Karnatak, Kerala, Tamilnad and Andhra. Likewise, for the whole of India, actually the fact is—as will appear later—that the total number of subnationalities is very much less than the total number of the existent Parts 'A,' 'B' and 'C' States that compose the Indian Union. Finan-

cial complications should, therefore, tend to be not greater but less, if subnational 'States' are formed.

What would be the criterion of a sub-nationality? It should be so clear as to admit of no controversy. On this principle, race cannot be a criterion of subnationality, for in India, where men have immigrated from outside from the beginning of history, races are so intermixed that it is not possible now to determine precisely who belongs to which stock. For similar reasons, religion or sect cannot determine subnationality. People professing different creeds—Hinduism alone contains scores of sects and creeds—live intermingled with one another so that to attempt to determine subnationality on the basis of religion or creed would lead to absurd results. Myriads of subnationalities would then be found inhabiting the same locality.

Then there are the criteria of language and geographical configuration.

Language is the main proof as well as the main sustainer of culture. In these days of spread of education it is the symbol of civilization. People must exchange ideas by understanding one another's language, in order to know one another and be able to live and work in co-operation. Hence language is the main determinant of subnationality. There are many languages current in India but the chief ones can be easily marked out. They are noted in the Constitution of India and enlisted in its eighth schedule. They are as follows: Bengali, Marathi, Oriya, Hindi (Eastern and Western), Assamese, Punjabi, Urdu, Kashmiri, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam.

Again indeed, geography cannot be omitted from matters concerning nationality. People speaking the same language can be given the status of a subnationality if they satisfy the test of common residence, if they form a compact geographical entity, not bifurcated by any area inhabited by people speaking a separate tongue. Nobody can seriously insist that if any island of a particular linguistic group is discovered among people speaking another language, that linguistic group must be given the dignified appellation of a subnationality. It is on this ground that the Urdu-speakers cannot be recognized as a subnationality. The majority among them are so scattered in small groups in different places all over India—in some of the big cities like Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Secunderabad that it is impossible to recognize them as a distinct compact national body in any sense.

Considerations of a like nature prevent small groups of scattered and isolated humanity being given recognition as a subnationality. Some 'Adibasi' (scheduled tribes) and other tribes living in widely scattered areas—for example, in South India—cannot form distinct subnationalities by themselves. They are too small to be viable and self-contained units.

In some cases, considerations arising from histori-

cal reasons cannot altogether be disregarded. The claim of the 'Adibasi' in South Bihar and in some central regions of India to a separate province of their own to be named 'Jharkhand,' is a case in point. The phenomenal success of the 'Jharkhand party' in South Bihar in the recent elections show a genuine and steady popular yearning among these 'Adibasi' for self-expression and self-development. They are a numerous people inhabiting a large and a compact area. Now, the 'Adibasi' represent the original inhabitants of India and through entire history they have been repressed by a long series of on-coming invaders; in the result they are among the most backward communities in the country. Wherefore, if today memories of the 'raw deal' handed out to them throughout the past, together with the fact of geographical contiguity in their case create in their people in the 'Jharkhand' region, mutual sympathies demanding embodiment in one compact province there is nothing extraordinary about it.

Similar memories of historical association entitle the people of Rajputana to have a separate province to themselves. They may not have a recognised and well-developed language, solely their own but in their case also history, rather than linguistic considerations, should be the main factor in framing a province.

Except in the two cases mentioned above, community of language is one of the essential determinants of subnationality in India.

Applying the abovementioned tests, the subnationalities in India can be recognized as follows: Bengali, Maharastrian, Oriya, Hindusthani, Assamese, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Gujarati, Tamilian, Telugu, Kannadiga, Malayalee, Adibasi (of Jharkhand) and Rajput. Consequently, the following should be the Provinces or 'States,' as units composing our federation,—West Bengal, Maharashtra, Orissa, Central Hindusthan (or Madhya Pradesh or Madhya Bharat or whatever may be the suitable name that can be thought of), Assam, East Punjab, Kashmir, Gujarat (or Sourashtra), Tamilnad, Andhra, Karnatak, Kerala, Jharkhand and Rajasthan. The 'States' should be treated as the contracting parties to the Federation (or Union) of India with an equal status and while the Lower House of the Central Legislature (House of the People in the Parliament) should contain representatives on a population basis, the Upper House (Council of States) should contain an equal number of representatives from each of the 'States' as in the Congress Senate in the United States of America.

Thus re-adjusted, a 'State' or Province in India will contain a homogeneous population facilitating efficient and progressive administration. People will then be familiar with the ways and inclinations of one another and this will make for real self-government. The spread of primary education will be facilitated by the fact of people speaking the same language in a Province. It is desirable that a child should have

his primary education in his mother-tongue and if one and the same mother-tongue is spoken in a Province, the talk of the Provincial Government whose function it would be to organize the system of primary education at the base, would be rendered so much easier. Mahatma Gandhi was for this reason a great advocate of reconstitution of Provinces on linguistic basis.

This is not a policy of cleavage, it is not formed on Provincial animosities or on parochial spite. This is simply marshalling the people of this country on scientific principles, in different linguistic categories. West Bengal is today wanting regions like Manbhum and Dhalbhum back from Bihar. Some political leaders in that Province characterize this as narrow provincialism. This is not so. This is simply an aspiration to unite all Bengalis living in contiguous areas in a single Province. If those leaders can prove the existence of Hindi-speaking regions on the borderlands of West Bengal, by all means let them take those regions back to a Hindi-speaking Province. Bengalis will not object. Whether any existing province will lose or gain in territories by the policy of redistribution of Provincial boundaries on a linguistic basis is not so important as the fact that by this policy the Indian Federation will be constructed in a logical and orderly manner, a rational principle will enter into the composition of its component parts.

Whatever an existing province loses or gains in area, obviously no territory is going out of India! Therefore, why should any patriot worry? We do not support "Provincial Imperialism." True, in diplomacy one nation tries to double-cross another. But diplomacy as such has no place in this problem of ours and if in altering Provincial boundaries on linguistic principles a particular region is to be separated from a Province, still that region will continue to form part of Indian Union, it will not be lost to India. Yet some people in the Province of Bihar and judging from appearances some of the men at the helm of the Central Government have become so nervous and angry at the suggestion of separating the Bengali areas like Manbhum from Bihar and joining them to West Bengal, that they could not have been more upset if some malignant agents have footed a conspiracy to transfer those areas to some foreign power! We admit, it goes without saying, that the paramount necessity now is to consolidate the Indian Nation. But we affirm with no apology for the seeming paradox, that this will be readily achieved by the recognition of the rights of subnationalities in India. Denial of their claim will create a maladjustment, a seething discontent, perhaps even an uproar. The disintegration of the entire country will not come out of the recognition of the principle of linguistic provinces. To repeat, the Indian Nation is not so brittle as that. Defeatism or unreasonable prejudice is what is troubling Sri Nehru and men of his way of thinking who pretend that allegiance to one's subnationality is subversive or that

it competes with or in any manner undermines allegiance to the greater concept of the Indian Nation.

We must not be understood to be making a fetish of the provincial language. Let every Province be compulsorily bilingual, in the sense that let it allow the federal language to enjoy at least as much importance within the provincial limits as its own mother-tongue. Conceivably, stringent constitutional safeguards to cope with discrimination in a Province against people coming from other Provinces must be made. When once the subnationalities have decided to combine in the Indian Federation as contracting parties to the Constitution, they must part with power gracefully and without stint. But in the first place, it is necessary that at least their status as parties building up United India be given tangible recognition by incorporating each of them into a Province.

Again, many Congress leaders insist that while the principle of linguistic redistribution of Provinces may be sound, this is not the time to create a controversy over this issue. When the country will settle down to normal times after ten years or so, then only can one attend to this question. If this problem is tackled now, it will stir up mutual antipathies among peoples of different provinces and the making of the Indian Nation will be retarded.

This doctrine of masterly inactivity is really that of irresponsible escapism. Those leaders would defeat their own purpose by postponing the solution of this urgent problem. The martyrdom of deathless patriots like Sri Ramulu of Andhra is a pointer. Controversies are not any longer to be created over the problem of redistribution of Provincial boundaries; they are ready made. The whole thing has already taken such an ugly turn that with a policy of drift, people's temper will not calm down; on the other hand, by this policy, it will become more prejudiced against and suspicious towards the 'rival' groups. It is like sitting on a delayed action explosive. Any cause of this type of inter-provincial conflict should never be kept alive. If quarrels and bickerings over this question and the resulting uncertainty are to continue for ten years more, the accumulated ill-feeling between provinces and provinces—among subnationalities thwarted in their aspirations—will be the peril of India. If Provincial boundaries have to be readjusted, now is the time. The whole world is in a state of flux today and people's minds are accustomed to—nay, eager for change. People will put up with much now, possible disagreements in these stormy days are all ephemeral—people will forget them all. But ten years later, when one can expect some amount of stability in the general political atmosphere, if the causes of dissension persist, Indian nationalism may be damaged beyond repair. If the determination of this controversy is postponed, people's minds will be agitated by a sense of frustration of a rightful demand and this is not congenial to national life. As discontent and quarrels

increase, the idea of complete separation will spring up among the disappointed subnationalities. Those who refuse to attend to this problem among provinces now, those who would vacillate before the growing inter-provincial bitterness, instead of adopting a firm policy and getting it over soon—consciously or unconsciously they are compromising India's future.

If India is successfully organised on the basis of federation of her various subnationalities, mankind will see a new way of hope. Europe has failed in comparable

circumstances, so have the Americas. We shall see then the preliminaries of world-federation in India. The distinct entity of each of her subnationalities is thus the glory of India. It avoids dull uniformity and makes her a world in herself. By adopting a well-known adage, we expect India to save herself by her exertions and the world by her example.

Opponents of linguistic redistribution of Provinces merely retard this destiny of India.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE COLD WAR

By KARL LOEWY

The prospect of the Middle East to become the scene of an intensified Cold War would add no comfort for the countries concerned and would mean no news. It has borne the fate of world-wide political fights between great powers since olden times, when men first began to act in history in this part of the Mediterranean. Some time elapsed after World War II before the fronts were clearly divided and before the lines were deployed. Even if not every detail is fixed already, the tendency to get ready and the will to arrive at decisions has become most apparent since the change of government in the U.S.

In the wake of the lightning tour of Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, to Europe an inspection of the Middle East area may be expected. This task will apparently be allotted not to a member of the Eisenhower-team—a move typical for the future course of the American foreign policy—but to the beaten rival of the General, democratic Adlai Stevenson. His special assignment will be to probe the terrain and find out the chances for political conversations between the President, Mr. Ben Gurion, Premier of Israel and General Naguib, some time during next summer.

It may sound strange but it belongs to the fundamental elements in the Middle East policy, that a pact for the defense of this area will remain incomplete without a Jewish-Arab peace treaty. Strategically, the integration of Israelis as well as of Arabs into the system is of secondary practical importance. Under present conditions the armies of the Arab states and of Israel would have no more chance of a successful resistance against the military machine of the Soviet Union, and in this respect they are of no less value than the armies of Holland and Belgium against the aggression of Hitler's war-machine. The valuation in numbers may be estimated from a discussion of a military treaty between Syria, Iraq and Jordan, which has probably already been held even only for the sake of their part in such a pact. Their combined manpower is 18 brigades with 55,000 men. As for the active number of the Israel defense army no details are available, it depends on the require-

ments of the day since the Israel army is organized on a basis similar to that of Switzerland and may draw any able man or woman at any emergency. The Egyptian Army is a machine in the stage of erection. It may be presumed that years will pass before it can be used with a chance of success.

The state of the military apparatus in this part of the world is one of the reasons of American policy to appease political opponents of the Middle East. They still grope the problem without deciding the final direction and this may be explained partly by the unholy tradition of the British politicians here to keep continually moving those offering favours to their overlords. The question, what advantages may be extracted out of moving the British bases of the zone, has already entered into lively competition between Israelis and Arabs. The consideration of this point, though an interesting and even important nuance of the political game, will never become a decisive factor.

In order to arrive at the final clearing of the Middle East situation the Western democracies will see themselves before other and greater tasks. The point is to create the conditions which would lead the Middle East from a narrow particularism, dominating any of its political and economic acts, back to a way of thinking as created by destiny for its great periods: to be a living part of an overnational community.

The actions of American policy since World War II are no efforts to get influence in the Middle East but rather the putting forward of feelers in the direction of a correct aim and with, unfortunately, very insufficient means. The first practical step, Point 4 Aid of President Truman, started off with many hopeful beginnings, could not arrive at any great results since it lacked the idea out of which it could grow from a bureaucratic machine into the great tool for an aimed policy. Practical results will only be achieved by co-ordinating the political problems of the Middle East with the philanthropic purposes of raising the social standard of living of the under-developed peoples. For this the natural sources of the Middle East

are not sufficient and they have to be developed to their full display with the simultaneous effect of a preventive against World War III: The rise of the Mediterranean countries being possible only by a systematic "Importation" of men, able to give and get the blessing of a raised standard in their enriched new homeland—and to protect it.

At two diametrically opposed cases it may be demonstrated that problems of population policy are beginning to replace other questions of the Middle East. Without solving the problem of the Palestinian refugees it will be impossible to clear the Middle East problem in general; also the continuation of the Israel colonisation will have to be replaced by new methods based on experience made until today. Too long these have been considered as local or community matters of certain groups only, while actually they consist as parts of the international refugee problem, on the sensible settlement of which the wellbeing of all humanity depends. The fate of men who don't know today where to put their head will not only decide on the future of war or peace, but also of human civilisation: To Be Or Not To Be.

Even if the wishes of Jews and Arabs seem to be contrarily opposed, both nourish the same sources out of the same necessities. From the course of the matters of those banished from Palestine as of those who remained it may be seen that life's necessities are stronger than political principles. The Syrian dictator Shishakly has learned the wisdom of his Israeli opponents that *space* without *people* is of little avail for the wellbeing of the nation—just as *people* without *space*. Thus, the thought has ripened that means have to be tried for achieving the settlement and stationariness of a part of the Palestine refugees in Northern Syria with the help of soil cultiva-

tion under irrigation; and from the same thought stems the call of Mr. Ben Gurion for letting go 2½ million Russian Jews for settlement in Israel.

The same system of "filling up" wants the southernmost and the weakest point of the anti-Russian front: Iraq. Without men all its resources of oil and its favourable position would be useless. On 143,520 square miles live only 3½ millions who would not even be able to resist aggression by their neighbouring mountain-peoples at the northern frontier if they were assisted by Moscow.

For the protection of the open flank of the Middle East there exists only one efficient medium: The application of the old experience of the "Chinese Wall," of the "Roman Lines" and of the Austrian-Hungarian military frontier, namely that human waves may only be halted by human dams, beyond which a new prosperity and a new civilisation flourish.

The next stage of the cold war in the Middle East without the last risk of an armed class will only be terminated by a policy based on men; only thus progressing atomization can be prevented, which would as a matter of course deliver the Middle East to the militarily stronger opponent.

A continued safeguarding of the Middle East will come easily to the Americans as this requires two means suited to their mentality: Educating the people of the Middle East to independent thinking within spaces beyond their own boundaries and practical completion of the psychological war by introduction of methods similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority for the economic foundation of this part of the world which has not yet found its peace since the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

Nahariya, Israel.

INDIA'S FUEL PROBLEM

By SUKUMAR MERII, M.Sc.,
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AN early fulfilment of India's ambition to prosper and become great depends largely on an all-round development of its various manufacturing—both agricultural and mineral—industries. And the large-scale industrialisation, in turn, depends chiefly on the availability of various raw materials and cheap motive power. So far as our resources in the shape of materials or man-power are concerned, we do not lack them much. But we are severely handicapped, compared with some other nations, so far as the resources for the generation of cheap motive power, i.e., fuels like coal and petroleum are concerned. India is poorly endowed in the matter of these essential mineral fuels which are, to some extent, indispensable requirements for modern mechanised industries. Some have been found to carry a wrong impression that we are

in possession of enormous deposits of mineral fuels like coal and petroleum, while others have been holding an equally erroneous and pessimistic idea that our fuel resources are too scanty. It is my intention to give here in brief, a critical study of the possibilities of India's fuel resources.

It should be mentioned, at the very outset, that the use of forests as a source of fuels has been totally ruled out. The wood in any form should definitely be not used as a source of power supply. The use of India's vast forest resources as fuels is not only criminally wasteful but also disastrous. Forests should exclusively be reserved for more profitable purposes to furnish various raw materials to a number of new industries.

INDIA'S FUEL PROBLEM

WE ARE WASTING OUR PRECIOUS COAL

Very often we hear much about the richness of our coal resources. No doubt, Nature has bestowed on our country one of the most precious commodities and that too, in fairly a good amount. But then, we must also know where we stand as compared to the other countries' coal resources, and our needs. On a broad basis, the total coal production of the world approximates nearly 1.5 billion tons annually and India contributes nearly 30 to 35 million tons, which comes to about 2 per cent of the total production. Thus, we see our production in that way is quite insignificant.

The chief uses to which the coal is put in our country are for producing electrical energy, for generating steam power for running locomotives, ships and various factories and workshops. It is also used in metallurgical industries for smelting various ores. A small percentage is used for generating coal gas. Unlike some foreign countries, it finds little use in the manufacture of chemicals, dyestuffs and synthetic petrol. The present yield of coal, no doubt, is quite sufficient to meet our present industrial and domestic requirements. But then, we have to look to the future also. If we aim at large-scale mechanisation of Indian life, industrial as well as agricultural, proper attention must be paid to the various problems connected with our coal resources.

The total Indian coal reserves of different varieties have been estimated to be nearly 60,000 million tons. The workable coal is estimated to be only 20,000 million tons. Of these, the reserves of good quality coal are restricted to only 5000 million tons—out of which nearly 1500 million tons are coking coals and the rest are non-coking. At present most of the coal extracted is of good quality and with this present rate of consumption, the reserves of good quality coal are likely to be exhausted in about a hundred years' time. The coking coal which ought to be exclusively reserved for metallurgical purposes, is at present mostly used for other purposes and only 20 per cent of the yield of metallurgical coal has found proper use for smelting purposes. India has in its possession world's best iron ore deposits, and at the present rate of the consumption and wastage of metallurgical coking coal, iron smelting industry of India would come to a standstill after a hundred years or so. Evidently there is an imperative need of conserving the coking coal reserves and using them exclusively for smelting various ores.

In Indian coal mines, the coal during its extraction is handled carelessly and wastefully, and is mostly consumed in a raw state with little or no processing. Our mining methods also need a lot of improvements. At present, underground workings of coal mines are not properly and systematically planned and they are responsible for much damage to the mines. Of late, something is being done by the Government in this direction and considerable attention is being paid to see that wasteful mining methods are no more employed. Still much more remains to be done, and we can save this precious and

non-replenishable asset for our better use in future, only if coal-miners, governments and public in general co-operate with one another. The good quality coking coal should exclusively be reserved for metallurgical uses only and its use in other spheres of industry should be drastically cut down, if not totally stopped. The non-coking coal of good variety has been found quite suitable for manufacture of synthetic petrol. Some of our inferior grade coals with high ash content which have been found unsuitable for ordinary steam-raising purposes, can become quite good for this purpose when used in pulverised form or as screened small coal. By resorting to such practices and others, we can save much of our high grade coal.

Our coal resources need a planned management and mining, proper utilization and conservation of superior quality, and if these conditions are forthcoming, India will solve her fuel problem to a considerable extent and avoid the impending crisis, for coming several hundred years or more.

PETROLEUM AND ITS SUBSTITUTES

The oil position of India is bad. There have been no big deposits of petroleum in this sub-continent and before partition, the total output of petroleum from the oilfields of Assam and the Punjab, was hardly sufficient to meet a fraction of our needs. The average annual production was nearly 100 million gallons, which is very insignificant as compared to the world production, being only about 0.2 per cent of the total world output. The partition has deprived us of our good oilfields of the Punjab and we have lost about 40 per cent of our oil. Strenuous search is being made in Assam for more oil, and one cannot, at this stage, say definitely what the result of this search will be. The whole of the Himalayan Terai is there still to be explored. Who knows someday we may hear of big reserves of this precious fuel, being found in an unknown place in those tracts. But there are chances to the contrary also.

Without petrol, a country is apt to be placed in a difficult condition. This liquid fuel holds a key position for defence, transport and industries. With the industrialization and improvement of transport and communication facilities, the consumption of petrol will go up five or six times its present figure. Unless we produce more oil or manufacture substitute fuels and resort to other sources of power generation, our country's wealth worth millions of rupees will go out for securing imported oil. It is of strategic importance also to be self-sufficient in some form of liquid fuel and in case of a future world war, the possibility of which can not be totally ruled out, India deficient in this respect would hardly survive.

The question of manufacturing the two substitutes for petroleum, viz., the synthetic petrol and power alcohol, should be taken up in right earnest by governments and industrialists both. Different manufacturing processes have been successfully tried in Europe in which the coal is processed to liquid fuel. The processes involve either hydrogenation of coal-tar, or carbonisation of coal or the

synthesis from gases evolved during the gasification of coal. During the last war, Germany produced a huge quantity of synthetic petrol out of inferior quality coal. It has been found that roughly five tons of inferior quality coal yield about one ton of petrol. According to Dr. V. S. Dubey, the petrol thus obtained in India will be cheaper than imported oil. We have got superior quality coal, amounting to about 3500 million tons, quite suitable for manufacturing petrol. Low grade coal reserves are still in greater amount. It is quite essential that a few centres of synthetic petrol manufacture be established in the neighbourhood of coalfields of Bihar, Rewa and Hyderabad, etc. Besides its national and strategic importance, it is quite an economic proposition to manufacture synthetic petrol in India.

In addition, it is also desirable that the soft-coke industry be so reorganised as to make it obligatory to redistil the crude coal tar. This process yields, as by-product, a few pounds of benzol per ton of coal. As a side industry, it can contribute its small but important share of liquid fuel to the country.

Another substitute for petrol is power alcohol, the manufacture of which involves the utilization of agricultural products for conversion of their starch of sugar content to alcohol. It is the most suitable substitute liquid fuel that can be produced to an almost unlimited extent in an agricultural country like India. It has been found to be the best alternative fuel for internal combustion engines. India affords vast possibilities for the establishment of power alcohol industry. With the existing output of surplus molasses which is a by-product in sugar industry and has no market, India can manufacture about 15 million gallons or more of power alcohol. There are every chance of the development of sugar industry in near future and more and more molasses will be available to be converted to alcohol.

Another important source of alcohol is 'Mahua' flower. Its trees are quite common, numerous and found in almost all parts of India. Even the existing trees of Mahua supply enough flowers so as to give us about 3.5 million gallons of alcohol annually. Mahua trees can be grown in almost all parts of India and their plantation on a large scale is quite easy, and once if it is done on a planned and extensive scale, within a few years' time, a large fraction of our fuel needs shall be satisfied from this source only.

The third and most important source of alcohol are starchy materials like wheat, rice, potatoes, etc. Resources of India in respect of these materials are quite vast and a very huge production of power alcohol can be made from rice, wheat, potatoes and other starchy agricultural products. If in coming few years, as our irrigation facili-

ties improve and large areas of barren land come under cultivation, and we resort to large-scale agricultural enterprises yielding huge surpluses of various foodgrains and cereals, it would be advisable to reserve a certain percentage for the distilleries. Thus we shall be able to produce nearly or even more than hundred million gallons of alcohol per year.

These liquid fuels—petroleum and its substitutes—are of national and strategic importance and a well-planned uniform countrywide policy in regard to their production and consumption is needed.

HYDRO-ELECTRICITY TO SAVE OUR FUELS

To us, coal and petroleum have been the two chief and important sources of cheap power. But as we have seen, we are not in a happy state of affairs in respect of these resources. If, therefore, we desire to speed up the industrialization of India, we must find, in addition to what have been suggested above, an adequate substitute as a source of motive power. And luckily, Nature has provided us with a better and cheaper substitute, viz., the water power. The vast network of rivers spread throughout the length and breadth of this big country furnishes us with a perennial source of power in the form of hydro-electricity. The water power, transmitted to long distances as electrical energy, offers good possibilities both as regards the quantity available and the cheapness at which the power can be supplied. This electrical energy can be utilized to a large extent in place of coal, petrol and other fuels, thus saving them for restricted and specialised purposes where they are indispensable. Apart from this benefit of the conservation of fuels, the hydro-electric schemes also help to solve various other problems of national importance like flood-control, irrigation, afforestation, navigation and soil conservation, etc.

It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that the Government of India, realising the seriousness of the fuel situation and for avoiding the impending crisis, has given priority to various schemes for producing cheap hydro-electric power in almost all parts of India. It is expected that in about ten to fifteen years' time, many of these schemes will start functioning.

Our Government also aims at formulating a National Fuel Policy for the whole of India and various steps have also been taken in this direction. A Fuel Research Laboratory has also been established at Dhanbad in Bihar. It is not necessary here to give a long list of suggestions in that respect. But before I close, I would like to assert and emphasise that the guiding principle in laying down a National Fuel Policy should be the interest of the nation as a whole, which should be supreme and should not be weighed down by the consideration of huge profits of a few big commercial interests.

CATTLE WEALTH IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

II

WANT OF PROPER CARE OF CATTLE

Another important cause for the deterioration of Indian cattle is the want of proper care on the part of the Indian cultivator. He does not take as good care of his cattle as his Western confere does. This is because of their poor quality, and the deterioration in quality is due, *inter alia*, to lack of adequate care. But the cultivator feeds his bullocks better than his cows because it pays him. He feeds his bullocks better during the busy season when they work than during the slack season when they remain idle; further, he feeds his more valuable bullocks better than those less valuable but he neglects the Indian cow. The general neglect of the cow and her female calf, both of whom are so to speak, starved from birth to death, has a very deleterious effect on the breed of the cattle. Although the draught animals and buffaloes are properly fed, the cow gets next to nothing of stall feeding. She is expected to pick up her living on the bare fields after harvest and on the village waste lands, which hardly exist in a number of villages, and even where they do, they produce little useful herbage.

Type of cattle feed	Total production in British India per year Million tons	Annual Require- ments Million tons
Roughages, viz., fodder crops, straws of cultivated crops and grasses	165	270
Concentrates, viz., oilcakes, cotton seed, gram, cereal husks and bran	3.7	15

This continuous under-feeding naturally affects the breed. Though a cow of better quality is better looked after than ordinary breeds, a larger proportion of Indian cows are more mismanaged, as they are of ordinary breed and yield about only a seer of milk per day for about seven months in a year. It is for this reason that he neglects his cow. "Broadly, it would be true to say that if there is any fodder available after the draught cattle are fed she gets it, or share it with young stock; for the rest she is left to find food where she can. Where the cow provides some milk for the household, as well as for her calf, cultivators try to spare her two or three pounds of a mixture of cotton seed and bran or oilcakes or pulse, but, when her milk fails, the ration is withdrawn and she is turned adrift to find a living for herself on

grazing."¹⁹ This neglect reduces milk yields of the cow and the quality of breed.

In most Provinces it is the useless and uneconomical stock which forms a large and increasing proportion of the animal population and this has complicated the problem and increased the difficulties of the stockowners. The number of cattle is too large. In the words of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture, "In whatever respect Indian cattle may be lacking, they do not lack in number."²⁰

But the fact is that the productive value of the cattle is not commensurate with their number. In fact, the large number of diminutive cattle are a serious drain on the country's fodder supply and eat into the profits from agriculture.²¹ Weight for weight, a small animal consumes a much larger quantity of food than a bigger animal. Thus an animal weighing 500 lbs. is estimated to consume not half but about two-thirds of what an animal weighing 1,000 lbs. would consume.

Their poor quality, as they are undersized and weak, compels the farmers in India to keep a large number of cattle to do a given amount of work, and this creates a vicious circle. The increase in the number of cattle makes impossible their proper feeding and this leads to a further deterioration in quality. As the Royal Commission has summed it up so well, "The worse the conditions for rearing efficient cattle are the greater the numbers kept tend to be. Cows become less fertile and their calves become undersized and do not satisfy the cultivator, who, in attempt to secure useful bullocks, breed more and more cattle. As numbers increase the pressure on available supply of food leads to still further poverty in the cow. As cattle grow smaller in size and greater in number the rate at which conditions become worse for breeding good livestock is accelerated. As cattle become smaller the amount of food needed in pro-

19. The pre-war average daily yield of milk of one-third of our cows was less than 1 lb., of another 58 per cent between 1 lb. and 2 lbs. and of the rest less than 4 lbs. In the case of she-buffaloes 53 per cent yield less than 21 lbs. About 29 per cent between 2 and 5 lbs. and the rest less than 7 lbs.

20. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 188.

21. The Expert Cattle Committee (Bombay 1940) wrote: "The cattle of the province are, on the whole, not an economic proposition as over 80 per cent can only be regarded as a drain on the country." Similarly the Board of Economic Enquiry (in 1939) remarked that about 70 per cent of the cows, in the Rohtak District of East Punjab, do not pay for their upkeep.



portion to their size increases." But the religious susceptibilities lie in the way of slaughtering decrepit and useless cattle and hence the cattle, however, weak and poor, are allowed to live. The number of cattle have become so large and their efficiency has fallen so low in India as results of the process having advanced so far that the task of reducing the number of useless animals and of reversing the process of deterioration is now extremely difficult. In several ways religious and social sentiments have aggravated the difficulty. To kill a cow or a bullock is a deadly sin in Hinduism. Hindus object to sell because sale is usually to a butcher and leads to the slaughter-house. Rather than selling the cattle to the cattle-dealer he sends them to a *gowshala* or lets them loose to die. In one case breeding can be controlled and in the other bulls wander about the fields consuming or damaging at least three times as much fodder as they need, and covering as they please. The difference is of great importance in a country where cows are of all sorts and good bulls far too few.²² Unless the Hindu sentiment is abjured altogether the Indian cultivators cannot take a practical view of animal-keeping and will continue to preserve animals many of which are quite useless from birth to death.

LACK OF GOOD BREEDING STOCK

Another important cause for the deterioration of the quality of our cattle is the lack of good breeding stock. There are villages, where no breeding bulls are to be found and the result is that frequently the cultivators have to travel about six to eight miles to take the advantage of a good stud bull or a male buffalo. The scarcity of the stud bulls and buffaloes is due to the fact that no private individual maintains stud bulls of good quality for to do so is uneconomic for him. Secondly, the methods of scientific breeding are unknown to the Indian cultivator.

Investigations clearly show that the existence of goitre, ostomalacia and other bone troubles, emaciation, birth of weak calves and pica are due to malnutrition. Animals living on imperfect diet have a greater tendency to infections of the respiratory and gastro-intestinal tract, and of stone formation in the bladder. Other types of losses, such as those resulting from irregular breeding and abortion of non-infectious origin are also due to faulty dieting deficient in calcium and vitamin. A deficient ration—vitamin A deficiency in the diet of cows is also found to produce blindness among calves. Prolonged malnutrition or famine leads to the suppression of oestrus. Thus in India in drought years village cows do not bear calves or bear them only in alternative years or even only once in three years when the body reserves for minerals and other essentials are established.

CATTLE DISEASES

Cattle diseases are also responsible for the decay in the quality of our cattle. In the Indian villages, cattle suffer from a number of contagious fatal diseases like the rinderpest, foot and mouth disease, anthrax and black quarter. Animal parasites like round worms, flat worms and protozoa also cause wasting diseases. But due to lack of a sufficient number of efficient and experienced veterinary doctors, cattle diseases are not properly diagnosed and treated resulting in heavy cattle mortality. In the words of the Royal Commission, "It is indeed the fear of loss from disease that tempts many to keep a larger stock than is absolutely necessary and thus increases the difficulty of feeding cattle properly." Epidemic diseases cause tremendous damage. A large number of cattle, attacked by disease, which escaped death, find their vitality sapped and health permanently injured. This affects their milking qualities and their ability to produce healthy draught bullocks.

Inadequate as they are, the following figures of reported deaths due to contagious diseases may help to give an idea of the relative importance of various diseases:

During the period of 1933-34 to 1937-38, the average number of reported deaths was about 2½ lakhs per year. Of these, the proportion accounted for by the various diseases were: Rinderpest 56.6 per cent; Haemorrhagic Septicæmia 18.5 per cent; Black Quarter 5.3 per cent and others 16.1 per cent. It will be noted that rinderpest alone accounts for more than half of the total number of deaths due to contagious diseases.

The distribution of all reported deaths over the various provinces may be seen from the following figures:²³

	Average No. of reported deaths during (1925-40) (Thousands)	Percentage to Bovine population in 1940
Madras	62	0.28
Bombay	19	0.19
Bengal	23	0.098
U. P.	38	.118
Bihar and Orissa	19	.095
C. P. and Berar	26	.19

The average mortality for these provinces works out at 17 per cent. The province which yields the heaviest rate among the above provinces is Madras. In considering the variation of mortality from year to year, the Royal Commission on Agriculture remarked that

"Rinderpest is a disease which though always present in some part of the country or other, has waves of virulence from time to time which take 3 to 4 years to reach their crest."

On the other hand, mortality due to other contagious diseases remains fairly stable from year to year.

CATTLE WEALTH IN INDIA

Lines of Improvement of Indian Cattle

There are four aspects of cattle improvement, e.g., (a) Feeding, (b) Breeding, (c) Management, and (d) Disease control.

Good-feeding: This will clearly show the magnitude of problem of providing enough of nutrition to our cattle. Therefore, the very first step towards the improvement will be to improve enough suitable feeds for the cattle. This can be assured through (a) an economical use of available supplies and (b) an increase in the supplies of fodder (more particularly those suitable for milk production).

The solution of the fodder problem depends on the fact that bold and honest efforts are made towards its realisation. The first step that may be taken in this direction should be to make the most efficient and economical use of the available supplies of fodder. This necessitates that indiscriminate grazing should be checked and that the agriculturists should be taught, through proper propaganda done by the various Agricultural Departments, the advantages of proper grazing. He should be induced to hay-making (according to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, "He has been a grass-cutter but never hay-maker") and proper storage of dry grass. Feeding value of the grasses depends upon cutting them at the right stage of growth which will not only improve the quality of fodder but will also materially increase the palatability of the fodder both grass and straw because grass, if cut before it becomes overripe, would be more tasteful to the cattle and of greater nutritive value, but when the grass becomes "dead ripe" the quality of the straw is always inferior and will not be liked by the cattle. But the cultivator is ignorant of the right time when the grass is to be cut. It is the duty of the agricultural officers to tell the cultivator the stage at which grass may be cut to conserve the feeding value of the fodders; and that experiments should be made to secure a better and more palatable straw by earlier harvesting.

(a) **Storage of Available Fodder:** Further, the cultivator should be taught the methods of fodder storage. The preservation of the fodder for dry seasons in the form of silage is of such potential value in improving the nutrition of the cattle (particularly of growing stock and milking cows) that every effort should be done to encourage its production. The silo—whether the pit-silo, stack-silo or the tube-silo as the varieties are—preserves the fodder in a fresh and good state making it highly palatable for the animal to eat during those out of seasons of scarcity of fodder. Wherever cultivators have resorted to silage, it has proved of great value in feeding his cattle in dry season but the progress in this direction is not very encouraging.

The green fodder available during the monsoon can be conserved for periods of fodder scarcity by the

method of silage. The process consists commonly in digging pits of a given size, filling them with green succulent fodders and weighing them with earth or stones. The Royal Commission on Agriculture estimated that a pit 10 ft. long, 8 ft. wide at the surface and 7 ft. wide at the bottom and 3 ft. deep would hold all the silage that a cultivator owning 3 or 4 cattle would need to bring his stock through the hot season in good condition. The Rural Co-operative Societies should undertake to conserve fodder through silage for distribution during the dry season. The Forest Department should permit such societies to remove grass from the Reserve Forests free of cost for ensiling purposes. The Agricultural Department should assist societies undertaking silage making, use of mechanical chaff-cutters as well as proper accounting of the receipt of green fodder and distribution of silage.

Supplies to deficit areas from surplus areas could be organised through a Basic Plan mutually agreed to by Provinces. Imports of cattle-feeds may also be made from abroad to relieve temporary shortages, if possible. When prices of concentrates are beyond the purchasing power of milk producers, supplies, especially to institutions like Co-operative Milk Union and dairy farms, should be organised and subsidised. The production of succulent fodders and legumes should be encouraged to the maximum possible extent by providing facilities of irrigation, seeds, manures and technical guidance to the cultivator-producer. Facilities for the procurement and distribution of green and dry fodders to areas where production is not possible, should be provided and the supplies should be subsidised wherever prices are high. An adequate and regular supply of clean and sweet water which is very necessary for the health of cattle and milk production should be provided. Wherever necessary, wells should be renovated, new wells sunk, water-raising devices provided and water-storage tanks and troughs constructed.

(b) **Extension of Grazing Lands:** To solve the problem of scarcity and shortage of fodder supply effectively, available sources of fodder supplies will have to be supplemented. This can be done by (a) making additions to grazing areas and (b) the cultivation of fodder crops. As already said above, the scarcity of common grazing lands is common in almost all villages. It is, therefore, necessary that common grazing lands should be restored to immediately. But this will not alleviate the present shortage of fodder, for the immediate tendency would be to over-graze the areas and leave them barren of herbage within a comparatively short period. But this danger of over-grazing can be checked, by reducing the number of useless and decrepit cattle. Thus addition to grazing lands, supplemented by

22. Darling: *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village*, p. 73.

23. Vide H. K. Lall: *Trend of Cattle Population in India*.

suitable measures, will be invaluable in securing adequate fodder supply for feeding our cattle.

(c) *Cultivation of Fodder Crops*: Besides this, the supplies of fodder can be increased by the increased cultivation of fodder crops and leguminous crops, such as berseem, and lucerne, jowar, arhar and millets and various exotic grasses, such as Napier grass, Sudan grass and Guinea grass, etc. At present the tendency is to put more of area under cash crops, which give better returns than to the fodder crops. All possible encouragement should be given to the cultivators to induce them to put more of acreage under such crops which are suitable as cattle-feeds. Crops which are more nutritious and have better yields per acre should be cultivated in order to get yields per acre from the same area. Sir Johan Russel has suggested that a number of fodder crops should be cultivated in India, as they would effect greatly in improving yields and in total output. Leguminous fodder crops in addition to increasing the quality of farmyard manure enhance the fertility of the soil on which they grow; they cannot usually be fed alone and generally are mixed with non-leguminous crops. "The feeding of these fodder crops will be marked improvement in the quality of the cattle and their milk yield. The fact that fodder crops are used as supplement to grass probably explain why some of the best developed cattle in India are produced in dry areas where the growth of grass is sparse. The cattle reared on coarse rank grass in the wetter parts of India are of poor quality and of little use either for milk or draught."²⁴

(d) *Rational Grazing*: On the village pasture land rotational grazing should be compulsorily introduced everywhere. On account of over-grazing, pasture lands deteriorate and it is essential that some pause should be given to grasses for recouplement. If one-half of the pasture lands is closed for some months and the remaining half is opened for grazing, there will be more grass for the village cattle, and at the same time they can have exercise in open. At present, village pasture lands are more in the nature of exercise grounds and provide very little grass. If the policy of closure and rotational grazing is introduced, more food will be available for the cattle.

(e) *Nutritive Cattle Feed*: The diet of the Indian cattle is deficient not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. Hence efforts should be made to increase the available supplies of cattle-feed rich in protein. Investigations made by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research have shown a mixture of oilcakes, bran, barley and gram husk to be a good protective food.

The quantity of this diet which is suggested is

²⁴ J. Russel: *Report on the Working of I.C.A. Research*, p. 42.

1½ seers for the first 2½ seers of milk and thereafter half a seer of mixture for every additional one and a half seers of milk. The U.P. Agricultural Department have recommended a mixture of 50% cakes, 20% bran and 30% barley and have found that three-fourths of the protective requirements can be replaced by berseem grass at the rate of five seers for every seer of mixture. The grass serves the purpose of energy giving food as well. Lastly, it is also preferable to give the cattle *lahori* salt up to one per cent of the mixture.

Protein-rich concentrates such as cotton-seed and linseed cakes are by far the most valuable sources of nutrients for milch cattle. The problem, therefore, revolves round the supply of oilcakes. It has been estimated that there are available in the country about 14½ lakh tons of oil-cakes, and about 18 lakh tons of oil-seeds may be had from 21 lakh tons of oilseed. In order to ensure greater inland supply of oilseeds for the cattle and for manuring the fields, it is necessary that the oil-crushing industry should be developed.

Cattle in the rice straw areas are smaller in size and stunted in growth, and it has been found that one of the factors responsible for this is the presence of excessive potash and its onalate salts in the rice straw which has adverse effect of general metabolism including minerals as well. It has been found out by experts working at the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute at Garmukteshwar that the treatment with dilute solution of caustic soda increases the nutritive value as well as its palatability as by this process, potash and some of its onalate salts are washed away and fibre is made more digestible. According to Mr. C. F. Warcs, the food efficiency of the stalks can be increased by 25% on treating them with alkali.

CATTLE-BREEDING

The value of breeding animals by scientific selections and mating has been recognised, by the farmers in almost all progressive countries. But unfortunately very little attention has been paid by the Indian peasants to the improvement of the breed and the importance of breeding. Cattle are hardly enclosed and good and healthy cattle are allowed to mix with the weak and degenerate types. This leads to a steady deterioration in quality. Professional cattle breeders existed in India for many centuries and they pursued traditional but skilful method of selecting and tending cattle, but these herdsmen practically disappeared from the country owing to the extension of irrigation and consequent lack of common grazing grounds in most provinces. Unlike in the Western countries, in India the bigger landlords have hardly attempted to raise good breeds of cattle. Attempts at improving the cattle by the selection and improvement of the best breeds have to be made in India by the

Central and Provincial Departments of Agriculture. There are government cattle farms in the various provinces (for instance at Hosur in Madras and Hissar in Punjab) in which pedigree bulls are bred and reared and these are sold out to the private bodies and individuals in the villages.

BREEDING POLICY

As the stock of milch and draught animals has decreased considerably due to indiscriminate slaughter, it is essential to build it up again and care should now be taken that inefficient or undesirable breeds do not get multiplied. This is rather a long period problem and calls for three-fold measures. Firstly, better breeds should be popularised. The cattle-shows which have been organised in different parts of India by the All-India Cattle Show Society should be multiplied manifold. Then there are hundreds of cattle-fairs all over the country and the work that is being done by the provincial staff at these fairs require great intensification. The adult education workers, the radio broadcast agencies and the veterinary staff can and must co-operate in this direction.

Material progress can be made by increasing the number of good stud bulls. But at present, the number of such stud bulls fit for breeding is very small. It has been estimated that against our requirement of 250 stud bulls we have only one available for this purpose. According to an estimate made by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, India needed about a million breeding bulls. The present number of over 10,000 of pedigree and approved bulls represents only one per cent of the Indian requirements. Further, the number of new bulls issued each year is only slightly greater than that needed to replace existing animals on a 10 or 15 per cent basis of animal wastage. Dr. Wright suggests that the progress in this direction can be accelerated by providing a large number of approved bulls bred in village condition in selected breeding tracts. "The farm-bred bulls of the guaranteed pedigree, though more reliable, are seriously limited in number, unsettled and difficult to handle, and more costly to rear. Village-bred bulls, on the other hand, can be reared at almost negligible cost to Government. Moreover, the Government purchase of village-bred bulls for distribution would give invaluable direct encouragement to progressive breeders." The number of stud bulls should rapidly be increased, for, at present there are thousands of villages without a stud or a male buffalo. This acute shortage, to some extent, can be met by the artificial insemination centres started under the scheme of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research. These centres offer two advantages to the public: (1) Approved bulls of suitable breeds will be available for service for the village cattle, and (2) animals which ordinarily cannot be success-

fully impregnated due to some physiological defect can be served best if the landlords, well-to-do and service-spirited persons, institutes and cattle societies lend a helping hand.

PROVISION OF BETTER BREEDS

Secondly, arrangement should be made for making better breeds of bulls available for the purpose of crossing on easy terms. To meet the paucity of good breeding bulls in the country full use should be made of the existing organisations and institutions like *Gaushalas* and *Pinjarapoles*. It is estimated that there are at present about 3,000 *gaushalas* in India with a population of over six lakh heads of cattle which are being maintained at a cost of over 30 million rupees per annum. Out of the total population of about 6 lakh cattle in these institutions there are about 20 per cent (1,20,000) classified as good dairy cattle. There are other 20 per cent (1,20,000) good for breeding though not highly productive. And the remaining 60 per cent (3,60,000) are old, infirm and unfit for breeding. At a very conservative estimate it is held that when recognised on improved lines, these institutions will provide about 25,000 males fit for use as stud bulls every year for replacement in the *gaushalas* and for free distribution in the neighbouring areas for the improvement of the village cattle. In addition to this, there will be about the same number of males, available for bullock work and 50,000 improved female calves every year.²⁵

Castration of Inferior Males: Thirdly, along with the provision of improved stud bulls, it will be necessary to castrate all the useless and unfit males in the villages, otherwise the good results obtained by the use of improved bulls will be undone by the bad ones. Not only scrub-bulls but also uncastrated bullocks used for carts should be castrated to prevent damage to the breed. Ringing of bad cows so as to make covering impossible should also be introduced and popularised. No improvement worth the name is possible in cattle-breeding unless it is rigorously supplemented by castration of useless animals. But it is unfortunate that in view of the large number of useless and decrepit in India the progress in the castration of the inferior males is rather very slow. Whatever castrations have been done are in the Punjab, C.P., and Berar. Dr. Wright advocates "the intensification of castration measures in selected areas." He says, "A policy which includes (1) the distribution of pedigree bulls (bred in Government farms) to selected areas, (2) the registration of progeny in those areas (to build up a reservoir of approved bulls for further distribution), (3) combined with castration of all inferior male stock and (4) if possible the inoculation of all local stock against rinderpest, would represent an ideal method

²⁵ Datar Singh: *Reorganization of Gaushalas and Pinjarapoles in India*, pp. 9-10.

of effecting livestock improvement in India." India must adopt a definite programme of reduction of cattle numbers and of controlled breeding. With decreased but more efficient cattle, the expansion and improvement of fodder, cropping and pasturage, introduction of silos, stall feeding and controlled grazing in favour of superior stocks will be easier.

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR FUTURE BREEDING POLICY?

Dr. Wright has made two very valuable suggestions with regard to the formulation of breeding policies in the future. In evolving improved breeds of cattle, the aim should always be to evolve a type which will meet the local requirements, e.g., in the rural areas good draught breed is urgently required but in the vicinity of the town good milking breed is needed. Further, cross-breeding with sires of heavy milk-yielding European breeds is not always durable under Indian conditions because the latter have been bred to make effective use of the smallest quantity of food which may be more economical under the conditions prevailing in India. Therefore, the right policy in India will be to select the best species of the indigenous cattle and improve them. Although an attempt has been made to find specific breeds suitable for different regions such types as Sahiwal, the Hariana, the Sindhi Gir, Ongole, and the Malvi may be generally recommended. Thus inter-provincial movement of cattle is essential but they should not be allowed to carry contagious disease. Quarantine station should, therefore, be established on the important cattle routes as has been done in C.P. under the Rinderpest Act, 1939.

We may conclude this section by quoting the Royal Commission, "If the number of cattle were not exceeded, if a sufficient area of grazing land could be found to carry the existing stock easily in normal seasons, if provision were made for supplementary fodder in the year of scarcity, then it would not be a difficult task for skilled graziers to effect marked improvement in the quality of the cattle."

BETTER MANAGEMENT

There are several aspects of management which improve the efficiency of milch cattle. The calving interval of village cows is 18 to 20 months and 18.03 months for the buffaloes more than half of which period is dry.²⁶ By skilled management it is possible to reduce the dry period by at least 3 months which will improve production by a minimum of 15 per cent. In seven important breeds the average yield during the lactation period was found to be 1.73 lbs. for cows and 3.99 lbs. for buffaloes but the experimental results show that milch cattle have tremendous potentiality and the yield can be trebled. The results of some experiments are tabulated here:

26. Indian Council of Agricultural Research, Miscellaneous, No. 22 (1939).

Centre of experiment	Breed of cattle	Average lactation yield under village conditions	Well-managed (in lbs.)
New Delhi	Sahiwal	1344	Over 4500
Karnal	Haryana	986	3600
Madras	Ongole	1236	Over 3000
Chharodi and Surat	Kankrej	920	Up to 2500

CONTROL OF CATTLE DISEASES

Considering the vast size of the country and the quantity of cattle veterinary aid at present available in rural areas is extremely inadequate and unsatisfactory. According to the Royal Commission, there is only one qualified veterinary surgeon to about 1.5 million cattle and whatever veterinary aid there is, is supplied by the officer employed in the districts who has little knowledge of animal husbandry. For curing the diseased cattle the number of veterinary hospitals has to be increased manifold. There should be established in each district a Central Veterinary Hospital with a number of dispensaries serving the subdivision of the district. Qualified surgeons should also be sent out for touring the districts. An adequate and efficient provision of veterinary aid will require many trained research workers and a large army of qualified surgeons. This objective can be secured with much less difficulty if the Central Government, the Local Boards, Zamindars and individual philanthropists join hands in furthering the cause. Cheap medicines should be prepared by concentrated research, and experiments on the indigenous plants and herbs should be made. Preventive treatment should also be given particular attention. Sanitation of sites, where cattle are kept, needs greater emphasis. The urine-soiled earth and litter as also the dung should be removed daily to the field or the manure pit. Adequate nutrition and good breeding should also go hand in hand.

DAIRY INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Dairy farming in India is still in its infancy. It has not yet received the attention paid to it in the Western countries like Denmark, Sweden, Norway, New Zealand, Australia and the U.S.A.

The dairy industry in modern times began in India in 1881 when cream separators were first introduced. The first large-scale dairy farm was started by the military in 1891 at Allahabad, and the development of more dairy farms led to the creation of the post of Imperial Dairy Expert in 1920. The Expert has helped to stimulate the use of modern methods of handling milk and factory methods in general dairying practice particularly in the development of butter. The pasturing and bottling of milk has also been encouraged.

The poor milking quality of the local breeds of cattle, the inadequacy of the fodder supply, the absence of non-enforcement of laws to prevent the adulteration of milk and ghee, the absence of quick and reliable methods of detecting adulteration have all prevented the development of dairy farming in India.

DIFFICULTIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Following are some of the difficulties of the dairy industry in India:

(1) The trend of the dairy industry has been based on European interests in India and on European practice and little effort was made till recently to meet the real needs of the population. But if the dairy-farming is to be successfully practised in India, it should produce things which are demanded by the large mass of Indians. The piecemeal introduction of the Western methods and the attempts to produce Western products required by the army and the Europeans have been looked upon with indifference by the predominant majority of the ryots. According to Dr. Wright, "What is needed in Indian dairying is a new outlook and a new technique; an outlook which recognises the special nature of Indian problem and a technique which is designed to solve these problems."

(2) The factory system of dairying so characteristic of Denmark and other Western countries is totally unsuited for India. The typical Indian cultivator possesses only one or two milch cattle and the tropical climate and the poor means of transport in India make it very difficult for the collection of milk from a number of farmers and the handling of milk in large quantities in a few big centres. Moreover, the milch cows are often transported to cities, milked during one lactation and then slaughtered, the result being the unnecessary loss of useful milking animals. Much needs to be done, therefore, to improve the urban supplies of milk and milk products.

With a view to develop the dairy industry Dr. Wright has suggested that attention should be concentrated on the production of indigenous milk products and not on products of the Western origin. Secondly, steps should be taken to ensure that an adequate supply of milk and milk products is available for consumption by the rural population; thirdly, any attempt to introduce improved methods should be effected by evolutionary changes of technique; fourthly, the combination of producers on a village industry basis should prove the most effective form of dairy organisation in India; and fifthly, any improvement in production should be supplemented by the provision of improved marketing facilities, and stricter control on the quality milk and milk products on the part of public health authorities is required.

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Estimates of milk production in India are very wide. Oliver and Vaidyanathan estimated it at 1,000 million maunds (36.7 million tons).²⁷ Dr. Wright considered this estimate excessive and placed the figure at 800 million maunds (29.4 million tons). Report on marketing of milk gives the estimate as 744 million maunds (27.3 million tons).

27. Assessment of the Annual Contribution of Livestock to Indian Economy (1934).

"In the value of milk production India stands next only to U.S.A. and her output is four times that of Great Britain, five times that of Denmark and six times that of Australia and seven times of New Zealand."²⁸ But in relation to the needs of her population, the production and consumption per head of population varies from 8 to 9 ozs. per day and are among the lowest in the world.²⁹ It is 56 ozs. in New Zealand; 45 ozs. in Australia; 43 ozs. in Norway; 40 ozs. in Denmark; 30 ozs. in U.K.; 35 ozs. in Canada; 33 ozs. in U.S.A.; 35 ozs. in Germany, Holland and Belgium; 30 ozs. in France; 29 ozs. in Switzerland as against only 6 ozs. in India.

In India with its tropical climate and vegetarian diet, "milk is frequently the only available source of first class protein while it has to support a considerable proportion of the mineral constituent and vitamins of the diet." Milk supplies exactly those elements which Indian dietaries lack and according to Dr. Wright, the output of milk in India will have to be doubled to provide for even the minimum requirement, viz., 15 ozs. per head per day. The seriousness of the plight of growing infants in our country who have to be fed on milk becomes patent when we learn that ill-nourished women of middle classes have often not got nearly enough milk to supply the needs of the growing infant.³⁰ The following table gives the quantity of milk produced and consumed in different parts of India:³¹

Province	Daily production per head in ozs.	Daily consumption per head in ozs.
Assam	1.4	2.2
Bengal	3.1	1.9
Madras	3.6	1.6
Bombay	4.7	4.0
U.P.	4.7	5.0
C. P.	6.1	0.8
Bihar & Orissa	6.4	3.2
Punjab	18.3	9.9

The bulk of the milk supply of the country is produced in rural areas. It has been estimated that only 5 per cent of the milch cows and less than 6 per cent of milch buffaloes are kept in towns and cities.³² But whole milk and ghee are in general little used in villages in the greater part of the country. Even in tracts where much larger quantities of milk are produced, 16 per cent of families do not consume any milk or milk products at all. Conditions in the other rural parts of India, where production is much less, should be still worse as regards the production and consumption of milk and milk products.³³ Only the butter-milk or Lassi which remains after the fat has been removed in the preparation of ghee is usually consumed in the villages.

28. Wright: Report on the Development of Cattle and Dairy Industry in India, p. 1.

29. Ibid, p. 1.

30. Health Bulletin, Conoor, p. 18.

31. Wright: Op. Cit., pp. 155-156.

32. Report on the Marketing of Milk in India, p. 4.

33. Ibid, p. 52.

As Mr. Dushbam has pointed out, "The cattle population of India is the largest, the most dense per acre of the cultivated area and per person and probably one of the least efficient in the world. In fact, the average annual milk yield per head of milk cattle amounts to only 7,000 lbs. in Australia; 5,305 lbs. in England and 3,463 lbs. in Australia; 5,305 lbs. in Germany, 7,745 in Holland, 5,386 lbs. in Scotland; 6,496 lbs. in Switzerland; 3,195 lbs. in Canada; 1,216 lbs. in U.S.A.; 5,857 lbs. in Japan; 5,118 lbs. in New Zealand; 2,763 lbs. in Egypt as against only 756 lbs. in India." Thus it is clear that the milk yield of cows in India is small compared to the yield of the fat glossy shaggy cows in the rich pastures of Northern Europe and America.

Marketing surveys show that out of total milk output one-third is consumed as liquid milk and of the remainder 22% is turned into Khoa, Dahi, and other indigenous products and 25% into Ghee. Ghee is of special importance in the Indian dairying economy since it has good keeping qualities and can conveniently be manufactured, stored and transported under existing conditions. Since this product leaves the greater and more valuable part of milk, viz., the non-fat matter (solids) contained in the Butter Milk, for the use of the cultivator and his family and at the same time provides him with a cash sale, the producers in general turn their milk into ghee.

Ghee is generally made out of the buffalo butter which is heated for more than 8 to 10 hours so as to remove the moisture by evaporation. The ghee is undenatured because in over-boiling it loses much of its weight. It is prepared by heating butter over a slow fire until an oil is formed that rises to the surface, while the refuse settles down.

In this method of production 10 to 15% of fat may be lost, viz., retained in the Lassi used by the separator. The use of cream separator gives a great amount of ghee per unit of milk but there are two difficulties. One is that the by-product is skimmed milk which the Indian cultivator does not like to use and the other is that the ghee produced in this way is inferior in quality.

Ghee-producing areas are U.P., Rajputana, Bengal, C.P., and Northern districts of Bihar and Madras. It is interesting to note that ghee is made in areas where extensive lands are available for pasturage and in the tracts of the forest where the pressure of population is not great. The annual production of ghee in India is estimated at over 5 lakh tons valued at Rs. 77 crores. Of this quantity nearly 65% is produced in India, the balance in States Three-fifth of the ghee production is concentrated in Northern and Western India and the remaining two-fifth is scattered in the rest of the country. Taking the country as a whole, India produces 2.5 maunds of ghee per

square mile, 21.4 maunds per village and 3.6 maunds for a hundred persons. Of the total ghee production 30% is retained by the producers for annual consumption and 70% is marketed. These percentages have, however, slight variations.

India imports about 66000 maunds of ghee mostly by land frontier routes from Nepal, but the trend of imports during the last few years has shown a downward tendency. India also exports some ghee mainly to Straits Settlements, Burma, Federated Malaya States and to Africa.

To enable consumers to obtain supplies of pure ghee the Directorate of Marketing and Inspection inaugurated its "Agmark Scheme" in 1937 which has progressed steadily. Some of the other main recommendations are as follows:

1. The production and consumption of ghee should be accelerated by increasing milk production and by the introduction of improved methods of milk fat extraction under village conditions.

2. The units of sale should be standardised by a rigid enforcement of Weights and Measures Act.

3. A regular system of controlling ghee markets should be introduced by the establishment of regulated markets, and cheap credit facilities should be provided to producers by organising co-operative ghee sale societies.

4. To ensure uniformity in the different provinces in the enforcement of food control, Provincial Governments should promote Central legislation for the hygienic control of food production, distribution and sale. The above recommendations, if strictly adhered to, will, we hope, produce the desired consequences. State regulation of a commodity of such high nutritive value is highly desirable from considerations of public health and hygiene and its vast trade possibilities.

OTHER MILK PRODUCTS

About 95 million mds. of milk is utilised for manufacture of Khoa, Dahi or other indigenous milk products valued at about 80 crores of rupees. Indigenous milk products 'release more per pound of milk than milk itself'; Khoa is practically evaporative milk reduced to a pasty food and is used for making certain sweetmeats. It keeps good only for three or four days but with the addition of sugar it can be kept for 3 or 4 months. Rubree is a similar milk product with a large content. Malai is another milk product and all these are popular in North India mainly.

Dahi is the foundation of India's ghee industry and it is the simplest device for preserving milk in a hot climate as sourness checks putrefactive changes. In certain districts limited quantities of separated milk are available and are used for making casein being thus lost as a source of nutriment.

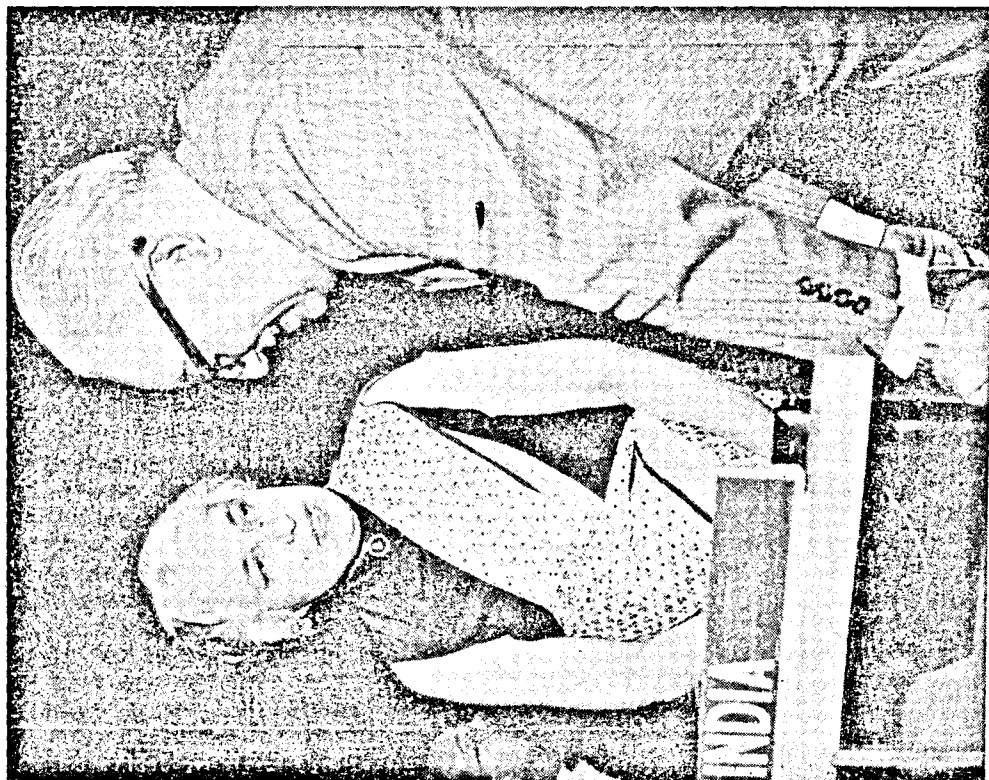
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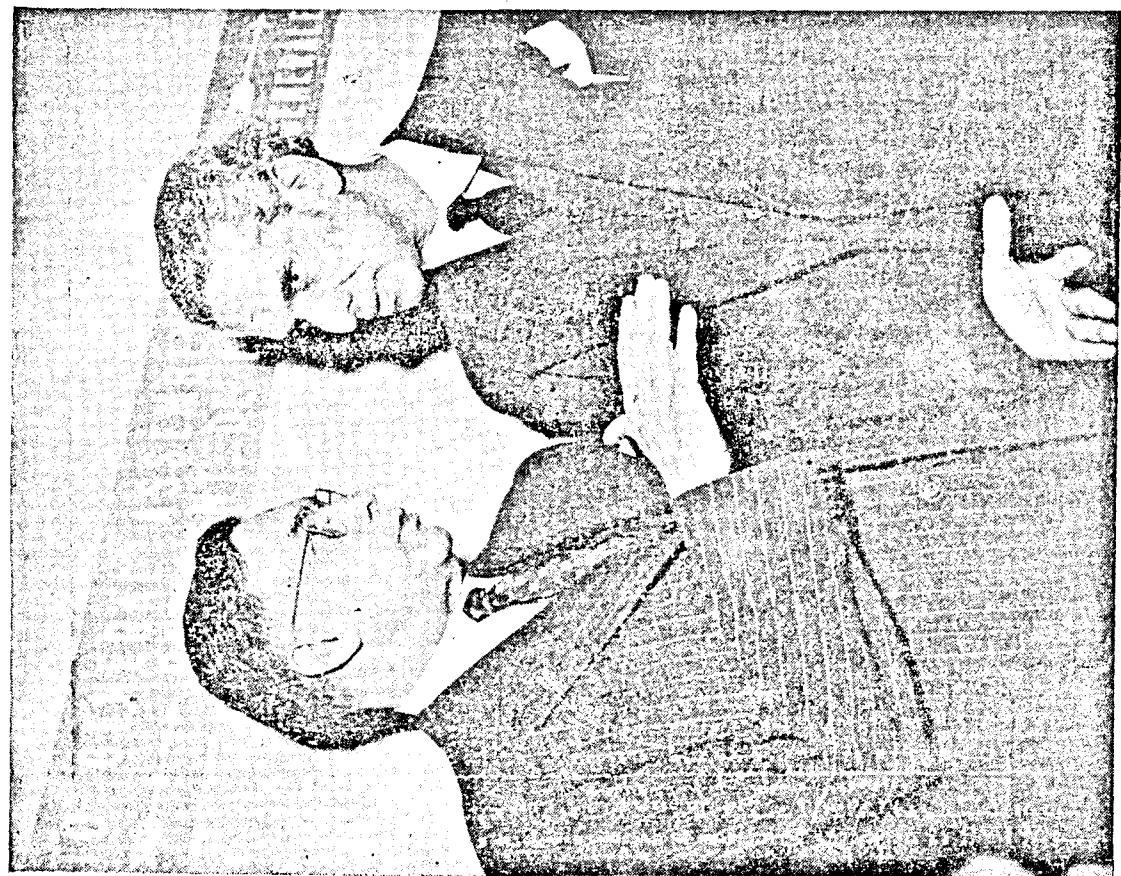
The Indian School of Mines and Applied Geology, Dhanbad, the Silver Jubilee celebrations of which were inaugurated on March 8. Different types of safety lamps used by the miners were on display at the school.



The members of the Turkish Parliamentary Delegation arrived at the Palam Airport in Delhi on March 8.



Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Chairman of the Indian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, chats with Kabir Ludin of Afghanistan at the U. N. headquarters in New York City



V. K. Krishna Menon (right), Indian delegate to the U. N. General Assembly, chats with Shyamdhare Lal, Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, in the lobby of the U. N. headquarters in New York

HUMANITY ON THE MARCH

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, Colonial Secretary in Mr. Attlee's Labour Cabinet (1945-50), pointed out in a party-political broadcast on 28th February, 1953 :

"There are 1600 million people in the world whose skins are a different colour from ours. That is twice as many as the whole of the white population of the globe and all of them one after the other are demanding the right to order their lives in their own way."

This awakening of the coloured humanity is indeed the greatest challenge so far of the 20th century.

The coloured man has lost his faith in the so-called civilizing mission of the white man and is in revolt against white domination. That this revolt has followed closely in the wake of World War II is not in the least surprising. That war pricked the balloon of the white man's superiority to the non-white once for all and exposed the utter hollowness of the claim to any such superiority. A former U.S.A. Under-Secretary for State, Mr. Sumner Welles, rightly remarks :

"The nature of the defeats suffered by the Western nations in 1942 dealt a final blow to the concept of white superiority."

Another very important factor in the awakening of the coloured peoples is psychological. History records that

All genuine revolutions are "directed against the power and privilege of an exclusive group. Even the most submissive people cannot stand, in the long run, the rule of others with whom they have no community or counsel of 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." —(*The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia* by H. J. Van Mook, p. 74).

The post-war fermentation in the coloured colonial world is nothing but an inevitable stage in the process of historical evolution. In not a few places has the coloured man broken his fetters. Today he is taking the first lessons in his career as a free man after long years of political tutelage when he was a "hewer of wood" and "drawer of water" in the land of his birth. In not a few places again he is still in shackles. But he is no longer prepared to submit to the yoke. His white masters are determined to hold him down and he is no less determined not to be held down. That is the whole trouble. Unrest and conflict in Indo-China, in Malaya, in North Africa, in East Africa and in South Africa are all to be attributed to this determination and counter-determination. It is fashionable in some quarters to blame Soviet Russia for the world-wide unrest today. But it is only fair to remember that in the last analysis this unrest is the manifestation of the spirit of the age in which we live. Soviet Union or no Soviet Union, it

would be there. It is symptomatic of a process of historical evolution which will follow its course.

Indo-China consisting of Cochin China, Annam, Cambodia, Tonking and Laos forms a part of France's empire overseas. After the collapse of France during the last war it passed temporarily under Japanese control and by September, 1940, was virtually a Japanese colony. France collapsed under the stress of a total war. She miserably failed to defend her own frontiers against the Nazi invaders from the east and her happy hunting-ground in South-East Asia against those from the Land of the Rising Sun in the north. French imperialism failed to protect the people of Indo-China and forfeited its right—if it had any—to rule them.

Indo-China, however, was in no mood to accept a yellow master for the white. Popular resistance stiffened. The party of Viet-Minh (Independence League) was formed under the leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh by the amalgamation of half a dozen parties, viz., the Annamite Kuomintang, the New Annam Party, the Communist Party, the Youth League, the Peasants' Association and the National Workers' Association. The party declared :

"Against international fascism and for the liberty of all nations the Viet-Minh ranges itself on the side of the democratic forces in its struggle for survival."

The Viet-Minh went from strength to strength. The Japanese tried to crush it; but failed. Japan next sought to create a division in the ranks of the Indo-Chinese themselves by setting up the Empire of Viet-Nam. Japan declared a puppet independent State in Annam on March 11, 1945. Annam was re-named Viet-Nam on June 30. The Annamites rose in armed revolt immediately after the surrender of Japan to the United Nations in August, 1945, and declared Viet-Nam to be a republic. The 'Emperor' of Viet-Nam abdicated and went over to the republic. When British and Indian troops landed in Saigon under General Gracey on September 13, the Writ of the Republic of Viet-Nam ran over the whole area from Annam to Cochin-China. The Viet-Minh welcomed the Anglo-Indian landing. But within a little more than a week the British and the Viet-Nameese troops were running at each other's throat. The French, eager to re-establish their authority over Indo-China (Viet-Nam), staged a come-back at this juncture. But a sea-change had come over Indo-China during the war. She was not prepared to submit again to foreign yoke. France was determined to re-impose her authority upon the former. A struggle was thus inevitable. The conflict which now began has been rightly described as a "war without end." The

Viet-Minh under the leadership of Dr. Ho Chi Minh is the spearhead of this anti-French and anti-imperialist struggle.

France missed the bus in South-East Asia. She had a chance—none too bright, however,—of reaching a settlement immediately after the war. The Communist element within the Viet-Minh was not then all-powerful. The Nationalist groups were ready and able to lead the country towards democratic self-government. But France suppressed them. The Nationalist elements in despair went underground or joined the ranks of the Communists. The results have been disastrous for the French. When the French-sponsored State of Viet-Nam was ushered into existence in December, 1950, with ex-Emperor Bao Dai as the head of the State, there was little talent to call on.

The war in Indo-China has been pretty expensive for France. More than 30,000 French soldiers have been killed and missing and about 60,000 wounded. Viet-Nam has suffered an additional 30,000 killed and wounded. The Viet-Minh casualties according to the French, are 220,000 killed and about 400,000 wounded. The French further claim to have captured 230,000 prisoners of war. Yet the end of the conflict seems to be as remote as ever.

More than 25 per cent of France's military budget for 1953 is earmarked for Indo-China. About 12 divisions of French Union troops—France has another 12 divisions in Europe—and 1 aircraft-carrier—France has only 2—are tied down in Indo-China. About 16 squadrons of French aircraft—France has 45 squadrons in all—are in combat in Indo-China and on duty in North Africa. The weeping eczema in Indo-China has thus dangerously weakened France in Europe. The French are inextricably caught in Indo-China like the Americans in Korea. Half of Indo-China has already fallen to the Viet-Minh. The French still hold Hanoi, the Red River Delta, a few ports on the coast, Saigon and certain parts of Laos and Cambodia. A French army officer remarked recently :

"Even the Thai country, one of the most loyal areas, is being overrun. And there is little we can do about it."

The last sentence is a frank confession of the utter hopelessness of the French position.

If the French position in Indo-China is desperate, that of the English in Malaya is not a very hopeful one.

Romantic Malaya ! Time and again has it played a significant role on the stage of world-history. In 6,000 B.C., the ancestors of the modern Papuans and Australian aborigines went to Papua and Australia by way of Malaya. The ancestors of the modern Malaysians poured into the peninsula from Yunnan in China in 2,000 B.C. They spread over Sumatra, Java and other places in Greater India later on. In historical times the Buddhist Shri Vijaya Empire maintained an outpost in northern Malaya and con-

trolled therefrom the Straits of Malacca. The glory of Shri Vijaya was laid low by the Hindu Majapahit Empire of Java in the 14th century. Hinduism was the national religion of Malaya till the 15th century when it was supplanted by Islam, which has remained the predominant national religion till today.

Malaya's connection with her present rulers dates back to the close of the 18th century when Francis Light, an English ship captain, obtained the lease of Penang from the Sultan of Kedah. This was but the proverbial thin end of the wedge and step by step, slowly but surely, Malaya became a British colony. At the time of the outbreak of the last war Malaya was divided into (a) the Straits Settlements including Singapore, Penang, Malacca, Nanning and Province Wellesley ; (b) the four Federated Malaya States, viz., Perak, Selangor, Negri-Sembilan and Pahang; and (c) the five Unfederated Malaya States, viz., Johore, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu and Perlis.

Malaya was invaded by Japan on December 8, 1941. By January 31, 1942, the British troops had retreated to Singapore, which capitulated two weeks later (February 15). Malaya passed under Japanese occupation. It was re-conquered by the Allies in 1945. England now proposed to set up a Union of Malaya which was to comprise the whole of Malaya with the exception of Singapore. All powers enjoyed by the Sultans of Perak, Selangor, Negri-Sembilan, Pahang, Johore, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu and Perlis were to be abolished. There was no indication of any desire on the part of Britain to transfer power to the people.

The proposed Union was vigorously attacked in England—within Parliament and without—as well as in Malaya. An open letter published in the London Times under the signature of 17 high officials retired from Malaya, and an ex-Chief Justice and 4 ex-Governors of the Colony condemned the plan as "an instrument for the annexation of the Malaya States" formulated "without regard to democratic principles." In Malaya, the Malaysians registered their protest against the proposed Union by wearing mourning for a week. The Malayan Nationalist Party and the organised labourers launched a vigorous campaign against it. White Hall gave way. A mixed enquiry committee composed of officials and Malayan representatives was commissioned to draft a new constitution for Malaya. The committee recommended the formation of a Federation of Malaya and the retention of Singapore as a separate administrative unit. The Federation of Malaya was inaugurated on February 1, 1948. A British High Commissioner is the chief executive of the Federation. He is aided by an Executive Council of official as well as non-official members. Singapore is outside the Federation.

The constitutional reform falls far short of Malayan national aspirations. The consequent discontent has found expression in the terrorist activities

of the so-called Communist bandits, mostly members of the Malayan People's Anti-Jap Army (M.P.A.J.P.) organised during the last war. The Chinese were the main objects of oppression during the Japanese occupation of Malaya. In consequence they formed the bulk of M.P.A.J.A. The majority of them were Communists. The M.P.A.J.A. were liberally assisted by the South-East Asia Command (S.E.A.C.) with food, weapons and ammunition. They fought the Japanese in the hope that an Allied victory would be followed by democracy and self-government. It has not, unfortunately. The progressive nationalist and Communist elements therefore took up arms against the Federal Government. The insurrection, which started in June, 1948, is now more than 5 years old. The activities of the insurgents are marked by banditry and acts of terrorism directed against the white planters and other supporters and collaborators of the Government. They demand democracy in and unification of Malaya. The rebels, according to official estimates, do not number more than a few thousand. But the fact that they are holding out for more than 5 years against the limitless resources of the United Kingdom supplemented by those of the U.S.A. proves, if it proves anything at all, that either the official figures are inaccurate or that the Malayan people, a considerable section of them at any rate, are behind the insurgents.

Recent advices seem to indicate that the situation in Malaya has been steadily improving. But at what cost ? A despatch from Singapore dated March 14, 1953, says that a total of 714 Indian inhabitants of Malaya and their 1038 dependants have been repatriated to India since the declaration of the emergency in July, 1948. It reports further that under emergency regulations the Malayan Government had taken into custody 29,823 persons of all races of whom 26,618 had been released or repatriated. The latter number includes 21,000 Chinese, 129 Indonesians and 12 Ceylonese. The Federal Government of Malaya maintained at the time 7 detention and 3 rehabilitation camps at an annual cost of six million Straits dollars (about £780,000). We wish the despatch had given an idea of the loss of life and property on both sides !

An awakened people cannot be held down against its will for all time to come. Malaya is awake. No power on earth can possibly stop its onward march to the goal of freedom and democracy.

If Great Britain has her hands full in South-East Asia, she has then equally so in East Africa. The Mau Mau disorders in Kenya Colony have assumed alarming proportions. A state of emergency has been declared in Kenya in the third week of October, 1952. British troops have been rushed to restore order and the Governor has been armed with extraordinary powers.

The Mau Mau disorder is Kenya's reply to the

white master's short-sighted and stiff-necked "No, No" to all her legitimate demands. It has been described as a secret society of the Kikuyu, politically most mature and conscious of the Kenya Africans. By and large, the Mau Mau is a political movement like any in history. This, together with "some other less active secret organisations" are, according to the special correspondent of the London Times in Nairobi, "offshoots" of Kikuyu Central Association founded about 30 years ago "to advance political aims and to exploit of the land-hunger of the tribe." The Association was proscribed on the outbreak of the war in 1939 for its alleged "anti-British and anti-Government activities." According to the above correspondent, the Mau Mau is the secret wing of the Kenya African Union which "conducts a campaign above ground for political power and authority." The members of the Union are mainly liberal nationalists.

The Mau Mau activities are essentially the protest of the suppressed African humanity against racial and economic discrimination and "in support of equal rights for Africans." The movement is undoubtedly a violent one and has certain characteristic features "the roots of which lie deep in the culture of Africa." But it is certainly not more violent than most of the freedom movements known to history.

The Mau Mau owes its origin to causes political as well as economic. For one thing, since the Europeans began to settle in Kenya at the turn of the current century, Kenya "has experienced the worst kind of raw imperialism." For another, governmental efforts to make life more worth-living for the Africans have been "too little and too late."

Kenya's mixed population is composed of 38,000 Europeans, 123,000 Indians, 24,000 Arabs and 5,450,000 Africans. The first are economically far better off than the others. All of them are not well off, however. But the 2,000 European farmers live well and judged by African standards, even luxuriously. Most of the land in Kenya was held in common by the native tribes before the arrival of the Europeans. The protectorate of Kenya was established in 1895. All land was declared to be government-owned. Land was thus taken away from the children of the soil and they were deprived of their only means of livelihood. They got nothing in return, except for buildings and standing crops in certain cases. The European settlers possessed themselves of 16,700 square miles of the most fertile tract in Kenya. The native Africans, to whom this extensive area belongs by all accepted canons of justice, equity and morality, are not allowed to own land in it and the poorer soil left to them is wholly inadequate for their sustenance.

The Kenya African is as helpless politically as he is economically. He counts no more in the Colony's political life than in the economic. 38,000 English settlers elect 42 out of 56, i.e., 75 per cent of the members of the Colony's Legislative Council. The

Africans, who constitute nearly 97 per cent of the population, have only 6, (i.e., less than 11 per cent) representatives! The African has no vote. His representatives (!) are selected by the European settlers through the British Governor. Offences against whites by blacks are far more drastically dealt with than those by whites against blacks. Forced labour existed till 1946. A ten-year development plan outlined in 1946 was so halting that even the *Economist*, no friend of the colonial peoples, was constrained to remark:

"If the plan is carried out as it stands there is little prospect for the Africans of a reasonable ration of that most essential of all commodities—hope."—*Economist*, August 24, 1946.

The colonial office inaugurated some time back a long-range scheme for improved African education with plans for three training centres for African women teachers. To be effective all such efforts should have been made 25 years ago, if not earlier.

Little wonder that the repressed and tormented humanity of Africa is trying to hit back and to hit as hard as it can. The Mau Mau disorder is but a flame of the mighty conflagration that threatens to engulf the whole of Africa—East, North and South.

The prospects are dismal and depressing in Kenya. The following eye-witness account speaks for itself:

"A foretaste of this (British Settler) raj is the complete banning of meetings and the suppression of the vernacular press to prevent the Kenya Africans from carrying their message of non-violence to the masses. The situation in Kenya is deplorable and shocking. Violence . . . has now given rise to a situation which is so shocking that terror has been let loose on the guilty and the innocent alike."

An ordinance authorises English settlers to shoot an African at sight. According to the above eye-witness, shootings of Africans by the settlers are daily occurrences, the usual pretext being that the men shot at did not halt when asked to do so or that they were trying to run away. No magisterial or judicial trials are held against whites who shoot and kill Africans "and there are never any questions asked either." Laws are made and unmade by fiat of the Governor. The Evidence Act has been changed. A statement made by an unnamed witness is very often considered to be valid in a criminal trial.

The Mau Mau activities are the beginning of a genuine revolution in East Africa. Her Britannic Majesty's Government should bear in mind that a people, however docile and peaceful, cannot be indefinitely held down in subjection, nay, not even through the most barbarous repressive measures. They will do well to remember, and remember in their own interest, that confidence in the honesty, efficiency,

fair-mindedness and strength of the rulers is the principal bulwark of any government—alien or otherwise. Consent and co-operation, not coercion, is the real basis of the State. The gods of White Hall must awake to the realities of the situation. They must reconcile themselves to a reversal of values that confronts the white man in Asia and Africa.

North Africa too is in ferment. The French Union has a rather hot time in that part of the Dark Continent. France has reacted to the rising tide of unrest there with severe repressive measures. She replied to the Casablanca riots in Morocco last year with mass-arrests, when the whole "general staff" of the 'Istiqlal' (Nationalist Front) was rounded up. But repression is no solution of popular discontent, which is only driven underground by repressive measures. The situation seems to be rapidly going out of control in Tunisia too where "everybody is a Destourian (the Nationalist Party of Tunisia) or else ready to become one." France has sought to pacify Tunisia by too little concessions and too late. Britain's experience in India should have been an eye-opener to colonial powers everywhere. It has not. Morocco resents French rule as much as the steadily increasing number of French settlers in Morocco. The following figures are revealing. Till 1939, French settlers in Morocco numbered 200,000. They were 305,000 in 1946 and more than 400,000 in 1950. The number has doubled in a decade! Does France seek to convert Morocco—and more—into a French Australia? The suspicion might not be altogether unfounded.

The down-trodden humanity black and brown—of the Union of South Africa too has turned against its white tormentors. The best—should we say the worst?—efforts of Dr. D. F. Malan's Nationalist Government have failed to crush it. The non-violent struggle of the Africans and the Indians in South Africa has forged a bond of union among the non-whites of the Union. They are united today as they have been never before. A final show-down between the rulers and the ruled is not far off.

The conflicts in Viet-Nam, Malaya, East Africa, North Africa and South Africa are not to be regarded as stray, isolated incidents. A common string runs through them all. They are important and significant episodes in the super-drama of our epoch—the struggle for human emancipation—which is steadily mounting to a climax. The sands of time are fast running out. The long-suffering millions of Asia and Africa are on the march. Frederick Lee rightly points out in *The Signs of the Times*:

"They hardly know where they are going, but they are fully determined to be on their way in one direction or another. Their senses have made them dissatisfied with things as they are and have been."

SPAIN TODAY

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WITH 194,232 sq. miles of area and a little more than 28 millions of population, Spain occupies a considerably important position in the global strategy at the present juncture. This strategic importance of the Spanish peninsula was amply illustrated by the keen interest which Italy, Germany, France, Britain and the U.S.S.R. took in the Spanish Civil War which served as a prelude to the Second World War; and by the interest which the Western powers more particularly the United States have taken in the issue of Spain's admission into the United Nations, after 1945. The U.S. policy since that year may broadly be said to have been one of containment of Communism at home and abroad. That explains the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, and the Atlantic Pact and the subsequent Nato. That also explains the keen interest which the USA has shown in all key areas. For the defence of Europe, the U.S. interest in the control of Gibraltar is understandable and the effective control of Gibraltar in the American calculations involves much more than the British base on the Rock itself. It implies, that is, that Spain, Spanish Morocco and French North Africa should be friendly. That explains the vital importance of Spain in the West European citadel.

But will Spain fit in what is glibly called the "Free World"? The problem before the American statesmanship is one of reconciliation between the United Nations obligations and the dislike of Franco dictatorship on the one side and security interests in the containment of Communism on the other. But in the attempt to reconcile them the "Free World" is thoroughly exposed. What then is "Spain today"?

Spain Today is Franco's Spain. The Spanish state was formally established by General Franco's victory on 1st April, 1939. On 31st March, 1947, General Franco announced that Spain is to become a monarchy with a regency Council and himself as the Head of the State. On July 6, 1947, this was approved by a Referendum in which out of a total of 17 million voters more than 14 millions voted for it. But this does not mean that the General is popular. In fact the important difference between Franco and Mussolini or Hitler is just this: the Duce and the Fuhrer were popular with their people. Franco is not. For instance in 1945 it was estimated by foreign diplomats that over 85% of the Spanish people were against his regime. The truth is that Franco governs by the use of political bribery, terror and the policy of thorough suppression of all opposition. The basis of his supremacy is a negative coalition of divergent elements—the Falange Party, the military, the clergy, and some landowners, and industrialists. They are bound together not because they have common interests based on a common fascist programme. They all are bound together by their common fear of popular uprising and the loss of their privileges and security. In a

letter dated Jan. 19, 1950 the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson writing to Chairman Connolly of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that "the internal position of the present regime in Spain is strong and enjoys the support of many, who although they might prefer another form of Government or Chief of State, fear that chaos and civil strife would follow a move to overthrow the government." Thus we may conclude that his power rests upon a coalition of the elements that comprise the 15 or 20% of the population. Let us analyse the character of the elements which form the basis of his power.

The most important is the Falange which is Spain's only legal political party and is without doubt fascist in methods and organization. It was on 19th April, 1937 that the various political groups in the Nationalist Movement were united by Franco into one single political party—the Falange. The single party is ruled by a National Council composed of 103 members, and has about 100,000 paid officials "ranging from the heads of Spain's syndicates and the Civil Governors of the provinces, to secret agents and gangs of uniformed ruffians, paid to maintain order and terrorize resistant elements of the population." This party has been called "a carbon copy of Hitler's Nazis." And what are the sources of income of this single political party?

Apart from an annual state subsidy to the tune of more than 20,000,000 dollars the party receives huge amounts from the people in the form of tributes. Every business firm, every industrial labourer and every peasant has to pay to the party funds, and people are obliged by law to work without pay for the party. This is counted as "social service." And all jobs in the State are controlled by the party with the result that worst corruption prevails with the government. Indeed according to an American commentator:

"The country today is gripped by a parasitical bureaucracy so corrupt as to make our spoils system and local political machine appear saintly in comparison"

Further, this Falange have also organized the students in what is called the "Youth Front" and their regular seminars are held where the virtues of totalitarianism and the decadence and vices of "liberal democracy" is taught. The ranks of the Falange, then provide the most important source of strength to Franco.

The basis of state being fear, army plays a dominant role in the actual working of the Spanish state. The budget as reported in the *New York Times* dated Jan. 3, 1951, indicated that well over 50% of the total expenditures of the State annually go to defense. The Budget for 1952 provided 7,401,677,891 pesetas for the army, navy and air force i.e., 32.5% of the total ordinary budget. This is in addition to standing militia (territorial army) which consumes 25% of the ordinary budget.

Thus the total expenditure on defense in Spain comes to 57% of the budget. But defense against whom? Where is the external threat? And since it does not exist, the army is used for the ruthless suppression of democratic movements within and the whole structure rests on heaps of jealousy, fear, hatred and war hysteria. The Spanish army is the largest army in Europe, outside Russia and Yugoslavia. There are 19 divisions including one armoured division and one independent cavalry division in Spain. In addition to these there are independent cavalry brigades in Morocco. This huge army, nearly double that of France and treble that of Italy, has 20,000 Generals and Officers, one for every 20 soldiers. In addition to this huge army, there is the navy of a considerable size and an independent airforce.

The rank and file of the army and navy have republican sympathies, although the elder Generals are monarchists while the younger officers are Falangists. The Generals therefore are often reported to be in conspiracy against Franco to enthrone Don Juan. Thus the Army and the Falange are jealous of each other. Realizing the Army's power and the loyalty of the Falange, Franco has used the latter as a check upon the former and has wisely maintained and strengthened the Falange. Although the Falangist militia was formally dissolved on 20th December, 1943 General Franco is constantly arming the loyal members of the Falange. But though Franco rather depends upon the Falange for his powers, and distrusts the army, and the army in its turn has contempt for the Fascist Party, yet the officers generally support Franco because he has given them a vital position in the country's economy. In the *Hispanic American Report*, Vol. III, No. 3 of March 1950, p. 4 (a monthly review published under the Direction of Ronald Hilton by Stanford University) it is pointed out that army officials now control public works, banks, entertainments and many basic occupations in Spain's economy. A second reason why the army generally supports Franco is their fear that the moment the terroristic regime of the Falange and Franco is gone, there shall be a popular up-surge which will sweep off the Franco order lock, stock and barrel.

The third basis of the power of Franco is the Church. Franco himself is a devout Catholic and most of the Spanish too belong to the same faith. The Church stands against all progressive movements and is a hot-bed of reaction and opportunism. From 1936 to 1945 the Spanish clergy was solidly behind Franco. But in 1945 they expected, that the Allies having defeated the Axis Powers would crush the Fascist regime of Franco as well. So the Church now made some attempt to dissociate itself from Franco in the hope that it could escape the people's vengeance if Franco is ousted. For instance during the series of General Strikes that occurred throughout Northern Spain in the spring of 1951, priests were reported to have given open support to the strikers. The Catholic workers' weekly, *Tu*, was suspended for approving the Barcelona strike. But this should not be taken to mean any love between the Church and the people's

movement. This is sheer opportunism on the part of the Church. Recently in January 1952, Franco appointed some Catholic advisers to advise him in various economic matters.

A fourth source of Franco's support comes from the landowners whose titles and privileges are fully guaranteed and whose grip on the land and on the peasant is fully secure. They support Franco probably not so much because they are Fascists as because they fear that if Franco goes, they may follow. Probably they would have supported Constitutional monarchy but they knew that such a system involving such nuisance as open elections could lead to a return of the Left to power and the consequent loss of their privileges and power. As with the landowners, so with the industrialists and commercial classes. Although they would like to reform the government, they on the whole support Franco under whom "their profits have quadrupled, while the Falange keeps the workers in his place, insures low wages, and prevents strikes and Unions." This will be clear by a brief description of the economic organization.

The economic policy centres round vertical Syndicates or Trade Unions, established under the Charter of Labour by the law of 8th August, 1939. This law substituted the local and provincial Syndicates of pre-war days. By another law of 23rd June, 1941, these Syndicates were classified in 26 branches of production, each working within its own respective economic sphere. In these branches there is no place for the individual. The individual is replaced by the producing concern as a whole, made up of the capitalists, managers, experts and the labour. The vertical syndicate is invested with authority and hierarchy and the appointments made from top to bottom. At the top stands the National Delegate of Syndicates, who is responsible for his conduct to the Minister who appoints him. Production, wages, prices, and the distribution of domestic and foreign goods are strictly controlled. No new industries can be established without the Government permission.

In this economic structure, what is the condition of the masses? Here we shall see the depth and scope of the people's movement in Spain. Fear being the basis of the state, the Spanish upper classes which constitute about 20% of the population have only dread and contempt for the masses. The average per capita income in Spain is about one rupee and annas eight per day or 120 dollars a year. A Farm worker to buy two loaves of black bread, with which he must feed a large family, will have to spend a full daily wage. The urban workers' per capita income is about one rupee ten annas but black market prices keep him in a constant state of poverty, and since the war there often has been employment only 3 or 4 days a week due to the power shortage and disruption of the economy. An average clerk used to earn about 20 dollars or 200 pesetas a month during the Second World War and there has been no improvement since then. In January 1952, a man's suits' cost was about 800 pesetas or 80 dollars, a cheap pair of shoes about 120

dollars, eggs 3 dollars a dozen. Since 1945 wages have increased (and this is according to the official figures whose veracity may be challenged) 300% while prices during the same period have gone up by 700%. In this background all schemes of social welfare do not relieve the gloom of the worker. A decree published on 28th December, 1948 extended relief as family subsidy, old age pensions and health and maternity insurances in which workers contribute 5% and employers 13%. What actually happens is that out of their meagre daily wages the workers have to place 5% at the mercy of their merciless employers and they release the amount if the workers have behaved well. Whereas during the war women and children were employed, with the end of the war, the boom collapsed and the cessation of the German purchases broke the Spanish economy. Secondly, one of the worst droughts in Spain's history has caused a severe shortage of electric power. Since 1945 it has been reduced by 40%. In 1950 Madrid's factories were reduced to a nine-hour week and hydro-electric reserves were down to less than 5% of capacity, because electricity was provided only 3 or 4 days a week and even when it was provided, it is generally cut off during certain hours to ease the load. The city of Malaga suffered from such an acute power shortage that it has been obliged to rent an Italian ship to generate electricity for the city.

Thus industries and small business which depend heavily on electric power have been hit hard. But the worker is doubly hit. He has suffered the loss of half of his income because he is paid by the day. And he suffers further, for inflation has steadily whittled away his purchasing power. From November 1, 1950 to October 31, 1951 alone prices have increased by 20.8% without any corresponding increase in the wages.

If the droughts have resulted in the fall of electricity, they have also led to the failing of crops because of lack of fertilizers. In the production of olive and potatoes there has been a fall of 75% in 1951. The production of oranges fell in 1950 by about 65% of what it was in 1949. In 1950 it was 384 metric tons while in 1949 it was 872 metric tons. Fodder became so scarce that livestock had to be slaughtered and sold for meat. The peoples' miseries became worst when in 1950 Argentina refused to continue wheat shipments under the Franco-Peron trade agreement of 1946.

As with economics, so with education. The entire education is regulated by the State. In 1951 about 40% of the people just could not read or write. Religious teaching has been brought back again to its former standing.

How have the people reacted against this cruel background? Immediately after Franco's victory in the Civil War, the Spanish people could not organize following poverty, sickness of war and disillusionment. But during World War II which the Spanish people viewed as a war of democracy against Fascism, there was an evidence of a greater democratic movement. In 1945 there emerged out two groups—the Democratic Alliance

and the National Union. The first group loosely organizing the various factions of the old Popular Front has pinned its faith in the process and cult of liberal Democracy of the Western type. Its most important ingredient is the Spanish Socialist Party, which is an organization of disgruntled middle class elements and is anti-Franco. Quite an important section consists of the opportunist clergy. The programme of the Democratic Alliance includes gradual nationalization of key industries, equitable distribution of wealth, restoration of constitutional machinery, land reforms, checks upon the political power of the Church, a decrease in the size and political influence of the army, Representative Government, and its activities consist mainly of publishing anti-Franco literature. During the Second World War it vigorously supported the Allies with the pious hope that after the War they would oust Franco and instal them in power. It is strangely against the other group—the National Union.

The National Union is the Communist group of Spain. It contains 50,000 active members as against 200,000 members of the Democratic Alliance, and is much better organized than the Democratic Alliance. It maintains a printing press, distributes considerable literature secretly, maintains its tie with the Communist Party of France and through it with Russia. Its leaders are men of integrity and valour and are fine organizers. It has wide mass contact although a vast majority of the Spanish people, being wedded to Catholic faith distrust their ideology. The blunder of the Spanish National Union as of the Indian Communist Party, it may be suggested, has been their failure to explain to the people that Communism is quite compatible with local practices and religious beliefs. As it is, the people only distrust the National Union. Probably it is precisely this distrust that caused the other Popular Front parties to reject Communist overtures for collaboration and unite instead in the Democratic Alliance. But where the National Union failed, America did the job, for many Spaniards have turned in despair, from the opposition forces which they have come to associate with the United States, to the Communists. The USA, it should not be forgotten, is patronizing the Franco regime. (To this we shall shortly turn). In his letter to Chairman Connolly of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, dated January 19, 1950, Dean Acheson said, "There is no sign of an alternative to the present government". The American position can best be understood by what an underground worker of the Democratic Alliance said: "For the moment our greatest enemy is Franco. . . . The allies of our enemies are our enemies too. . . . So the question we ask the Americans is this: Whom do they prefer to have on their side—Franco or the Spanish people? They cannot have both?" It can be surmised that left to themselves the Communist party will be able to capture a good many seats in the General Elections. The popular Movement in Spain has got to be slow because even though Franco is a Fascist dictator, the country is not. Franco's ascendancy it is submitted, has not transformed

the essentials of the Spanish society. There has never been in Spain what may be called a Fascist Revolution like German or the Italian revolutions. Thus the traditional class structure has been frozen. The situation is more or less like Indian where the political change has not touched the under-currents of society. It was different with China where Chiang's mismanagement, the presence of a powerful enemy, and the vastness of the land where pockets could be developed with wide and deep contacts with the people, could lead to a speedy conquest by the Communists.

It has been pointed out in the foregoing pages that the US Government is patronizing the Franco regime. Immediately after the establishment of the United Nations Organization, Spain applied for admission. On 9th February 1946, the General Assembly concluded that the Franco Government of Spain was not eligible for membership. On 12th December, 1946, the General Assembly in a resolution recommended that "If within a reasonable time, there is not established a government which derives its authority from the consent of the governed, committed to respect freedom of speech, religion and assembly, and to the prompt holding of an election in which the Spanish people free from force and intimidation and regardless of party, may express their will, the Security Council consider the adequate measures to be taken in order to remedy the situation" and that "all Members of the UN immediately recall from Madrid their Ambassadors and Ministers Plenipotentiary accredited there."

In November 1947, as a result of the US manouvres the Assembly passed another resolution expressing confidence that the Security Council would exercise its responsibilities under the Charter as soon as required by the situation in Spain. During the first quarter of 1949 several resolutions were introduced but all of them failed for not being supported by the necessary majority of two-thirds. These proposals ranged from a proposal that UN member-states have full freedom of action as regards their diplomatic relations with Spain to a proposal that all UN members cease to export arms and ammunitions to Spain and refrain from entering into any agreements with the Franco Government.

But despite the fact that the UN Resolution of 1946 has never been modified, it has been systematically broken by member states led by USA. Thus at the present moment 8 members of the UN have Representatives of ambassadorial rank in Madrid and 22 others have Ministers. The US has also given considerable economic assistance to Franco. A series of dollar loans have been granted to Franco, by the Chase National Bank. In 1950, the US also authorized a loan of 62,500,000 dollars to be channelled through the Economic Co-operation Administration. On February 12, 1951, the US Export and Import Bank extended credits totalling dollars 12,200,000 to Spain. As usual, strings and conditions were attached to these loans—e.g., the simplification of export and import controls, the abolition of restrictions limiting foreign investors to 25 per cent. participation in Spanish

enterprises, and a revaluation of Spanish currency. Thus the effort of the USA has been to dishonour the UN Resolution of 1946 to establish diplomatic and economic relations with Spain, to enlist Spain in the chain of the Nato. If Spain has not been admitted in the UN, it is because of the Soviet Veto and if she is not yet included in the Nato, it is because of the pressure of world opinion. Spain occupies an important strategic position and is rich in minerals. She produces Lignite (1315671 metric tons); Copper Ore (252026); Iron Ore (3038692); Lead Ore (51,891); Manganese Ore (19038); Potash Ore (1,013,333); Rock Salt (308,229); Sulphur Ore (51,082); Tin Ore (1423); Zinc Ore (118422); Wolfram Ore (784); Mercury (33571). The world shall watch the struggle of the popular forces against corruption, reaction and feudalism, with keen interest.

No survey of Spain Today shall be complete without a reference to the Spanish Empire. The colonial possessions of Spain are located largely in Africa. The Spanish Morocco including Ifni territory, Spanish protectorate of the Northern and Southern zones, constitute an area of 18454 sq. miles, with 1309702 of population. In addition, there is the Spanish Sahara and Spanish Guinea with an area of 116,261 sq. miles and 210582 of population. These areas are governed directly by the Spanish Government which is politico-military in character. Morocco at the present moment is divided into 3 Zones—the French, the Spanish and the Tangier internationalized zone. Even the Tangier Zone came to be controlled and occupied by Spain on 14th June, 1940, after the fall of France. It was only in September 1945 when the Spanish Government was requested by Great Britain, the USA, the USSR and France to evacuate the territory, that on October 11, 1945, international rule was restored. Later on, March 8, 1948, Italy was re-admitted to the Control Committee.

These colonial possessions are a source of tremendous revenues to Spain. Guinea alone in 1950-51 exported to Spain 113,201 metric quintals of cocoa valued at 20 million pesetas; 63834 metric quintals of coffee valued at 31 million pesetas; 215966 metric quintals of vegetables and fruits valued at 21.8 million pesetas; and 44,858 metric tons of wood valued at 9 million pesetas. On the whole 30 per cent of the Spanish exports of raw material come from the colonies. Among the Nations of these regions the American missions are enthusiastically at work. The Spanish treatment of the Natives consists of brutal suppression of all revolts, perpetuation of privileges and vested interests, economic and industrial strangulation with the result that it is a world of ignorance, starvation and intrigues. Surprisingly the colonies have not been placed in the category of trust territories.

What, then, are the alternatives before the progressive forces of the world? Much attention has not been paid towards a country which is heavily armed (it has the largest army in Europe if we leave out USSR) which crushes all signs of democracy coming up and which perpetuates a regime based on mounting privileges, falling standards of living and grinding exploitation. What

is worse is the fact that it is making capital out of the East-West Cold War. The USA in its war hysteria has not only established diplomatic relations with Spain and has supported her candidature for admission to the United Nations, she has also sanctioned huge loans to Spain so that she may serve as a bulwark against Communism. In this ugly background, it is necessary to expose the real character of Franco's regime and to create world opinion so that the United Nations Resolution of 1946 may come to be honoured by member states. It is a pity that even in this case Soviet Russia should have been found on the side of the people and the oldest and richest Democracies of the World on that of the Dictator!*

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* A paper read in International Club, Politics Dept., Allahabad University.

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THAKKAR BAPA AND HIS ACCOUNTS

By K. S. SHRIRAM,

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My connection with Shri A. V. Thakkar, affectionately called "Bapa," dates back to 1932 after the Epic Fast of Mahatma Gandhi over the Communal Award when the All-India Anti-Untouchability League later changed to the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh was founded, till his departure from this mortal world on the 19th January, 1951. I travelled with him all over the country over and over again and lived with him for a major part of these 19 years. Even with so many years of close contact, I do not think there is anything that I can write about Bapa which his numerous co-workers and the general public do not know. He did not keep anything secret or personal from his friends and co-workers. He gave himself up for the service of the poor and all who knew him knew his work and the life he led. He was a strict disciplinarian and very punctilious. About money matters and accounts he was extremely strict and any one who made a slip lost his sympathy for good. He would always impress upon social workers that unless one is a good accountant he cannot be a good social worker. When he was not out touring he will not go to bed before he had seen and signed the daily Cash Book for that day and written his diary. On return from tours he will go through the cash book for all those days he had not seen though it would have been checked and signed by his assistant. It was due to this strictness about money matters and accounts that there was only one case of lapse

during his long stewardship of nearly twenty years of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. But that too was detected in time and the loss made good to the pie by those who were responsible for the management of the branch and the branch was reorganised. To Thakkar Bapa the person's position in social or political field or his connection with high personages was of no consequence. To him he was more than an ordinary criminal who abused the trust placed in him or mismanaged public funds placed at his disposal or let others to mismanage owing to his lack of supervision. In that particular instance he was so upset that he decided to hand over the man to the police, but Bapu who was informed of the same managed to recover the whole amount and had the branch reorganised without taking recourse to the law court.

Though he was Bapu's lieutenant he did not imbibe the art of begging. He was so shy that he seldom approached people for donation. He made an exception in the case of his President Shri G. D. Birla and J. K. Birla, with whom he maintained the most cordial relation till his last day. Whenever he realised that a genuine case needed aid he would straightway go to them and mention the amount he wanted and I do not know of an instance when they denied him his demand.

In his late seventies he used to be under physical discomfort if he had to walk a long distance owing to cataract in both eyes and other troubles. But he would not

think of keeping a car. It was, I believe, modesty and not the expenses because his president to whom he had to go now and then a distance of nearly 12 miles by tonga or bus in connection with the work of the Sangh or with the programme and movements of Bapa, had many times pressed him to keep one of his cars. He would put off the offer with a smile that he did not need a car to go about. It was only during the Constituent Assembly days when he was 80 years that he was prevailed upon to accept a car which he maintained out of the allowance he received from the Constituent Assembly.



Thakkar Bapa

If he was a hard task-master with his co-workers, he was none the less with himself. Even at the age of 75 he could sit at times for six to seven hours at a stretch at his table writing, dictating and issuing instructions without once leaving his chair. Till his last day he was actively directing half a dozen different activities like the Harijan Sevak Sangh, the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, the Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, the Displaced Harijans Rehabilitation Board (Government), Flood and Famine Relief Works of the Servants of India

Society, etc. Whenever he went on tour, he had at time to work for all these different institutions but he was meticulously careful in distributing his touring expenses to all these different activities in proportion to the work he was able to do for them. He maintained this principle to the last day even in dividing the postage expenses he incurred in correspondence carried on from his sick-bed in Bhavnagar. His greatest ambition was to do more and more work for the poor and suffering humanity and his difficulty was to pass a day without any work. The hardest shock to him must have been the realisation during his last illness that he could not move out any more and that he had to be in bed. But even in bed, he did not give up work, because the urge to do more work was strong and work was there in abundance. He called a band of workers from the Servants of India Society and the Bhil Seva Mandal to his bedside at Bhavnagar and gave them clear instructions to go and do Flood Relief Work in Assam in collaboration with the Government. His second work was to call two of his important workers from Ranchi in Bihar and directed them to start welfare work for the Musahrs (Harijan serfs who are sold with the land by one landlord to another) and secured the necessary funds for three years from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. The third and last was to request the Harijan Sevak Sangh to start a welfare centre for Nayadis of Kerala who number only about 900 in Kerala but they are unapproachables and unseeables and he felt that some welfare work for them was essential. The first is over while the other two are going on.

Now to his own finances. In October, 1932, when Bapu asked him to take up the Harijan work, he was one of the senior members of the Servants of India Society and was getting an allowance of Rs. 80 per month with second class travelling. From the day he became the General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh he took to third class travelling which he kept up for nearly 13 years touring all over the country over and over again. He did not spare the bullock cart even. He was prevailed upon to change to a higher class only during his last days owing to old age and ill health or whenever he had to travel on behalf of the Government. From the Harijan Sevak Sangh he took only his travelling expenses during his long service of nearly twenty years. Out of his meagre allowance which increased to Rs. 225 by 1951 he paid his house rent, water and conservancy and house tax to the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It was under his own strict orders that the office recovered from him these dues till his last day. Out of his allowance on an average a third of it went to the poor and needy every month during all these twenty years. Occasionally when he found that one of his staff members was in financial difficulty due to sickness or some other cause, he would give him a lump sum out of his meagre allowance according to his needs. During the later part of his life, his generosity increased to such an extent that he curtailed his physical needs to save more out of his personal allowance for giving to the needy. Some of the beneficiaries were poor and widowed

ladies of his family. When Bapa died on the 19th January, 1951, there was a credit balance of Rs. 54-15-9 in his personal account with the Harijan Sevak Sangh which was paid to those ladies as part of their February, 1951 aid.

A member of the Servants of India Society parts away with his private property when he becomes a member and he gets only his maintenance allowance from the society as long as he remains a member. All his earnings either from Government or any other source after meeting the incidental expenses connected with that work goes to the Society. During the tenure of Thakkar Bapa's membership of the Constituent Assembly and other Committees he had a separate account opened in the name of the Servants of India Society and all the allowances received were credited into that account and expenses connected with that work only were debited to that account. The balance was sent to the Society every quarter. He did not touch a single pie out of his earning for his personal use or even for any public cause because according to him that was the property of the Servants of India Society. When he was ill in Bhavnagar

this account was closed under his instructions and the balance was sent to the Servants of India Society, Poona.

Unlike many public workers and leaders he did not keep any private or Gupst account. He never asked any one for himself. His wants were few, he dressed simply and ate frugally. During his last days he further reduced his personal needs to the minimum to the sorrow of his friends and co-workers. Thus when he died on the 19th January, 1951 there must have been some savings out of his few months' allowance which he received direct, after meeting his food and medical expenses in Bhavnagar, but not sufficient to meet his funeral expenses.

Except for a warm shawl presented by the workers of the Kasturba Trust on his 30th birthday the worldly belongings he left behind were very few and valueless. At the most they would have fetched about Rs. 35.

In the field of Social Work he was a giant and because of his connection with the big and the rich many may still be under the impression that he must have been financially very well-off, but facts are otherwise. Could one leave a more illustrative example of one's life who was so strict about balancing the accounts of others?

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A PILGRIMAGE TO DARKNESS

By AJIT KUMAR DUTTA

From the pages of a book in a quiet library corner to a comparatively unknown spot in the wide world outside is a long way off, like a voyage to a new country across an uncharted sea. Prior to departure this was the sort of sensation disturbing the mind. The destination was not far-off, only about a hundred miles from the city, the seat of education and culture, in the dark interior of Birbhum district. The trip was short in a sense but the psychological gap was not easy to compass. The particular idea behind was to meet some "patuas" or village scroll-painters in their natural surroundings. A long-cherished dream was coming true and no doubt there was a feeling of thrill and adventure too in it.

A few are still alive and enacting their roles in the traditional style, though the society instead of opening its heart in grateful appreciation, far less honouring them, has turned its back to them. They are left to cold neglect, starvation and death. These "patuas" are the illustrious torch-bearers of the folk-culture of the land.

"Pat" or scroll-painting, a bright shining star in the firmament of traditional art-styles of Bengal, has been a medium of mass education for a very long time. Like "jatra" "panchali" or "kathakata," all other different modes of popular entertainment, "pat" too has its distinctive appeal. The religious, pseudo-religious and other popular stories propagated through this medium had definitely some far-reaching effect on the mass-mind. The days are, no doubt, changing but probably the ser-

vice of this medium is still essentially needed to fulfil the purpose. This poses a question for serious thinking, whether this glorious as well invaluable ingredient of our cultural pattern will have such a tragic end or this should be given a fresh lease of life.

The scroll-paintings could be seen even two decades ago, throughout the length and breadth of the country, depicting a wide variety of stories, including the "Krishnalila," "Ramlila," "Chaitanyalila," "Dasavatar" as well the achievements of "Satyapir," "Manikpir" or that of a "Ghazi." But today the sphere has been greatly narrowed. Not to speak of the ordinary ones, the "Kalighat pats"—the products of a very powerful and "modern" school of painters—could not survive the challenge of cheaper litho-prints combined with the unsympathetic attitude of the art connoisseurs of the country. But, amazingly enough, a few "patuas" and a number of wonderful "pats" are still scattered here and there. Not to speak of canalising the tendencies of these artists and serious attempt at reviving this once-great tradition, even no systematic effort has so far been made towards the collection of the works.

Banta, a small village in Rampurhat sub-division, is still inhabited by a group of "patua" families. Most unfortunately, however, none of the ten heads of adults knows painting. Most of them are cultivators and at off-season go out with their family "pats" to near-by villages and even to towns, to have some extra earning. As they

unfold the scrolls and show them to the people, they either recite or narrate with accompaniment of music the respective stories. The "patua-sangits" or the accompanying verses or ballads are mostly self-composed or handed down



Sri Durga
By Rakhal Chitrakar

from generation to generation. These are invariably present with "pats" and of absorbing interest as specimens of folk-literature. On enquiry it was revealed that a large section of the public still had much love for the "pats." The "patuas" are rewarded either in cash or in kind like rice or paddy, particularly during the harvesting season. It was added that in urban areas a section of the public was interested in buying "pats." In this regard of showing some deeper interest in their affair, they had their greatest experience about two decades ago. They had at that time in their midst a guest in the person of the late Gurusaday Dutt, the then District Magistrate, who was better known as the "Guruji" of the Bratachari Movement than for his pioneering activities in the field of Bengal folk art and culture. Anyway, since then no "outsider" had been among these "patuas" to enquire about their lot.

It was the harvesting time. The bright morning appeared to carry the promise of a rosy future, the horizon arching to a vista of delightful adventure. An aroma pervaded the soul with a sweet sadness. In a



From a Dasavatara (Ten Incarnations) pat
By Banku Chitrakar

clear prospect under the sunlit pure blue of the sky, the mind was wafted over to soaring heights. But not for long. A poisonous snake was busking in the sunshine in front. Was it not doubly significant? It came as a warning to walk cautiously as well to look at things in their proper perspective.

Sraddha is an adjacent village. It can legitimately feel proud of the "patuas" living there; some are still active and pursuing their profession in face of heavy odds. Was it a Cheshire cat's grin in his face? We were not quite sure. But we were sure and still sure as it is still ringing in our ears, a deep sigh, followed by a cluster of words, "Yes, I still paint and even I am training up my son in my hereditary profession." Was it a sense of regret, shame or repentance or a feeling of pride, I could not make out what the expression conveyed. But I could feel it was cold and piercing. It came out

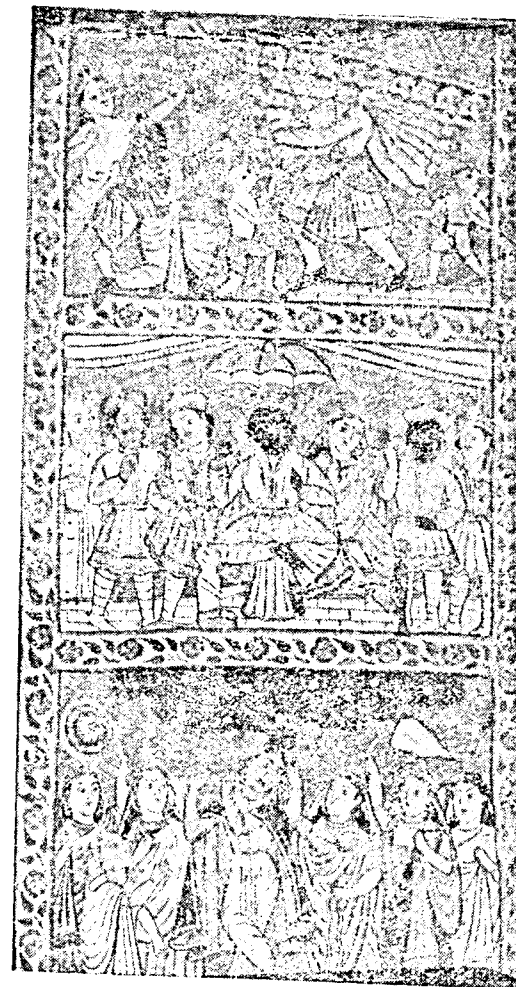
from the lips of Sri Banku Chitrakar, the leading living "patua" of the locality. After a brief and heavy pause, he was a bit normal. In a tone of utter disappointment, he greatly regretted that in about a couple of years' time he had the opportunity of painting only a few "pats," which

rotting in a dark corner of the country, unappreciated and unsung. He has the honesty, sincerity and integrity, much more than can be seen in a product of the modern sophisticated civilisation and that is why he is still treading over the path of his forefathers.



Another view of the same

were even not of a high order and to his satisfaction, simply because the people were not willing to pay higher prices! Naturally, he has to look for other openings to maintain himself and his dependants. He keeps himself engaged in painting "chalachitras" or backgrounds of the images and modelling the same. In a sense he is probably fortunate. As yet he has not turned a tiller. The demand for his "pats" mainly lies with his kinsmen, who also decide the subject to be painted. In technique and method, this artist is conventional and makes use mostly of local indigenous colours. He was greatly moved when we left him. His only and earnest request was to see him again, if possible and that was all! He was obviously steady this time. He knew his ordeal—his fate of



A few more panels of the same

But why this tragedy awaits Sri Banku Chitrakar and his like? After all they possess some creative talent. They are untrained in the modern sense, but the spontaneous pourings of these half-educated or uneducated artists, are definitely a matter of pride to any sensible society. But they are dying, chiefly because the society, particularly the members of the upper strata, with all its capacity, education and sympathy, has turned its back to them. But, on all counts, this end is neither "historical" nor "natural." In many Western countries with a greater degree of change in their socio-economic structure we find their indigenous artists properly rehabilitated and encouraged to continue their profession. In Great Britain and Japan specially, such artists and artisans play an

important role in their respective country's industrial life. In the United States continuous research is being carried on to collect materials and give a new lease of life to the original Mountain and Red Indian arts and crafts. Above all, in the post-Revolutionary Russia, the internationally famous icon-makers have been successfully rehabilitated. If these be true, in case of such industrially advanced

countries of the present times, why should we be failing in our duties, particularly after the achievement of our independence? It should be a particular care for one and all to see that every cultural activity in every corner of our land, not only continues unhampered but thrives and prospers, so that there may not be any divergence between profession and practice.

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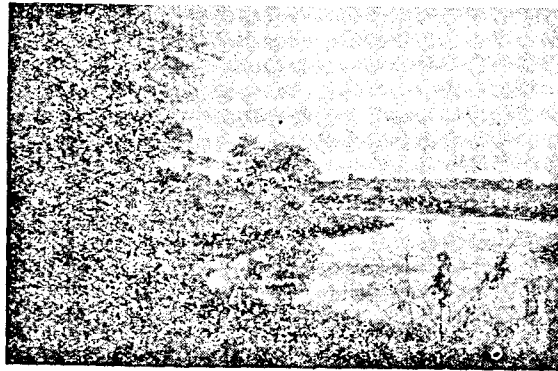
OLD MEMORIES OF BURDWAN

Talitgarh and Hamambari

By NIRMAL SINHA, M.A.

TALITGARH

The fort at Talit situated between Talit and Burdwan Railway Station and within a short distance to the west of the Grand Trunk Road, has a singular form of its own which can hardly fail to excite the wonder of sightseers. To say that it is circular in form will be an over-simplified description. Actually, on its fringes the fort has the shape of a full-blossomed lotus, defended by an earthwork rampart, with 12 mounds at regular intervals, and encircled by a moat about 25 ft. wide.



Talitgarh mound and moat

In 1910, when J. C. K. Peterson's *Burdwan* in the Bengal District Gazetteer was published, there were traces of masonry at the northern gateway, and in the citadel and some of the bastions. Now, the ruins of the gateway are the only remains of the masonry which might have once given the fort an appearance of impregnability. A broken 24-pounder cannon, half-buried in the soil, is still visible near the gateway, while others, which were perhaps once mounted on the mounds, are, I am told, kept at Burdwan by the Raj family.

It is interesting to note that the moat is connected to the Banka river on the south-east, which suggests the provision for a back-door escape for the defenders of the fort in case of an irresistible attack. The space inside the fort, approximately over half a square mile in extent, forms the cultivated lands of the Talitgarh village. There are also three large and five small tanks inside. Near

the northern gateway of the fort but beyond the moat is another village called the Mahabat-garh village. It may be hazarded that this village has derived its name from Jehangir's general, Mahabat Khan, who came to Bengal in pursuit of the rebel prince Shahjehan in 1621-22 A.D. and was shortly afterwards appointed the Subahdar of Bengal. This village outside the fort is, therefore, older than the Talitgarh village, which grew up presumably with the decay of the fort and the subsequent letting out of the lands inside by the Burdwan Raj family. There are about forty Bagdi and Bauri families in these two small villages at present.

Tradition holds that the fort was built by the Burdwan Raj family to protect the 109 Siva temples at Nawabhat, constructed by Maharani Adhirani Bishnukumari Devi, wife of the late Maharajadhiraj Tilak Chand, in 1783. But on the very face of it this tradition is unacceptable, because of its known use in earlier times. The Raj family found refuge in this fort against the periodical incursions of the Bargis from 1741 to 1751 (Peterson's *Burdwan*, p. 191). To go back further it is likely that the fort played an important part when Prince Shahjehan invaded Burdwan city probably in 1622. The city was taken by the Prince who stayed there for a short time to recruit Afghan soldiers for his army (Charles Stewart's *History of Bengal*). Besides, it was perhaps in this fort at Burdwan that Prince Azim-u-Shan stayed for nearly three years from 1699 to 1701 after the slaying of the Afghan rebel, Rahim Shah, and the subsequent suppression of revolt started by Sobha Singh and Rahim Shah in 1696 (Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 216).

Thus, it is certain that the fort was built some time towards the end of the 16th century A.D. or in the beginning of the 17th century A.D., and not, as tradition holds, in the middle of the 18th century A.D. That it, like many other old forts, is a mute witness to the storms which had blown over Burdwan for centuries admits of no doubt.

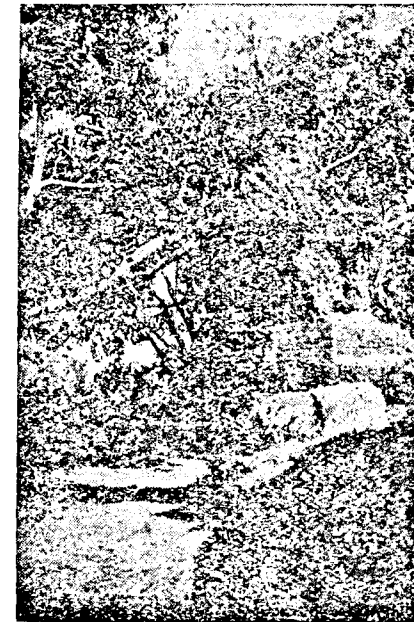
HAMAMBARI

Another historically interesting spot at Burdwan is the Hamambari or the washing house, situated on the Ahibhusan Mukberji Road near Borhat. Now a demure-

looking structure, with an ordinary frontage, but marked out by its peculiar shape, the Hamambari, strangely enough, is associated by local tradition with the name of Raja Man Singh. Although slightly reconditioned by the forbears of its present occupant, Sri Nagendra Nath Bandopadhyaya, the Hamambari is a one-storied structure containing three rooms. On the roof there is a cupola, and to its left, a tomb-shaped bit of masonry. The room under the cupola is round and has a bell-shaped ceiling. The other two rooms on either side of the round room are rectangular-shaped and have an awning-like ceiling. Nagenbahu told me that there had been a covered staircase at the back of this house leading to the large bathing tank behind and that it was demolished by his great grandfather about 150 years ago.

The large tank will be about 300 by 30 yards, bridged over in the middle by a path known as the Dighi-pol. Very near the Hamambari, to its south-east, is the Banka river which no doubt supplies water to the tank.

Sri Harendas Sarkar, a local medical practitioner,



Ruins of the Talitgarh gateway

read a paper on the Hamambari in the Burdwan Sahitya Parishad in 1936. Relying upon the local tradition, he attributed the construction of the Hamambari and the excavation of a part of the tank (the other part, it is said, was excavated by Azim-u-Shan) to the local authorities of the pargana of Burdwan in anticipation of the probable stay of the Subahdar of Bengal and Bihar, Raja Man Singh, there who, in 1589-90, was making preparations in co-operation with his deputy, Sayid Khan, for the recovery of Orissa from the hands of the Afghan Chief Katlu Khan. But we know that Man Singh went through Burdwan to Jehanabad, on the banks of the

Dalkisor river and not many miles distant from the present city of Calcutta and encamped there during the rainy season (Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 116). The above tradition is given credence to because, according to premeditated plans, the army of Sayid Khan was asked to form an alliance with Man Singh's forces at Burdwan (Stewart, p. 115).

The foregoing facts show that Man Singh's name cannot be associated with the Hamambari. In fact, many royal personages came to Burdwan since the third decade of the 16th century A.D. and their claims to being associated with the Hamambari are stronger than those of Raja Man Singh. Raja Todar Mall was at Burdwan in 1574, awaiting the instructions of the Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan for the course he should pursue against Daud Khan. Then, Subahdar Azim Khan's deputy, Fariduddin Bokhari, stayed in Burdwan in 1583-84 to deal with the Afghan rebel leader Katlu Khan (Stewart, pp. 112-113). But their claims to the Hamambari are not very strong, for Raja Todar Mall stayed in Burdwan for too



The Hamambari

short a time and Fariduddin Bokhari was too busy with the Afghan menace to think of having a Hamambari. As for Prince Shahjehan who captured Burdwan city after a short siege, probably in 1622, and recruited Afghan soldiers there for his army, the construction of the Hamambari and the excavation of the large bathing tank cannot be ascribed to him, because his short stay in Burdwan was wholly devoted to preparing for a showdown with the imperial forces under Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jung, the Subahdar of Bengal and Bihar.

Having dispensed with the claims of these important personages through the process of elimination, only Aurang-

zeb's grandson, Azim-u-Shan, remains to engage our attention. Before this prince came to Burdwan at the end of 1697, Zabbardost Khan, son of the recalled Subahdar Ibrahim Khan, had cantoned there. He might have had the Hamambari erected and the tank excavated at Burdwan for the use of the new royal governor, Azim-u-Shan. Stewart in his *History of Bengal* relates that while Azim-u-Shan amused himself at Burdwan, Rahim Shah ravaged Nadia, Hooghly and then encamped within a few miles of Burdwan. The Hamambari at this time might have catered much to the pleasures of the royal Subahdar and his harem. Then, after the death of Rahim Shah and the subsequent suppression of the Afghan revolt in 1698, Azim-u-Shan might have bathed in Hamambari tank before proceeding to pay his respects to the tomb of Pir

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AROUND THE WETTEST VILLAGE IN THE WORLD Cherrapunji

By MAJOR S. C. DIXIT

RAINFALL RECORD

CHERRAPUNJI—Lat. 25 deg. 17 N, Long. 91 deg. 47 E— is a village on the southern spur of the Khasi Hills in Assam. From its height of 4,300 ft. it commands the plains of Sylhet. These Hills are divided into twenty-five petty States. The Raja is called *Siem*. Cherra means lacerated; it is a small State. Punji means a village. This village is famous for the heaviest known rainfall in the world. Scientists have a special interest in many natural features of this region. The world's highest—458 inches—average rain, falls on this



Escarpment (E. face)

pluvial spot. In 1938, 536 inches of rain was recorded by the end of August. In 1861 it had shot up to 905 inches of which 503 inches fell in June and July. A fall of 41 inches in 24 hours was recorded in 1876. This is an area of climatic accident with established recurring wet spell. It rains in torrents and the phenomenal precipitation is measured in feet rather than inches. If an inch of rain amounts to 100 tons

Bahram Saqqa (Stewart, p. 216). Tradition has it that Prince Azim added to the size of the tank. He could have done this, in view of the fact that he stayed in the fort at Burdwan for nearly three years till 1701 and was instrumental in building the Shahi mosque there. Incidentally, inside the Shahi mosque, which is near the Raj palace in the city, there is a detached slab of stone with inscriptions on it. The date given thereon is 1111 A.H. (1699 A.D.), which confirms the fact that Azim-u-Shan had it built, as it is stated, at the express wish of his grandfather Alamgir.

Therefore, if the Hamambari was built at Burdwan for the use of any royal personage, he was Azim-u-Shan, and not Raja Man Singh or any of the others named above.

of water on an acre of land or 2,323,000 cubic feet of water on a square mile, imagine the drenching it receives.*

If the place had been on the equator, the heavy rains may be accepted as a geographical axiom, but Cherrapunji is beyond the Tropic of Cancer. Rainfall amounting to 408 inches is known to occur at Biboundi on the equatorial Camaroon mountain slopes facing the Gulf of Guinea. Mount Waialeale in the Hawaiian Islands is said to have the average rainfall of 476 inches per year. In our own country, Mahabaleshwar (4,500 ft.) on the Western Ghats facing the Arabian Sea receives 292 inches of rain on the average. Jowai (4,561 ft.) 35 miles N.-E. of Cherra gets 237 inches of rain. Denning (in Sadiya district) an unknown spot gets about 300 inches of rain distributed evenly over ten months—leaving December-January dry.

THE LAND

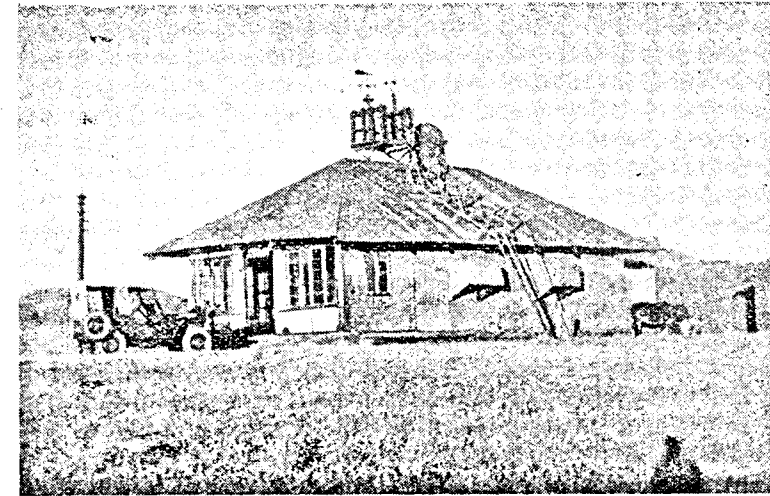
Cherrapunji overlays a tableland about three miles long and two miles wide. On its three sides the rocky perpendicular escarpments drop sheer 4,000 ft. down almost to the sea-level in the plains. In the North, the height steadily rises up to 6,441 ft. at Shillong 33 miles away. The isolated local hillocks about Cherra are 70 to 300 ft. high with strikingly roundish knolls. It is the atmosphere which works like a potter on this land.

Why is there such a deluge of rain? The climate of Cherrapunji is determined by its location, altitude

* Monthly and annual normals of rainfall (in inches) at Cherra are: January 0.75, February 2.11, March 7.27, April 25.23, May 50.44, June 106.05, July 96.34, August 70.08, September 43.37, October 19.42, November 2.70 and December 0.49. Total 425.33.

and its 200 miles distance from the Bay of Bengal. Latitude counts very little. It is fed by the vapours in direct and deflected parcels of air rising from the Bay and the Sundarbans, the largest delta in the world. When the warm wind blows against the Hills

of monsoon in June-July does not exceed six miles per hour—not strong enough to keep a wind-mill working or blow away the roofs. Such light breeze condition approximates the Horse Latitude. The lowest temperature ever touched in January was 34 deg. F. Hence the village escapes snowing by 2 deg. F. One inch of rain amounts to ten inches of snow. The consequences of clouds and cold if combined would be Himalayan. The highest maximum temperature does not move over 82 deg. F. in May-June.† These Hills are in a seismic zone. In 1897, they were devastatingly shaken.



Post-Office-cum-Observatory

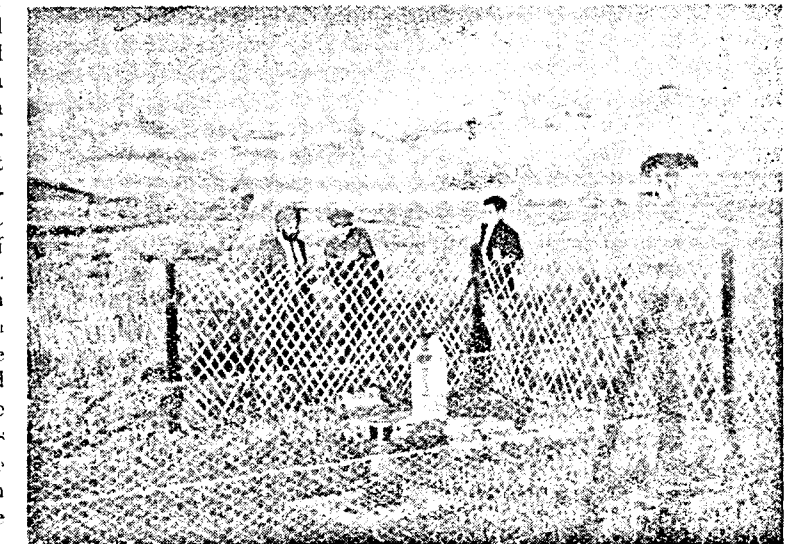
Photo: Maj. V. S. Mani

it is forced up. The humid air arising from the southern and western swampy plains is condensed by refrigeration. Rain falls when the air is cooled to the point when it could no more hold all the vapour it suspends. While the air rises it expands and in the process of expansion it loses its heat at the rate of 5.5 deg. F. for each 1,000 ft. of ascent. This leads to cloudiness. The loss of temperature of the warm wet air is the principal factor which precipitates the relief rainfall. The heavy rains occur on the windward side where Cherrapunji faces the Bay. The prevalent S.-W. winds from April to October bring in the largest volume of humid air from the sea-level contributing the greatest amount of periodical rain. The heavy rainfall is orographic and hit by monsoon.

The total number of rainy days in the year at Cherrapunji is one hundred and sixty. November to February is the dry spell. In the equatorial Africa say at Duala (Lat. 4 deg. N) with less than half the amount of rainfall the number of rainy days is 212 in a year. It means that the equatorial region has a longer but less intense wet period.

Cherrapunji is a meteorologist's magic place of wonder. The average velocity of wind at the height

The rainfall is measured near the Post Office on an automatic rain-gauge. The Post Master attends to various atmospheric readings as an honorary meteorologist. The Post Office-cum-Observatory has a barometer, wet and dry thermometers and on its roof stands an anemometer. On the wall hangs a chart showing different kinds of clouds to forecast the coming of rains by



The Rain Gauge—the largest in the world

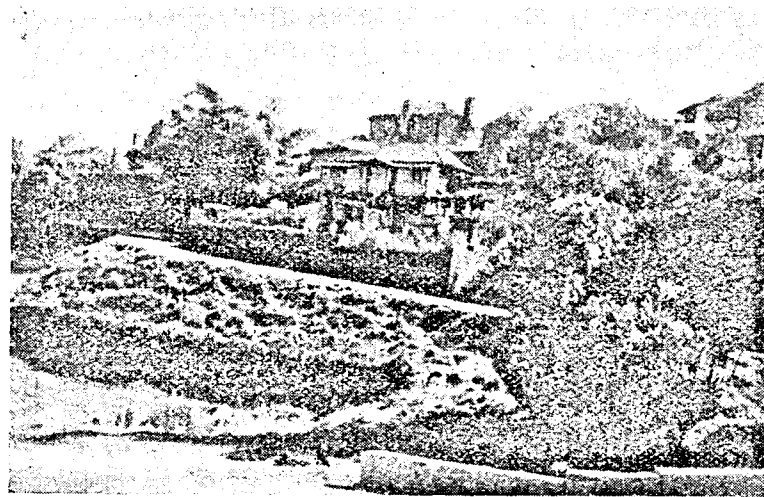
Photo: Maj. V. S. Mani

its aid. Thick and dark "Cumulonimbus" clouds are a portent and Cherra has enough of them.

The heavy rainfall gives a peculiar charm and attraction to the village. There are numerous small and big waterfalls ranging from 30 ft. to 650 ft. to the east and the west of the plateau. These local falls are

† The writer is grateful to the Director, Regional Meteorological Centre, Calcutta, for climatic information.

seasonal and narrow. They fall in cascades over bluffs and boulders. Easily approachable Mawmuluh falls are pleasing, picturesque and fit for a week-end picnic. There are many streamlets, and rivulets formed when it rains. They present a dendritic pattern of drainage on the map. From the brows of the escarpments open out panoramic views of marshes, and nullahs with a net-work of streams down on the Sylhet plains. Viewed in blue haze and light the scenery is grand.



North Cherrapunji entrance

Strange as it may sound, the scarcity of water during the dry period creates a famine. Water is in short supply at a place where it rains the heaviest in the world. All the water showered on Cherrapunji immediately run off to swell the Surma and the Padma on their way to the Bay. So the cycle of evaporation is soon completed. The rapid flow-out renders the village safe from floods.

The older rocks of the Khasi Hills are very ancient—granites and gneisses belonging to the earliest geological period. They are older than the Himalayas before whom they stand as dwarfs. At one time these hills must have stood like islands in the midst of a vast aquatic surroundings. The Surma, the Pamda and the Brahmaputra, even now mark out this area. The red sandstone found here is hard and has resisted weathering. Limestone overlaid by good coal deposits is a marked feature made prominent by white and black bands seen on cuttings. This deposition is of the Tertiary period. If lime could remain in the ground, it would make the soil alkaline but it is washed out. The coal is quarriable and cheap for want of export. In old days iron was smelted.

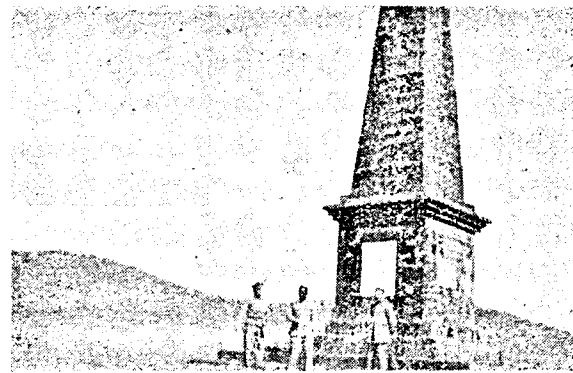
Grottoes are formed in the lime-bearing hills. Lime drips away with water in abundance. These natural caves with their peculiar eroded stones are large and form long dark tunnels. After entering one of these caves a sense of suffocation comes on. It is dangerous

to go in with a flambeau as we found to our confusion. The map-maker has alluringly marked these subterranean hollows as "caves" reminding us of Ellora and Ajanta. We had the Survey map to guide us by its symbolic shorthand. The people here have a tradition that one of these caves was once inhabited by a python.

THE PLANT LIFE

At a place like Cherrapunji one may expect a dense evergreen forest of a mixed type. But there is no forest at Cherra. The plateau is undulating, dry and covered with coarse green grass. The heavy inundation carries plants. There is no top soil formation and the lateritic land remains barren and dry. The open spaces and the hills covered by short green grass almost have an appearance of a large park reminiscent of Poona in the best of seasons.

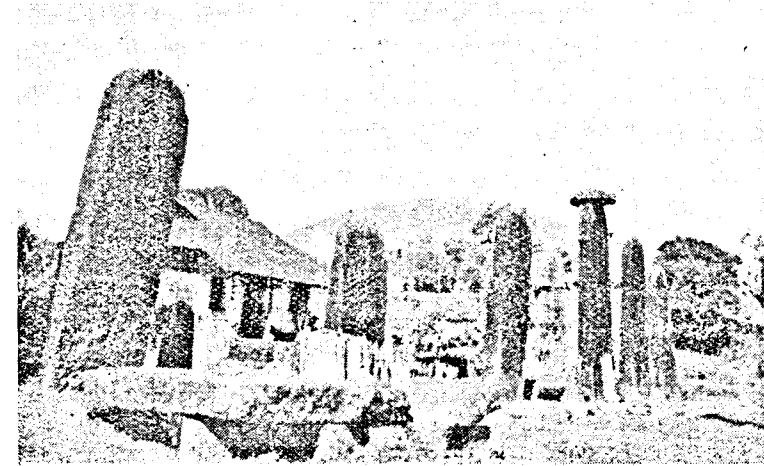
The flora of a locality varies with the latitude. The rainfall, temperature and the edaphic factors fashion its type. A particular type of vegetation often occurs in a discontinuous narrow strips running east to west. In Cherrapunji itself there is nothing very out-



Here lies Scott

standing except its barren and open outlook. However, the serrated slopes, its many re-entrants, ravines and gullies are teeming with plants. Many of these plants are unfamiliar to a sub-tropical dweller. Here is a treasure-house for a plant hunter. Here is scattered the beauty and magnificence of plant life unsuspected in the plains below. The flora of the Khasi Hills is famous for its specific numerical superiority. In 1850, Dr. Hooker collected as many as 2,000 flowering plants, 150 ferns, many Bryophytes and other lower plants within the radius of ten miles

from Cherra. The exuberance of vegetation in these ever-damp hills owes its existence to a number of nullahs, gorges, hills and rocks. The cartographer has lumped and labelled these plants into "fairly dense mixed trees and undergrowth." The familiar pine tree of Shillong is named *Pinus Khasiana*—a pine peculiar and endemic to these hills. Podocarpus, Yew, Oak and other conifers thrive in the dry soil of this area.



Funereal stones (Menhir)

There are nearly fifteen species of bamboos and 150 kinds of other grasses. The bamboo is woven in the web of life on this land. It provides all sorts of articles for daily use. Its many and varied uses must be seen to be believed. They are used as pipes, containers, vessels, bottles, and weapons. Long shields made from bamboo strips are used for protection from rain. Dead bodies are carried accompanied by music from bamboo pipes. Young shoots are edible. Houses and huts are built out of them. Verily, bamboo is a supreme gift of nature to the primitive people. The orchids, plants with a rich, showy and frequently fragrant flowers, dominate with 250 species. They are found on rocks and trees. The terrestrial orchids are common in the wet months while the epiphytes flower just after it. The ornamental, half-hardy and profusely flowering Balsams are in abundance with varieties in all spectral colours. Clumps of distinctive screw-pines or Pandanus, graceful palms (*Arenga Pinnate*: Rattan) pop up from the fissures in the rocky slopes. Wild plantains—Kairem of the Khasis—and its near relatives of the ginger

family (*Scitamineae*) hold its own with nearly forty broad-leaved representatives. Wild plantain fruits sold at Cherra are golden in colour but insipid and full of large black seeds. Odoriferous Laurels (*Cinnamomum tamala*), Jasmynes, Eribotrya—the loquat, and wild berries are common. Tamala leaves (*Tejpat*) are exported as spices. *Saxifraga ciliaris* a perennial hardy plant common in England grows here on wet banks. Special fan-palm of the Khasi Hills (*Chamoerops Khasiana*) inhabits rocky cliffs. *Cycas pectinate* looks like a palm but quite of a different class also finds a home here. A species of Lycopodium (clavatum?) grows in such profusion that it is used as wrappers for decorative purposes on festive occasions. Insectivorous utricularias abound in wet places. Mosses and lichens cover the trees every inch.

Nine miles north of Cherra, near the 25-milestone, there is a village named Sohrarim (5,557 ft.). It is a botanist's paradise. Rhododendrons, Magnolias, Palms, Oaks, and India Rubber trees grow born to the

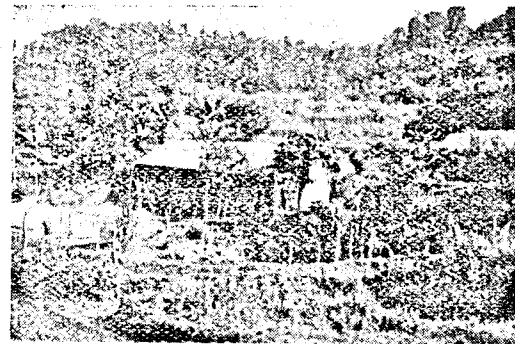


Green and glamorous Shillong

soil. Further up a tiny hamlet of Mawphlang (6,138 ft.) two miles west of the road from the 14-milestone, has a fine wood providing another Elysium for a plant lover. At this true mountain height honey-bees have field days all over. Lac is produced by insects on fig trees. Resin is tapped from the pines. The tribal people hold the oak and rhododendrons in reverence and are reluctant to destroy them. Like the Sikkimese the Khasis have their own names for

plants and birds. The Cherra clan of the Khasis is known as Diengdoh—a name of a tree.

To an ecologist unfamiliar with plants of the temperate region the identification of plants is tantalising. The feeling of strangeness is oppressive. He struggles to recognise a few of them. Botany in India is concentrated on the tropical plants of the plains. What is hidden behind the northern temperate hills is untouched. At these lower than true mountain heights a forest of familiar Indian trees is looked for. Surprisingly the eye meets the temperate flora of the middle latitudes having European genera. The botanical frontiers of Sikkim and far-off Malaya touch the Khasi Hills. The occurrence of European forms of plants in the Khasi Hills is not an isolated instance. Wallace was struck by this peculiarity of plant distribution on the volcanic peaks of Java very



Huts on slope near the Equator. Darwin has explained this type of discontinuous occurrence of plants in the second chapter of the *Origin of Species*. Here are islets of temperate plants set in a green grassy belt. The trees are evergreen and their leaves have a glossy shine. The temperate forest is deciduous but this one is not. Unlike the evergreen tropical forest the trees are small; there are no huge lianas and there is no want of undergrowth. There are no buttress-roots and drip-tips, the special outfits of trees of the rain forest. The ecological demarcation of alpine vegetation above 10,000 ft. is not respected. In these Hills the alpine plants may be seen at 5,000 ft. near Lyngiong, ten miles N.-W. of Cherra. A species of *Rhododendron* is even bold enough to come down to 2,000 ft. level on the banks of the Bor-pani. How different from textual dogma! Lantana the alien intruder has become a successful pest and thrives in blazing glory.

At Cherra there is no cultivation—not even of rice. Little south at the foot of the hills towards Sylhet there are orchards of small, sweet-sour oranges and pineapples. Birds and animals are scarce. There are no herds of cattle—cows or buffaloes. The Khasis like the Dyaks of Borneo and the Malay have no

taste for milk and ghee. They do not plough fields. There are snakes but they are harmless.

THE PEOPLE

Cherrapunji was a business centre. There is a long rope-way to carry goods to Sylhet plains for export to Calcutta but the new frontier has made the line almost idle. Every eighth day the hillmen have a market day. Here was the headquarters of the Hills up to 1864. It was then a gateway to Assam from Bengal. It is connected with Shillong by a good tar road. There stands a monument of David Scott who died in 1831 as an Agent to the Governor-General of the N.-E. Frontier of Bengal and Commissioner of Revenue of Assam. All the whiteman's virtues are enumerated on the marble tablet set in a sable stone.

There are very few villages of importance in these 6,152 square miles. In an area where the density of population is less than 35 inhabitants per square mile there is no dearth of living space. The hamlets are scattered and hidden from view by the undulations of the ground. The Khasi villages have prominent (Menhir) stone slabs vertically erected as funeral monuments. The tribe is dubbed animistic. They burn (now bury) their dead and propitiate the supernatural by sacrificing a cock. Their "animism" consists in the fear of the unseen and the supernatural spirits. Fortune-telling is done by egg-breaking; so they take omens. They worship and propitiate their ancestors.

The Khasis derive their identity from Kha-Chais presumed to have migrated somewhere from Indo-China. They have Mongoloid features but appear to be Austro-Mongolian mixture. Their skin appears to be cream-coloured at Cherra but in the bazar darker skin shades are noticed. They are short in stature, have high cheek bones, large nostrils, slightly oblique (slit) eyes, broad shoulders and muscular appearance. A fat Khasi is a rarity. They keep a tuft of hair like a broad pig-tail. They go about the hills with goat-like agility. They are outdoor open-air-loving people fond of gambling. They are fond of chewing betel-leaf with lime and raw areca-nuts. Even distance used to be measured in terms of time taken to masticate a leaf and nut. Both the sexes wear barrings. The old-style male still wears a jacket closed by loops of strings. They speak a dialect akin to Burmese Mon-Khmer of Austro origin which has common elements with the Mundas of Central India and the inhabitants of Cambodia and Annam. We fully realized this while performing pantomime in a village to get our bearings.

The Khasis have affinities with the primitive people of Malaya. They have certain customs in common. When a baby is born the placental cord is cut with a sharp strip of bamboo and preserved till the naming ceremony is over. They have neither a sickle nor a potter's wheel. The Khasis are said to have come to Assam before the Christian era. Assam

is on the threshold of South-East Asia. To understand the tribes and culture of Assam it is necessary to know the primitive culture of Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago. Siam, Cambodia, Malaya, Java, Sumatra and Bali were the colonies of India during the medieval period barely five hundred years ago. The universal use of rice-brew, betel-leaves, areca-nuts, banana and bamboo in this moist leech-infested land are the cultural links still existing. Cowrie was their current native coin to the end of the eighteenth century.

The special tribal drink is "laopani" brewed from rice. They have no food taboo. They are expert bowmen. They had proved their toughness against the troops of the East India Company in a dispute over the building of road to Gauhati in 1827.

Their oval-roofed huts in remote locations are built on slopes protected by the hills at the back—large yellow flowers and white fruits of the gourd plant garnish them. They are constructed from local bamboos, wood and grass. The thatching of the roof comes down well over the side walls. But during the last few decades galvanised iron sheets have suppressed the light products of the land. Most of the huts are now made from iron sheets which give a rusty corrugated appearance. Even kerosene cans are beaten flat and pressed into service. These sheets absorb 66 per cent of the sun's heat, resist white ants, fire, water, and earthquakes. They have become popular as building material even beyond the Himalayas. The Khasis like the elephant and the rhino are acclimated to live in perennial humid atmosphere. One feels living in hydrosphere during rains. Humidity prevents evaporation from plant and animal bodies. Such climate is not normal for human health. The articles of food and wear (like sugar, salt, leather, paper) deteriorate. Mists and fogs cut down visibility and interfere with transport. The climate dictates the mode of life and the people become weather-bound in their daily work. Days and weeks have to be passed in monotonous atmosphere. In this latitude 21st of December has insolation for ten hours but it extends by three hours in six months. Alas, when that happens in June clouds seal off the sun.

Among the Khasis the number of women is slightly higher than men. It is a society based on matriarchal inheritance. After marriage a son-in-law dwells in bride's house. It is the youngest daughter in a family who inherits the rank and much of the wealth of parents. Each family traces its ancestry from a female-progenitor. Women are free from the dawn of civilization in matrilineal society. The marriage ties are neither very fast nor divorce difficult. This has led to certain amount of promiscuity. The Khasi women are known for their Hollywood sexual habits. There are a few Anglo-Khasis in Assam. Venereal disease is said to be high. Their Siam is a commoner. He is elected by the adult males. This

is a Cambodian tradition. He has no civil list or privy purse and toils for his daily bread like his tribe. The Khasis materially differ from the Nagas and the Bodo Races in their laws of inheritance. The Khasi clans are exogamous.



Men all, Cherrapunji

Under the Union Jack the Khasis like other hill tribes of Assam were under the special administrative protection. The Government had handed over the education of the district to the Welsh Presbyterian Mission in 1841. The missionaries found a secure base for their "preach and proselytize" operation. Proselytization through education was the policy aided and abetted by the late State. The evangelists claim to have saved all the Khasi souls. Later the Roman Catholic Mission entered to salvage the residual souls. The Khasis have lost their tribal coherence and compactness they once had. A modern Khasi is an anæmic imitation Eurasian. His dress and customs are not his own. It is amusing to see him aping the Yankee mannerisms after the last war. Instead of merging the Khasis into the general Assamese culture the evangelists have put them further apart by introducing the Roman Script. The great weakness of the western intruders is to create cleavages in a solid social group. They have not shown synthetic perception in India. If there is a feeling of separate political identity amongst the tribes of Assam it is of the mysterious spiritual blowing. The grafting of alien culture has divided a house against itself.

SHILLONG

The road leading to Shillong is awe-inspiring. Its many twists and turns and hair-pin bends above a thousand feet deep gorges keep passengers in dramatic suspense. There is a one-way traffic regulated by proper timing at the gates. The road risks are driven home by a skull and bones painted on notice-boards. The surprise is that very few accidents occur in spite of ramshackle passenger-cum-goods transport speeding over the road. The Khasis are good drivers and have mechanical aptitudes.

Shillong has the distinction of being the only town in the midst of 1,839 villages in the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Its old name Yeddo was scraped as it is also a Jap place name. Shillong is the name of a peak and a part of Myllem State. This capital of Assam is without history and any geographical importance. It had the climatic comfort and home effects for the British rulers. Shillong is a middling town in the rain shadow of the Cherra Hills. The rainfall is 82 inches. Full of coniferous and other trees it appears green and glamorous. The hills neither produce food nor consumer's goods for the town. Its life line extends to far-off Calcutta. These few square miles of upstart political settlement in no way reflects Assam or pulsates with its blood. It has scenic charms. The Khasis believe that a spirit resides in the Shillong peak as in many other hills around them.

Every eighth day the hill-folks have a market day at Shillong. On this day the bazar embodies the microcosm of the hills. The women are traders and shop-keepers. From early morning hillmen stream in with huge conical baskets carried on their backs and supported by a band on forehead. This is a common way of carrying load all over the northern hills. Potatoes first introduced in 1830 are now leading the market produce. Pineapples, peas, papayas, pumpkins,

oranges, tejpai, betel-leaves, chillies, cabbages, and radishes are heaped in open stalls. Pigs are a part of the show. The women wrap themselves in a piece of cloth like a shawl thrown over other garments, walk without foot-wear and carry about children on their backs with a stooping posture. The Khasis relish "Sophilang"-tubers produced by a leguminous plant *Rhynchosia vestita*. It is reputed to stimulate the digestive system. The octave bazar is the right place for an introduction to these simple, cheerful inhabitants and their manners. They are at peace with the world and themselves. The Khasi Hills are remarkably free from violent crimes—a tribute to their character. Here is Utopia where the people do not pay house-tax or land revenue and laugh with you.

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JOHN DEWEY—FAMOUS AMERICAN EDUCATOR AND PHILOSOPHER

The death of John Dewey on June 1, 1952, ends the career of one of the foremost educators and philosophers of all time.

Called "America's most characteristic intellectual expression," John Dewey influenced educational practices in the United States and many other countries for more than two generations. He also 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 laboratories, the labour movement and the politics of the nation."

Dewey's philosophy was based on experience (instead of tradition or dogma) as the ultimate authority in knowledge and conduct. He had complete faith in the scientific method of inquiry and the power of human intelligence to create a better society.

Dewey was frequently referred to as the foremost educational philosopher in America. His writings in-

clude many books on education, which have been translated into several languages. He was widely known outside the United States, and was invited to Mexico, China, Japan, Russia, Turkey and South Africa to aid in educational programmes.

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."

As the father of the progressive educational movement, Dewey had a running battle with traditional educators for more than half a century. Even during the last years of his life, his theory of progressive education was challenged frequently. In replying to these challenges, Dewey cited the results of his theories:

"Our public schools are far more democratic today than they were 50 years ago... Children receive more freedom in the classroom and are permitted to take a greater part in school activities than they were at the turn of the century.... Basically, the gap existing between the progressive and the traditional school has narrowed considerably in recent years."

Dewey believed that the main problems confronting education revolved around the lack of inspired teachers and the need to induce capable students to enter the teaching profession, plus the need for increasing both the prestige and the monetary rewards of teaching.

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 Human 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.



John Dewey

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." *USIS*.



A SANSKRIT UNIVERSITY FOR WEST BENGAL

By Dr. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI,

Secretary, Government Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisat

It is a matter of great gratification for us all that the West Bengal Government have decided at long last to establish a Sanskrit University in Bengal at an early date. The then Bengal Sanskrit Association, first established under the name of Calcutta Sanskrit Association as early as 1887, was separated from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta in 1919 and established as an independent Institution, in accordance with the recommendation of the Sanskrit Education Committee, appointed by the West Bengal Government in 1948. This Committee also unanimously recommended that the Parisat should be elevated to the status of a full-fledged Sanskrit University within a period of five years; and all other recommendations of the Committee regarding the constitution of the Parisat were made to this end. It is indeed very gratifying that the West Bengal Government have accepted and given effect to most of the above supremely wise recommendations within the last three years, as will be seen from below. But the main recommendation has so far been neither accepted nor rejected by the Government. Now after three long years, we see the fulfilment of our long-cherished dream of having a full-fledged Sanskrit University in West Bengal.

But this dream has never been an idle one on our part, for, it has always been a dream that was rooted in reality. The present Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisat, is in fact, functioning as a Sanskrit University since its establishment as an independent Institution in 1919, as the brief survey given below, will show.

1. EXAMINATION

1. The Parisat conducts Adya, Madhya and Tirtha (First, Intermediate and Title) Examinations for nearly eight thousand students every year from nearly fifty centres all over India. For these examinations, the Parisat has to set two hundred seventy question papers every year for fifty subjects, such as Veda, Kavya, Vyakaran, Tarka, Darsana, Smriti, Purana, Jyotisa, Paurolhitya, etc. Viva voce or Oral examinations are held. Under the new regulations Mathematics, History and Geography have been made compulsory in the Adya Examination, and there is an optional paper in English in all the three examinations. Ten Moderators, two hundred seventy Paper-setters, nearly four hundred Examiners including forty Viva voce Examiners are appointed by the Parisat annually.

2. An Annual Convocation is held for the distribution of Diplomas, Medals, etc.

3. The Degrees awarded by the Parisat are recognised as the best Degrees in Sanskrit all over India.

The Adya, Madhya and Tirtha Examinations are also now-a-days generally considered equivalent to the School Final, Intermediate and B.A. Examinations. During the last General Election in 1951, those who passed the

Tirtha Examination of the Parisat were declared by the Government to be eligible for inclusion in the lists of voters for Graduates' Constituencies.

2. SYLLABUS

The Parisat prescribes its own syllabus and Text-books.

3. INSPECTORATE

The Parisat has a separate Inspectorate of its own for inspecting Tols in accordance with the rules framed by the Parisat for this purpose, as approved by the Government.

4. AFFILIATION

The Parisat has more than fifteen hundred Tols in West Bengal under its control. There are three Government Tols or Sanskrit Colleges, Calcutta, Navadwip and Contai. Affiliation is granted to Tols according to fixed rules, as laid down by the Parisat.

5. GRANTS-IN-AID

1. The Parisat distributes, on its own authority, about one lakh of Rupees as grants-in-aid of Rs. 75/- and Rs. 50/- per month to about one hundred and fifty Tols in West Bengal.

2. The Parisat also distributes another lakh of Rupees as Annual Lump-sum grants, Dearness Allowances, Stipends to students, Scholarships, Furniture and Library grants.

6. BOARDS OF STUDIES

There are six Boards of Studies for appointing examiners, drawing up the Syllabus and prescribing Text-books, as approved by the Karma-Samiti.

7. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND GENERAL COUNCIL

The Parisat has two Administrative Bodies:

1. Karma Samiti or Executive Council which is responsible for the transactions mentioned under 1-7. It is the smaller body of eleven members.

2. Parisat or General Council which elects six members of the Executive Council. It is the larger body of thirty-five members.

8. ELECTION

A General Election for the Parisat is held every three years, according to the rules framed by the Parisat and approved by the Government.

From the above very brief survey of the activities of the Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisat, it will be clear that it is really functioning as a University since 1919. Like a University, it holds examinations and awards recognized highly honoured Degrees of its own. Like a University, again, it grants affiliations to the Institutions under its control, arranges for their regular inspections, prescribes Syllabus and Text-books. Like a University, once again, it has its own Senate, Syndicate and Boards

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of studies. Over and above, it annually distributes two lakhs of Rupees to Institutions under its control which is never done by any other University.

Under these circumstances, it is an absolute misnomer to call the Vangiya Sanskrit Siksha Parisat any thing else than a University. What we want only is to convert this de facto University to a de-jure one.

No objection can be raised against the proposed Sanskrit University on the ground that in the same city of Calcutta there should not be two Universities for, the Calcutta University has, and will have nothing to do with Sanskrit Chatuspathis or Tols. But as there can be no two opinions regarding the question of the development of Chatuspathi education in West Bengal, there should be a separate University to look after the Chatuspathis or Tols and the development of Sanskrit studies in the country.

There can also be no objection against the proposed Sanskrit University in West Bengal on financial grounds. As shown above, the present Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisat is actually functioning as a Sanskrit University. Hence no additional expenditure will be involved if the Vangiya Sanskrit Siksha Parisat be declared as a full-fledged University. Of course, the present Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisat needs its own premises and also further expansion and development. But these will have to be done in public interests, in any case whether it be declared as a Sanskrit University or not. Thus Government Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisat can be immediately

elevated to the status of a full-fledged Sanskrit University with the least expenditure and loss of time.

Some might here ask, what is there in a name? If the Vangiya Sanskrita Siksha Parisat is de facto functioning as a Sanskrit University, what harm is there if it is not called a "University". In reply, we would ask only one question of the M.A.'s and B.A.'s of Calcutta University. Would they like to be called M.A.'s and B.A.'s of an Association only? If not why should the Pandits who have throughout the ages kept the torch of Sanskrit learning burning, be deprived of this simple benefit of a University Degree and all the consequent advantages? Is it not high time for us to repay just a little of our eternal debts to these unselfish Sanskrit scholars by establishing a Sanskrit University which will go a long way to improve their lots?

It is indeed a matter of supreme satisfaction to us all who strove for the establishment of such a Sanskrit University in West Bengal, that the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University have both hailed this move of the West Bengal Government. We have every hope that through the sympathetic efforts of our Education Minister, this very laudable decision of West Bengal Government will be soon given effect to. There can be no doubt that the establishment of such a Sanskrit University in West Bengal will give a tremendous impetus to Sanskrit learning, not only in West Bengal but all over India, and greatly help its regeneration. Certainly, all these can never be done by a mere Parisat or an Association, however perfect it may be.

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STUDY OF SANSKRIT How to Make it Popular

By Prof. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

The importance of the study of Sanskrit is now gradually attracting the attention of educated people.* But there is no gainsaying that the number of bonafide students studying Sanskrit is gradually on the fall along with that of orthodox schools called Pathasala, Chatuspathi or Tol. It is difficult for the few existing schools to attract sufficient numbers of students even with the award of stipends. The reason is clear. There is little demand for orthodox Pandits in present-day society. Religious rites and ceremonies requiring the services of Pandits are fewer in these days, faith in and interest for them having been considerably shaken, and they are generally performed with the help of

* A number of them have expressed their views on this topic. But the actual problem due to the progressively deteriorating position of Sanskrit among the student community defies solution. And there is still scope for detailed analysis of the causes accompanied by suggestions for improvement of the position.

priests having little knowledge of the Sastras. Very few people now-a-days consider it necessary to honour Pandits with money and valuable articles on the occasion of marriages or other ceremonies and consequently Pandits have lost a principal source of income. Besides, Pandits are scarcely employed now as teachers in modern schools and colleges. The only avenue of employment open to them is therefore teaching in indigenous Sanskrit Pathasalas which thrive on government patronage and charities of princes and zamindars who are fast passing out of existence. This again can provide for only a limited number and it is not sufficient to attract enthusiastic people to take to Sanskrit. It has been proposed and partly attempted to remodel the traditional system of Sanskrit education in such a way as can qualify a student following it for different avocations of life. But it is hardly possible to do this retaining the characteristic features of the old system

which aims at specialisation and intensification almost from the very beginning. The inclusion of modern subjects like Mathematics, History, Geography and Civics as well as of modern literature in the old-type curriculum will make it rather too difficult. It is feared this will detract rather than attract students.

In fact, the current system of general education even with its modern methods has not succeeded in securing students for Sanskrit in an appreciable number. The standard of examination is generally not high. The minimum requirement is such that students may pass in Sanskrit in the B.A. standard with little knowledge of the language and its grammar. I have known Bengali students graduating with Sanskrit as a subject who are hardly conversant with the Devanagari Script.

In these circumstances it may appear to be surprising that the number of students taking Sanskrit is fast decreasing from year to year. It is gathered that in the seventies of the last century "Sanskrit was taken up as the second language by more than half the candidates (at the Entrance and F.A. examinations) and if the lower provinces of Bengal simply be considered the proportion rises to three-fourths of the candidates" in spite of the fact the subject was considered to be difficult at the time. The deterioration in the present state of things, sad and disappointing no doubt, is the introduction of modern subjects of definitely superior market value.

But this is no consolation. We cannot remain satisfied with the conditions as they are. We must devise ways and means as to how Sanskrit may be made interesting and attractive to students as well as the people at large. We have to improve the mode of teaching to make it impressive. As matters stand at present students are scared away by the intricacies of grammar on which undue emphasis is laid both in the class-room and the examinations. It is true students manage somehow to get through the examinations in spite of their negligence and ignorance of the rules of grammar. But they imbibe little regard for the subject. The selected texts are not the less responsible for this state of things. Grown-up students who have developed some amount of literary sense begin Sanskrit with beast fables of the *Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesa* and proceed by stages to the *Raghuvamsha*, *Kumarasambhava*, *Bhattikavya*, *Kirtarjuniya* and *Sisupala-badha*. There is much in these works which has no appeal for present-day students.

Modern taste and utility needs be taken into consideration in selecting texts for students. And there is no dearth of materials in the extensive field of

Sanskrit literature to suit the taste and requirements of the present age. Specially prepared selections from well-known works including those mentioned above may be useful in this connection. Only change of books or parts of them from year to year will not serve any purpose. A little co-ordination between different universities may be of help in this matter. Some attention should be given to things of current use, e.g., Vedic *mantras*, hymns, sections of epics and Puranas regularly used in Hindu homes but of which our young folk learn nothing in their schools and colleges. It is rather curious that the old and almost forgotten sacrificial application of Vedic *mantras* has to be learnt with great assiduity without having any idea of their present use in different popular rites. Many *mantras* used in these rites are not even prescribed to be read.

Whatever be the texts some interest may still be created by drawing attention to the value and importance of the works in the history of literature, by appealing to the literary sense of the students with reference to portions of marked poetic excellence and particularly by pointing out the bearing of the works on the life and culture of the present-day. Special stress requires to be given on the close relation between Sanskrit and the modern languages of the country which are connected with one another through the bond of Sanskrit which has given them a large percentage of their words, some used in their original sense and form while others in a modified way.

There is just a possibility of attracting students to the rules of Sanskrit grammar in so far as they are required for the correct appreciation of the sense of words and expressions of modern Indian languages and for the formation of new words often necessary for expressing new ideas. A text-book of grammar with special emphasis on this topic will also be welcome to the large number of litterateurs of the country who are eager to learn Sanskrit out of sheer necessity, if for nothing else, and are dissuaded for want of suitable books on grammar which is supposed to be the stumbling block to the study of Sanskrit.

Making Sanskrit a compulsory subject in the curriculum of studies will be of little avail if at the same time it cannot be made more attractive and its value and utility strongly impressed on the people at large through the publication of popular works dealing with different aspects of the language and the rich literature enshrined in it. The encouragement of intensive study in the traditional form also depends in a large measure on the public interest that can be evoked and resulting patronage that can be secured in this respect.

THE DAWN SOCIETY OF CALCUTTA (1902-1907)

By PROF. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE, M.A.

FOUNDATION OF THE DAWN SOCIETY

ONE of the greatest achievements of Satis Mukherjee's life (1865-1948) was the foundation and organisation of the Dawn Society. In the evolution of Mukherjee's creative life the Dawn Society (1902-07) represented the third great landmark, the first two being the foundation of the *Bhagavat Chatuspathi* (1895) and the establishment of the journal, *The Dawn* (1897). The Society was founded in July 1902, the same year which witnessed the passing away of Swami Vivekananda, the "patriot-saint" of modern India. The Society derived its name from the title of the magazine, the *Dawn*. It is a mistake to think that the *Dawn* at once became the mouthpiece of the Dawn Society (July 1902). Even after the establishment of the Dawn Society, the magazine both formally and materially continued to function as the organ of the old *Bhagavat Chatuspathi* in whose name the journal was printed and published. This process continued down to July 1904. During this period (July, 1902-July, 1904) the office of the Dawn magazine was situated at 79, Puddopukur Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, while the office of the Society was located at 22, Sankar Ghose's Lane in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution, now the Vidya-sagar College.

Mr. Amit Sen's statement, viz., "In 1903 was founded the Dawn Society with its organ in the *Dawn*" (*Notes on Bengal Renaissance*, Bombay, 1946, p. 51) is an inaccurate information. It is inaccurate on double grounds: first, the Dawn Society was founded not in 1903 but in July 1902 and secondly, the Society at that time had no special organ of its own. The Society found its organ only since September, 1904 when the journal was renamed as *The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*. This name the journal retained even after the dissolution of the Dawn Society (1907) down to November 1913. Be it noted that the activities of the Dawn Society were reported in the Society's Calendar during July, 1902-July, 1904—and not in the *Dawn* magazine.

The Dawn Society had its Permanent President in Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose, F.R.S.L., Principal, The Metropolitan Institution, Editor, the *Indian Nation* while its General Secretary in Satis Chandra Mukherjee, M.A., B.L., Editor, the *Dawn*.¹ Ideologically, its programme was much larger than that of the older institution, *Bhagavat Chatuspathi*, and it aimed at a comprehensive training of the students,— literary, religious and vocational. The defects of the system of University Education were sought to be removed by this institution.

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

In the first place, the Dawn Society sought to impart religious and moral instruction to the college students.

This kind of instruction was not given in any college under the University. The sponsors of the Society consequently thought it desirable to undertake this responsibility upon their shoulders. Character-building thus became a most important item in the ideological complex of the Dawn Society.

Secondly, the Society sought to supplement even the ordinary academic education imparted in the various colleges. Nagendra Nath Ghose observes that "the literary education which is given in our colleges is imparted in a way which is not always desirable; at any rate, it is received by the students in a way which is not always desirable, and that we may describe as entire passivity on the part of the student".² It was, therefore, intended by the organisers of the Dawn Society that under it the students should be trained in a manner so as to enable them to function as self-conscious agents in the classes. The students were to be trained "in the methods of assimilating knowledge, of digesting knowledge, of writing out the substance of what they hear, and of discussing the subjects on which they have heard lectures." Such a method was hardly pursued in literary education in any college of the time, whether private or Government.

With these objects as stated above the Dawn Society was originally founded. But after a short time when the Society was progressing, the scope of its activities was widened in the direction of the Industries. Vocational training since then became an integral part of the Society's ideology.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY :

GENERAL AS WELL AS MORAL AND RELIGIOUS

From the very inception of the Dawn Society (July 1902), it began to hold its two Weekly Classes. Two days in the week were permanently fixed respectively for the General Training Class and the Moral and Religious Training Class. In the latter class Pandit Nilkantha Goswami regularly delivered lectures in Bengali on the Gita. His expositions were so sweet and lucid as to make a deep appeal to the hearts of the students.

In the General Training Class Satis Mukherjee was the chief worker. Lectures were delivered in English and on a variety of topics such as economic, historical and philosophical. Whatever might be the topic of discussion, he always laid in course of his lectures a permanent stress on moral and spiritual values as central to good creative life. He was an inspired talker, full of sparkling ideas and imagination. With him 'patriotism', 'self-sacrifice' and 'duty' were some of the constant watch-words, and the pupils of the Society often unconsciously imbibed that spirit from their great teacher whose idealism was infectious as it were.

2. Mr. N. N. Ghose's speech on the occasion of the Dawn Society's annual prize distribution meeting, held on 24th July, 1904. (*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, September 1904, Part IV, pp. 1-5).

1. "System of Work and Training under the Dawn Society" by N. N. Ghose and S. C. Mukherjee (*The Dawn*, December, 1902).

† General Report of Public Instruction in Bengal for 1871-72, p. 10.



Both in the Moral and Religious Section and the General Section, proper steps were taken to encourage the students to assimilate the ideas disseminated in the classes. They were required regularly to write out the substance of what they had heard and to discuss what they had already been taught. They were provided with certain Exercise Books immediately after lectures to write down the substance of them in those Books which were called "Record-Books." Extracts from those Books were also published in 1903 in the *Dawn Society's Calendar for 1902*. Since September, 1904 the Society found its organ in the old *Dawn Magazine* whose one section (Part III) was regularly devoted from that time onwards to the publication of extracts from the "Record-Books."

INDUSTRIAL SECTION OF THE SOCIETY

Next, we may turn to the Industrial Section of the Dawn Society. To promote a genuine interest in the students in the native industries of India, a Swadeshi Stores was opened under the auspices of the Society. This Industrial Section was organised by Mr. K. B. Sen, a well-known cloth-merchant of Barabazar at that time and by Mr. J. Chaudhury, the Managing Director of the *Indian Stores*. The members of the Dawn Society were taught to study the market-rate, rise and fall of prices and other economic facts about daily Indian life. A fairly large museum was maintained by the Dawn Society where various kinds of Indian home-products were kept. The students were taught business in the way of buying and selling. They had to sell the home-products, previously placed at the disposal of the Industrial Section, at particular hours from 4 to 7 P.M. They had also "to keep regular accounts of their income and expenditure and afterwards to explain accounts to members of the Business Section of the Society." Thus an attempt was made to generate in the students a personal interest in the native industries of India. Besides, the students were provided with facilities to become business-experts under such practical discipline of buying and selling home-made commodities.

Nagendra Nath Ghose informs us that in connection with the Swadeshi Stores of the Dawn Society lectures were also occasionally organised and exhibitions were held. In 1903 one Industrial Exhibition was held at the Calcutta University Institute and another at the Metropolitan Institution. The Swadeshi Stores, Industrial Lectures and Industrial Exhibitions—these three together effectively served to popularise Indian home-manufactures among the classes and the masses. In course of the year 1903 alone, about Rs. 10,000/- (Ten-thousand) worth of home-made goods were sold by the Industrial Section of the Dawn Society. Sreejut Haran Chandra Chakladar, the seniormost student of the Dawn Society and an active worker in its Industrial Section, informs the present writer that "one-anna profit per rupee" was the ideal and practice of the Society to cover the expenses. The students were not, however, permitted, as Nagen Ghose tells us, to make any personal profits out of the sales they made. Whatever profits there would

have remained after meeting the primary expenses of the Industrial Section in connection with Exhibitions, printing hand-bills, circulating notices etc., were distributed in prizes (in articles) to the best and most regular student-customers of indigenous goods. But no member was allowed to take a single pie for his labour, as clearly stressed by Nagen Ghose, the Permanent President of the Dawn Society, in his public lecture on 24th July, 1904,

GRATUITOUS SERVICES OF THE SOCIETY

Another most characteristic feature of the Dawn Society requires to be carefully noted. The Society led by Satis Mukherjee did not charge "a single pice as a fee payable from any single member." The services rendered to the students were wholly free and voluntary. There was no admission fee nor there was any subscription to pay. Whatever money was required for the maintenance of the Society, for scholarships and prizes to the most meritorious students, was all obtained through the generous gifts of some of the public-spirited citizens of Calcutta.

All these features taken together were responsible for the unique role the Dawn Society played in Calcutta at the beginning of the present century. If by education we mean the fullest development of the latent powers of the individual, then it was best served under the Dawn Society. Here the moral, intellectual and practical sides of man's nature were cultivated and trained simultaneously and with equal emphasis. Here the boys were required in everything "to be their own servants, their own treasurers, their own clerks."

The Dawn Society began its work only since July 1902, but in less than two years it had been able to impress public imagination of the country. By 1903-04 the Society was recognised as one of the best cultural institutions of Bengal, enjoying the confidence and support of men like Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandramadhab Ghose, Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ashutosh Mukherjee, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sister Nivedita, Dr. J. C. Bose and Dr. P. C. Roy³. The splendid record of work done by the Dawn Society was admired in noblest language by Sir Gooroodas in course of his Presidential Address at the Society's Annual Prize, Medal and Certificate Distribution Meeting, held at the Calcutta University Institute on July 24, 1904. His speech was published in the *Bengalee*, edited by Surendra Nath Banerjee, on August 11, 1904 and extracted in the September, 1904 issue of the *Dawn*. In that speech Gooroodas feelingly observed:

"If help is deserved by any public institution in Calcutta, it is emphatically done so by a public institution like this, which is worked solely on a philanthropic basis, whose active workers all work for love."

He also specially congratulated the Dawn Society upon its having for its Secretary, "a gentleman of deep and varied culture, of uncommon aptitude for teaching and of earnest devotion to duty," like Sreejut Satish

3. Prefatory: (*The Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine*, September 1904).

Chandra Mukherjee as well as upon its having for its President "a scholar of rare ability and attainments and a man of high character" like Mr. N. N. Ghose. No aspect of the Society's work drew more reverential tribute from Sir Gooroodas than "the impersonal agency of the non-remunerated, non-remuneration-seeking labour" of its active workers.

"This," observed he, "has a value of its own, a moral value far above the best-skilled labour that you can enlist in your service, if that labour is to be hired only for money and not for love."

Almost a similar reverential tribute was paid to the Dawn Society's work by Dr. Rashbehari Ghose as early as July, 1903 when the Society had just completed one year of its career. In course of his Presidential Speech at the Annual Prize-Distribution Meeting of the Dawn Society (held on 19th July, 1903), Dr. Ghose felt no hesitation in characterising the Society as "unique in its character" and observed:

"It is impossible not to wish success to a society whose object is to supply the deficiencies in the education of our young men."

STUDENTS OF THE DAWN SOCIETY

The Dawn Society except in these annual prize-giving meetings before the public carried on its normal work in a quiet, silent, private and unostentatious manner. Its constructive work was so brilliant and effective as to draw steadily to itself an increasing number of college-students who represented diverse districts of the then undivided Bengal. Haran Chandra Chakladar (Historian and Anthropologist) was the earliest and the seniormost pupil of the Dawn Society. When the Industrial Section was organised, he was placed in charge of that Section by Satis Mukherjee. Next to him in age were Radhakumud Mukherjee (Historian), Rabindra Narayan Ghose (Historian and Principal, Ripon College, Calcutta), Benoy Kumar Sarkar (Historian, Sociologist, Economist and Philosopher)—all of whom constituted the inner circle of Satis Chandra Mukherjee. With these boys except Mr. Haran Chandra Chakladar Mukherjee lived in a house situated at 38½, Shib Narayan Das Lane, Calcutta. They were some of his most gifted, most beloved pupils.

Besides this inner circle, there was a large number of Recognised and Ordinary Members on the basis of their regularity of attendance and the amount of work done in the Society. Among such members the more important figures were Kishori Mohan Gupta (Principal, Daulatpur College and Kaviraj), Prafulla Kumar Sarkar (founder-editor, *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and social philosopher), Rajendra Prasad (Political leader and the first President of Free Indian Republic), Sourindra Narayan Dutt (Attorney, High Court, Calcutta), Girija Prasanna Sanyal (Advocate, High Court, Calcutta), Upendra Nath Ghoshal (Historian) and Sobhamaya Dutt (Government Pleader, Noakhali, East Pakistan). The number of the irregular members or pupils of the Society was also considerable. The late Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerjee (Educa-

tionist and Political Worker), although not a Recognised Member of the Dawn Society, was very closely associated with it while he was a student of the Presidency College, Calcutta.

"I," writes Banerjee in his autobiography, *At the Cross Roads* (Calcutta), "was not of the inner circle but I attended many of the special lectures arranged for the benefit of the advanced scholars and learners by the Dawn Society and Sreejut Satis Mukherjee presided over one of the meetings of our Graduates' Union when I was reading a paper and admired it with the constructive comment that I must concentrate my yearning to serve India in one objective and then only I would achieve something tangible."

His acquaintance with revered Satis Mukherjee was considered by him as "the most precious result" of his literary venture as a student.

DAWN SOCIETY AS A HARBINGER OF THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

In a similar manner Satis Mukherjee furnished vital urges of noble life and action to numerous other college-pupils of Calcutta and outside. The alpha and omega of Mukherjee's creative idealism was the remaking of individuals through education. Himself a life-long bachelor and a self-denying soul, he sought to infuse that spiritual quality of his character into the hearts of those who rallied round him. Under him the Dawn Society became an organisation for the cultivation of patriotic and Swadeshi spirit. By promoting the sale of indigenous goods, by popularising the home-made products in a variety of ways,—Lectures and Exhibitions,—by publishing notes and news on native Industries of India, and, above all, by training up a band of active workers aflame with Sawdeshi spirit, Mukherjee served as a harbinger of the Boycott and Swadeshi Movement of 1905. The Swadeshi Movement declared itself not earlier than August 7, 1905, but the forces in favour of the Swadeshi Industries had been set in motion by Mukherjee through the Dawn Society about two years ago (1903-1905). Mukherjee's pioneering work in the Swadeshi Movement has hardly received as yet proper recognition from historians and researchers on modern Bengali history. But from all accounts of the Swadeshi period the unmistakable fact that engages attention is that Satish Mukherjee was a central figure in the hectic days of the Bengali Revolution of 1905. Few of our national leaders could foresee and embody the creative ideologies of the Revolution of 1905 as fully and effectively as the silent, self-sacrificing Satis Mukherjee who was an "inspired fanatic" of Vivekananda brand. The National Council of Education (March 11, 1906) had long ago been fore-shadowed in the Dawn Society (July 1902) whose economic and patriotic activities during 1903-05 served as a prelude, a pre-vision to the Boycott and Swadeshi Movement (August 7, 1905). His trained pupils of the Dawn Society became active protagonists and workers in the Swadeshi cause as soon as the Bengali Revolution formally began.

DAWN SOCIETY IN CONTEMPORARY VIEWS

The role of the Dawn Society (1902-07) in the educational progress and cultural transformation of the

Bengali race forms a chapter by itself in the wider history of the nation. During 1902-07 it functioned as a most powerful formative force in the world of Bengali aspirations and creativities. Its history is so organically linked up with the Bengali Revolution of 1905 in all its phases,—economic, political and educational—that the genesis and the ideological complex of that epoch-making Revolution can hardly be understood without grasping the ideas and activities of the Dawn Society. The Society was most active and perhaps at the height of its influence and reputation during 1905-06. In an editorial article on the Dawn Society as published on August 6, 1905, Narendra Nath Sen, the Editor of the *Indian Mirror* observed:

"The Dawn Society of Calcutta is a unique institution in this country, for an all-round training of our young men outside the school and the college. Babu Satis Chandra Mukherjee is the life and soul of this Society, and not only the students, but the entire educated community of Bengal, will remain deeply grateful to him for his silent, unostentatious and noble work."

In early July 1905 the Dawn Society organised an impressive Exhibition of knitting hand-machines and hand-looms in the premises of the Metropolitan Institution. From editorial reports as published in the *Bengalee* (edited by Surendra Nath Banerjee) and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (edited by Motilal Ghose) on July 17, 1905, we come to learn that the Exhibition was attended by over 3000 persons among whom were noticed Principal E. B. Havell, Mr. Narendra Nath Sen, Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Bose, Sister Nivedita, Dr. Prankrishna Acharya and others. "From 2-30 P.M. to 5-30 P.M. the work went on magnificently. But the time for the closing of the Exhibition being fixed at 6 P.M. and there being no additional men to relieve the workers in charge of the machines, many were not shown the demonstrations. We would request the Dawn Society to hold another exhibition of this nature which should not be limited to one day, but should extend to at least three days". From these accounts it is clearly suggested that the Industrial Exhibitions of the Dawn Society were a tremendous success and drew the admiring attention of thousands of men. Other performances such as athletic performances (under the leadership of Satis Chandra Basu of the Bharat Anushilan Samiti) and performances on the Gramophone marked the function and amused the public. Mr. E. B. Havell, the distinguished art-critic and art-historian, who was present at the Exhibition, delivered a short speech in which he spoke in high terms the practical work the Dawn Society was doing. By 1904-05 the Society had come to be known all over the country as a unique type of cultural organisation, an object of deepest pride and highest admiration. This is sufficiently borne out by the comments and reflections of the leading contemporaries of the country such as Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Sir Gooroodas Banerjee, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Hirendranath Datta,

Ashutosh Mukherjee, Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose, Krishna Kumar Mitra and others.

Towards the end of July 1905, Dr. J. C. Bose expressed deepest satisfaction at the remarkable work of the Dawn Society in a letter (30th July) written to Satis Chandra Mukherjee, the Secretary of that Society. As a historical document about the work of the Dawn Society, this letter is of great importance and hence is quoted below:

"Dear Satis Babu.

I always regret that owing to pressure of work I am not able to come to your meeting and see your Dawn students, but I read your magazine and I am keenly interested in your work. I am proud of your boys and the results they produce. As a small expression of my deep regard, I shall send you twenty-five rupees to be used in prizes or in any other way you like, if you will send a peon to take the contribution on Monday evening.

Yours very faithfully,
J. C. Bose."

In connection with the third annual Prize-Distribution Ceremony of the Dawn Society held at the University Institute Hall (30th July, 1905, Sunday), the distinguished men who had graced the occasion with their presence all reiterated their greatest regard for the Dawn Society.

The number of prize-winners in the General Section of the Society was nine and in the Magazine Section, ten. The winners in the former Section were all from among the local workers and Recognised Members of the Society, while those in the latter Section belonged to different regions of India, viz., Pabna, Tamluk, Calcutta (Bengal), Bhavanagar (Gujarat), Chingleput (Madras Presidency), Bombay and other places. The principal prize-donors on that occasion were Gooroodas Banerjee, Rashbehari Ghosh, Ashutosh Mukherjee, Hirendranath Datta and Jagadish Chandra Bose all of whom cherished for the Dawn Society a genuine love and regard. Sir Gooroodas Banerjee in course of his Presidential Speech on that occasion (July 30, 1905) brought into bold relief the real significance and value of the work done by the Society.

"The capital of the Dawn Society, from the ordinary point of view," remarked Gooroodas, "is not collected, as in other societies from subscriptions from members. Self-help, though not declared, is the silent motto of the society. The capital of the Dawn Society is not a sordid pecuniary capital, but a capital of intellect, massive intellect, well-directed and well-balanced, like the intellect of the learned gentleman on my right (Mr. N. N. Ghose, Permanent President) and the learned gentleman on my left (Babu Satis Chandra Mukherjee, Secretary)".

In conclusion, it need be added that Satis Mukherjee arranged for the boys of the Dawn Society frequent general lectures delivered by persons like Rabindranath Tagore, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, Sister Nivedita and others. Many speeches of Rabindra-

5. Dawn Society Prize-distribution Ceremony (*The Bengalee*, August 1, 1905. Reprinted also in the *Dawn*, New Series, Vol. II, 1905-6, Part IV, pp. 1-5).

4. The Dawn Society's Exhibition (*The Dawn*, New Series, Vol. II, 1905-6, Part IV, pp. 3-6).

nath and Dinesh Sen such as delivered before the Society have been permanently recorded in the pages of the *Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine* (New Series: Vols. I-II, 1904-1906). In his speech before the students of the Dawn Society (February 25, 1906), Rabindranath expressed his unhesitating moral support to an institution like this which was wedded to constructive ideology and work from the very beginning of its life-history. He made a powerful plea for constructive work, which even though unostentatious and modest at the beginning, was of far greater consequence than a big enterprise undertaken at the gush of momentary excitement. He painfully recorded how much he had expected from the Swadeshi Movement (working since August 7, 1905) and how much he had been shocked at the huge wastage of national energy in the excesses of anti-British excitement. Real and solid constructive work, emphasised he, could only be accomplished through silent, patient and sustained toil and sacrifice. The Dawn Society as led by Satis Mukherjee was declared by Tagore on that occasion to be an ideal institution well calculated to train up young men. A few lines from his original Bengali speech are reproduced below in order to drive home to the readers the high esteem in which Rabindranath held the Dawn Society:

"आमि आपनादेर मध्ये उपस्थित हइयाछि सत्य किन्तु आपनादिगके विशेषभावे कि वलियार आछे ताहा भावि नाइ। आपनारा जभावे दीक्षित एवं अभ्यस्त हइयाछेन ताहाते बाहिरैर कोन उत्तेजनार प्रयोजनओ आपनादेर नाइ। सतीशबाबु जे समय इन सोसाइटी स्थापन करियाछिसेन तखन स्वदेशी आन्दोलन छिल ना, शिक्षा-सम्पर्कीय एइ National Movement-एओ सूत्रपात हय नाइ। एमन दिने सतीशबाबु दूर प्रति लक्ष्य राखिया बाहिरैर उत्साह उत्तेजनार अपेक्षाय ना थकिया महत् लक्ष्यमात्र सम्बल करिया एइ सभा स्थापन करियाछिसेन। जे सभा सामयिक कोन बृहत् उत्तेजना उद्दोपनार मुखे तयार हय नाइ, आपनारा सेइ सभार आकर्षणे एखाने मालियाछेन।..बीज जेमन गोपने धारे धीरे माटी हइते जोवनीशक्ति संग्रह करे, आपनाराओ भितर हइते तेमनि जोवनीशक्ति संग्रह करिया चल्याछेन।" (See p. 64)

These lines from Rabindranath breathe the spirit in which the leading contemporaries of Bengal of the early twentieth century viewed the work of the Dawn Society as led and inspired by Satis Chandra Mukherjee (1865-1948).

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A SUMMARY SURVEY OF ART JOURNALS IN INDIA

By KAUNDINYA

III

IN 1941 was started a Miscellany, with topics on Art predominating, under the title *Art and Culture*, edited by Dilip Kumar Das Gupta and printed at the British India Press, Bombay. The role and policy of this journal, a Quarterly issue, was suggested rather than stated in an inspiring editorial from which we quote some passages to indicate the editorial aims:

"The world is passing through tremendous changes; our civilization and governments are being changed overnight. . . . A new social order, a different economic system and political regime may take the place of old ones; the outward structure of the present civilisation may go, and even human instincts may change for the better or worse, but *Art will outlive everything and so will the cultural heritage of mankind*. Art and culture have no geographical or national barrier. Pure art is a thing of beauty; it has a universal appeal, be it a Negro song, an Italian sculpture, or a Chinese painting. The same holds good for culture, which is so very essential for the understanding of one nation by another. It is the lack of culture which was at the root of the religious wars in Europe, the Crusades in the Middle East, or the present misunderstanding between Hindus and Muslims in India. . . . Sometimes civilization is confused with culture and therefore it is necessary to distinguish between them. Civilization means a developed or advanced state of human society. Culture is just the intellectual side of civilisation; it represents humanity's effort to improve itself in the sphere of intellectual achievement. Culture demands perfection and an

endless pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. . . . The present war has placed social life in a state of chaos. But in spite of the precarious conditions under which we are living today there are still artists who are optimistic enough to forge ahead for the progress of art and culture. Culture through art is the finest achievement of man and it bears a truly religious significance, for, *the appreciation of art is a spiritual discipline for all of us*. 'Art is a central necessity in life, an immovable substantive and it should occupy a position of at least equal importance with science because of its service in both the expression and the control of the most dynamic force in human nature, the force of feeling.' . . . We are today (1941) fighting for our political freedom mainly for this cultural emancipation, for it is culture which India values more than anything else, since the days of Buddha and it is through culture that India will again send her message throughout the world. Engravings and frescoes in Ajanta and Ellora brought to life by Uday Shankar through his dances and by Nanda Lal Bose through his paintings in Santiniketan show the immortal character of Art. India is proud of having such masterpieces of the ancient days, revived by our modern artists. And India will once more send her message to the world in the different aspects of Art, be it through the literature of Tagore, the philosophy of Radhakrishnan, the religious teachings of Vivekananda or the cult of non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi. Art and Culture as twin sisters, fighting for the same cause, will thus reach the common goal for human emancipation; and India in the very near future will have to play a great

part in this achievement and for the establishment of a new order for the entire world."

We have made rather lengthy quotations from the editorial of the first number of this journal as it contains some profound and valuable observations on the functions and uses of Art, which could not have reached many people, and which will bear repetition today, as Art continues to be treated as a forbidden fruit in our colleges and universities, and there is very little active interest in and patronage of art amongst the so-called cultured section of our people. Though not exclusively devoted to the visual arts, the journal included in its first number a variety of cultural topics, publishing at least four important articles on the Fine Arts, (1) "Manifesto for a People's Theatre" by Bharati Sarabhai, (2) "The Yoga of Art" by Dr. G. S. Arundale, (3) "An Analysis of Kathakali Dance" by Padmanabhan Thampy, illustrated with five photographs demonstrating the *abhinaya* poses of Gopinath and his troupe, (4) "Contemporary Indian Art Examined," a trenchant criticism by an Englishman, Leyden, of the Tagore school of painting, from which we extract a typical passage:

"Abanindranath's art is conditioned by his romantic nostalgia for the lost paradise of eastern poetic tradition from the great Indian epics to the Arabian Nights. His paintings are dreams in which figures emerge from the haze of his wash backgrounds to convey moods, sentiments, or passions. Their associations are literary, their appearance unreal. His figures are evolved from the symbolical anatomy of religious imagery. His followers develop and refine the formal and decorative aspect of his compositions. Chughtai, Roy Choudhury and Ukil were absorbed by the rhythmical possibilities of line" (so were the whole body of Chinese and Japanese painting). "They are often side-tracked into the merely ornamental, and come dangerously near to illustrators like Aubrey Beardsley and Dulac. Much of their work has the sentimental melody of a *Lied* and not the beat and depth of a real poem."

We are not aware if an Asiatic critic was ever permitted to sermonize and comment on any phases of European art, ancient or modern; I can recall an only exception in the case of a monograph on Botticelli by a Japanese critic. But our editors have fallen into the pernicious habit of inviting European criticisms of Indian contemporary art. Most expressions of art are spiritual manifestations and religious expressions and it is not possible for any foreigner, however eminent (Havell not excepted), to live under the skin of an Indian artist with his spiritual likes and dislikes, his prejudices and idiosyncrasies, which latter even offer a strong and vital inspiration to his art-expression. It was not possible for Leyden to measure the place and status of *Krishna-lila* themes in the art complex of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore, just as it is not possible even for Indian Christians to plumb the motifs of European painting in such themes as the *Crucifixion* or the *Mater Dolorosa*. Contemporary foreign criticism of modern Indian painting has not only confused the mind of Indians and prevented

them from arriving at a just estimate of the productions of their fellow Indians, but has also embarrassed the producers and creators of art. Art can only thrive and prosper by negotiating with and reacting to the criticisms of members of the same society, living the same manner of life, in identical psychosocial atmosphere. There was a time, when Indian nationals having lost their own national and spiritual consciousness were unable to appraise the quality and character of Indian art, and sought help in the words of Havell, Margaret Nobel, or James H. Cousins, but today we have plenty of qualified Indian critics, competent to appraise and evaluate the productions of our own artists, and we should refuse to be guided and patronized by foreign critics. Like criminals in Sessions Courts, we are prepared to be judged and condemned by our own fellowmen. And one should like to make an appeal to our learned editors to commission Indian critics to praise or blame their own fellow-artists. Unless there is a direct relationship built up between the Indian artists and his Indian public, the pulse of art will not beat with a healthy rhythm.

Art and Culture bravely pursued its useful career with more emphasis on general culture than on art, for several years (1941-45), publishing many interesting articles on various phases of culture, not specializing in any phase of visual art and never reproducing any masterpiece of Indian art. This will be evident if we refer to some of the leading articles that figured in its successive numbers. "Man versus Machine" by Saroj Kumar Das; "Art without Representation" by Bireswar Sen; "What was Known about India in Mediaeval Europe" by Sheikh Rassol; "South Indian Dance" by Haren Ghose; "What Freedom Means to Me" by M. D. Japeth; "The Chau Dance of Serai-kella" by Haren Ghose (illustrated); "A Moghul Version of a Vedic Motif" by O. C. Gangoly with a very interesting illustration from a Moghul miniature from the India Office collection; "Mahatma" by Humayun Kabir; "Auguste Comte and the Religion of Humanity" by Saroj Kumar Das; "Earth Hunger" by Girija Shankar; "Aesthetics" by M. S. Randhwa; "Hindu Elements in a Musalman Mosque," a remarkable article by S. Bose, illustrated with a series of excellent drawings from the carvings of the Kutub Mosque at Delhi, a remarkable article which should be reprinted.

Without serving in any adequate measure the cause of art, in a short career of only five years, the Quarterly abruptly came to an end in 1945, when the editor, abandoning his journal, joined a dance troupe as an *impresario*, demonstrating that his faith in pictorial art and in other major phases of culture was very weak and shaky, collapsing with the first assault of a chance of a lucrative employment. This tragic end is very typical of the fate of most art-journals in India, as we will find in the course of our reviews of many more ventures (To be continued)



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

BENGAL NAWABS: *Translated by Jadunath Sarkar, from three Persian MSS. Asiatic Society, Calcutta. 1952. Pp. iv + 156.*

The Asiatic Society of Bengal is to be congratulated on having started its memorial series on the bi-centenary of its founder Sir William Jones, with this volume. It is indispensable to every student of the history of Bengal and Bihar under the Nawab Viceroys in the 18th century, and the solid historical truth here narrated by the contemporaries of Alivardi and Siraj-ud-Daulah will correct many of the legends so dear to our novel readers and authors of so-called historical dramas in Bengali. The three most valuable Persian accounts of the successors of Murshid Quli Khan I, (i.e., from 1727 to the battle of Plassey) are here presented for the first time, all from manuscripts, none having been printed or translated before; indeed none of these three has been used by any writer on Bengal history. One of these, the eulogy on Rustam Jang (the son-in-law of Nawab Shuja Khan) has been discovered by Sir Jadunath Sarkar; it is unique. The other two biographers of Alivardi and Siraj, namely, Salimullah and Ghulam Husain Tabatabai, were not officers of Alivardi or Siraj and wrote from hearsay; and one of them, namely, Ghulam Husain, was the enemy of Siraj and hostile to the house of Alivardi for that Nawab's breaking off a match between his family and the historian's. The works of these two minor authorities are already available in English, so that no writer can henceforth plead his inability to read all the contemporary Indian sources on the later Nawabs, as an excuse for the defects in his own composition.

The volume unfolds the character of Alivardi in its fulness as a veteran general and shrewd statesman, as well as a tender-hearted grandfather and father. The tragedy of his last years, when he was worn out by his ceaseless toil to keep the Maratha raiders out of Bengal and Bihar and death played havoc right and left in his family,—is fully unfolded in the narrative of Yusuf Ali, the son of this Nawab's constant companion. We shall here quote one other tragic incident:

When after the murder of Siraj, "his body was placed on an elephant and paraded through the town of Murshidabad with ignominy, and the elephant arrived at the house of his mother, she rushed out with bare feet and head and flung herself at the feet of the beast, but the servants of Khadim Husain Khan forcibly turned her back. . . . When Siraj's body was at last thrown into the market square and nobody turned to wash and bury it, Mirza Zain-ul-abidin Baqawal . . . braving the risk of death sentence,

bathed it, enclosed it in a coffin, and buried it by the side of Alivardi's tomb." (p. 78).

Mir Jafar, as readers of Macaulay's essay on Clive know, used to be called Clive's jackass. The taunt was earlier, as Karam Ali shows (p. 78): "After the distribution of the treasures of Siraj, Mir Jafar and Miran divided between themselves the wives and concubines of the dead Nawab. Although both father and son, under the stimulation of brute passion, asked for the hand of the honoured wife of Siraj-ud-Daula (Lutf-un-nisa), she declined and sent this reply: 'Having ridden an elephant before, I cannot now agree to ride on an ass!'"

N. B. R.

THE GOSPEL OF NARADA: *By Duncan Greenlees, M.A. (Oxon). The World Gospel Series, Vol. 7. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1951. Pp. clxxx + 204. Price Rs. 6-8.*

This valuable monograph follows the lines of its companion volume in the above series entitled *The Gospel of the Granth Sahib* by the same author, which was noticed by us in the preceding number (April 1953) of *The Modern Review*. The work consists firstly of a long Introduction of over 150 pages containing an excellent exposition of the fundamental doctrine of Vaishnavism under the heads "God," "Creation," "Man," "The Path of Devotion," "Full Surrender" and the "Final Goal" as well as the significance of the "Divine Name" and "The Divine Play" (*Lila*) in the scriptures. This is followed by a neat summary of the doctrines in the form of a brief Vaishnava Catechism. The text consists of translations of two well-known Vaishnava texts, namely, the *Narada Pancharatra* and the *Narada Bhakti Sutras* accompanied with the author's illuminating comments and explanatory notes. To the above the author adds in the form of an Appendix extracts from the letters of a modern Vaishnava saint Thakore Haranath (died 1927), about whom, however, we have no other information. Like its companion volume on the *Granth Sahib* the work concludes with a good index and a valuable bibliography.

While we have nothing but praise for the excellent fashion in which the author has handled his subject, we find it difficult to follow him in some of his statements in the Introduction relating to the historical development of Vaishnavism. He regards (p. xviii) as "a strange and baseless assumption" the view that the Vedas are older than the Puranas and the Agamas. In favour of the historicity of Krishna he mentions (p. xx) *inter alia* the discovery of "many 5th century images including one of Radhakrishna" in the archaeological excavations at Paharpur in "the Rajshahi district of Bengal." Now apart from the fact that

Paharpur lies in the Dinajpur district of East Pakistan, the author's description is slightly inaccurate. For the Paharpur sculptures representing various incidents from the life of Krishna cannot be older than the date of the monument which has been ascribed to the time of King Dharmapala in the latter part of the 8th century A.D. Again, the lady figured along with Krishna in one of these sculptures may as well be identified with either Rukmini or Satyabhama, the wives of Krishna. Few Indologists will agree with the author's view that the latest redaction of the Mahabharata "can hardly be later than 250 B.C." (p. xx) or that "the cult of Krishna was well developed in the South by about 210 A.D." (p. xxiv) or that "the Ajivikas were really Bhagavatas or Vaishnavas" (p. xxv).

U. N. GHOSHAL

DASA POI (The Ten Idylls): A lyrical poem in ten chapters by Damodar Bhanja, the young royal poet of Orissa (1761-1796 A.D.). Text accompanied with an English translation by O. C. Gangoly. With an Introduction by Lt.-Col. Chintamani Acharyya, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, Cuttack. Illustrated with a series of six drawings, one photographure frontispiece and five original photographs reproducing thirty-six leaves of an illustrated manuscript of the text. Calcutta (Miss S. Bose, M.A., 34/1 Pratapaditya Road, 26), 1952. ins. 8½ x 10 ins. Edition limited to one hundred copies only. Pp. 79. Price Rs. 50.

Professor O. C. Gangoly's edition and translation of an illustrated manuscript of this popular old Oriya poem is a work of love.

Damodar Bhanja had been Raja of Bamanghati in the second half of the 18th century. Condemned to a passive role between his Maratha overlords and the British at Midnapore, he devoted his leisure to poetry, and has left us this delightful story of the loves of Radha and Krishna which, though less famous than the works of Upendra Bhanja, can well vie with Jayadeva's glorious *Gitagovinda*. However, it reveals sufficient originality of its own, being indebted, if at all, rather to the latter's *Piyusha-Lahari*. Like in most poems of the 18th century, the mystic subject is rather a pretext for a delicate and colourful description of erotic sentiments in their interplay with the beauties of nature, which has not lost anything of its freshness despite the old tradition on which it is based.

For his edition of the text Professor Gangoly has consulted Pandit Yamesvara Sarma of Puri; his translation is a pleasure to read, and Lt.-Colonel Chintamani Acharyya, the Vice-Chancellor of Cuttack University, has contributed a valuable introduction on the literary background of Orissa. As so far only selections from Oriya poetry, and especially from Upendra Bhanja, have been made accessible, this first complete translation of a—rather short—Oriya work represents a landmark. For though Orissa has played a remarkable role in Indian cultural development, very little is known even to the interested outsider.

This is the case also with Oriya art, of which—if we leave aside the temples of Bhubaneswar, Konarka and Puri—likewise only few examples have been published in R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa, The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, and some little accessible pamphlets and catalogues. The palmleaf manuscript on which this edition is based, had once been one of the treasures of the well-known B. N. Treasurywalla Collection in Bombay which now has found its way into the National Museum at Delhi.

Its illustrations engraved with a steel stylus are

"Primitives," in the good as well as bad sense of the word, naive, mannered, often grotesque and yet of an intensive vitality and expressiveness and perfect decorative balance. There are indications (especially the central lampstands) that they were inspired by stage performances, but their style represents a locally evolved variety of the old Vijayanagar tradition, in its turn connected with the pictorial art of ancient Bengal and Orissa, and in marked contrast to Mughal and Rajput art, though it shares some of the "primitive" characteristics of that latter.

To our age which has left naturalism to the camera, and in art seeks intensity of expression and decorative perfection, the art of the old Oriya manuscripts again has become a valuable inspiration. It is but a pity that these illustrations could not be executed on a somewhat larger scale.

However, printing, plates and exterior make-up of the book are excellent and highly to the credit of Miss S. Bose, a pupil of Professor O. C. Gangoly. Unfortunately the book is rather expensive, as it could be brought out only in a hundred copies. We hope even these few may sell so well that a second edition may make this fine little book available to a wider public.

H. GOETZ

THE TWO WORLDS: By Shriman Narayan Agarwal. Published by Hind Kitab, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 175. Price Rs. 3-12.

The book gives us the tour-impressions of Shriman Narayan Agarwal, Principal of the Sakseria Commerce College of Wardha. He along with his wife, a daughter of the late Jamnalal Bajaj, started on their tour on April 17, 1949 and returned to India after about five months. During these months they crammed impressions—the writer did, which have found expression very often in unbalanced language. He appears to be suffering from a prejudice against the "American Way," the height of which is reached in page 19 where he says: "In the name of 'democracy,' the Americans are trying to uproot the indigenous culture and religion of Japan." And what follows requires positive proofs to believe. "The MacArthur regime has prepared detailed plans to convert the Japanese masses to Christianity within the next two or three decades." Again in p. 23, "Before the war, the Japanese young men and women hated the English language; now they are 'crazy' about it." About the Italians he says, "The Italian people are bad businessmen into the bargain" (p. 137). "The Italians are incapable of putting their shoulders to the wheel."

These indictments of whole peoples are, we are afraid, the surest ways of creating "two worlds" instead of the "one" which seers, sages and saints have been preaching. We are sorry that a follower of Gandhiji should have yielded so easily to his prejudice against modern civilization and certain of its marks and notes. He should at least observe restraint in talking of other peoples.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

MYSTICS AND MYSTICISM: By Sri P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A. Published by Sri Krishna Library, Myslapore, Madras 4. Pp. 451. Price Rs. 8.

The author is an emeritus professor of philosophy and former Principal of Pachaiappa's College, Madras. He has to his credit one dozen learned volumes on Hindu philosophy and religion. Some of his books have already run into the second edition and received careful attention of serious readers. The books bear distinct

stamp of his life-long study and mature thinking. In 1895, he came in contact with Santananda Saraswati and later on with Swami Ramakrishnananda, a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and lastly with Mm. Kapisthatham Desikacharya. He conducted his Vedantic studies over half a century under the guidance of these three erudite teachers of which the last one instructed him to publish in English in the light of European philosophy and popularise the essentials of Visisthadvaita Darsan. The worthy disciple undertook the heavy task entrusted to him by his preceptor and sketched an elaborate scheme of ten books of which the one under review completes the list. Prof. Srinivasachari is now one of the greatest living authorities on Visisthadvaita and his works on this school of Vedanta are extraordinarily profound and original. His noble purpose in writing these books is to "serve the cause of inter-religious and inter-Vedantic understanding," as well as "to restore the balance in Indian philosophy which is now overweighed on the side of Advaita." He, therefore, interprets mysticism from the standpoint of Visisthadvaita.

The present book is divided into six chapters besides an introduction, a bibliography and an index. In the first chapter current misconceptions about mysticism are clarified. In the second chapter mysticism is defined from a broad viewpoint. In the author's opinion mysticism is both an attempt and an attainment and the Vedantic term 'Brahmanubhava' is more adequate than the term 'intuition' to express the meaning of mysticism. In the exalted state the mystic is deified, Brahmanised or oned with the chosen Deity. In the third and fourth chapters a historical and comparative study of mysticism is made from Christian, Islamic, Buddhist and Hindu views. Therein it is pointed out that Sufism has been greatly influenced by Vedanta. In this connection short accounts of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurovindo Ghosh, Mahatma Gandhi and other modern mystics are added. The fifth chapter on Bridal mysticism is immensely interesting and instructive. The last chapter deals with mysticism as the only true philosophy of religion. The author concludes that in the mystic union the self is deified but not destroyed and that mystic union mediates between theistic externality and monistic identity. This clearly shows that he leans more on Visisthadvaita than on Advaita and badly feels the overweight of Advaita in modern Indian philosophy. Advaita perhaps fulfils the philosophic need of the age we live in. But the direct experience of Sri Ramakrishna, Meister Eckhart, Mansur and other mystics tells clearly of final identity. The Katha Upanishad describes the mystic union as pure water is mixed with pure water inseparably. Whatever the conclusion may be, this book is a veritable encyclopaedia of mysticism. It is a very informative and instructive, dependable and comprehensive guide on the subject.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

DIRECTORY OF WELFARE AGENCIES IN GREATER CALCUTTA AND SRINIKETAN: Published by Indian Conference of Social Work, West Bengal Branch, 35 Lake Temple Road, Calcutta 29. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 2.

This is a Directory of social service organisations divided into eight main groups, viz., Community Organisation, Economic Welfare, Education, Handicapped, Health, Housing, Social Reform and Youth Welfare. Social workers will find it a useful reference

book for their work. Social service has been given priority in our National Planning and as such its organisational aspect requires more co-ordination among workers in the different fields. This handy volume, in spite of its imperfections as a pioneer publication, will be a helpful guide.

LAND, LANDLORD AND LEGISLATION: By Nasir Ahmed Khan. Published by the Universal Publishers Ltd., Lucknow. Pp. 106. Price Rs. 3-12.

A book of thirteen chapters dealing with Zemindari system, Co-operation, Agriculture and Planning with special reference to Uttar Pradesh. As the subjects were discussed in the light of pre-independence conditions, the force of the author's arguments is mostly lost in the new set-up.

TOWARDS GREATER INDIA: By Capt. M. R. Gupta. Published by Maman Chand Hukam Chand, Rohtak. Pp. 187. Price Rs. 2.

Here is a book containing eighteen talks given by an ex-military officer to young men and students on subjects like Discipline, Self-respect, Fearlessness, Obedience, Good manners, Loyalty, etc. The virtues required from our youth after the attainment of Freedom have been presented in such a homely manner that they will be effective on the minds of young readers for whom the book is meant.

A. B. DUTTA

WHAT SHALL WE DO?: By "An Obscure Hindu." Thompson and Co., Ltd., Printers and Publishers, 33, Broadway, Madras. Pp. vi + 212 + viii. Price Rs. 4.

The author of this book has studied the various problems of present-day India for a number of years from the Hindu point of view. He published a book called *Grave Danger to the Hindus* in 1940. In the work under review he has gone the whole length of the political, social, provincial, linguistic, cultural and religious aspects of post-partition India. He has exposed with facts and arguments the diplomacy of the Britishers, the mentality of the Muslims and policy of the Congress. He has shown very clearly that though the Muslims never hesitated to say that they are mentally and fundamentally different from the Hindus and other Indian nationals, and never desisted from acting on that principle, it was the dogged policy of placating them for more than a generation that India is experiencing one of the worst disasters in its history even after partition. The incalculable sufferings of India and the Hindus are primarily due to rank communal spirit of the Muslims, who happened to be a minority, though the biggest one, among many other groups.

So, the author puts a question—as the title of his book—which is being asked by thousands of Indians and Hindus. Will partition and secularization solve all the problems which have been raked up? Those leaders of the Hindus who are out to improve the condition of India as a country and disregard the claims of the Hindus as a community should do well to study the basic problem for their own re-education. The author deserves praise and his book commendation for focussing the attention of all concerned.

R. BASU

BENGALI

THERIGATHA: By Bhikshu Shilabhadra. Mahabodhi Society, 4-A, Bankim Chatterji St., Calcutta 12.

The rich literary heritage we have in the old languages of our land, e.g., Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits, is mostly inaccessible to the general reader as very few of them have been translated into modern

Indian languages. This is especially the case with Buddhist texts. It is therefore gratifying to note that commendable attempts are of late being made by individual scholars as well as by institutions like the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta and the Buddhist Mission of Rangoon to remove this anomaly to some extent through translations of well-known Buddhist works in Bengali. One of the latest fruits of these attempts is the volume under review. It contains a free translation of the *Therigatha* accompanied by detailed accounts of the Theris (nuns). It is encouraging that the book is passing through a second edition. It may be mentioned here in passing that the work was translated for the first time into a modern language by the eminent Bengali scholar, Bijaychandra Majumdar who rendered it into Bengali verse about fifty years back and published a volume containing the text, translation and annotations. The absence of any reference to this pioneer and scholarly work in the present volume is a matter of regret.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

AGAMI (Part I)—*Majhi* (the Boatman): By Dipendranath Bandyopadhyay. Bengal Publishers, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12. Price Re. 1-4.

A short novel, depicting life in an East Bengal village before and during the hectic days of the notorious Hindu-Muslim riots. If it is the work of a boy in his teens, as has been mentioned in the publisher's Introduction, it undoubtedly promises a bright future for the author. He commands a simple racy style, suitable for a narrative. In his attitude towards life and his portrayal of characters, he has shown commendable catholicity of mind.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

MARATHI

MI DARUDIA KASA JHALON?: By S. D. Karandikar, 211 Charni Road, Bombay 4. Pp. 180 Price Rs. 3.

"How I became a drunkard and how I gave up drink"—such is the theme of this moving autobiography of an addict. It is excellent pro-prohibition propaganda, for it can considerably strengthen those, who are addicted to the ruinous social vice, in question, in their resolve to be free from the throttling thralldom of the bottle.

G. M.

HINDI

AHUTI: By Lalchand Bismal. Prithvi Theatres, Bombay 4. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 4-8.

A three-act play, written with deep feeling and stage-worthy in every sense. The theme is the partition of India with its concomitant, at once trying and tragic, that the millions were compelled to leave their ancestral homes and hearths and migrate to regions, for a long time unknown and unsympathetic. The play opens on a pre-partition scene of prosperity in the Punjab, moves into the tearful surroundings of a relief camp and closes on a Refugee camp, where the erstwhile prosperous family round which the story moves with the tempo of tension, struggles to rehabilitate itself in order once more to enter the stream of life. *Ahuti* is a moving drama, depicting the suffering and self-immolation of the people of a province as a price of the country's freedom.

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GUJARATI

GANGADHARA: By Mrs. Ratan Behen H. Fozdar. Printed at the Beghagdi Mouj Press, Bakehouse Lane, Bombay. 1948. Cloth cover. Illustrated jacket (Shiva's head from which Ganges cascades down). Pp. 68. Price Re. 1-8.

In 53 short poems, Mrs. Ratanbehen expounds the elements of *bhakti*, which alone can lead to *moksha* (salvation). *Jnan* and *karma* are not looked askance by her, but she gives prominence, in easy Gujarati stanzas, to *bhakti* and *satsang*, companionship of saints. A very learned Introduction from the pen of Mr. Gordhandas Engineer, a noted follower of Vallabhacharya and his creed, points out the creditable portion of the poems which are all not of a uniform quality. The young poetess calls for encouragement.

SUKHNA SIDDHANTA: By Mavji Damji Shah. Printed at the Kishore Printing, Bombay. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 24. Price eight annas.

The elements which lead to happiness, physical, mental, economic, etc., are described here, which, in the opinion of the writer, are sure to attain their purpose if put into practice properly.

(1) LIFE OF SHRIMAD VALLABHACHARYA-JI. (2) BHAGAVANNI SARJAN LILA. (3) APANE KYAN ANE HANE' SHUN: By Mohanlal V. Gandhi, Jethalal G. Shah, M.A., and K. K. Shastri. All three published by the Shuddhadwait-samsad, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 483, 282, 41. Price Rs. 5, Rs. 3, As. 6.

Shrijiut Manilal C. Parekh is known to all Gujaratis as a close student of Christianity, and at one time it was thought that he had become a Christian and he liked to be known as a Hindu Christian. But it was nothing of the sort. He had dived deep into the principles of the creed and published books on them. He has nullified the belief, if ever it had taken root, by writing a very detailed, and fair and impartial biography of that great Acharya, Vallabh, whose creed has taken root in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Marwar. The first book is a translation of Manilal Parekh's book, and is commendable from every point of view, information, details, followers, etc. The second book is written by Mr. J. G. Shah, long since known as the propounder of the Vallabh creed in Gujarat, by means of books and propaganda, and this particular work, "Beauties of God's Creation," he has based on the commentary Subodhini on the Third Skandha (chapter) of Shrimad Bhagvat. Followers of the Vaishnavite creed are bound to appreciate it and the exposition thereof by means of apposite illustrations. The third book by Mr. Shastri, a religious and research student tells us, as to where we are at present and what would happen to us hereafter. It is a reflective work and also helpful in understanding the present situation of our country.

(1) BHAKTI POSHAN: By Parekh G. C. Vakil. Paper cover. Pp. 122. Price Re. 1.

(2) SHRI HARIRAI SHIKSHAVALI, Part I: By M. V. Gandhi, B.A., LL.B., Modasa. Paper cover. Pp. 141. Price Re. 1.

(3) VATIKA VINODE: By Narottam Moteram Shastri. Paper cover. Pp. 16 + 64 + 62. Price not mentioned.

(4) ANYA ASHRAYA ANE ASAMARPIT TYAG: By Sundardas Virbhanudas of Thattitha (Sind). 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 66. Price not stated.

All four books published by the Shuddhadwait Samsad, Ahmedabad.

This quartette of books relates in some way or other, to the texts of the Vallabhacharya creed. Dayaram, the last of the poets of old Gujarat, was a devotee of this creed and has written numerous poems thereabout. One such is *Bhakti Poshan*, and it is ably edited by Mr. Parekh with suitable commentaries. Hari Rai was one of the leading saints of this creed and he has written a book of teaching called *Shikshavali*. "Pushti Margo Nirupama" is the subject-matter of this book, and the contents are very instructive. *Vatika Vinode* consists of several plays, actually staged, bearing on the principles of the creed, while the last treatise is written by a Bhatia follower of the creed at Nagar Thattitha in Sind, which sets out the fact that there is no other *Asraya* (Refuge) save that of Gopijan Vallabh, if you seek salvation, and that further you must sacrifice yourself to attain *moksha*. All four books are books presented as gifts to readers by the Samsad.

SOMNATH: By Ratnamanirao Bhimrao, B.A. Published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket (depicting Somnath). Pp. 267. Price Rs. 4.

The age-old and holy temple of Somnath, which Mahmood of Gazni destroyed and looted, is under the auspices of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, H. H. the Jam Saheb and the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, whose members proceeded to Prabhas Palan, from its session at Junagadh in January, 1949, will soon be restored to its pristine prestige and glory and a large fund is being raised for the purpose. At such a time, this book comes in handy and opportune. In ten chapters, the history of Prabhas-Somnath, and of the holy places in its neighbourhood, like Dehotsarga where Sri Krishna gave up his life due to being shot by a *shikari*, and Damodar Kund, the holy pond near and at the foot of Girnar hill, Mr. Ratnamani Rao has tried to convey the details of this fascinating subject. There are photos and appendices; texts of inscriptions and a verbal index add to the value of the book.

K. M. J.

SHAURYGATARPAN: By Ramanlal Vasantlal, Desai, M.A. Published by R. R. Seth and Co., Princess St., Keshab Bag, Bombay 2. October, 1951. Price Rs. 5.

Shri R. V. Desai is today a leading novelist in Gujarati and this is a work of his mature age. He has read a number of *prasastis* or eulogistic verses and chronicles and also consulted the oral tradition and then proceeded to write this novel on Rana Pratap of Mewar. Of the difficulties in the way of making it a perfectly historical novel he is well-aware and he cites the case of there being no information in history about the name of Pratap's Maharani.

One of the chapters contains a powerful description of the fight between Man Sinha and Pratap, the former on elephant and Pratap on Chaitak.

The last scene describing Rana Pratap's exit from this world and its reaction on Akbar has been very ably depicted. The silent tears that welled forth from Akbar's eyes were his homage to prowess—whence the name of the novel, a name justified widely throughout the book.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Indians in Malaya

H. I. S. Kanwar observes in *Careers and Courses*:

India's link with Malaya and other adjacent countries in South-East Asia dates back over 2,000 years. The *Ramayana*, which was written about the 1st century A.D., makes a reference to *Ivadvipa*, a land comprising seven kingdoms, abounding in gold and silver. Although Hindu Shastras did not permit emigration, Indian traders ventured across the Bay of Bengal to ply their trade in gold, ivory, aloe and camphor. Stories of Malaya's fabulous wealth soon spread in India. Indian scholars familiar with Sanskrit accompanied the traders to study the land in all its aspects. The inhabitants began to appreciate their doctrines so much that gradually they found themselves converted to Hinduism and Buddhism.

HINDU INFLUENCE

Apart from the fact that Buddhism had a great influence on the country, Malay's history up to the 10th century is rather obscure. The establishment of Buddhism saw the rise of the Shrivijaya Empire in the 7th century A.D., which lasted for 700 years. In the early part of the 11th century, Malaya was invaded by Raja Rajendra Cola from Chula-Mandala (modern Coromandel) in south India. Rajendra Cola, who reigned there from 1012 to 1042 A.D., carried on a friendly trade with Kedah, then a dependency of Shrivijaya. Twenty-years later the friendship fell through, and Cola led an armada across the Bay of Bengal to raid the scattered Shrivijaya ports. He not only conquered Kedah, but also the rest of Shrivijaya.

Although Cola himself did not remain in Malaya for long, his name is revered in Malaya, for the name of Chulan is to this day given to the Princes of Perak State. In 1084, a Chula document once more speaks of friendly relations with Malaya. Trade went on for centuries and Indian merchants went to the country in large numbers. In the 16th century, when the Portuguese began to establish themselves there, the Indian merchants wielded great influence on the policy of the State of Malacca. Consequently, in 1509, when the Portuguese admiral Sequiera came to Malacca, they advised the Malaccans to refuse trading rights to the Portuguese. Not only was this advice taken, but it caused the Malaccan Bendhara (Prime Minister) to arrest the Portuguese.

Further evidence of Indian influence is the Pahang Malay of the 17th century. He was a mixture of the Malaccan Muslim and the pre-Malaccan inhabitant. In his religion, influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism, he had not abandoned the practice of making sacrifices to Kali, the Hindu goddess.

THE EXODUS AND EMIGRATION LAWS

It was not until the advent of the 19th century that Indians began to emigrate on a somewhat organised basis to Straits Settlements the first spot being Penang, where they were employed on coconut plantations and later in spice, tapioca and sugar-cane gardens. Due to the absence of emigration laws emigration continued without any hitch for a long time. However, when the Straits Settlements were separated from the control of the Government of India in 1867, emigration was regulated

through an Emigration Act. Most of the emigrants belonged to the illiterate labour class, and as their number increased rapidly, it became necessary for the Indian Government and that of the Straits Settlements to take an interest in their welfare. Thereafter, the Indian Government sent representatives periodically to look into the conditions of Indian labourers there.

In 1922, a revised Emigration Act came into force bringing under its control emigration not only to Malaya but also to Ceylon. Further interest by the Indian Government was shown when it appointed a Standing Committee to give suggestions and advice on various aspects of emigration, especially the basis on which Indian labour was to be employed in Malaya; and the terms on which emigration was to be permitted. As a result of its constructive work Malayan and Indian representatives were brought together in 1923, to decide on the terms on which unskilled labour was to be permitted to emigrate. The agreement reached being favourable, there was no change in emigration laws until 1938.

In 1938, certain alterations were effected in the Emigration Act to bring unassisted emigration under the control of the Indian Government, who could then stop it when expedient. The newly amended Emigration Act came into force in December, 1939. It was a good augury, as its main purpose was to protect the interests of Indians not only in Malaya but also overseas elsewhere.

INDIANS AND COMMERCE

In December, 1943, Indians in Malaya totalled 750,000 whereas by 1947 for various reasons, their number had decreased to 605,000, the majority of whom worked on rubber estates and coconut plantations.

Indians are found in all walks of life; there are lawyers, businessmen, petty traders, labourers, clerks, cattle-breeders, engineers, doctors, servicemen and policemen, to mention a few. In almost all Government department, Indians are employed in different capacities. A number of those who retired prematurely during the Japanese occupation were reinstated immediately Malaya was reoccupied by the British.

In the less important professions, there are Indian taxi-drivers, hawkers, watchmen and money-lenders. Prior to World War II, the money-lender in Malaya, though a boon to many a borrower, was an unpopular personality, as he was harsh in his terms, charging rather high rates of interest, until the Government restricted his activities.

On the mainland of the Malaya Peninsula, a fair number of Indians have interests in landed property, and in rubber and coconut plantations. Business connected with sports goods is virtually dominated by them. They are also engaged in profitable trade in cloth and piece-goods. On the whole, Indian traders are respected by businessmen of other communities.

COSMOPOLITAN COMMUNITY

Indians in Malaya are organised in various ways, though on no definite hard and fast lines. There is an Indian Chamber of Commerce besides other organisations composed of people coming from different parts of India. Sports associations and clubs exist, some on a sect basis, while others are mixed. Prior to World War II, there was an Indian Advisory Board, a nominated body, whose responsibilities were to advise the Malayan Government on matters concerning the Indian population. Today, the

Indians are politically united under the banner of the Malayan Indian Congress, formed after the termination of the war.

Community life among Indians in Malaya is a good example to their countrymen at home. Devoid of religious fanaticism, they meet at the same table and eat the common food served. Education in Malaya being of a high order, the Indian has greatly benefited by it. About 50 per cent of the Indian population is literate. Long residence in the country has taught the Indians to be broad-minded, tolerant, open-hearted and considerate towards the religions and customs of others. The Hindustani, Punjabi and Tamil spoken by them has a sprinkling of Malay, English and even Chinese words. Many Indians speak more than three languages. Constant mixing with other races has made them thoroughly cosmopolitan and they have inter-married with the many nationalities that reside in the country. Sometimes inter-marriage has occurred for two or three successive generations, as a result of which the latest product has neither much knowledge of nor the desire to return to India. In some cases, contact with relations in India has been lost. Those who are without their families in Malaya return to India every two or three years to renew their family ties. When in Malaya they send regular remittances for the upkeep of their families at home in India.

Speaking of Indians generally it can be said that they have played a great part in the economic development of the country. It is due to them that rubber production reached such high levels in post war years, while they have worked equally well on the coconut plantations.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Prior to World War II, political activity was taboo. Therefore, it was not until the Japanese conquered Malaya, that interest in politics was roused amongst Indians. Japanese propaganda constantly reminded Indians of their patriotic duty towards India, and though this was primarily for Japan's own benefit, there was some response, as a result of which the majority of the Indian community remained loyal to the British.

On the close of World War II, Malaya was put under a military form of government by the British and a number of Indians were prosecuted for pro-Japanese activities. The old office of the government of India's Agent which had been closed since the Japanese occupation, again started functioning in September, 1945, and in order to have closer contact with Lord Mountbatten's headquarters, the Indian Government appointed a Representative and Liaison Officer. The appointment was necessary in order to watch Indian interests in Malaya in general, and in particular of those Indians,

who had been prosecuted for their connection with either the India Independence League or the I.N.A.

Apart from this, the condition of the Indian labouring class had deteriorated, mainly because many had been deported by the Japanese to work on the construction of the Burma-Thailand railway. Those who survived the ordeal were in terrible straits, especially when Japanese currency ceased to be a legal tender. In addition, there was an acute shortage of basic essentials, including cloth and medicine.

Three medical missions, two sponsored by the Indian National Congress and one by the Government of India were sent to Malaya to render medical aid. Due to the above activities and interest expressed by the Indian Government and the Indian public, the whole situation influenced the Malayan Government to revise their policy towards Indians in Malaya, whose position in August 1947, was strengthened by the appointment of Mr. John Thivy as the Indian Representative.

EVIL OF DUAL NATIONALITY

The vital problem facing the Indians in Malaya after India's independence has been the question as to whether they should adopt Malayan citizenship or remain with India. The crux of the question is that most of them desire the benefit of both, that is, to remain as Indian citizens, while simultaneously claiming certain rights by virtue of their residential qualifications. Dual citizenship for obvious reasons is neither desirable nor possible. Recently the Indian Prime Minister made it clear that in so far as citizenship was concerned, the Malayan Indians must decide one way or the other, and there was no middle way.

The future is partly in their own hands. Since the majority work on the rubber plantations, the present rubber slump has had adverse effect on their livelihood. Will they tide it over as they have done in Malaya's past history? Should they choose to remain in Malaya the country of their adoption, they have to be one with the Malays for the future good of the country, in whose legislature they are already adequately represented.

It has been suggested that the Indian community may well act as a balancing force between the Malays and the Chinese. And in order to produce a favourable reaction from the Indians, it is not in the interest of the country that the Federation should pass legislation to permit more Indians to qualify for Malayan citizenship?

Malaya has been promised self-government in the near future, and this can only be secured by bringing about harmony amongst all communities.

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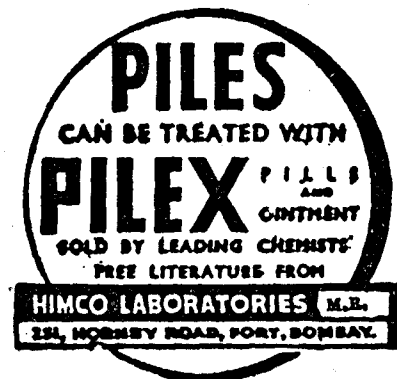
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Christians in the Naga Hills

Rev. B. I. Anderson, an American Baptist missionary in Kohima, Assam, writes in the *National Christian Council Review* :

In the hills of Assam, where roads are few, and communications almost nil, is a group of more than 76,000 Naga church members, about whom very little has been told in the outside world. Once they were head-hunters, demon-worshippers, drunkards, opium-fiends. Today this fast-growing Christian group has reached an astonishing level of self-support, is providing for the evangelization of others, and is largely handling its own administrative work. All of this has come about within less than eighty years.

It was not until 1876 that the first missionary ventured up into the Naga Hills and risked his life to make the Christian message known. Dr. E. W. Clark was used by God to lay the foundation for the work of evangelism in the Naga Hills. But it was a slow movement at first. He met with opposition from all quarters: proud chiefs, bloodthirsty villagers, yes, even the British officials took a stand against the only power that has proved effective in dealing with head-hunters. But the work continued and the present strength of Christianity in the Naga Hills, the virile faith and devotion of the hill men, will continue to be a testimony to all men that the work is of God.

But even after eighty years some of the early problems remain. The greatest obstacle to a united witness in the Naga Hills is the division caused by the many languages. There are not less than 15 large groups into which the Scriptures and other Christian literature must be translated, and in addition to these there are any number of dialects and variations. The geographical situation is a handicap, for in some sections there are few means of communication among the hill villages. Only 75 miles west of Kohima, the Mzieme and others are just beginning to receive the message. The same is true 250 miles in the other direction, among the Eastern Konyaks. Around Mokokchung, Manipur hill tracts, and at Wokha and Kohima the churches are well established. But even though strong in numbers there are very few occasions when the members can meet together and enter into a fuller fellowship as Christians.

One advantage is the democratic rule which is common in the villages. This can easily be transferred into the church life, as the Baptist Mission encourages a large measure of self-government and in no way interferes with the programme of the local church and the administration of its Associations.

The success achieved in the work among the Nagas can be seen in numbers as well as in degrees of self-support and self-governments. In the latest published report of statistics (1950) we learn that during that year not less than 7,843 new converts were baptized, making the total membership in the churches 76,222. This number does not include children in Christian homes, who have not yet asked for and received baptism. Making a rough estimate of such children as being at least one-third of the Christian community, we may conclude that the Naga Baptist churches would reach the figure of close to 100,000 present and prospective members.

In self-support they have reached the highest of any group in Assam, perhaps in India. The Ao tribe alone has an annual budget for their work of evangelism education, and production of literature which mounts up to Rs. 30,000. Figures are not available for all the rest of the tribes, nor is it necessary to work out detailed statistics.

The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society main-

tains six stations in this section of Assam. The total annual appropriation, aside from salaries of missionaries, is Rs. 34,000 from the General Society and Rs. 6,000 from the Women's Society. Aside from the regular work of evangelism and education, one hospital and one leper colony is maintained by the Mission.

The administration of the work is now largely in the hands of the National leaders, who by means of church council meetings and annual Associational gatherings, formulate policies and carry out the necessary details of their organized work. All of these groups are also interested in evangelism among the border tribes, and the Aos particularly, have for many years supported evangelists to headhunting villages. Their visits have not only brought thrills to the men who were prepared to lay down their lives for these savages, but have also given a good harvest in souls. Among the Konyak Nagas, as well as among the Eastern Angamis and the Sangtams, two national leaders are in full control of the work and doing very well. The Konyak work is a special project supported by the recently organized Council of Baptist Churches of Assam. The marvellous success in this area has brought on a wave of persecution, which the young churches have endured patiently. The number of baptisms in this frontier field was 683 last year (1950). Then there are the Changs, Kalukengyus, Yimchongre and many other tribes stretching all the way to Burma. Them also we must bring.

Methods of evangelism are varied, to suit different conditions. The touring of the missionary, climbing the mountain slopes to bring of the Word of God to the villages located on the very top of the mountains, has been the most effective method of reaching the people. In the church services, in the homes, around the evening fires, out in the open street, in fact wherever an opportunity offered itself, Christ has been proclaimed and men have heard about His blood shed for the remission of sins. The religion in all of these tribes is largely animistic and filled with fear and superstition. The old taboos, some of them most primitive, have had to yield, and social customs, built up around the religious beliefs, have also had to give way for the new light.

None of these tribes had any written language or any record of their origin and past history, so the missionaries had to reduce the dialects to print and produce books for their schools. Evangelism thus worked hand in hand with education and a Christian teacher whose love for God was genuine did not lack opportunities to bring the children to Christ.

Later as the church was able to support a regular pastor the work was organized on the basis of group evangelism, when happy converts set out to visit other

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villages and to sing and pray for their enemies. In the Sema tribe during the years between 1930-40 the additions of converts took on mass movement proportions, some years seeing more than 2,000 converts added to the churches. Paid evangelists have been used, but very sparingly, their work very often given largely to the task of organizing churches and supervising the instruction of the converts.

Endcavour Societies have been the means of enlisting the youth in villages where the church had become established. In almost every village where there is a church, substantial and permanent houses of worship have been erected. These have always been paid for by the people themselves, some giving cash, others providing free labour.

The importance of regular Bible conferences and well attended annual meetings can never be over-emphasized. It was at such gatherings, sometimes attended by 4 to 5,000 people, that the true nature of the Christian Gospel became known and the work of the Christian church built up to its present high standard of teaching and practice. A vigorous opposition to all forms of demon-worship, polygamy, consumption of liquor and other vices, formerly so common among the Nagas, has made no small contribution to the work of evangelism, showing the true life of the churches and contributing to the general welfare and decent behaviour of the members.

Another aspect of Christian emphasis has been that of stewardship. From the very beginning the converts were told that they were expected to contribute a tithe of their income. Whether in cash or kind this has been the goal, and every member has been urged to give liberally. This has helped to solve the problem of dealing with greedy money-lenders and unscrupulous traders. The churches built granaries as well as houses of worship. Paddy and livestock became commodities with the Christians, for feeding the poor, or selling and providing loans to those who needed this help.

The discipline within the church has always been rather strict, and thus the moral standards have been high. There are cases of defection to demon-worship; adultery, or return of polygamists to former wives; lack of interest or failure to live up to the Christian confession. Perhaps the gravest problem has been that of intoxicating liquor, mostly the home-brewed rice-beer, against which the churches have taken a very strong stand since the early years of Christian evangelism. But there has never been a very large number who have fallen by the wayside and returned to the old superstitions and sinful living.

The Naga youth of today is very active in Christian work. They are in the lead in the village churches, as well as in the station work. Many are also active as doctors, nurses, or midwives in both Government and Mission hospitals. Others are employed as teachers, police constables and soldiers by the Indian Government and a few have reached high ranks in these professions. Education is the goal of the many boys and girls in the schools and a few of these ambitious youngsters have even managed to get to the U.S.A. for specialized training.

God has done wonders in the Naga Hills. Let no one say that the Nagas are models of virtue and devotion, rather, many of them are very human, and not all are good members of the churches. But they are liberated by the grace of God from their former lusts and savage mode of life and are now struggling toward a better day and a more enlightened future.



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South Africa—Land of Gold and Discord

John Nevin Sayre writes in *Unity*, January-February, 1953 :

Discord was not lacking in South Africa before the finding of gold and diamonds there, but the discovery of such riches has multiplied the friction and vastly complicated the country's problems. Had the new wealth been controlled and exploited for the improvement of living standards, education, and the betterment of all sections of the people, it might have lessened the discord. If also there could have been a spiritual perception of basic human justice, and a full use of love and human understanding, South Africa might today be leading the world in the glory of a multiracial Christian society.

Today, South Africans are keenly aware of the crisis through which their nation is going. Although they tend to resent outside criticism and the myth that only one race can be to blame for the sorry state of race relations, they are not complacent. Indeed, fear of trouble that may come upon the country pervades all groups. Most of those we interviewed declared that conditions were getting worse, and some of them felt that they were at a desperate stage. As one man said: "We are living on two volcanoes, either one of which could soon explode." One was the growing tension between whites and non-whites; the other was the danger of civil war between the two principal white groups.

It was surprising to find that on the psychological and propaganda front the old war between the Boers and the British is still going on and being fanned to fresh intensity, especially by the Malan government. One would have thought that the divisions caused by that war had long ago been healed by generous acts of Britain's Campbell-Bannerman government, the setting up of the Federal Union of South Africa, and the long years of service to the Union by General Jan Smuts. But this is not the case. There was a section of the Boers who in their hearts never accepted defeat, who regarded Smuts as a "Quisling," who bided their time but were busy nourishing Boer aspirations. It is they who have taken the lead in *apartheid*, who cling to the *Afrikaans* language, and who got control of the government in 1948 after Smuts' death. This has created a split not only between British and Dutch South Africans, but inside the *Afrikaner* group itself.

Dr. Malan and the Nationalist Party propose to create an *Afrikaner* country and possibly an independent state separate from the British Commonwealth. They do not trust the British, are hostile to the United Nations, and fear the Communists whose South African Party they have outlawed. They have practically annexed South West Africa and seem to want still more territory. They mean to build up a master race and a master language, and keep non-white inhabitants "in their place." They are tightening up the old controls of segregation and promulgating new ones. They do not intend that members of dark-skinned races and nations shall ever be admitted to full privileges of citizenship.

The natives are to have a homeland in separate territories, somewhat like American Indian reservations, where they are to live under tribal discipline, which,

however, is finally subject to white control. Some of them will work the farms of white South Africans. Others who labor in the mines and the big cities are to be housed in adjacent segregated "locations."

The Malan government appears quite willing to subvert the decisions of the country's judges and the South African constitution if these stand in the way. Although the present government was not voted into office by a majority of the nation's white electorate, it hopes to win a majority at the next election. The Nationalists know what they want, believe that they are religiously and patriotically right, do not care for civil liberties, and are ruling by dictatorial methods.

The United Party was the party of General Smuts. It is opposed to a number, but not all, of the above measures. About 70 per cent of its members are white *Afrikaners* (not Africans) and the rest are white South Africans, largely of British extraction. It wishes to uphold the courts and constitution, and demands an immediate general election. It wants to stay within the Commonwealth. It is willing to have South Africa a bilingual country, but fears that English may be crowded out of the schools, universities, and government by the *Afrikaans* language, pushed by *Afrikaner* Nationalism.

This party opposes the abrogation of civil liberties and the withdrawal of the limited franchise rights for the "colored" people which have been in existence for a number of years in the Cape of Good Hope Colony. It fears the encroachment of Nationalist dictatorship, and in the present crisis has been building up a group known as the "Torch Commandos," headed by "Sailor" Malan, a cousin of the Prime Minister. The government charges this group with being "subversive," and there are ominous clashes between it and the police which are played up in the papers almost daily.

But the United Party would be split wide open if the issue of assimilation between races and the extension of votes to all racial groups—whether outright or by a gradual method—should be pressed upon it. Consequently, on this question it is in a weak position as compared to the Nationalists' firm policy of segregation.

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Those who are familiar with race questions in the southern United States should realize that South Africa's race problem is far more acute. The estimated total population of South Africa is 12,000,000, and there are only 2,500,000 whites. Granted that the 9,500,000 non-whites are not united, that they are without arms and unorganized, and for the most part amazingly patient, the whites know what a disaster it would be if these millions were to withdraw their labor. Such a fear, played upon by frequent news stories of crimes against whites, makes the white groups jittery. It intensifies the bitterness when the whites oppose each other.

If now the white parties should fly at each other's throats in exasperation, it would be madness. But when emotions get to the boiling point, madness can happen. It hardly looks as if such an extremity will be reached. If, however, the United Party were to be victorious in the next election, it would constitute an important gain. Its belief in law and constitutional procedure would leave the way open for peaceful methods of change.

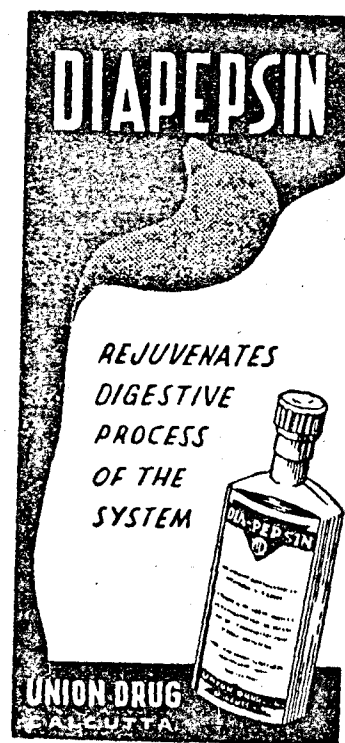
The campaign of civil disobedience, along the lines of the crusades led formerly by Mahatma Gandhi in India and South Africa, has been dramatic and thus far singularly unaccompanied by outbreaks of violence against the white regime. Upwards of 5,000 demonstrators, native Africans and resident East Indians, have violated segregation laws in a spirit of non-violence, and have suffered arrest. The campaign is led both by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. For once the non-whites have come together in strong, challenging action to show their unwillingness to accept a second-class citizenship. The movement has been a great welling up of protest, and in the main non-violent, though there have been violent outbreaks between whites and native Africans, as at Port Elizabeth in October. These exceptions do not necessarily indicate a breakdown in the non-violent campaign, for they have happened before, and are not as a rule connected with the present non-violent demonstrations. It is too early, however, for final judgments on the campaign's ultimate value. Yet when Mohandas Gandhi began in South Africa, on his campaign a third of a century ago, it looked like a forlorn hope. God has often used the weak of this world to confound the strong.

There are white minority groups and individuals who are trying to build a multi-racial society that will move in the direction of gradual extension of democracy and civil rights for all. These are the leaven. They are few, they are separated from each other by vast distances, and they contend against terrific odds. But they are valiant for truth. These groups have nurtured such persons as Alan Paton, Michael Scott, Senator E. H. Brooks, Hon. Margaret Ballinger, Mrs. A. W. Hoernle, Rev. A. W. Blaxall, Rev. H. P. Junod, Rev. Ray E. Phillips, Dr. W. J. G. Mears, Dr. Ellen Hellman, Principal R. H. W. Shepherd, Dr. J. Muir Grieve, Dr. F. W. Fox, Maurice Webb, Dr. Alan Taylor, Bishop Wilfred Parker, Manilal Gandhi, and Principal Mtinkulu. There are various others scattered about the country

whom it was possible to meet, and those who are named represent just a sample of nationally-known South Africans who are conspicuous for their service to a multi-racial state. There is a still wider circle whose names are written in heaven.

In the forefront of the voluntary organizations that have turned the light on race relations and striven for their betterment, is the South African Institute of Race Relations, now in its twenty-third year. In a recent statement to the government, it expressed its basic position, and set a standard for future work and hope. Said the Institute, the true basis for a settlement of the race question is wrapped up in these principles:

1. Belief in the value of the individual human being and his right, by virtue of his being, to the fullest expression and development compatible with similar rights of other individuals within the pattern of a democratic state.
2. Belief in the values of democratic society with its accepted freedoms, rights and duties.
3. Acceptance of the brotherhood of man in its Christian interpretation.



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WHAT IT IS

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund is part of the United Nations, created by the General Assembly, 11 December, 1946. It was brought into being to meet the emergency needs of children, particularly in the war-devastated countries, and at the same time, to further child health purposes generally. Under that double mandate, the Fund, in the five years of its operation, has brought and is bringing aid to millions of children and mothers in Africa, Asia, the Eastern Mediterranean area, Europe, and Latin America. In this undertaking UNICEF has had financial support from governments and peoples throughout the world.

AN INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE

UNICEF is an international co-operative on behalf of children. It receives contributions from countries able to help with money, goods and services. It then distributes that aid to countries for specific maternal and child welfare projects for which help is needed. The aid so given is on a self-help basis, to enable the assisted countries to meet their own children's needs, in so far as possible, using the countries' own resources. Many of the countries receiving the Fund's help for their children are, at the same time, making substantial contributions for its work in other countries.

This aid is given solely on the basis of need, without regard to race, creed, nationality status or political belief.

WHAT IT DOES

For the most part, UNICEF's help is now being given to the economically underdeveloped countries to enable them to deal with long-standing maternal and child health and welfare problems. UNICEF, at the same time, is aiding large numbers of children in emergency situations brought about by natural catastrophes, or in other instances, by political dislocations. All aid is given in close collaboration with other United Nations organizations, notably the United Nations Department of Social Affairs, the Technical Assistance Administration, the World Health Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

The supplies, equipment and other forms of aid now being provided by UNICEF fall into the following main categories:

Assistance to countries for the building and expansion of their basic maternal and child welfare services. UNICEF provides imported equipment and supplies for maternal and child health centres and rural clinics. It also helps in the training of local child-care personnel by providing supplies and equipment for training centers.

By Prof. HARIDAS MUKHERJEE

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Assistance in the prevention and control of communicable diseases largely affecting children, such as tuberculosis, yaws, whooping cough, diphtheria and trachoma. This help is given to enable governments to initiate, and eventually carry on independently, large-scale campaigns against those common diseases which are responsible for much childhood suffering and death in the UNICEF-aided countries. UNICEF provides vaccines, drugs, insecticides and imported equipment, while at the start of a campaign, the World Health Organization provides services of international teams to train local teams. UNICEF is also extending aid to these countries so that they can develop their own production of antibiotics, vaccines and insecticides.

Provision of milk, fish-liver oils and other protective foods to assist supplementary child-feeding programs. The programs are of two kinds: (1) Those of an emergency nature following natural disasters—floods, earthquakes, drought, and the like, and/or the dislocation brought about by war; and (2) those of a long-range character undertaken to build up the country's child-feeding services, through schools and maternal and child welfare centers. The second are characteristic of the UNICEF-assisted operations in Central America and in certain African and Asian countries, and are undertaken in co-operation with the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Provision of equipment to help countries conserve and distribute their local milk supplies for the benefit of children. UNICEF provides certain imported equipment for milk drying and pasteurizing plants, bottling and other processes in the handling and distribution of local milk supplies. The governments of the assisted countries provide the rest of the equipment, the buildings, labor,

etc., and undertake the distribution of the milk so processed to the neediest groups of the child population.

Provision of raw materials for children's clothing and shoes and institutional supplies and other aid. UNICEF provides the cotton, wool, and/or leather. Manufacturing costs are assumed by the governments. The finished articles are distributed free. Soap is also provided, and simple medicines for maternal and child welfare centers.

Special assistance for handicapped children. UNICEF is providing supplies and equipment for use in the care and rehabilitation of children suffering from physical or mental handicaps, in many instances as a result of war injuries; and is also helping to provide training opportunities and guidance for those responsible for their care.

HOW IT WORKS

The Fund is controlled by a 25-nation Executive Board. This Board acts upon requests from government for international aid for child welfare projects. It then allocates contributions received by the Fund among those projects which it approves.

A general agreement is entered into between the Fund and the government of the receiving country, showing how the international aid is to be used. The Fund, and in turn, the government, accept responsibility on behalf of the donor countries for the proper use of all resources. All UNICEF supplies are distributed free to the recipients.

UNICEF aid, in all except emergencies, is matched in value by the government of the recipient country, or by some voluntary agency within the country.

This help often makes possible undertakings that otherwise could not be attempted; for example, with the

assurance of certain food supplies from UNICEF, especially much-needed milk, school lunch programs have been initiated, and thus the neediest groups of children are reached in a practical and efficient manner. Similarly, in the maternal and child health field, with UNICEF providing medical supplies and equipment, and other United Nations agencies providing the necessary technical assistance, countries are able to undertake large-scale prevention or disease-control programs that otherwise would not be feasible.

UNICEF aid in all instances is used to fill the need in such a manner as to reach the largest possible number of children in ways that will be of lasting benefit to the whole structure of child health and welfare services within the assisted countries.

UNICEF IN INDIA

UNICEF began operations in India in 1949 with a modest Milk Distribution Scheme. Today UNICEF continues emergency feeding programmes but lays greater emphasis on helping Governments with programmes calculated to make a permanent contribution to Child Welfare. Guiding principles are that:

Aid is given without discrimination on grounds of race, creed, nationality or political belief.

UNICEF's aid must be matched by at least equal effort within the recipient country.

To assist countries in building up their basic Maternal and Child Welfare Services or to assist in the control and the prevention of communicable diseases, UNICEF aid may take the form of Midwives Bags or

equipment to manufacture Penicillin and DDT; Hospital and Laboratory equipment or Drugs and Diet Supplements for Rural Clinics, Syringes and microscopes, buses, bicycles and jeeps and such other items, which for lack of foreign exchange or other reasons, cannot be provided from a country's own resources.

\$7,076,000 or Rs. 3.37 crores is the extent of the UNICEF contribution to date in support of Health and Relief programmes in India.—*Unicef Bulletin.*

China's First Five-Year Plan of Construction

"A new epoch begins for China" is the title of an editorial in the New Year issue of *People's China*, a fortnightly English language magazine, on the nation's first five-year planned economic construction beginning in 1953. Full text of the editorial follows:

1953 will mark the beginning of a new epoch in the long history of the Chinese people.

The rehabilitation of Chinese economy after decades of internal and external wars has been completed. Now, energies are being turned to the large-scale, planned economic construction which will transform China from agricultural into industrial country.

During the three years since they established their own state and the government, the liberated Chinese people have engaged in two tasks of tremendous magnitude; helping the Korean people repel American aggression which has threatened their own borders, and rebuilding political, economic and cultural life of the country.

Both tasks have been well carried out. In Korea, the aggressors have been pushed back, with vast casualties, to the 38th Parallel. At home, we have completed agrarian reform among 428 million rural people; reached, and, in certain fields, surpassed pre-war production peaks in both agriculture and industry; balanced budget, stabilised prices and built new railways, roads, factories, mines and huge water conservancy works. Wages of Chinese workers in various industries have risen between 65 and 120 per cent since 1942, and peasant incomes have improved still more. We are engaged in a great effort to end illiteracy. Education, literature and arts are flourishing.

Economic consequences of centuries of misrule, however, are not to be completely overcome in the space of three years. Industrially, China is still weak. In order to develop production further and build a still more prosperous, still stronger country, we need many new factories and mines—and we must re-equip the existing ones with the latest equipment. First of all, China must develop her heavy industry—the prerequisite to quick industrialisation.

The job ahead is, therefore, of gigantic proportions. But the Chinese people are certain that they can do it, and do it well. Their confidence rests on sure foundations—rich natural resources of their country, creative initiative of hundreds of millions of liberated men and women, superior advantages of people's democratic system, wise leadership of the Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, selfless help of the Soviet Union, and unity with the entire camp of peace and democracy.

To accomplish the work that lies before them, the Chinese people need peace throughout the world. War brings destruction. Construction requires a peaceful environment. The Chinese people love peace because their hopes for future are inextricably bound up with it. That is why the Chinese people regard it as their

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World Health Day

Mr. David A. Morse, Director-General of the International Labour Organisation, in a message for the "World Health Day," celebrated by the World Health Organisation on 7 April, appealed to the employers and workers of the sixty-six Members-states of the I.L.O. to make this "holiday of health" a success.

Mr. Morse said: "This year the W.H.O. has suggested the theme, Health means Wealth. This fits in aptly with the I.L.O.'s current programme to help increase the productivity and earnings of industry and labour, especially in the less developed countries. For what can do more to reduce production and productivity than preventable sickness or avoidable accident in industry, agriculture or the home?"

"The W.H.O. and I.L.O. are already working hand-in-hand through joint committees and other measures to reduce venereal disease among seafarers, to provide better first aid and medical services at sea, and to assist public health services and occupational health experts in protecting workers' health.

"The W.H.O. has likewise been most helpful in labour-management government discussions of the protection of the health of workers in places of employment at the I.L.O.'s General Conference last June. The subject will be before the 1953 conference for final action.

"In 1954 the conference will tackle ways to improve vocational rehabilitation of the disabled.

"World Health Day 1953 can do a great deal to help make these programmes for the better health of workers better understood."—*WHO News*.

Yugoslavia

George V. Allen, new American ambassador to India, believes Yugoslavia's break with the Soviets is complete and irrevocable.

In an interview with Marguerite Higgins published in Sunday's *New York Herald Tribune*, Ambassador Allen said one only has to be in Yugoslavia and live with those people to feel the intensity of their hatred against the Soviet Union and the Cominform.

The essence of the quarrel, Allen said, was the issue of Yugoslav national sovereignty. "The break came because of the efforts of the Soviet Union to dominate Yugoslavia," he said.

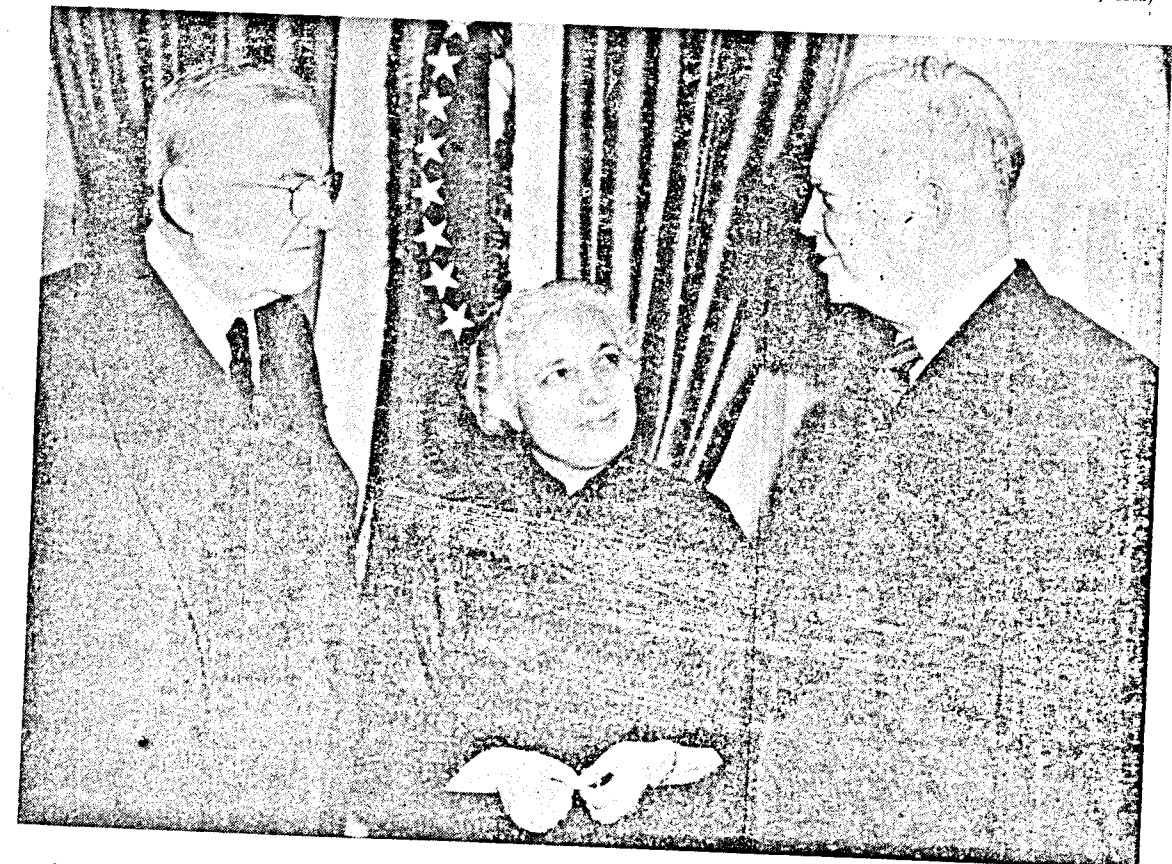
He said that there has been a marked departure within Yugoslavia from Soviet practice—especially in the field of agriculture. He commented:

"The forced collectivisation of land was discontinued about 18 months ago. It seems quite possible that the general system of collective farms in Yugoslavia will be supplanted by a co-operative farm movement along Scandinavian lines."—*USIS*.

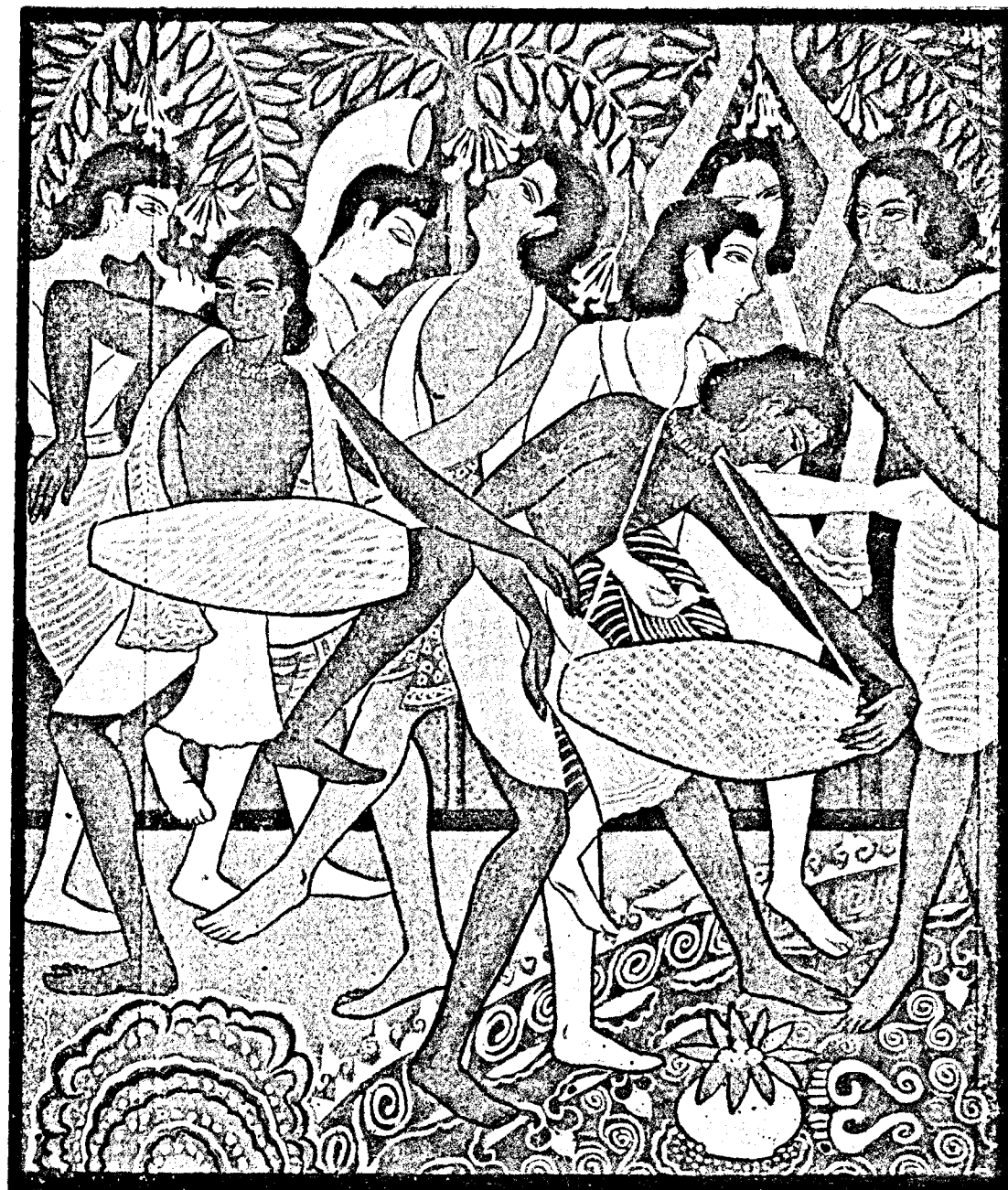


Ramananda Chatterjee

(Born : June, 1865)



Sm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, head of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, recently called at the White House. Here she is seen with the President and Secretary of State Dulles



THE VILLAGE SINGERS
By Satindranath Laha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

The Coronation of the British Queen

The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II of Britain and her dominions will take place on June 2, as has been announced. This will be the first Coronation of a British Sovereign since the separation of India from the Imperial domains. Likewise, this will be the first occasion on which a British Sovereign will be acclaimed as the "Head of the Commonwealth." Let us hope that these two augur an era of peace and goodwill on earth. There are still Tory Die-hards that dream of imperial splendour of the days gone by and there are many others of that ilk that do more than dream. Colour-prejudice is still rampant in Africa and mediaeval methods of colonialism are still being practised in Kenya, South Africa and, to a lesser extent, in Malaya. In Iran and Egypt, Britain is faced with retribution.

Let us hope that the new Queen will decide firmly for peace and justice and equality for all the children of God, whatever be their colour, creed, or race. Her namesake was a patron of pirates and adventurers, who brought much booty to their own land but sowed the seeds of unrest, repression and plunder that brought endless misery to untold peaceful millions over a period of four centuries. Those days of pillage and rapine have been glorified by misguided historians and by numberless authors whose creed was that of black untruth. In reality "seldom in that island's story, Truth has been the path to glory." Let us hope that a change of heart will take place with the coming of a new Queen and the world will be allowed to forget.

Our Prime Minister has gone to attend the Coronation celebrations and also a conference of Commonwealth Ministers. At the time of going to press, we find a piece of news in the daily press which seems to indicate that Dr. Malan of South Africa

has gone to this conference in a truculent mood. We know little about the others but are told that:

"The Commonwealth Prime Ministers face seven major political, economic and defence problems at their week's conference beginning in London on June 3, usually reliable sources said on May 21.

The conference, on the morning after Queen Elizabeth's Coronation, will open with a discussion on recent developments in Soviet policy. This will be followed by an examination of West European affairs.

Other international issues to be discussed, according to London sources, concern the Far East, South-East Asia and the Middle East.

The conference will be presided over by Sir Winston Churchill and attended by the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

The formal meetings will tackle political and economic questions but greater value is expected from the informal exchanges between individual Prime Ministers on such subjects as defence, which will not be explicitly disclosed in the official communique.

One session of the full conference will be devoted to a survey by Mr. Butler, Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the progress of the Commonwealth economic plan for increasing production and expansion of world peace.

This was drafted by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Economic Conference in London last November and December. Its details are still secret."

In our little sub-continent, the peoples of India and Pakistan are more eager for the consequences of another conference about which there is much speculation:

"It has been agreed that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan will meet in London early next month, says a communique issued in New Delhi on May 23. They will have preliminary talks on Kashmir,

the working of the Prime Ministers' agreement on minorities, the evacuee property payment question, and other issues having a bearing on Indo-Pakistani relations.

Owing to their other preoccupations it will not be possible for the two Prime Ministers to discuss these matters in detail in London. That will await their return to their respective countries. They will meet again at the earliest possible opportunity and will carry on their discussions for the purpose of arriving at a settlement of all Indo-Pakistani differences.

Both Governments have agreed to issue a directive to the Ministries concerned to take up immediately the outstanding issues between the two countries with their opposite numbers."

Linguistic States

In the not-so-very distant past, we were often reminded of an old saw regarding British justice which asserted that "it were better that a hundred guilty ones should escape rather than one innocent be punished." This was the essence of British justice in India and, in pursuance of this to the letter, a hundred guilty ones were allowed to go scot-free—if they had the means to engage good lawyers—before one innocent was punished. The legal profession waxed fat on this system, for the wicked always had riches since the days of John Company, and the odour of British justice reached the high heavens.

We in our wisdom wanted to go one better. And therefore we got together a Constituent Assembly composed of the inane, the inept and the insane with a few gilded gas-bags as the figure-heads and for good measure we put in some spies and informers of the old regime, who were "jail graduates." And, in order to make a show of democracy a few—a very small few—elder statesmen and rebels were allowed to get in. And then we asked our wisecracks to get together and concoct a constitution.

This constitution of ours, the *Sangbidhan*, was prepared in the way that thrifty French housewives prepare the *pot-au-feu*. All the discarded bones and all the left-over, broken meat were collected from the constitution platters of Western democracies, and plumped into the cauldron of Indian constitution and left to simmer, very gently, over the fire of the Constituent Assembly. The simmering was very gentle in all conscience, for, there was little fire in either the stolid heads or the torpid hearts of the majority of the members of that fatuous assembly, and further they were mortally afraid of losing their emoluments, which made the prolonged cooking imperative.

Well, the witches' brew is here, our glorious *Sangbidhan*, and what is its essence?

"It is better that a thousand innocents suffer, rather than a rogue be deprived of his *Fundamental Rights*!" And it is in accord with this principle, this triple distilled *aqua vitae* of the constitution, that

this matter of readjustment of boundaries of States on a linguistic basis, is being proceeded with. Otherwise what is the sense of Article 3 of the Constitution?

In any case the results so far have been very disturbing to our Rip-van-Winkles of the Congress Working Committee, engaged in their soporific labours. Much agitated, they went into a huddle, and after considerable travail, they brought forth the following resolution:

"The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution expressing its 'regretful surprise' at the occasional tendency of State legislatures and Pradesh Congress Committees to act in a manner hostile to other States and PCCs. Though no names were mentioned, the reference evidently was to the recent acrimonious debates in the West Bengal and Bihar Legislatures which passed resolutions making rival territorial claims.

The Congress Working Committee expressed the view that this procedure was completely opposed 'to the manner in which the Congress and the PCCs should approach any problem.'

The Committee also had in view the recent resolution passed by the Karnataka Congress Committee demanding formation of a linguistic State by a specified date.

It regretted that a matter affecting the whole of India in regard to which a policy had been clearly laid down should be made the basis of separate and often mutually hostile and occasionally even violent agitation.

The resolution added that such an approach was not only likely to lead to harmful results but was likely to create conflict and illwill and to delay the reorganization desired.'

While deploring the efforts at forcing the pace of the formation of linguistic States, the Working Committee welcomed the steps taken in regard to the formation of Andhra. It hoped that 'the people and the States concerned will co-operate to make this a success.'

That there was no possibility of the appointment of the proposed high-power commission before the formation of Andhra was clear from the resolution. It welcomed the proposal to appoint the commission 'after the establishment of Andhra State.' The commission, while considering the reorganization of States, would take into account, as laid down in the Hyderabad resolution, 'not only cultural and linguistic matters but also other important factors, such as the preservation of the unity of India, national security and defence, administrative and financial considerations and the economic progress of each State as well as of the whole nation.'

The Congress Parliamentary Board, which meets on the 17th is also likely to discuss the propriety of the action of those who sponsored the linguistic resolutions in the West Bengal and Bihar Legislatures."

Our only remark regarding the above resolution is that the "policy" clearly laid down being clear as mud, such results were only to be expected.

In further elucidation of the above resolution we append the following extract from the *Hindustan Standard* of May 17th:

"The Congress Working Committee during its deliberations in New Delhi passed a resolution welcoming the indication given on behalf of the Government of India that a high-powered commission will be appointed to consider the reorganisation of States, after the formation of the Andhra State.

"In a resolution adopted unanimously, the Committee reiterated its policy in regard to the redistribution of States as was laid down in the resolution passed at the Hyderabad session of Congress, and deprecated and wholly disapproved of the 'attempts made to bring about political decisions of high importance by resort to hunger-strikes.'

"Stressing that reorganisation of States could only be successfully brought about by the largest measure of co-operation and goodwill of all concerned, the Committee in the course of its resolution 'noted with regretful surprise the occasional tendency of a State Legislature or a Pradesh Congress Committee to act in a manner which is hostile to other States and to other Pradesh Congress Committees.'

"This reference is believed to be in connection with the recent discussions on the subject in the Bihar and West Bengal Legislatures and to the resolution passed by the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee.

"Any reorganisation of States, the Committee opined, should take into consideration 'not only cultural and linguistic matters but also other important factors, such as the preservation of the unity of India, national security and defence, administrative advantages, financial considerations and the economic progress of each State as well as of the whole nation'."

The last paragraph should be noted particularly in order to perceive how issues are muddled in the name of clarity. India was partitioned, and Pakistan born, out of a similar "clearly expressed" resolution, "neither accepting nor rejecting" communal franchise.

There was a further resolution, on the use of languages, as appended below:

"Reiterating the Congress policy in regard to the use of languages, the Committee in its resolution on the subject said that while Hindi, as the national language, should be encouraged, the provincial languages must also receive encouragement in their respective areas and should normally be the medium of work in those areas. In primary schools the mother tongue should be the medium of education and in the tribal and like areas, education should be imparted in the earlier stages through the language of that area. The Committee 'trusted' a due place would also be given to Urdu 'which took birth and shape in India

and is spoken and written by a very considerable number of people in India'."

Likewise there was a resolution, highly illustrative regarding the methods and ethics of the party now in power in Bihar, as given below:

"In its resolution on Bihar Congress affairs, the Committee recorded its appreciation of the work done by Sri Badrinath Varma and Sri Khandubhai Desai who enquired into alleged malpractices in connection with enrolment of members and election of delegates to the plenary session. The Committee accepted their recommendation for setting aside the election of 134 delegates. Fresh elections would be held in those constituencies where elections had been set aside as also where elections were not held originally."

And having thus worked off its wind on the matter of linguistic provinces, etc., the Committee spent its accumulated choler on the Jammu agitation as follows:

"The resolution on Jammu agitation characterised the agitation as representing 'an attempt on the part of the most reactionary, bigoted and communal elements to obstruct the economic and social progress of the country to which the reactionary vested interests represented by the communal organisations are opposed.' 'Reaction and communalism,' the resolution declared, 'cannot be tolerated in any form and must be combated'."

How beautifully the Smoke-Screen of communalism is laid on the main issue, the fear of the people of Jammu and Ladakh, of separation from India! The Grand Magus will be pleased!

And having thus said much and accomplished little, our Lilies of the Valley went back to their slumbers.

The Debates

We have neither the time nor the space to discuss in detail the debates, on the boundary readjustment claim, in the West Bengal and the Bihar Assemblies. We do not know who was responsible, in the West Bengal Assembly, for bringing in the Refugee problem as a factor in the claim, but we must say that the Bihar rebuttal was justified on this point. It was a singularly inane claim and had no *locus standi* in the matter at all. Apart from that the speeches in the West Bengal Assembly were no better and no worse than could be expected.

But the Bihar Assembly excelled itself. We cannot degrade ourselves to the level of some of the members by attacking Biharis in retaliation. More so because we know that the best men in Bihar have been mostly kept out of the Assembly by means similar to the election of bogus delegates, against which action is proposed by even the Congress Working Committee. So we shall keep out utterances like those of the ignoramus who imagined that Bengal

was ever ruled by Bihar in the past, being oblivious of the fact that the reverse was the case, and shamelessly gloated over the fact that his forefathers were employed by the Moguls and the British as faithful watch-dogs that licked the boots of the conqueror and bit the rebellious fighters for freedom in Bengal.

Brazenness seems to have been the watchword in the Bihar Assembly debates, of which we append some extracts below. Brazen mis-statement of facts, brazen utterance of half-truths and lies and over all a brazen attempt to retain ill-gotten gains.

The high-lights in the Bihar Assembly debates were as follows:

Dr. Srikrishna Sinha, Chief Minister, initiated the debate thus:

"That this House do proceed to express its views upon the reference made by the Government of India through the State Government of Bihar, on the sub-joined resolution passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, namely, 'This Assembly is of opinion that in order to solve the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees from Eastern Pakistan and protection of Bengali culture and heritage, the State Government should request the Government of India to invite the President to recommend the introduction of a Bill in Parliament to (i) increase the area of West Bengal and, (ii) diminish the area of Bihar in compliance with the provisions of Article 3 of the Constitution.'"

Then followed the moving of an amendment by Sri Laxmi Narayan Sudhangshu.

Long speeches followed, by the mover and by others, mostly confusing issues. Then followed an amendment by Sri Sris Chandra Banerjee of the Loke Sevak Ashram in Manbhum:

Sri Sris Chandra Banerji (Lok Sevak Sangh) moving his amendment recalled the statements issued by Bihar leaders in 1912 conceding that Manbhum should be returned to Bengal as it was a Bengali-speaking area.

Sri Murali Manohar Prasad (Congress) challenged Sri Banerjee's statement and Sri Banerjee showed a booklet in support of his contention. The Chair after seeing the booklet ruled that Sri Banerjee was correct.

Thus at least one fact was attested and many lies nailed.

Initiating the second day's debate on the Bengal-Bihar boundary in Bihar Assembly on May 13, Sri Sris Chandra Banerji (Lok Sevak Sangh) traced the question of language in the district of Manbhum and narrated how since the Congress came into power, they systematically tried to suppress Bengali language in Manbhum.

Sri Banerji appealed to the House to listen to his arguments dispassionately and try to understand the situation in Manbhum. He held that he was in favour of formation of States on linguistic principles. Particularly in the border areas, the re-demarcation of boundaries was necessary to include as far as possible, the majority

linguistic group with the State which had that particular language spoken within its territories.

Speaker Varma: "Then it amounts to Pakistan's demand of creation of States on religious grounds—Hindus will live in one State and the Muslims in the other?"

We are lost in admiration of the appositeness of Speaker Varma's simile.

On the third day the *piece de resistance* was put in press columns thus:

"May 14—This day's debate was initiated by Sri Chunka Hembrom (Jharkhand) who was in possession of the House yesterday. He said he agreed with Sri Sris Chandra Banerji's grievance, and in the same way the Hindi protagonists were systematically crushing the Santhali language in Santhal Parganas with the active help and support of the Government. If it was true that Bengali language was being crushed in Manbhum, it was equally true that in Santhal Parganas also the same activities were being repeated with renewed vigour to suppress the Santhali language.

"He held that there was nothing in common between the scheduled tribes living in Santhal Parganas and the Bengalis in West Bengal. Therefore, he would oppose the demand of the West Bengal Legislature to annex the border areas of Bihar. But he would equally oppose that part of Sri Murali Manohar Prasad's amendment which sought to annex the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, etc., with Bihar. It would be anti-democratic to ask any State to cede certain territories for the benefit of another State, he concluded."

Sri Chunka Hembrom's *tangi* is truly double-edged!

The *finale* came with the following resolution and its amendment, together with a lot of verbal bragadacio and swashbuckling, more ludicrous than impressive.

"That having carefully considered the resolution of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, this Assembly places on record its considered view that neither on the score of rehabilitation of the refugees from Eastern Pakistan nor on that of protection of Bengalee culture and heritage, is there any case for (I) increasing the area of West Bengal and (II) diminishing the area of Bihar, and therefore this Assembly regrets its inability to agree with the resolution of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly."

Sri Murali Manohar Prasad (Congress) next moved the following amendment:

"This Assembly is further of opinion that the State Government should request the Government of India to take steps for the incorporation in Bihar of the whole of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and parts of Birbhum, Bankura, Dinajpur, Malda, Murshidabad and Midnapur on grounds of administrative convenience and linguistic affinity."

But the limit of brazen impudence and mendacity was put forward in the proposal to make Calcutta a Centrally administered area.

Congress Defeat at Calcutta

Mr. Sudhir Chandra Roy Chowdhury, the Praja Socialist Party candidate, who was supported by all Leftist parties, was on Monday declared elected to the West Bengal Assembly from the Burtolla (Calcutta) constituency, defeating his Congress rival, Mr. Nirmal Chandra De, by 5,667 votes. The bye-election was held on Sunday the 24th May.

Mr. Roy Chowdhury got 12,307 votes against 6,730 polled by Mr. De. The third candidate, Mr. S. C. Roy (Independent), secured only 213 votes.

The election result is an index of the public esteem and confidence in the present administration in West Bengal. As a further pointer we append the following news-item which appeared on the 24th May:

Trains between Ranaghat and Krishnagar, on the Sealdah section of the Eastern Railway, were provided with armed guards on Saturday as a result of the incidents in which train drivers were assaulted by members of the travelling public.

In two instances reported on Saturday evening, trains were stopped by passengers, who pulled the alarm chains near Birnagar Station, about 55 miles from Calcutta. As a result, the trains ran behind schedule.

Calcutta and Sao Paulo

The significance of the Calcutta defeat may be gauged by the following piece of international news that appeared in the *Worldover Press* on April 17th:

Sao Paulo: Caught between low wages and constantly sky-rocketing prices for necessary goods, the people of this Brazilian city erupted into political revolt and beat its government-backed mayoralty candidate by an overwhelming vote. It was a protest against nation-wide conditions which have been causing a steadily mounting discontent. The announcement of a price freeze was followed by further rises all along the line. As far back as last Christmas, talk was universal about the people's empty pockets after providing a simple Christmas dinner.

Such nuts as walnuts, filberts, etc., have been bringing well over a dollar a pound, and raisins from Argentina, Arabia or California cost in some cases as much. Eggs have run to about ten cents (U.S.) each, with butter up to \$1.20 per pound. A sack of corn, which recently sold for \$2.18, has gone up to \$4.65. Meat, which is abundant, and therefore should be reasonably priced, costs out of all proportion to other foods, such as codfish, even though the latter is brought all the way from Norway. Even from the itinerant street vendors, who pay no taxes, tripe costs around 25 cents, a rate unheard of in this country.

Perhaps the most outrageous anomaly is the fact that bananas, grown in Brazil and exported to Argentina, can be bought in the neighbour country for a little over nine cents a dozen, while here where they are grown they cost 30 cents. The mood of the public can be readily understood.

Land Reform in Burma

Land Reform is the Order of the Day. We have any number of schemes here in India for the abolition of Zemindaries and large holdings of land. But what is to be done after that? Our Marxian friends are content with "Expropriation," that is to say with the punishment of the children for the Marxian "sins" of their distant forefathers. The fact that innocent people who bought land out of their hard-earned savings at a very much later day would also be punished for no reason, does not count with them, so besotted are they with that foreign and non-Indian creed of *himsa*. The Government of India and the State Governments are concerned only with the fat jobs the process will provide.

We neither possess land, nor are we in any way advocates for the landed gentry. We would only like optimum production from the land thus acquired and the betterment of the agrarian population. The Burmese scheme given below seems to have some pointers in that respect:

The Burmese Minister for Land Nationalization, Thakin Tin, on May 24th, announced details of a plan to redistribute 10 million acres of rice land to peasants throughout the country. He was speaking in Mandalay at the closing session of the seventh annual conference of the Socialist-sponsored All-Burma Peasants Organization.

The plan, covering a 10-year period, would bring in a "new order for peasants," Thakin Tin told his audience. Neither the AFPFL nor the ABPO would have a hand in the work of redistribution, which would be carried out by land committees elected by the villagers themselves. A long period of preparation was inevitable, because 10,400 elections must be held in Burma proper alone for the appointment of 72,800 land committee members. Technical and administrative training for these personnel might cause further delay.

Thakin Tin said that by the end of this year it was expected to elect 300 land committees, whose members would be trained in preparation for the work of redistributing 200,000 acres. Each family would be given about 10 acres.

Five peasant families would be banked together to form mutual aid teams in order to work their holdings on a co-operative basis. Each family, however, would receive separate shares of the produce as well as cattle farming implements.

The Government hoped to have 200,000 mutual aid teams working 10 million acres by 1955.

The 10-year plan would be realized finally with the development of multipurpose co-operatives and co-ordination of agriculture with industry. Producers' co-operatives would have to be further grouped into much larger units. Thus collective farms of up to 1,000 acres are likely to appear, according to the wishes of the peasants.

India and the Soviet Bloc

Sri Gopalan, the mouthpiece of the C.P.I., went on a mission of thanksgiving and fealty to the new Muscovy. Prior to his departure he used to spout forth fire and brimstone at the name of Nehru and all that it stood for. On his return he is singing in a strange key as the following press report shows:

"Sri A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist group in the House of the People, who had returned recently after an eight-month tour of U.S.S.R. and China, said that there was a strong feeling in both Russia and China that if India took a firm stand, there would be no question of war and there would be peace in the world.

The people of these countries believed that the question of war or peace entirely depended upon India: If India stuck to the policy expressed by the Indian Prime Minister and others in some of their speeches, they felt, there would be no question of another war.

Both in Russia and China, the Communist leader said, there was a great respect for India and Indian culture. In many places, he found evidence of the people's interest in India. In Leningrad there was a museum called, "The Hermitage" in the Winter Palace and four big rooms of that museum were utilised for exhibiting Indian art and books on India and many epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata translated into Russian. In Tashkend museum also there was an India Hall, he added. The people of these countries felt that if India, China and Soviet Union joined together, they would be able to prevent world conflict.

There was a strong desire among the ordinary people to know and understand India better. Prime Minister Nehru was widely known both in Russia and China and all his speeches both in Parliament and outside were very thoroughly examined and scanned by the people. In Russia, Sri Gopalan said, there were some persons who knew India and her affairs better than many of the Indians. Prime Minister Nehru's tribute to Marshal Stalin in Parliament after his death, was widely publicised in Russian Press and broadcast all over the country.

In China, even ordinary people knew that Nehru was to India what Mao was to China."

Burma and Nationalist China

The following revealing comments appeared in the *Worldover Press* for April 17th:

Communist peace moves in China and Korea have brought a sense of hope and relief to most of the world,

but they have caused chills of dismay to Chiang Kai-shek and his Formosa Nationalists, not to mention the China Lobby based in the United States. If a peace should be worked out in Korea, and some method of mutual toleration be arranged between the Chinese Communists and the West, it must mean political curtains for Chiang.

It is high time. Chiang has been a costly venture for American policy. Before his defeat on the mainland, he had received something like a billion and two-thirds dollars from the U.S., and while it is not widely realized, he has since then been getting more aid per capita than any other "country." Since he retreated to Formosa, he has had about \$257 million in various forms of economic assistance, not counting military help, which is a secret because such outlays are not listed by separate nations. There is no reason why Chiang's people on Formosa should not be aided; but as an investment, it has been high for its demonstrable value to the West.

The devious role played by Chiang and his cohorts has never been better illustrated than by what has been happening in Burma. In 1949, when Chiang's armies were defeated on the mainland, a division of about 10,000 to 12,000 men took refuge in Burma, where they holed up and for a long time were virtually lost to the sight of the world. They were not invisible to the harried Burmese, however, who have been waging a twofold conflict against the Communists and against the Karens, the latter demanding a separate state. The Burmese government granted this Karen plea, but has been unable to agree over the exact boundaries the new state will have. All that was difficult enough, but the Chinese Nationalists within their borders brought them new trouble.

It has been a theory, and little else, among some Americans that genuine and successful guerrilla activity against the Chinese Reds might be stirred up by outside aid. The Nationalists on Formosa have been in more or less constant touch with the "lost division" inside Burma, egging it on to attacks on the Red Chinese border. A handful of American adventurers intervened, smuggling in arms and military equipment from Thailand, next door to Burma. The Thai regime, historically unfriendly to the Burmese and dominated by a none-too-trustworthy leadership, was ready to play this game. It all looked very dramatic, a sort of cloak-and-dagger onslaught against Chinese Communism.

It changed markedly, however, when the Chinese Nationalists in Burma began to drop their fight against Communists, and turned against the Burmese themselves. As so often with Chiang Kai-shek's forces, they proved to have scant loyalty to principle. They looted the countryside. They seized town after town. Finally, they engaged Burmese government forces in open fighting. When their soldiers were captured by the Burmese regulars, they were found to possess up-to-date American rifles and other war equipment. The Burmese, angered

at the conniving Americans who were responsible, did not lay blame on the U.S. government, except that they felt Washington could and should control its citizens who were doing the plotting. Washington in fact did nothing, and worse. If the sober *Washington Post* is correct, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency was even in on the scheme, working through its agents in Thailand, and certainly in cahoots with Chiang.

So here we have it the U.S. backs Chiang, against the advice of informed experts on Asian problems, against most of its allies in the West, and does nothing to call off Formosa's support of the anti-Burmese Nationalists. When the Nationalists on Formosa were charged with doing damage to the Western cause, they merely used the excuse that they couldn't control the guerrillas inside Burma. If this is a fact, it speaks even worse things for Chiang. For that has been his trouble all along—his men deserted in droves to the Communists because nearly everybody was fed up with him, and the 10,000 in Burma have no real interest in him now.

Aroused to drastic action, Burma has lately broken off with the U.S. over economic aid, and won't accept any more. This is a sorry step, for the aid being given was intelligent and effective, and Burma sorely needs it. But there are some things no self-respecting people can take. Chiang refuses to call off his anti-Burma guerrillas, and so far as anyone knows, refuses to stop aiding them. Washington goes on patting Chiang on the back. No wonder the Burmese showed spunk. It may be hoped that a genuine Korean settlement, if it comes, however slowly, may re-open the whole possibility of renewed co-operation between Burma and the United States. But somewhere along the line Washington will, in the vernacular, have to get wise to itself.

Washington needs, in our opinion, all the wisdom it can get, for its dealings with the people of the East.

Estate Duty Bill

The Estate Duty Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, was presented to Parliament a few days before the close of the Budget Session. The Select Committee has recommended that the exemption limit should be Rs. 50,000 in the case of an interest in property belonging to a Hindu joint family and Rs. 75,000 in other cases. The scale of rates will be determined by a separate measure which will be introduced in Parliament before the Bill is passed into law. The Committee has proposed that agricultural properties situated in States which have not passed the requisite resolutions, should also be included in the properties passing on death for the purpose of determining the rate of duty, although no duty will be actually levied upon such agricultural lands.

The Select Committee suggests that the administration of the Act may, for the first few years, be left to the Central Board of Revenue and thereafter the question whether an Appellate tribunal should be set up may be

considered. In determining questions relating to valuation, it would be open to each of the parties to nominate a valuer. In the case of a difference of opinion, the matter may be referred to a third valuer nominated by both parties by agreement, or failing such agreement, by the Central Government.

The Committee observes that property exempted from the levy of the duty will not be taken into account at all for the purposes of estate duty. The Committee proposes that properties held by the deceased as trustee should be exempted from the levy of duty. Where a trust has been declared by the deceased and he himself is the trustee, he should deliver possession and enjoyment of the trust property to the beneficiary at least five years before his death in the case of ordinary trusts and one year in the case of public charitable trusts if he desires that the trust property should not be considered his own property at the time of his death. In the case of minor, lunatic, etc., however, the assumption of possession and enjoyment of property by a legal guardian, or other persons entitled to take charge of the property is assumption of possession and enjoyment by the beneficiary.

As regards the transfer of property, the Select Committee suggests that disposition made by a deceased in favour of relatives should be treated as gift *inter vivos* (between the living) unless—

(a) the disposition was made on the part of the deceased for full consideration in money or money's worth paid to him for his own use or benefit; or

(b) the deceased was concerned in a fiduciary capacity imposed on him otherwise than by a disposition made by him and in such a capacity only.

The Committee observes that allowances for quick succession should not be confined to lands and business only, "as this would mean that a large number of persons who owned, say, only buildings, did not obtain the benefit of this provision." The clause should therefore be amended to cover all property.

The main defect of the Bill is that it will adversely affect Dayabhaga property as compared with Mitakshara property where coparcenary system prevails. *Before the Estate Duty Act becomes effective, it is essential that the Hindu law of inheritance should be modified by bringing the Mitakshara system of succession on the same footing with that of Dayabhaga.*

The Tea Bill

In the Budget session recently concluded, Parliament passed the Tea Bill. Under this new measure the Government of India have acquired wide powers to control the tea industry. But the Minister for Commerce and Industry has made it clear that the Government have no intention to interfere with industry, provided it "paid decent wages to labour, paid taxes to Government and, in short, played a fair game within the four corners of the law." The Commerce Minister's references to the foreign interests however will cause some surprise

inasmuch as they are in conflict with the Government's policy of giving concessions to foreigners for investment in India. During the debate on the Tea Bill the Commerce Minister stated that two factors compelled the Government to become "a conscious and deliberate partner" in this industry rather than abdicate its rights in favour of the Indian or foreign interests that are to be found in the industry. The first factor is the industry's inability to tide over the crisis after an uninterrupted period of prosperity extending to 21 years. The other is that 80 per cent of the industry is in the hands of the people "who are not sons of the soil." The curious feature, however, was that he conceded that "the elimination of the foreign element does not produce something better . . . I know, if they go away, their estates will fall into the hands of people who are less interested than they are. It will do no good to the industry, nor to labour."

The main problem facing the industry is one of finance. The Indian-owned gardens are in crisis. The reasons given for this state of affairs are that these gardens were acquired at a relatively late stage when all the better lands had been occupied by the Europeans and Indian gardens have found a lot of difficulty in obtaining finances. Since January of this year, there has been some recovery in the prices of tea. The wages reduction coupled with restricted production in 1953 and the running down of stocks in the UK are to a certain extent responsible for the improvement in the industry's position in recent months. But the stable equilibrium is yet to be reached.

India is fast losing her tea market in foreign countries because of better propaganda and better sentimental support for Ceylon tea and also for the higher prices of Indian tea. Increased offtake, domestic and foreign, is the only answer to the present crisis and to encourage larger consumption prices should reasonably come down. Despite the crisis of over-production and periodic cries that prices of tea are going down alarmingly, the prices of tea, particularly in domestic market have not come down. Unless the owners of gardens are prepared to be satisfied with a lower rate of profit, the tea industry will continue to be in the doldrums. Further, it is time to reconsider whether India should continue to be a member of the International Tea Agreement. The Agreement seems to be detrimental to the tea industry of India as there have been falling exports. It may be stated here that the Government of India have decided to reduce India's exports of tea during the year 1953-54 by nearly 15 per cent. This decision has been taken as a consequence of the fall in demand and its effect on prices. Under the International Tea Agreement, to which India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Indonesia are parties, standard export quotas for the four countries have been fixed. Although India's quota is 348.25 million lbs. a year, the actual export quotas vary from year to year, according to uniform percentage of the standard quota,

fixed unanimously by the International Tea Committee. This percentage was 125 for 1949-50, 130 for 1950-51, 135 for 1951-52 and 1952-53. For 1953-54, India has decided to reduce it to 115 per cent in view of the fact that last year's export quota was very unrealistic. India's exports in the current year will thus come to 399.68 million lbs. as against 470.13 million fixed for 1952-53.

Railway Fuel Economy Committee Report

The Report of the Railway Fuel Economy Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. D. C. Driver is very illuminating. The report reveals that the consumption of coal on railways absorbs about 33 per cent of the country's total production and largely determines the conditions of production, supply and transport of coal. Total intake of coal by railways stands at about 10.5 million tons, of which 83.5 per cent is consumed by locomotives, 9.5 is used for non-loco purposes, and the remaining 7 per cent is lost in handling and pilferage. The annual expenditure on railways coal amounts to Rs. 30.5 crores, of this Rs. 16.8 crores is the cost of coal at the pithead and Rs. 13.7 crores for transport and handling charges. The break-up of Rs. 16.8 crores indicates that coal consumed by locomotives amounts to Rs. 14.0 crores, coal consumed in non-loco purposes costs Rs. 1.6 crores and Rs. 1.2 crores are losses on account of handling and pilferage.

The Committee holds the view that the coal consumption by the railways (including losses) can be reduced by about 20 per cent by adopting proper economy measures as recommended in the Report. As long-term measures towards fuel economy, the Driver Committee has recommended alternative uses of electric, diesel and gas turbine tractions. Electrification for a section of railways is recommended, as for instance, suburban services in the Howrah and Sealdah Divisions and main lines between Burdwan and Gaya, and Gaya and Moghulsarai in the Eastern Railways, between Igatpuri and Bhusaval in the Central Railways, between Quilon and Ernakulam, Madras and Trichinopoly, Madras and Bangalore and Madras and Bezvada in the Southern Railways, between Virar and Ahmedabad in the Western Railways and between Delhi and Ambala in the Northern Railways. Diesel traction is preferred on the Saurashtra section (Gondal Division) of the Western Railways.

The Driver Committee estimates that the demand for coal will gradually increase from 34 million tons to 52 million tons by 1961. It has made the suggestion that production of coal in India must be developed on a planned basis region-wise so that the ten zones into which the country has been divided for the purpose of coal supplies, attain self-sufficiency as far as practicable. Emphasis is given on the development of the outlying fields, especially in Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad State in order to supply to a considerable extent to Western and Southern India and a part of Rajasthan. Northern India and the rest of Rajasthan

may draw upon the coalfields of West Bengal and Bihar. High priority should be given to the development of the lignite resources in South Arcot, Madras. Coal belts of Assam and Orissa must be developed so that they can meet the requirements of these States. Production of high grade non-coking coals must be increased in the Ranigunj and Karanpura coalfields in order to release coking coals for metallurgical purposes and maintaining supply to the export markets. Government collieries at Kurasia, Deulbera and Talcher are to be developed and extended by acquiring new areas. Government mines should be opened up in Kharanpura and Korba coalfields by acquiring new properties. The Committee urges upon the Government to expedite the development of Talcher, Singareni and Madhya Pradesh collieries.

The Committee suggests for the setting-up of a standing Railway Power and Electrification Planning Committee, consisting of representatives of the Ministry of Railways, the Planning Commission and the Central Water and Power Commission for ensuring co-ordination and execution of railway electrification and dieselisation schemes in a strict order of priority.

Praise A Fair Day at Night

Attainment of self-sufficiency in foodgrains production has been haunting the imagination of our Government for several years and periodic declaration of speculation is made about the date on which India would attain such self-sufficiency. But nature invariably intervenes to thwart the attainment of the goal either by flood or drought or earthquake and in consequence the goal of self-sufficiency in foodgrains production is put off till a further date. The Food Minister Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai is inclined towards decontrol as he thinks that actually India is not deficient in food production. But others in authority hold the opposite view that India is a deficit country in food production and as such control must continue. In this country statistics are both inadequate and inaccurate so each side produces figures in support of his case which is in conflict with that of the other. Even Government's own figures do not tally and the real position is shrouded in mystery. This much however is certain that the control of foodgrains production and distribution in India creates artificial scarcity, and the feeling is widespread that to attain self-sufficiency control should go.

Commenting on the latest estimates of production of kharif cereals, including rice, jowar, bajra, maize and ragi for 1952-53, Mr. Kidwai is reported to have said that India is now rapidly approaching self-sufficiency, if she has not already done so. He proposes to bring down the world price of rice by exporting Indian rice next year. Imported rice only amounts to 150,000 tons and according to the Food Minister no more is needed. The carry-over totalled about the same quantity. There is plenty of rice with traders and procurement this year has been phenomenal. It is not likely to be less than 1,500,000

tons. In Mr. Kidwai's opinion India does not require more than 800,000 tons of wheat this year, although she is importing 1,800,000 tons.

In this connection it should however be remembered that India rice imports only amounts to 2/3 per cent of its domestic production, while in 1951-52 she imported wheat to a very much larger percentage of her internal production of wheat. India's rice imports being negligible, she can now stop import of rice and to encourage further production, control should be withdrawn. Import of wheat should however be continued for some time until the food position is fully assured.

Arab Collective Security

The Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation signed by the states of the Arab League has acquired in recent months much importance. It may be recalled that the drafting of the Treaty was completed on April 13, 1950, and in June of that year there were five signatories. Iraq and Jordan did not sign until February, 1951 and the treaty came into force from April 1952. Kerim Tabet, formerly press counsellor to King Farouk and for some years the power behind the Egyptian throne, was largely responsible for developing the idea of this Arab Defence Pact. This was an attempt by King Farouk to prevent a developing relationship between Syria and Iraq. King Farouk did not want the Hashemite kingdom of Iraq exalted; and King Ibn Saud was afraid that a greater Iraq or Jordan might encourage the Hashemites to try to recover the Hedjaz.

The treaty provides that the signatories will endeavour to settle disputes between themselves or other powers by peaceful means. Members will however come to the aid of any signatory state or states subjected to aggression and take steps to repel the aggression. A permanent Military Commission composed of representatives of the general staffs of the armies will be formed to draft plans of joint defence. However, as it stands, the treaty is quite ineffective. It is however being regarded as the political instrument which may be used to break isolation of Arab states. The Arab pact will now be used by the Western Powers as the basis for regional defence scheme. Mr. John Foster Dulles is said to have come to the conclusion that the Middle East Planning Organisation should be set up at Cyprus in parallel with the Arab pact, in the hope that the planning centre would be used in time by the Arabs. The Arab leaders believe that in time the liaison between their defence system and that of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia might lead to actual integration. What the Allied Powers want is the facilities granted to them to use the territories of the Arab states rapidly in time of war.

The Arab world hopes that the new regime at the United States will give up President Truman's policy of giving Israel a Benjamin's portion of all its official aid to the Middle East. But all the Arab-speaking states

do not have this grievance with equal intensity—because beneath their superficial likeness they remain highly parochial in their interests. Mr. Dulles finds in the easterly oil-bearing countries greater concern with turning new wealth into national advancement and social upliftment. In Egypt there is a greater concentration on "national aspirations," which look forward to getting rid of one foreign power while seeking large sums of money as loan from another. In the states bordering Israel he was faced with the formidable problem of Arab refugees.

This flotsam of war was so long being ignored by the Western Powers. The Arab-Jewish question presents one of the worst of the world's refugee problems. Living on the dole of the United Nations there are 874,000 listless indigents, plus a further 120,000 even more listless people on the rugged hills near the Israel border. The latter have not lost their homes and therefore are not getting any dole—but they have lost all means of earning what used to be a fair livelihood. These malcontents number more than half the population of Jordan and constitute 11 per cent of Lebanon's population. The misery in the hills thus reflects the full impact of the refugee's role in Arab relations with the West. This is a very serious danger and so long as it persists there can be no hope for peace on the Arab-Israel frontier. There is therefore little hope of solvency for either Israel or Jordan and the mutual confidence required to create a Middle East defence organisation will be hard to achieve. In this background any Western aid now being given or planned will pay no dividend.

Although the UNRWA has so far settled 2,369 breadwinners (about 12,000 people), what escapes notice is the ever-increasing number of refugees at the rate of 25,000 babies a year. The Arab-Jewish problem presents great difficulty to be solved and the Middle East will hang in the air without having sided with any power bloc in the real sense.

Freer Exchange Market

Since 18th May, the foreign exchange market in several countries of Europe received some freedom towards free operations in certain respects. Authorised banks in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom are now being allowed to arbitrage freely in their respective currencies. Formerly, the exchange market in these countries had to operate with bilateral clearance. A British bank in possession of French francs could sell them in Paris for sterling but not for guilders. A Belgian bank requiring guilders had to obtain them in Amsterdam, although the cross-rates concerned were cheaper in London. The foreign exchange balance, arising from this rigid bilateralism were passed on by each bank to its respective central bank. These balances were converted once a month into a truly intra-European multilateral system by the compensations of the European Payments Union. This multilateralism

operated at the central bank level and commercial banks had no power to undertake multilateral payments.

Since 18th May, it has been made effective at commercial banking level also. This arbitrage is restricted for the present among the authorised banks. Individual traders must continue to obey the directives of exchange control in their own countries. A British trader, for example, will not be allowed to settle in French francs or sterling if he is dealing with France, and he must deliver the proceeds of any exports to France to the Exchange Control. The structure of exchange control therefore remains unchanged. The trader, however, can now enjoy the advantage of a somewhat closer range of dealing prices in European currencies and of an integrated structure of exchange rates. Under the previous bilateral system, there were considerable discrepancies in cross-rates of exchange. Now arbitrage being possible among these countries, the operations of the authorised commercial banks will correct these discrepancies—for each bank naturally seeks to buy exchange in the cheapest market.

In order to facilitate such arbitrage operations, full automatic transferability has been granted between the balances held on account of authorised banks within the circuit. This new development will not have much effect on Britain. Britain's trade was mostly done in sterling, and automatic transferability of sterling had already largely been conceded to these countries, either by prior membership of the transferable account group or by the extension to them of the very liberal administrative transferability that is enjoyed by all EPU countries. This automatic transferability has now been reciprocated and extended by all these seven countries within the group.

For the present, this arbitrage will be limited to spot transactions. No exchange parties have been changed, but a general and uniform realignment of buying and selling limits has been fixed between these countries. As far as possible these limits have been placed at 7 per cent on either side of the parity. This is well within the limits permitted by the International Monetary Fund and approximately equal to the \$2.78 to \$2.82 spread in the sterling-dollar rate. Under the new system the turnover of compensations handled by the European Payments Union may show some contraction. Now with arbitrage operations between these countries, much of the clearing that was used to be done monthly through EPU will be done instead day by day and through the market. The net position of any country in EPU, however, will not be changed except to the extent that commercial banks hold larger amounts of European currencies in their working accounts.

Prices of Raw Jute

The position of raw jute prices has been steadily going down from the beginning of this year and for Assam bottoms it is now fluctuating round about

Rs. 20 a maund. The price of hessian has now gone down below Rs. 40 for 100 yds. and for sacking below Rs. 90 for 100 bags. During the control period, the average price of Assam bottoms was Rs. 35 per maund and the market price for hessian was Rs. 55. Jute goods passed for shipment in January 1952 were 84,000 tons and for January 1953, 47,000 tons. Jute goods passed for shipment in February 1952 were 52,000 tons and for February 1953, 36,000 tons. Jute goods passed for shipment in March 1952 were 74,600 and for March 1953, 70,829 tons.

In our April issue, while commenting upon the Indo-Pak Trade Pact, we predicted that the inevitable result of the pact would be the lowering of the prices of Indian raw jute. We have to note with regret that this has come to be true. Not only the falling prices, the Pact will adversely affect India's bid to achieve self-sufficiency in raw jute production. It is a pity that the Commerce and the Industry Minister of the Government of India ignored this aspect of the problem and put forward rather vague pleas for the downward trends in raw jute prices. He says, "It is very difficult to explain the slump in this trade. There has undoubtedly been a changeover all over the world to bulk handling. Another important reason was the phenomenal price that was ruling for jute goods in 1951 which diverted the demand into substitutes besides encouraging the setting-up and expansion of jute mills in other parts of the world. This has happened in Germany and Italy. Pakistan has set up new plants, Philippines has gone in for a plant and there are also talks that plants are coming up in the Middle-East. Many of these plants concentrate on the production of sacking. It is difficult to say whether we should look to a situation when the demand for sacking would slow down or would at least remain stationary."

Pakistan has got only three working jute mills and her raw jute production remains a surplus. Offtake of Pakistani jute by continental mills was not encouraging enough and in her own predicament she sought the Indian market. While Pakistan was faced with falling jute acreage and production as well, India came out as a saviour. But India forgot that her own jute prices and jute production would steadily fall. The inevitable is happening as India allowed herself to be used as a cat's paw to pull the Pakistani jute from its crisis. This is the main reason for the falling prices of Indian jute—other factors are secondary, if not illusory. The Indian jute mills are now to a great extent dictating and consequently forcing down the raw jute prices having been assured of supply from Pakistan.

The Dulles Visit

The short visit of Mr. Dulles has caused little stir in the actual mass of politically minded people. The reason is that no motives, beyond those of an exploratory nature, were ascribed to it. Mr. Dulles himself

gave away little to the press, as regards the results of his exploration. All that the reporters could get out of him, were contained in the following statements that appeared in the daily press. We give some short extracts below:

At a Press conference in New Delhi on May 22, Mr. Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, expressed his conviction that India was acting according to her best judgment in promoting democracy in the world and stemming the spread of totalitarianism.

There were no two opinions on this question, he said. Differences at times existed as to whether the policies followed by India could produce the desired result, but not on the question whether India was opposed to the spread of Communism.

That the present U.S. Administration would continue to recommend India for financial assistance to supplement her own resources for the execution of the Five-Year Plan was implicit in one of his replies.

He said that the friendly relations between the two countries would result "in continuing co-operation and aid for the Five-Year Plan."

Mr. Dulles, unlike Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Nehru, doubted the efficacy of a conference of leaders of the Big Powers at the present stage. He wished to see Russia and her supporters withdraw from, what he called, wars of aggression in Korea and Indo-China. His other condition was restoration of independence to Austria.

Asked whether he could give an assurance that the U.S. Government would extend "such assistance from time to time in a manner politically acceptable, so that at no stage will the Five-Year Plan be held up for lack of funds," Mr. Dulles said: "It would not be practical for any American Government to give an assurance that at no stage would the Five-Year Plan be held up for lack of funds, and I do not think that your Government asks for or expects any such assurance."

"My conversations here with your leaders and your Planning Commission have made it clear that your nation itself expects to provide most of the funds. We at home in the United States have plenty of long-term projects for ourselves which are being held up for lack of funds. We would very much like to have a guarantee that they would not be held up for lack of funds, but we cannot get it. And when we cannot get it for ourselves, would we be in a position to give such a guarantee to any other people? We do hope that the efforts which the Indian nation itself makes and the financial position of the USA and the friendly relations between our people will result in continuing co-operation and aid for your Five-Year Plan, which, of course, I should add, involves the co-operation of our Congress which has control of the appropriation of funds."

Giving his views on Communism, Mr. Dulles said: "Democracy means rule by the people. Rule by the people can only work when the people are educated and when they exercise such self-restraint and self-control in the interests of the community as is taught by what we call

the moral law. Wherever those conditions exist, democracy works unless, it is physically crushed out by violence, such as is often used by militant Communism or militant Fascism."

A correspondent asked how it was that a great Power like the USA was "constantly haunted by the fear of Communism," while a weak country like India was not.

Mr. Dulles said that the U.S.A. was not afraid in the sense that the question seemed to suggest. "We are entirely confident of our strength and of our power. We have no doubt whatever that, if the Soviet Communist countries should start a general war, the end would be their total destruction. The thing about which we are deeply concerned is that there exist threats to peace and the possibility of war which would bring with it untold misery and destruction.

"We are concerned primarily because of three facts which I do not think can be denied. The first is that Soviet Communism is an absolute dictatorship which teaches and preaches that its goal is to spread its system throughout the entire world. Secondly, the absolute dictatorship maintains a huge military establishment, enlisting vast numbers of manpower in its armed services, far more than any other nation in the world. Thirdly, its Government is not restrained by any moral principles because they have an atheistic creed and they deny the existence of such a thing as a moral law. Wherever such a combination exists in this world we believe that it is foolish not to take precautions. But the taking of those precautions should not be identified with fear."

The Communist Party of India and its fellow-travellers tried to whip-up some anti-U.S.A. demonstrations in order to show their hold on the people. There were isolated demonstrations in some cities, including New Delhi, as the following press reports show:

A procession of several hundred persons organized by the Kanpur District Communist Party paraded the streets of Kanpur on May 20, carrying black flags and an effigy of Mr. Dulles, and raising slogans of "Dulles go back" and "Down with Dulles."

Later a public meeting passed a resolution urging the Government of India to "explain whether Mr. Dulles has been invited on behalf of the Indian Government by Mr. Nehru against the wishes of the people of India."

A public meeting organized in New Delhi on May 21, by the Dulles Boycott Committee passed a resolution urging Mr. Nehru to "make it clear to Mr. Dulles that the Indian people want an immediate end of the Korean war, for which a basis has been provided by the proposals put forward by Korean and Chinese spokesmen."

Mr. B. D. Joshi, M.L.A., of the Praja Socialist Party, presided.

In Calcutta, the effort ended in a flop, as also elsewhere. The people could not be persuaded, anyhow, that the visit was anything but an informal and friendly one.

Significance of Mr. Dulles' Tour

The *Times* commenting on Mr. John Foster Dulles' "consultation tour," including the "the first visit to the Middle East by any U. S. Secretary of State in office" noted that the 20-day tour "speeding from Egypt and Israel as far east as India and Pakistan, embracing no fewer than 12 capitals . . . will be watched with sympathy by the whole free world." The paper regretted that Mr. Dulles was arriving in Egypt after the interruption of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations on the Suez Canal zone. If Britain were to quit the zone without proper safeguards that "could undermine the foundation of any subsequent military planning on terms of realistic strategy."

The paper continued, "Mr. Dulles may hardly have time, in so brief a sojourn in Egypt to unravel this tangled knot, though he will recognise that until the canal question is settled and the hardly less vital problem of the Near East's refugees tackled and solved, his successive hosts may listen with no more than polite attention to any exposition of grand strategy or economic reconstruction.

"Turkey and Israel, on the Western fringe, and Pakistan on the Eastern, will offer effective resistance to an aggressor if given sufficient aid. But almost certainly such resistance will not be offered within the next decade by the large area between them."

In its view Mr. Dulles would only succeed in his efforts for the formation of a Middle East Defence Organisation, if he could effect a union of Western and Arab interests which was absent at present.

Naturally enough great importance was attached to his visit to New Delhi. Mr. Ned Russel wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*, "It is significant that the longest visit of the tour will be at New Delhi where Mr. Dulles expects to have some long and momentous talks with Premier Nehru. He will be there four days." He added, "The Dulles-Nehru talks may well influence the trend of events in South-east Asia and the Far East."

Foreign Capital in Egypt

Exploitation is the root cause of all tensions and suspicions between the West and the East.

Dr. Fouad Ibrahim writes in the *Proche-Orient*: "Egypt will take a long time to forget the results of foreign capitulations and the intervention of European finance in determining her national politics. It must not be overlooked that foreign capital holds the strings of industry and foreign competition is most evident in the agricultural field, specially with regard to cotton."

Tracing the history of the investment of foreign capital in Egypt Dr. Ibrahim writes that "The technical assistance granted by France to Mohamed Ali made the Western powers realise the importance of

Egypt from a military as well as an economic viewpoint."

There was hardly any competition from Egyptian capital and foreign capital rapidly flew into the country and foreign societies, backed by their own governments, were granted concessions to carry out public works in the Nile Valley. To quote Dr. Ibrahim, "Investment of British capital figured in the foreground when Khedive Abbas granted the concession of railway communications between Alexandria and Cairo, to England. The advent of Said Pasha's ascendance to the throne marked a favourable turn for French influence. The Khedive's friendship for France opened the way for the renewal of the Suez Canal enterprise, which although several times presented by the Sainte Simonien Society, had been reluctantly turned down each time by the Cairo Government.

"Now, however, that the final project of its execution was agreed upon in 1854, the inflow of foreign capital into Egypt reached its peak. The Suez Canal Company sold 207,111 shares in France while 85,506 shares were put aside for England, Austria, the United States and Russia. The latter countries abstained however, and Said Pasha profited to take them for himself. It was these same shares as well as others belonging to the Khedive, which Ismail Pasha sold to England in 1875.

"The spendthrift nature of both Said and Ismail Pasha, was to prove a primordial factor in encouraging foreign finance. The State on one side having to comply to the Khedive's luxurious caprices, on the other, suffering from the foreign capitulations imposed on her was not able to draw these expenditures out of the income derived from taxation. The State had no other way out but to make a loan and as the financial resources of the country itself were limited, the loan application could be made to no other but foreign capital."

As lending of money and usury were prohibited by Muslim law, Egypt was deprived of Banks and Credit Establishments. So once again an appeal had to be made to foreigners and their capital and as a result Egypt found herself amidst an important number of Banks and Credit Establishments. "The peak of this new fruit, reaped by foreign capital, was reached when in 1898, the National Bank of Egypt was established by London finance men and in 1880, the Credit Foncier Egyptien by the Suarez Brothers.

"The British occupation of the country, which found its own justification in the slogan of having to protect foreigners and their property, marked the final phase of the history of foreign investments in Egypt." Investment increased rapidly, while in 1881 investments did not register more than 6 million pounds, in 1914 the figure recorded was 71.253 million pounds.

There was a decline in foreign investments after the declaration of the Termination of the Protectorate and the Independence of Egypt. Compared to 1917 which registered 71,253,000 pounds of foreign investment, 1937 saw only 45,183,000 pounds. With the abolition of Foreign Capitulations at Montreaux in 1937, the era of discrimination which had been all favourable to the foreigner's position to the detriment of Egyptian interests was brought to an end. The Egyptian State at last had the right to claim taxation. The law of 1947 limited the participation of foreign capital in anonymous society to 49 per cent. Other legislative measures were adopted aiming at the Egyptianization of employers, officials and labourers of the specified industries. A later legislation in February, 1952, however, marked a partial retreat in the face of strong criticism and stipulated the participation of foreign capital in anonymous societies at 51 per cent as compared to 49 per cent in 1947.

U.S.A. and Kashmir

In an editorial comment on the subject, the *Leader* of May 20 writes that the statements of Mr. Adlai Stevenson in New Delhi and Karachi were self-contradictory. In New Delhi, he had said that the American people had the warmest regards for India, whereas in Karachi he had said that he would make bold to state that the position of Pakistan on Kashmir was better understood in the United States than that of India. India would reasonably resent the statement inasmuch as that statement meant that America's sympathies were with the aggressor.

The paper comments that "It is now easy to understand why the Security Council whose attention was drawn to Pakistani aggression in Kashmir as long as January, 1948, has not yet been able to settle the Kashmir question. The United States dominates the Security Council and the United States' sympathies are with Pakistan. Because of the United States' sympathy the Security Council has not yet passed a resolution on Kashmir on the lines of the resolution it passed on Korea on June 27, 1950."

The reason for this favourable U. S. treatment of Pakistan by which she had been accorded an equal status with India on Kashmir could only be explained by the fact that the Pakistan rulers were more amenable to American wishes. Mr. Stevenson had indirectly admitted that the U.S.A. was looking for military bases in South East Asia. That proved, continues the paper that "Sheik Abdullah was right when he said that the Pakistan Government had promised the United States bases in Kashmir."

Mr. Stevenson's statement of sympathy with Pakistan was all the more reprehensible because it had been made at a time when Pandit Nehru and Mr. Mohammed Ali were about to have heart-

to-heart talks on Kashmir and other issues. It naturally gave weight to Communist allegations that the United States wanted to prevent India and Pakistan from coming together because she had her own axe to grind in Kashmir.

U.S. Air Bases in Pakistan

The *Leader* in its issue dated the 21st May reports the following:

"Tokyo, May 19.—In a series of secret talks between Pakistan and the U.S.A. efforts are being made to have U.S. air bases in West Pakistan and in return for this Pakistan is trying to get new arms from the U.S.A. to build up her Army into a well-drilled and efficient fighting unit, says an article published in English *Mainichi* here.

"The U.S.A. does not want to strike this deal with Pakistan at the cost of alienating India, the paper adds. During his stay in Karachi and New Delhi, Mr. Dulles will make efforts to have some sort of rapprochement between the two countries so that it may be easy for the U.S.A. to make the bargain with Pakistan."

Air bases in Pakistan would enable the U.S.A. to be within an easy air-striking distance of strategic Russian manufacturing centres and great oil fields. No other bases in the world had such strategic value. And Pakistan was quite willing to offer them to the U.S.A. provided she was supplied with new arms. A strong Pakistani Army was not undesirable to the "free world" but at the same time it could provide an offensive punch for a show-down fight with India over Kashmir. And that was the rub, because the U.S.A. could not ignore India.

Eisenhower on Foreign Aid

President Eisenhower in a message to the U. S. Congress urged for an extension of the Mutual Security Programme in 1954. The programme presented by him, included approximately \$5,250 million for military weapons and direct military support to other countries and about \$550 million for technical, economic and development aid. The total expenditure under the programme was about \$1,800 million less than provided in the Truman administration's 1954 Budget.

Defining the policies he proposed the Congress to adopt, the President declared that the U.S.A. and her friends must be ready to build up their defences, over a prolonged period, if required; at the same time avoiding the dangers of a too rapid military build-up which might seriously dislocate the economy. The U.S.A. should undertake help to other countries with particular attention to the Far East. Lastly, since it was "impossible to forecast precisely the year and moment when the point of maximum military danger may occur, the only prudent course calls for a steady

military build-up with our partners throughout the world, sustained and planned so as to use our joint capabilities with maximum efficiency and minimum strain."

American Criticism of Nehru

Several U. S. Congressmen criticized Mr. Nehru's statement that a solution was more likely to be found in the Communist proposal than in the latest U.N. command counter-proposals. Democratic Senator, Mike Mansfield, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that Pandit Nehru failed to understand the situation and was wrong. A Republican Senator, Everett Dirksen said that other nations should remember that the U.S.A. was carrying the lion's share of the load in blood in Korea. Those nations must accept a greater responsibility if their words were to have greater effect.

The *Leader's* special correspondent in New York wrote on May 18 that Mr. Nehru's opinion on the Communist proposals on Korea had appeared in large headlines which put him in the position of outright support for those proposals. According to that correspondent, "Hearst's journal *American* said, 'Mr. Nehru for Red plan to end Korean war.' The headline in the Scripps-Howard *World Telegram* read, 'Neutral India backs Red Truce plan against U.S.A.' The word, 'neutral' was in quotes. Radio news broadcasters are saying that Mr. Nehru 'endorsed' Communist proposals."

"First reaction from certain Washington quarters," wrote the correspondent, "has been to question India's qualifications to act as neutral. . . . There are other observers who are questioning the wisdom of Mr. Nehru's observation at a moment when India has been accepted by both sides as a neutral and proposed by the U.N. side as Chairman and the real neutral among the neutrals."

But a more critical view was taken about Mr. Nehru's willingness to welcome any solution acceptable to the parties concerned, the implication of his statement being taken to mean that no matters of principle were involved and that India would not even stand by voluntary repatriation if the Communists made enough of a fuss about it.

Indo-China

The struggle in Indo-China has been shown up in quite a new light by King Norodom Sihanoung of Cambodia. The entire situation has been admirably summarized in the following letter to the *New York Times* by Sardar J. J. Singh of the India League in U.S.A. The only point we would mention in this connection is that Britain did not leave India voluntarily as is supposed in many quarters. The liquidation took place after long-drawn struggle culminating in the '42 disturbances during which six British divisions were

used for years to dragoon the Indians. The effort was in vain, although over 10,000 Indians were shot and atrocities of all kinds perpetrated, which resulted in the disaffection of the Indian Army. This last was the deciding factor in the decision to quit India, which act was done with the best of grace possible under the circumstances.

France is even a more obdurate colonial power, so the pressure must be even greater before she will see reason. We append the letter below:

To The Editor of the *New York Times*,

"Vietminh forces are spreading across Laos, one of the three Associated States of Indo-China, and Luang Prabang, its capital, has already been surrounded.

"In Vietnam, another one of the three Associated States of Indo-China, the see-saw war has been going on for the past six years between the Vietminh forces, under the leadership of the erstwhile Nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh, and the French-Vietnamese forces. The third State, Cambodia, has virtually served notice on the French that unless complete freedom is guaranteed to Cambodia its fall to the Communist forces is a certainty.

"King Norodom Sihanoung of Cambodia created a sensation when, in his recent press conference in New York, he bluntly stated that unless Cambodia became as free as India and Pakistan, he would not be able to lead his people against Communist invaders. Notwithstanding the displeasure and threats of the French, this warning was repeated by Cambodian representatives in Paris, and now the Cambodian Cabinet has issued the following communique: 'The Khmer nation (Cambodia), provided complete independence is accorded it by its powerful friend, is ready to fight fiercely to the last extreme against the Communist invader, in perfect co-operation with France and with the assistance of the powerful allies with whom Cambodia shares the ideal of peace and liberty.

"Against all these dangerous developments in the three States of Indo-China the only steps so far taken are to send more United States arms, as recently announced by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

"Independent Asian observers, who loathe world communism as much as any of the Western nations, are of the opinion that just giving greater economic and military aid to the French will neither solve the problem of Indo-China nor stop the Communist invaders. I know of no Asian leader who would be willing to compare the Communist march into Laos with the North Korean march into South Korea. In their eyes the struggle in Indo-China has been going on for several years and it has been a struggle to wrest freedom from French colonial rule.

"There is no gainsaying the fact that Ho Chi

Minh, even though he may now be in the hands of the Communists, is still a highly respected name in all of Indo-China, and he has followers spread all over Indo-China. When I was in Indo-China last year I was told that it was a well-recognized fact that "Ho Men" were everywhere and many Vietnamese, living in territory under the French rule, were secretly contributing large amounts of money to Ho Chi Minh's funds. Recently, on his visit to Indo-China, Gen. Mark W. Clark said, 'The enemy is everywhere, coming through the walls, the ceilings and the floors.' This sort of situation cannot be combated simply by sending additional United States arms.

"Many have stated this before, and the time has come to state it again, even more forcefully: the French must make a definite declaration, just as the British did in the case of India, setting a date for Indo-China to be completely free. Only such a declaration, perhaps with the backing of the United Nations, will destroy the enemy from 'the walls, the ceilings and the floors.' There is no greater deterrent to the spread of communism in Asian countries than the spirit of nationalism and the pride of being a sovereign nation. It is this spirit of nationalism and dedication to safeguarding the sovereignty of their countries which has stopped Communist forces in their tracks in the newly freed nations like India, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia.

"The situation is deteriorating rapidly. I would urge the United States delegation at the United Nations to call for the immediate reassembling of the General Assembly for the sole purpose of discussing the Indo-China situation."

J. J. SINGH

New York, May 5, 1953.

Events in Tunisia

Tunisia is in revolt. The French imperialists have let loose an orgy of violence and fraud to maintain themselves in power and the recent municipal elections were a mere smokescreen to cover up these facts. Giving the background of the local elections in Tunisia, the *Vigil* says that the country had been under martial law for the past 15 months. The Sovereign, the Bey, was a virtual prisoner in his palace; the so-called "Baccouche Cabinet" was illegally constituted and the members of the legal Chenik Cabinet were deprived of powers or in exile. The government was in the hands of the French Resident-General who used the French army and police to enforce his order. According to the writer, "A regular campaign of extermination is being waged against the nationalist movement—the Destour Party—and against the free Trade Unions. In this task, as is now well-known, the army and the police are aided by the French terrorist organisation known as the Red Hand, which, protected by the Resident-General and his high police officers, can commit mur-

ders and attacks on life, and property with impunity. This organisation has struck over 100 times in the last few months against the Trade Union leaders, even the children and the private physician of the Bey, and many others including the legal Prime Minister, M'hamed Chenik . . . There are two permanent military tribunals functioning in Tunis: they pronounce about 20 heavy sentences each week; 13 have been condemned to death since last December. Executions and hard labour are given on the basis of summary investigations and on 'confessions' extorted by means of the most brutal and disgusting forms of physical torture, a fact admitted by the International Commission on concentration camps which visited Tunisia recently.

"Thus under these conditions any sort of election would be suspect. But the French left nothing to chance. The night before the district elections were to be held in April last, police squads scoured the districts, and arrested all local leaders 'as a temporary measure.' The next morning the authorities used the troops and the police to drive the people to the polls; the boycott was widespread however and the Bey issued a strong protest against these practices which by some miscalculation on the French part, reached the outside press. Less than 9 per cent of the electorate voted and the 'elections' proved to be a complete fiasco."

The resistance of the Tunisians to these elections, according to the writer, was not wholly due to the fact that the country was under a military dictatorship and the popular leaders were all in jail. There was an "even more important principle at stake, the very principle in fact, upon which the Franco-Tunisian negotiations broke down 17 months ago. It is the principle of sovereignty whereby the French are trying to force the Tunisians to accept the French colonialists in their country as partners in the country's sovereignty. Tunisians have at all times refused to admit this theory," their basic stand being that Tunisia was a sovereign State in treaty relations with France and as such no foreigner had the right to vote or stand as candidates in any Tunisian election. "Thus," says the writer, "even if internal conditions had been more favourable, the Tunisians would have opposed the elections all the same."

Labour Victory in Local Elections in U.K.

Commenting on the Labour Party's gains in the local elections in England and Wales the Conservative *Yorkshire Post* writes: "The fact must be faced that the conservatives have suffered a defeat. No good will be done by attempting to extenuate it."

The Labour *Daily Herald* described the results as a "formidable swing to Labour," and says that the "Tories should not be so surprised" because Mr. Butler's budget had paved the way for it. Housewives "were still suffering from the effects of his first budget. He deliberately pushed up food prices and bus fares.

He helped to push up the rates. Memories are not so short as the Chancellor hoped. And the voters who remembered the past also looked to the future."

The *Liberal News Chronicle* pointed out that Labour could not feel it was on the right road—"for the electorate may have been voting against some grievance rather than in favour of a defined programme."

Display of Indian Art in U.S.A.

The *USIS* reports: "Nine centuries of Indian paintings, arts and crafts are now on display in a special gallery devoted exclusively to Indian art at the well-known Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City." The gallery would be open indefinitely. Most of the paintings displayed belonged to the Moghul School. There were a number of paintings belonging to the Rajput school also.

"Painted cottons, gold jewellery and a marble support inlaid with semi-precious stones from the audience hall of the Delhi palace complete the exhibit. Of special interest to Westerners is a 17th century painted cotton depicting European figures—including an equestrian statue of England's Charles I." The display also included gold anklets, necklaces and bracelets from the 17th to 19th centuries.

It is reported that the Metropolitan was participating in discussions looking toward the circulation in the United States of a major Indian art show.

In addition to the Metropolitan, several other large museums in the United States had collections of Indian art, the largest being housed in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Chicago, Kansas City and Seattle were other American cities whose museums were noted for their collections of Indian art. According to the report, "Political developments in India, as well as in other parts of Asia, have heightened an already lively interest among many Americans in the arts of these areas."

Fascism in Action on Indian Soil

Mr. Mario Rodrigues of the Goan People's Party, who had escaped from a Portuguese jail in Goa in March, gave a description of the conditions in Goan jails before a number of Bombay newsmen, reports the *Leader*. According to the paper, he said that "The Panjim 'quarter general' is a sort of Gestapo headquarters in Goa where political prisoners are first taken after arrest for interrogation. The usual practice is to keep the prisoners without food or water for days together and subject them to beating with a rubber band which does not leave any mark on the surface of the skin but results in severe muscular pain and does not allow any sleep."

He declared the Goan resistance movement was planning to go into "direct action in the near future" against the Portuguese administration in Goa.

Acute scarcity and famine conditions are prevailing in certain parts of the country. Early in May, Mr. Nehru took up a tour of the scarcity affected areas of Maharashtra. According to a *PTI* despatch, the entire area along the 145-mile route of his tour through Ahmednagar and Nasik lay barren with the soil almost reduced to dust in the absence of rain in the past two years. Everywhere people gathered to tell their distress to the Prime Minister.

In Rajasthan, according to a report published in the *Leader*, it was officially stated that 22,66,659 people were affected by scarcity in Bikaner, Jodhpur and Udaipur divisions. The Rajasthan Government had decided to provide Rs. 10 lacs for relief measures in addition to Rs. 37½ lakhs for relief and Rs. 30 lakhs for taccavi loans, provided in the current year's budget.

Mr. Motichand Khazanchi, a Congress member of the Rajasthan State Assembly, reported after a tour of several villages in Bikaner district that he found people eating bread made of barks and leaves. Many people had no purchasing power and were therefore resorting to the use of barks.

The Government had opened relief centres in the form of construction of roads, excavation of tanks and repairs and construction of wells and tanks to provide employment to the affected people.

In West Bengal too about 7 lakhs of people in the Sunderban area are affected by scarcity. This year there has been a particularly acute shortage of drinking water. The weekly *West Bengal* reports that the Government had launched upon a programme of road construction and sinking of tube-wells in the area. A lakh of rupees had already been sanctioned for test relief and a proposal for a further sum of Rs. 7½ lakhs for the purpose was under examination.

Lack of purchasing power is the main factor in all the distress in the scarcity areas. There is no attempt as yet to tackle this problem. In the matter of relief also much has been left to chance, thereby leaving loopholes for waste and theft.

Survey of Middle Class Economy

Interesting data have been revealed by an enquiry conducted among the middle class families of Madras City. According to Dr. B. Natamjan, Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras, who conducted the survey of the living conditions of middle class families, 61 per cent of the middle class families in Madras City lived beyond their means and 31 per cent saved out of their incomes.

The sample survey covered 1,336 families with a total population of 7,803, out of the 40,000 families assessed to professional tax by the Madras State Government. The families were stratified into five groups, namely, those with an income (1) between Rs. 100 and Rs. 199 per mensem, (2) between Rs. 200

and Rs. 299 p.m., (3) between Rs. 300 and Rs. 399 p.m., (4) Rs. 400 and Rs. 499 p.m., (5) between Rs. 500 and Rs. 599 p.m. and, (6) Rs. 600 and over.

The Survey revealed that while deficit budgets were found in all the strata of the middle class, the percentage of surplus budgets increased with the increase in incomes. "The average expenditure per family exceeds average income in the case of families whose incomes range between Rs. 100 and Rs. 399 per month and income exceeds expenditure slightly in the case of families enjoying a higher income. The extent of over-reaching the income is the highest in the income group between Rs. 100 and Rs. 199. Against an average income of Rs. 152-8 per month, the families in this group spend Rs. 160-3."

The Survey also revealed that the average size of the family got larger with the rise in income—4.72 in the first group rising to 8.75 in the sixth. The sex composition of the families matched each other, the average family of 5.8 persons being made up of 1.8 men, 1.8 women, 1.1 boys and 1.1 girls.

"Literacy which stands at 75 per cent for all the groups together, is relatively higher among the three higher income groups than in the lower income groups.

"Earners in all the families under survey totalled 1,976 of whom 1,818 were men and 128 women. Although the average number of earners increased from 1.1 in the first group to 2.7 in the sixth, the percentage of earners to population does not vary widely as between the different income groups.

"The 1,336 families made a total monthly income of Rs. 3,75,581 the average working to Rs. 281. The average income of the different groups varies from Rs. 153 in the first to Rs. 793 in the sixth."

The total expenditure incurred by all the families in the sample was Rs. 385,623, an average of Rs. 289-7 per month per family. It was revealed that "Expenditure on food-grains is the largest single item in all the income groups to Rs. 298 in the sixth. The second largest item of expenditure is the miscellaneous group which includes education, recreation, domestic services, etc. It varies from Rs. 38-6 in the first group to Rs. 243-8 in the sixth."

"Expenditure on housing figures as the third largest item in the lower three groups while it is expenditure on clothing in the higher three groups. Expenditure on furniture is the lowest for all groups.

"While the average expenditure on toilet requisites varies from Rs. 3-2 in the first group, to Rs. 12-4 in the sixth group, religion and charity command only between Rs. 1-8 and Rs. 7-14."

Food and Population

M. Vasily Nemchinov writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*: "For a long time now the food problem has been attracting world-wide attention. The discussions on this subject have brought out two aspects: the inter-relation of food production and

growth of population, and over-production in some areas accompanied by acute shortage and hunger in others."

The report of the U.N.F.A.O. for 1951-52 recorded that food production in the Far East was down by 10 per cent compared with pre-war times and in the Latin American countries by about 8 per cent. Mr. Dodd, Director of the FAO, declared: "If half the people in the overcrowded, underdeveloped areas of the world were to die today, there would still not be enough food to provide a decent diet for those that were left."

Some saw the remedy in a reduction of the population. Their suggestions ranged "from compulsory birth control down to destructive wars. That, in fact, is the solution offered by Vogt, Pendell, Pitkin and other American Neo-Malthusians."

According to the writer, "These plans are unsound in their very fundamentals" because "they are based on the erroneous theory that there is a limit to the potentialities for increasing food production." In his view, widespread hunger is not due to any immutable factors inherent in the nature of human relationships. "Food shortages in many countries," says he, "spring from defects in their social and economic systems. If the survival of semi-feudal relationships in agriculture are eliminated and if agriculture is freed from the unsupportable burden of land rent, the situation will change. Bold industrialisation of the economically backward countries coupled with employment of the achievements in agronomy, chemistry, biology and other sciences, would mean a radical change for the better in their agricultural development too."

Delimitation Commission Recommendations

The Delimitation Commission of India's proposals regarding the number of seats in the House of the People and State Assemblies on the basis of the 1951 census were published on May 18 in the *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, reports the *Press Trust of India*.

According to the report, "The number of elective seats in the House of the People is proposed to be raised from 495 to 500—the maximum permitted under the Constitution. Bombay is to get four more, the residuary State of Madras and the new State of Andhra together two more than the present undivided Madras, Mysore two more on the assumption that the major part of Bellary district will be transferred to Mysore when the Andhra State is formed and Travancore-Cochin and Rajasthan one more each. Punjab, Vindhya Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Ajmer will have one less each in the popular elected Chamber of Parliament.

"In the majority of cases the existing strength of the Legislative Assemblies has been maintained unaltered but the Commission has found a change necessary in a few States.

"After the formation of Andhra State, Madras is

to have an Assembly of 245 and Andhra an Assembly of 168 members.

"Explaining the basis of the allocation, the Commission says, taking the Part 'C' States first, four of them, Tripura, Manipur, Kutch and Bilaspur, which have no Legislative Assemblies, have to be allotted the same number of seats as they have at present, namely, 2, 2, 2 and 1 respectively. Coorg also must obviously continue to have one seat as at present. On the All-India average of 7.22 lakhs per seat, the States of Vindhya Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Ajmer cannot continue to enjoy the weightage they have at present in the House of the People.

"In each of these cases, the number of representatives has been reduced by one so that these four States get 5, 3, 2 and 1 respectively, or 11 seats in all. The representation of Bhopal which has a population of 8, 36, 474 cannot very well be reduced from 2 to 1, and accordingly the present number of 2 has been retained for that State. The total number of seats allotted to the Part 'C' States thus comes to 21.

"The allocation of the remaining 479 seats among the Part 'A' and Part 'B' States has been made strictly on the basis of the latest census figures in the following manner. The total population of these States comes to 351,099,040 which, divided by 479, gives an average of 732,983 per seat. The population of each State is divided by this latter number and the nearest integral number of seats allotted to that State. Similarly, the number of seats proposed to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, if any, in each State, has been calculated strictly in accordance with the provisions of Article 330, fractions less than one-half being ignored and fractions not less than one-half being taken as one.

"Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have at present a comparatively high multiple of 8. The Commission proposes to maintain it in both the States, mainly because of the low density of population 163 and 117, respectively, per square mile and poor communications.

"The Commission has specified June 3, 1953, as the date before which any objections or suggestions have to be submitted in regard to its proposals. The *Gazette* also publishes minutes of dissent."

Recommendations of the Bar Committee

The All-India Bar Committee, set up by the Government of India in 1951 with Justice S. R. Das of the Supreme Court as Chairman and seven other members, had recommended the creation of an all-India Bar Council consisting of (a) two Judges of the Supreme Court who had been advocates, to be nominated by the Chief Justice of India, (b) the Attorney-General of India and the Solicitor-General of India as ex-officio members, (c) delegates from the State Bar Councils, and (d) three members to be elected by the Supreme Court Bar Association from out of their number who should ordinarily be resident in the State of Delhi and practising in the Supreme Court.

The Committee's work and recommendations had assumed 'the continued existence of the present legal system in India, out of which present legal profession has grown up.'

The PTTI reports that the Committee recommended that "For the first two elections the delegates from State Bar Councils will be elected on the following basis: (1) each State Bar Council will elect one from amongst their number, (2) each State Bar Council having on a prescribed date more than 1,000 advocates entered on its register will elect one additional member who shall not be a member of that Bar Council.

"Excepting the judges and the ex-officio members, the other members of the all-India council would hold office for six years.

"The all-India Bar Council should maintain a common roll of advocates; prescribe qualifications for admission of advocates and the fees to be paid; consider cases where the State Bar Council is of opinion that application for admission of any candidate should be refused; prescribe rules of professional conduct and etiquette; prescribe the procedure for enquiry into cases of misconduct by State Councils and hear appeals; and lay down standards of legal education and other such matters.

"State Bar Councils will be set up for each of the Part 'A' and Part 'B' States. Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh will have a common State Bar Council. Delhi and Himachal Pradesh will be attached to the Punjab Bar Council, Ajmer-Merwara to Rajasthan, Bhopal to Madhya Bharat, Kutch to Saurashtra, Manipur to Assam, Tripura to West Bengal, and Coorg to Mysore.

"Each State Bar Council shall consist of two Judges of the High Court who have been advocates to be nominated by the Chief Justice, the Advocate-General, or if there is no such office, the Government advocate or standing counsel, and 15 elected members. The bar councils of Assam, Orissa, Saurashtra and Pepsu will only have one Judge instead of two and 10 members instead of 15.

"The seats in the State Councils will be so distributed that interests of those practising in the High Court of the State and in the district courts will be kept in view."

The Committee had also recommended the present dual system in the Supreme Court and the creation of a system of acting advocates for the Supreme Court.

The Committee had, however, expressed the view that no case had been made out before it for the abolition of the dual system as it obtained in the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts. The system in those two High Courts could continue.

The Committee had suggested a uniform qualification for admission to the roll of advocates under which a person seeking enrolment must possess a law degree in addition to a degree in arts, science or commerce. The person concerned should also have under-

gone a further period of one year's apprenticeship and passed an apprenticeship examination. State Bar Councils, or in case of their inability the Universities in the State, should hold such examinations.

India's First Mercury Mine Discovered

The *Hitarada* in its issue dated May 5 contained a report to the effect that presence of large deposits of mercury had recently been detected in one of the manganese mines in Ticora tahsil in Bhandara district in Madhya Pradesh. According to a staff reporter of the paper, the mine which was privately owned had been temporarily closed, following the discovery of mercury and some of the big bosses of the mining industry of M.P. were frantically trying to secure fresh contract of that particular mine. It was not known if the Government of India were aware of the discovery.

Mercury being in the category of strategic materials, its value as a potential dollar earner was immense. Therefore it should justly be considered a national asset and the mine should be nationalised, the report added.

What is of even more importance, in our opinion, is that the mine should belong to the nation and the products be carefully husbanded for future emergencies.

Future of Hyderabad

The *People* reports that a meeting of the Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee would be convened shortly to decide the future of Hyderabad. It was significant that the secretaries of the Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra P.C.C.'s had also been invited to attend the meeting. According to the political correspondent of the paper, "The question of settling the future of the State has become necessary to reopen in view of the inability of the Andhra leaders to select a capital for their new State. They are openly saying that Hyderabad will be the logical capital. Kannadigas and Maharashtrians agree that Hyderabad belongs to Andhra. It is also conceded that if the Andhra State is coming a Visala Andhra State will not remain far behind. Why should not the Government face the inevitable? Why should money be wasted on the building of a camp capital?"

It was also being strongly contended that if the Maharaja of Kashmir could go, there was no reason why the Nizam of Hyderabad also should not quit.

Preservation of Wild-life

Science and Culture writes: "In recent years protection of Nature and preservation of wild-life, particularly various types of animals living within the sylvan surroundings, attracted world attention due to fast depleting wild-life in different parts of the globe."

In India, the diminution of natural resources was particularly evident where the wants of a vastly increased population had been met by uncontrolled and unwise encroachment on natural resources leading to the consequent disturbance of the delicate balance between man and his natural environments with great

detriment to the productivity of the soil through erosion, etc. Though a number of State Governments had framed laws against indiscriminate shooting, "poaching, hunting with flashlights, netting, trapping, dynamiting and various other methods of destruction of wild-life with modern weapon and motor transport have of late become rampant, as a result of which some of the wild fauna are on the verge of extinction. This applies also to plant life. Plant hunters of India and sometimes from countries overseas in their frequent botanical raids have rendered our countryside and forests almost denuded of orchids, primulas, lilies and many other horticulturally and medicinally valuable plants well-known for their beauty and healing properties. Some of the rare species of plants too are almost going to be extinct."

In the view of the paper, "A wise policy of wild-life conservation should also provide for: (1) Adequate laws of protection, (2) adequate areas as permanent sanctuaries or refuges for species in their known habitat, and (3) adequate organization to enforce the former and administer the latter."

The Government of India in a resolution, dated the 4th April, 1952, announced the constitution of a Central Board for Wild Life under the chairmanship of the Maharaja of Mysore, "with a view to prevent the extinction of any species and their protection in balance with natural and human environment." The Board was to devise among other things "ways and means of conservation and control of wild life through co-ordinated legislative and practical measures."

Dr. Sunder Lal Hora writes in *Science and Culture* that the inaugural meeting of the Board was held at Mysore from November 25 to December 1, 1952. Four Technical Committees were formed. Their recommendations were now before the Government for consideration. The recommendations included the proposals for the setting-up of National Parks and Sanctuaries, the appointment of State Wild Life Boards, and co-ordination of the activities of such departments as Forests, Agriculture, Scientific Research, Transportation, Information and Broadcasting in matters of publicity and education of the public concerning wild life. It was also suggested that the transport of living animals and birds caught in India should be prohibited from 1st April to 30th September, except for exchange of animals for zoos, movements of circuses, etc.

Ignorance of Candidates

The Uttar Pradesh Public Service Commission in a review of the combined competitive examination, 1951, says, "Quite a number of candidates showed a most deplorable lack of knowledge of even elementary geography and science."

Out of the 696 candidates who had appeared in the examination, 106, including four scheduled caste candidates, were called for the *viva voce* test. Four of the 12 women candidates who had sat for the examination were called for *viva voce* test, but none were found suitable for appointment.

According to a summary of the review published in the *Leader*, some of the candidates did not have any sense of composition of Hindi and committed inexcusable spelling mistakes. The general quality of the essays was good. There were a few really very good scripts. Some candidates appeared to possess only a superficial knowledge of day-to-day developments and their expression lacked precision. The standard of the answer papers on general knowledge was definitely below what one might fairly expect from university graduates. The poverty of the general knowledge of the candidates was really shocking.

Exploitation of the Unemployed

The *Clarion*, a Calcutta weekly, has drawn the attention of all concerned to the racket that is going on with the unemployed. Driven by hunger and humiliation persons out of employment for long periods often grasped at anything that might come their way. People with good qualifications often accepted jobs carrying salaries far below those paid to unskilled labourers. But even when a man got a job there was no certainty that he would get his remuneration. The paper gives a characteristic description of this practice.

According to it, there were employers whose aim was to run their businesses as far as possible on unpaid labour. To quote the paper, "An unemployed person after fruitless search, which may extend over many months, is called for an interview. Usually, he is ushered into a one-room office, furnished with the minimum of tables and hearing all the appearances of a mushroom concern. Even if he is not impressed by what he sees, there is always the gnawing hunger of months and the terribly bleak outlook of continued unemployment to goad him into taking a chance. The prospective employer knows these things. They are, in fact, his trump cards."

The job-seeker is driven to accept the minimum remuneration and is required to do all kinds of work. His work is generally never specified nor does he ever receive an appointment letter. "The month passes but no pay-day arrives. A newcomer to a firm is usually reluctant to earn the reputation for being troublesome, particularly, just when starting his career with a concern. So he rather diffidently approaches the boss. He is informed that the matter is being looked into. This takes about a month by which time the next pay-day should come along. It does not, and if the employee goes on, it is quite possible that the next month will also prove payless."

In some cases, there is delayed payment, but in most cases the poor employee never gets his salary.

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MANAGER—*The Modern Review*

SARVODAYA AND MARXISM

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

At a recent meeting in Madura, Prof. J. C. Kumarappa is stated to have observed that

"Gandhiji's ideals were already in practice in Russia to a certain extent" and that "though the Russian ideal was not Sarvodaya in the fullest sense of the term, the social order in Russia today very much approximated in certain respects to Gandhian ideals."

We are sorry to find that during the last few months the learned Professor, consciously or unconsciously, has been instrumental in creating great confusion of thought in the public mind about the twin ideologies of Gandhism and Communism. It is, therefore, no longer desirable to allow his statements and utterances to go unchallenged.

It is, undoubtedly, true that we are all dissatisfied with the Capitalist way of thinking; Capitalism as a creed and economic philosophy is now dead as dodo. We are also fully conscious of the fact that the prevailing economic conditions in India are far from satisfactory and that the problems of poverty, unemployment and economic inequalities need be tackled with a sense of urgency. Leaders of different political parties are gradually realising the inevitability of Gandhian approach to most of our economic maladies and the dynamic philosophy of Sarvodaya is being increasingly appreciated with a sense of realism and practical commonsense. But to suggest even vaguely that Sarvodaya and Marxism are similar in certain respects and that Gandhism is being followed in Russia is to render great disservice both to Sarvodaya and Marxism. The two ideologies are, indeed, poles asunder and their basic principles are almost diametrically opposed to each other. Shri K. G. Mashruwala, the well-known authority on Gandhian thought, took special pains to write a series of articles in the *Harizan* to strongly repudiate that suggestion that "Gandhism is Communism minus violence." These articles have since been published in the form of a booklet entitled *Gandhi and Marx*.

"Gandhism and Marxism," observes Shri Mashruwala, "are as distinct from each other as green from red, though we know that to the colour-blind even green and red might appear alike."

It is, certainly, a matter for regret that Prof. Kumarappa appears to be, of late, suffering from such a colour-blindness.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has also been repeatedly telling us that the "two ideologies are irreconcilable and the differences between them are fundamental." On being told that Gandhism differed from Communism only in its strict emphasis on non-violence, Vinobaji remarked:

"Two persons were so physically alike that one could have well served as the double of the other in a political fraud. But there was a slight difference; one breathed, the other did not."

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has stated several times that "Ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength."

According to him, there is greater similarity between Marxism and Capitalism because both attach great importance to material needs and physical welfare rather than to moral standards and spiritual well-being. Mahatma Gandhi also regarded Bolshevism as "the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization" and stated:

"In so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me."

Gandhiji always detested this "mad race after money and material goods" and laid great stress on a higher 'Standard of Life' rather than merely a high standard of living.

The fact of the matter is that Sarvodaya and Marxism are basically dissimilar and any attempt to reconcile them is bound to prove futile and even hazardous. To Gandhiji, spiritual values were of the essence in all aspects of human existence; to the Marxists, religion and philosophy are the "opium of the poor." The first word of religion," said Engels, "is a lie." Lenin regarded it as "one of the aspects of spiritual oppression." The Marxists regard Mind as "a derivative of Matter." To them the conception of a Soul and spiritual values are, more or less, fantastic non-sense and betray bourgeois mentality. Moreover, Gandhiji attached great importance to the means and methods and never believed in the theory of ends justifying the means. While the Mahatma insisted on Truth and Non-violence even for the achievement of Indian Swaraj, Lenin thought it necessary "to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth" for the achievement of his objectives.

"Even though Russia has many achievements to her credit," wrote Gandhiji in 1942, "her work will not endure unless her methods are clean."

Mahatmaji was convinced that permanent good could never be the outcome of untruth and violence. Writing in the *Harizan* as late as 1946, Gandhiji observed:

"The Communists seem to have made trouble-shooting their profession. I have friends among them. Some of them are like sons to me. But it seems they do not make any distinction between fair and foul, truth and falsehood. They deny the charge. But their reported acts seem to sustain it. Moreover, they seem to take their instructions from Russia, whom they regard as their spiritual home rather than India. I cannot countenance this dependence on an outside power."

While Gandhiji firmly believed in "the essential goodness of human nature" and preached the change of hearts rather than the breaking of heads, Stalin was of definite view that "you cannot conquer the enemy without learning to hate him with all the power of your soul."

There is one more essential difference between Sarvodaya and Marxism. To Gandhiji, democracy was the very basis of a non-violent and Sarvodaya society. Even centralisation of political and economic power was detrimental to the healthy growth of a Sarvodaya State.

But to the Marxists, democracy is "a bourgeois conception which the revolutionary proletariat must overthrow" (Lenin). Trotsky also endorsed this view by naming democracy "as a wretched and worthless masquerade." In his book, *The State and Revolution*, Lenin made it quite clear that the Communists seek "an opportunity to crush, to smash to bits, to wipe off the face of the earth the bourgeois state machinery, even its republican variety." While Gandhiji advocated the establishment of a decentralised socio-economic order based on cottage industrialism and village community life, the Marxists visualise a "dictatorship of the proletariat" founded on a highly centralised state and a mechanised, industrialised society. The ultimate aim of Marxism is said to be the establishment of a classless society in which the State

shall "wither away." But, as Prof. Aldous Huxley observes in his *Ends and Means*, such a highly centralised State "may be smashed by war or overturned by revolution from below; there is not the smallest reason to suppose that it will wither away."

It is no use labouring the point further. It is clear as daylight that the two ideologies of Sarvodaya and Marxism are fundamentally different from each other. Any attempt to create confusion of thought at a time when the two modes of thinking are engaged in a Titanic struggle for survival in India and outside is, to say the least, un-Gandhian. We would, therefore, earnestly appeal to Prof. Kumarappa not to allow his personality to be misused by any political group for its own ulterior motives.

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FEDERALISM IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By IQBAL NARAIN SRIVASTAVA, M.A.,
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THE new Constitution of India is federal in its pattern. In its federalism it is at once old and new, orthodox and unorthodox. It is old in so far as it adheres to the broad principles of federalism. It is new in so far as it marks a departure not only from the existing federal constitutions of the world, nay, from the theory of federalism itself. Comparatively speaking, it is more unlike America and less unlike Canada. Again, it is at once similar and different from the Act of 1935, which is according to some, its foster-father.

In a way the federalism of the new Constitution of India is a type by itself. In it the consensu-gods have tried to combine the advantages of a unitary government during emergencies with the advantages of a federation in normal times. Our constitution is unique in so far as it can be both federal and unitary, federal in normal times and unitary in days of emergency. Federal Government is known to be a weak government—too weak to stand emergencies—as it parcels power into too many hands. In the view of a philosopher critics allege that a house divided within itself cannot stand, when the rains descend in torrents and the overwhelming floods come, when the dissensions within and the aggressive shocks from without put its stability to test. Naturally, therefore, in a federal system of government provision has to be made to meet emergencies, if it is to be worked out as an ideal system of government. Our constitution represents one of the most elaborate efforts to remove this weakness of a federal system. Our constitution, as already stated, is such that it can be federal and unitary according to circumstances—federal in normal times, and unitary during emergencies. It is in this way that our constitution-makers have tried to make up the weakness of a federal system of government during emergent circumstances that require quick decision and still quicker action. Not only this our constitution is

not a federation with a bias towards the autonomy of the units. It prides in its prejudice for the centre. This has been done with the specific purpose of meeting emergencies and emphasising the need of national unity and stability against the centrifugal tendencies of our country. In a word, our constitution provides for a flexible federation with a pronounced unitary bias. And this is unorthodox enough, if not unique in itself.

Appalled by this unorthodoxy of our federal system, some critics have gone to the extent of saying that our constitution is not federal. To them it is a unitary state covered in a federal clothing. K. C. Wheare, for example, is of opinion that

"Our constitution establishes indeed a system of government which is at most quasi-federal, almost devolutionary in character; a unitary state with subsidiary federal features rather than a federal state with subsidiary unitary features."

This estimate of our federalism is based on the orthodox view of the theory of federalism. It ignores expediency as a great political factor which must be applied to modify the precepts of political theory in their practical operation. The god-fathers of our constitution have applied this yard-stick in their orientation of federalism.

Theoretically speaking, it has all the classic features of a federation. It enjoys the supremacy of the constitution. There is also clearly marked distribution of powers between the centre and the component units. A federal judiciary has also been established and it enjoys vital powers as the custodian of our constitution and the guardian of our Fundamental Rights. But the unique federalism of our constitution and the special needs and situation of our country have blended some new and uncommon features with this classic texture of federalism. These features, which may appear to some as abnormal, can be analysed as follows:

(i) ITS PROCESS OF FORMATION

Our federation has been Canadian rather than American in the mode of its formation. A federal union can be formed either through the process of integration or disintegration. In the case of the former process, it may be formed by a voluntary agreement between a number of sovereign and independent states, as in the U.S.A. In the case of the latter process, the provinces of a unitary state may be broken up to be united again into a federal union. Here thus we disintegrate in order to integrate. This has been true of Canada where the provinces had no separate or independent existence, apart from the colonial government of Canada and where the union was not formed by any agreement between them, but by an Act of the British Parliament which broke up the provinces of Canada to rejoin them under a federation. India also like Canada had a thoroughly unitary constitution, until the Government of India Act of 1935. The constitution then was so centralised that the provincial governments were merely the agents of the Central Government. The Act of 1935 provided for a federal constitution. As the Joint Parliamentary Committee put it, the federal system in India was to be set up "by creating autonomous units and combining them into a federation by one and the same Act." But in fact the Act of 1935 did not succeed in breaking the iron framework of unitarism in India. The federation prescribed by the Act of 1935 died still born. Though Provincial Autonomy was practised, it was more a fiction than a fact. The Centre still retained overbearing control on the provinces through the Governor-General's special responsibilities and the Governor's powers of individual judgment and discretion, in the exercise of which he was under the direct supervision of the Governor-General. In a word, even under the Act of 1935, the Provinces, ayé not even the native states (with *Paramountcy* hanging as the sword of Damocles above their head) were sovereign states like the States of American Union. The present Union of India too is not the result of any compact between independent and autonomous states. In fact, the provinces as independent units had no part in the making of our constitution. Our constitution was framed by the representatives of the people of India who formed the Constituent Assembly and framed the federal constitution of India. In its formation thus our Constitution resembles the constitution of Canada as well as the Act of 1935 with one important difference that the latter were imposed by a British Statute, while the former is self-imposed by the people of our country themselves.

(ii) THE NOTE OF UNIFORMITY AND CENTRALISM

Throughout our Constitution, there is a recurring note of uniformity and centralism. As already stated, the object of the framers of the Constitution of India has been to build a strong central authority which may be able to resist external aggression and also to check the play of internal disruptive forces and thus shield

our nascent state. With this end in view a set of provisions to strengthen the Centre on the one hand and to secure national uniformity and solidarity on the other have been incorporated in the text of our Constitution. These provisions are the following:

(1) Our Constitution provides for one citizenship—the citizenship of India. In contrast to this the American Constitution creates a dual citizenship. Here our constitution is Canadian. This provision is made to strengthen a sense of national unity among the Indian people.

(2) Our Constitution provides that, though the Union and the States shall have their own public services, the state officials shall administer the State as well as the Union laws. In the same way, the members of the Union Services, while working in a State, will also execute state law. Article 258 of the Constitution even provides for the delegation of the Union executive functions to the States. Likewise there will be no separate system of federal courts for the administration of federal laws in our country. The State Courts will administer both the State and Union laws. Thus our constitution has avoided a clear-cut bifurcation in the administration of the Union and the States as in the U.S.A. It does not create a double set of officials and a double system of courts. Here our constitution is unlike America and like Canada. Our Constitution-makers have followed the Canadian model to avoid unnecessary waste of money in having double sets of administration and above all to create a sense of harmony and national unity between the States and the Union Governments.

(3) Then there are certain provisions with a definite bias towards centralism. *Firstly*, residuary powers are vested with the Centre. *Secondly*, the constitution specifically makes it a duty of the States to execute the Union laws and to exercise their executive powers in a way as not to interfere with the executive powers of the Union. In this respect the State shall be under the directions of the Union. If a state fails to carry out the directions of the Union, the Constitution empowers the Union to supersede the State Government concerned. This provision of our Constitution re-echoes Section 126 of the Government of India Act 1935 which laid down:

"The executive authority of every Province shall be so exercised as not to impede or prejudice the exercise of the executive authority of the Federation, and the executive authority of the Federation shall extend to the giving of such directions to a Province as may appear to the Federal Government to be necessary for that purpose."

It will be noted here that this plan of Union directives to the States is totally foreign to the spirit and letter of the American Constitution. *Thirdly*, the Governor of a Province can reserve a State Bill, for the significance of the assent of the President who can even disallow it. Here again our Constitution is a replica of the Act of 1935, and faithfully follows the Canadian model. *Fourthly*, the Governor of a State shall be appointed by the President of the Union and shall hold

office during the pleasure of the President. This provision again is repugnant to the constitution of the U.S.A. but exists under the Canadian Constitution. Lastly, the Union Parliament can assume to itself the legislative powers concerning any subject included in the State list, if the Council of States by a simple resolution of two-third of the members present and voting declare that such legislation is necessary in the national interests. Thus even in normal times the Union Parliament can disturb the distribution of powers as laid by the Constitution. This cannot be justified on the ground that the Council of States has representatives of the States. In our Constitution there is inequality of State representation in the Upper Chamber. Obviously, therefore, this provision is a serious blow to the status of the States who are in fact left at the mercy of the majority in one of the Houses of the National Legislature. This provision appears over-bearingly prejudiced in favour of the Central Government and is open to the danger of being misused. In our Constitution thus unlike America the National Government can transfer to itself any of the powers belonging to the States by an almost unilateral action. Yet in view of the fact that some of the States in India (particularly the native states of the once 'princely India') do not have either healthy democratic traditions nor well-developed party system, this provision has to be tolerated as a transitional feature. But as our democracy grows in years in the States, the parental guardianship by the Centre shall become growingly intolerable as well as superfluous.

(iii) THE EMERGENCY PROVISIONS

A unique thing about our Federal system is that it can become unitary under emergencies. The President is empowered to issue a proclamation of emergency. When such a proclamation has been issued, the power of the Union executive to give directions to the State executive will extend to any and every matter, notwithstanding any provision in the Constitution. The legislative power of the Union Parliament will also automatically extend to matters in the State List. Thus by a mere scribbling of the President's pen, the Federal India would become unitary. Thus the authors of our Constitution have imparted to the federal system the strength of a unitary system during emergencies. This is a unique achievement, nay a contribution to the theory of federalism itself.

(iv) UNIQUE DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS

In the scheme of the distribution of powers also our Constitution differs from other constitutions of the world. The principle followed in the distribution of powers in the federal systems of the world has been "Enumeration and Residuum." This principle has taken the following two shapes in practice:

- (i) One is the enumeration in a list of powers assigned to the federal centre, leaving all powers not specified in the list (i.e. residuary powers) to the federal units.
- (ii) The other is the enumeration in a list of the

powers assigned to the federal units and leaving the residue with the Centre.

In India's federal scheme under the new Constitution, as under the Act of 1935, the principle of the Statutory allocation of powers both to the Centre and the Units through a system of 'lists' have been adopted. The three lists are "The Union List," "The State's List," and "The Concurrent List." The residuary powers are vested with the Union Government.

(v) UNFEDERAL REPRESENTATIONS

"Federal State," writes Dicey, "is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of State rights."

And so to cater to the state rights and to guarantee to the component units an equality of status in the federal family, the states are usually granted equality of representation in the Upper House of Legislature, irrespective of their size or population. This has been true in America and Australia. But in our Constitution, like the constitution of Canada, there is no equality of representation to the Council of States. As given in the Fourth Schedule "the number of State representatives to the Upper House varies from 1 to 31." Our Upper House does not only have representatives of the State but twelve nominated members also. This makes our Constitution unfederal in representation in the American sense and yet federal in the Canadian sense.

(vi) UNIQUE POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT

Our President further goes to make our Constitution differ all the more from other federal constitutions of the world. Unlike the Canadian Governor, he is not appointed on the advice of the Union Ministers. He will be elected by the members of the Union Parliament, and of the Legislative Assemblies of the States. His emergency powers are not known to any other head of any federal government of the world.

(vii) AN INTEGRATED CONSTITUTION

Lastly, in a sense our constitution is an integrated one by which the Constitutions of the Union as well as those of the States have been prescribed. In contrast to this, the Constitution of the U.S.A. simply drew up the constitution of the National Government. The authors left the states to continue or preserve their original constitutions and in the case of new admissions to the Union to draw up their own constitution by a convention.

"The States of the Indian Union," writes Shri Durga Das Basu, "shall have no rights or powers anterior to or apart from this constitution."

To sum up, our Constitution is federal in essence and spirit in spite of its pronounced and at times overbearing unitary bias. Thus it is wrong to suppose that our Constitution is like a pyramid which begins with a broad federal base and narrows upwards to evolve into a single unitary top. In fact, our Constitution provides for a flexible federal structure which can be stretched or bent so as to meet emergencies without breaking its framework, and when the emergency has passed, it can slip back into its fold like a tree whose outer branches have been pulled aside to let a vehicle pass.

BASIC EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

By Prof. PRABODH CHANDRA GOSWAMI, M.A. B.T.

PROBLEM OF BASIC EDUCATION IN THE NEW SET-UP
One of the recent innovations in the educational world is Basic education. It was introduced by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, and was given to the Indian Congress for execution at the time of setting up ministries just after the constitutional reforms of 1935. At that time there was much criticism about the type of education which created only slave mentality and made only office assistants. It was too literary and not practical. It created un-employment of the educated class and made the people urban-minded. All the evils of India were attributed to it. So Congress, which was loudest in criticising the old type of education in India, could not be satisfied with it and jumped at the Basic education of Mahatma Gandhi; and since then different Congress ministries in different States have been experimenting with it.

Even then, the progress of Basic education in the country is not rapid. It is rather slow. Slowness is due to a great extent to the lofty ideals inherent in its conception. It is considered as a means to a new social order based on Truth which is same as Love, positively, and Non-violence, negatively. It is patterned after an ideal which is basically the ideal of life and culture of India of the past but yet an ideal which is not quite in harmony with life that we see around us. New India is agog with some sort of restlessness—some yearning after change—change for some higher status the measuring rod of which has become money.

India is astir. There is movement everywhere. People are moving from the villages to the towns. They are leaving agriculture to become vendors, day-labourers, and even loafers. Government too is moving. Innumerable schemes are constantly being thrown at the public by the Government for the betterment of the country. New posts are being created. Officers are constantly moving from old posts to new ones. If they cannot move, they become restless, restlessness causes irresponsibility; irresponsibility, inefficiency. Under such an environment of change and restlessness, irresponsibility and inefficiency, creation of some new social order where there is only serenity and no restlessness, responsibility and no discontent, love and no fighting, is bound to be slow and halting.

Some of us, even all of us, do not like this state of affairs. But it is we who set the ball rolling. We were not satisfied with the old order where there was no life but inertia, no freedom but oppression, no growth but stagnation. We wanted to build a new social order. We were all unanimous about the necessity of building a new social order and if we, in our over-enthusiasm to build it in one particular way or the other, do not create chaos and confusion as some sections of the followers of that great Marx seem to do, we shall certainly see a new social order evolving during our very life-time; but it will not be the new social order as envisaged by you alone or me alone. If there is to be democracy in the

country and if in democracy we should allow the growth of different ideals, such a social order can never be the social order after a set pattern of one group of social reformers only. Social order in democracy is ever in the process of being evolved, and it will ever be changing. An educational system designed to serve a social order of a given pattern can never bring in democracy and at the same time succeed. In democracy there cannot be the imposition of any mode of life however desirable it may be for the time being. A new social order of a given pattern cannot be created and an educational system with such an ideal must fail as the ideal behind it is ever un-realizable.

Then, do we come to the conclusion that Basic education, which was designed as a means to a new social order as envisaged by the Father of the Nation, is useless; and the expenditure of lakhs of rupees spent by the Government on Basic education is a large national waste?

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

It is said that the Father of the Nation was an idealist and even an anarchist. He wanted the full development of the individual and for this he wanted complete freedom. But he cannot be an anarchist of the Western type. He was not an anarchist with a gun in his hand but love in his heart. He was not out to create conflict but bring in harmony and mutual understanding. By the full development of the individual he understood the drawing forth of all that is divine in man. This is done when the individual follows a moral code—a code of duty based on truth and love. Freedom of the individual is freedom within the bounds of duty. A rich man is only a trustee and is not free to use his wealth as he likes. A married man is not free to use his wife for the satisfaction of his passion. This freedom is not given, not because, the problem of problems in India is the problem of over-population—in that case this may be allowed with contraceptives—but because the Father of the Nation was for all purity. For the full development of the divine in man purity is an essential condition. He considered cleanliness,—and by cleanliness he meant the cleanliness of the body as well as of the mind, inner as well as outer,—as next to godliness. He thought that the Divine in man can grow only in a medium of perfect purity; and it is the duty of the individual first of all to prepare such a medium and then to use his freedom for the full blossoming of his divine self.

Freedom is of course essential and there cannot be the blossoming of the individual without it. But the freedom of one must not mean the oppression of the other. Any form of oppression—social, political, or economic—has no place in his scheme of social order. Inequality of any form is nothing but another name of tyranny and oppression. Untouchability is a form of social inequality. It is also an expression of social uncleanness. Centralisation, political or economic, limits individual freedom; so there is no place for it in the

proper income between national
and international economic activities
the will to maintain and recovery of
the currency. But efficiency makes the
country and the rest of the world
the rest of the world.

So if Basic education is to fit in democracy, it must be interpreted differently or it will fail to command co-

So if we are desirous of making the basis of democracy strong and stable, it is essential that everybody has proper understanding of the vital problems round about food, cloth, and shelter. A great many persons are engaged in occupations round about these. Even the occupation of a railway driver, or a painter can be linked to the activities about food, cloth and shelter because we require a driver to move food from one place to another.

All educationists throughout the world know this. Project method in America and Complex method in Russia are based on this principle. Americans and Russians agree at least on this point, however they may differ on others. Main methods of education in both the countries are based on the principle known as education through activity. Our Basic education is also a method of education through activity. But whereas in the other two methods, there is no definite selection of activities, in

Basic education there is such selection. In the Basic education for the new social order, emphasis is given mainly on one activity, i.e., spinning. For the sake of giving variety and more thorough understanding of the different aspects of our social problems, in Basic education for democracy, emphasis is given on three activities, i.e., spinning, gardening, and building. When activities are selected, and are limited to a few, problems of organisation, administration, and finance also become easy.

It is to be clearly understood that we do not introduce agriculture, spinning, and carpentry in our schools to make our pupils farmers, spinners and carpenters. They will fit into different occupations found in society and will learn these according to their liking and special aptitude. Provision must be made for such training but this is more a problem of secondary and technical education than that of primary education. The introduction of the crafts does not mean that a child is to learn less of language, literature, mathematics and other school subjects. The aim is rather to teach more of these and in a better way and to more children. We have selected these crafts because these are the basic activities of society and through them our children will learn about all the basic problems of the day, understand the social significance of our activities and thus enter into our ideals and culture more intimately. Besides, practice in these will make them more productive, will give the necessary training to their hands and fingers which will serve them later in case they become expert technicians. Before one learns to handle a delicate machinery, one should have proper skill of his fingers. The stage of romping can come only after the stage of crawling. So even for those who want to build our economic structure on large-scale production, Basic education is not useless if they have only faith in democracy.

Education for democracy is not a new concept. Prof. Dewey has written volumes on this, and has set up institutions for this. But whereas Prof. Dewey is slightly vague about the activities to be introduced, we are not so. Besides, he has not also pushed so far in his method the idea of education through activity as we have done in ours. In these respects Basic education of our conception is even a step ahead of that taken by Prof. Dewey.

BASIC EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND FOR THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

Education through crafts features in Basic education for democracy as well as for the new social order. In both, crafts are considered to be the most important activities through which all other school subjects are to be taught. Besides craft activities, there are other important features in the Basic education for the new social order, e.g., Safai, common kitchen and community prayer. But Safai is even now an important thing that we want to see in all our schools. Safai will always be there, only it need not have any moral significance in the Basic education for democracy. Similarly, although music and singing will be there, these need not be in the

form of prayers. Similarly, opportunities for inter-dining will arise even in our Basic schools. When vegetables will be grown in the school fields, pupils will naturally like to have occasional picnics with their own products. But we need not insist on common kitchen as the most important part of Basic education and thus convert all our schools to residential ones which is an impossible proposition under the present conditions of financial stringency.

Thus, Basic education for democracy, provides all the important features of Basic education for the new social order. One may be used as a step to the other; but yet may not be adjunct to it. Essential features will be the same in both, the difference will be only in lesser emphasis on ideals in one than in the other.

When that is the case, the progress of Basic education will be rapid for we shall face less opposition from the teachers and the public. If we do not over-emphasise the programme of inter-dining, no opposition need come from those who do not like such practice on grounds of religion and custom. If we do not make our educational system adjunct to any mode of life, there need not be any opposition from those who are not in tune with the Philosophy of Gandhiji. If we do not stigmatise the old teachers as no good for Basic education and as having no revolutionary outlook, we need not be deprived of their help and co-operation. What we shall require of them is only a slight change in their educational practice. They were formerly teaching Arithmetic with sticks and beads, now they will be required to teach through slivers and seedlings. This is not a fundamental change even in method; it is only a change in material.

The work for the Government will be easy; for what will be required of them is only the introduction of the Basic crafts in all our schools in the first stage and teaching through these crafts in the second stage. The whole problem of educational reconstruction in the primary stage may thus be given in a succinct phrase "From education-cum-craft to education through craft."

Thus there will not be any confusion about Basic education and all irresponsible talk about it will stop. People will no longer talk of two types of education—one for the children of the peasants and the other for the children of the ministers. Administration will be an easy job, for no more abstract ideals will be attached to it but only a few concrete things will be given for execution. Training of teachers will be smooth as the teachers will be asked not to learn an altogether different method in education but to handle only a new material with his old tool. There will be more harmony and understanding among all teachers as one group of teachers will not consider themselves as selfless social workers and different from others.

In such an atmosphere of harmony and no opposition, the future of Basic education and with it the future of democracy in the world, cannot but be quick, sure and stable. If democracy is our aim, then, there is no doubt that expenditure in Basic education is a good investment for the country.

THE U.N.O.

A Better League of Nations ?

By DR. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. D.P.A., D.F. A. & D.

THERE is a popular belief that the U.N.O. is a new edition of the League of Nations which was started after the first World War. It is, therefore, thought that it is no better than the League and that it must go the way of that organisation. In fact, some prophets of pessimism are never tired of repeating that sooner or later it must meet its inevitable doom. There is no doubt that the U.N.O. is not a perfect mechanism and there are numerous shortcomings in it but that does not warrant the belief that there are no virtues in it.

If the League was based on Wilsonian idealism the U.N.O. is based on the practical realism of the late President Roosevelt of the U.S.A. and the British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill. The germ of the League of Nations is found in the fourteen points of President Wilson which he enunciated during the course of the first world war. They were presented by him to the Congress on January 8, 1918 in an address to that body and formed the basis of the negotiations for the peace settlement of 1919. The fourteenth point ran thus: "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."¹ These points of Wilson were also based on what is commonly known as the principle of self-determination of nations. These high-sounding ideals were no doubt discarded by the peacemakers and the new world organisation was tied to the peace settlement of 1919 which proved unfortunate in many ways. But the U.N.O. is based on the Atlantic Charter signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on August 14, 1940 on the high seas five years before Japan signed the armistice and the United Nations Declaration signed on January, 1, 1942 by 26 nations which formed the wartime coalition against the axis powers and which incidentally formed the nucleus of the new world organisation, the need for whose establishment was recognized by the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union when they met in a conference at Moscow from October 19 to October 30, 1943. In the communique which was released by them on November 1, 1943 they declared that

"They recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organisation, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership, by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."² The communique of the Teheran Conference which was attended by the big three statesmen of the world issued on December 1, 1943 also declared:

"We shall seek the co-operation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own

peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them, as they may choose to come, into a world family of Democratic Nations."³

But the details of the machinery and working of the new world organisation were thrashed out and completed at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in October, 1944 and its charter was finally signed at San Francisco on June 26, 1945.

The U.N.O. is an improvement over its predecessor both in respect of its organisation and functions. The League of Nations had as its aim the promotion of international peace and security.⁴ But the purposes of the establishment of the U.N.O. are set forth in Article 1 of the United Nations Charter. They are: to maintain international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations based on the principles of equality and self-determination of peoples, to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature and to harmonize the actions of nations in the attainment of these objects.

The League of Nations had three principal organs, viz., an assembly, a council and a secretariat which were mentioned in Article 2 of the Covenant. But, besides these, there were two other world organisations which were attached to the League, viz., the Permanent Court of International Justice which was provided for in Article 14 of the League Covenant and the International Labour Organisation. But the U.N.O. has not only a General Assembly, a Security Council and a Secretariat but also an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council and the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The Trusteeship Council and the U.N.E.S.C.O. are not entirely new organisations. The first has replaced the Permanent Mandates Commission and the second has been substituted for the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. But the Economic and Social Council is an entirely new organisation. It has been created with a view to promoting the economic and social betterment of the people residing within the territorial jurisdiction of the various member states. It was realised at the time of the formation of the new world organisation that its aim, viz., the establishment of International peace and security cannot be achieved without removing economic and social causes. Thus the U.N.O. has gone one step further than the League of Nations. It aims at preparing a more solid ground on which the new structure of world government is based. Furthermore, the U.N.E.S.C.O., which is an amplified and improved form of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, aims at creating a

2. *Ibid.*, p. 158

3. *Ibid.*, p. 165

4. See the Preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

1. F. H. Hartmann: *Basic Documents of International Relations*, p. 46

psychological basis for world peace. It aims at building a defence against devastating wars in the minds of men.

The League of Nations started with some handicaps. The very country whose President had taken the initiative for the formation of the League did not join it. President Wilson was very keen to join the League but the U.S.A. Constitution provides that the President shall enter into treaties with foreign countries with the advice and consent of the Senate⁵. The Senate did not want American participation in European affairs as after the war the U.S.A. reverted to the policy of isolation towards Europe. Therefore, the Senate, or to be more exact the 'Irreconcilable' Senators under the leadership of Henry Cabot Lodge, laid down their own conditions for joining the League. Those conditions were not acceptable even to President Wilson. Naturally they could not be acceptable to the other allies of the U.S.A. The result was that the U.S.A. signed a separate peace with the defeated central Powers and she did not join the League of Nations. Other important countries outside the League were Germany which joined it in 1926 and the U.S.S.R. which joined it in 1934. This time all the sponsors of the idea of the U.N.O. are its members. It is fortunate in keeping within its fold the leaders of the two power-blocs, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

The League Covenant provided for voluntary withdrawal of membership. According to Article I of the Covenant, any member could withdraw from the League after a two years' notice. But the U.N. Charter does not provide for withdrawal of members. It can, therefore, be argued that legally a withdrawal is not possible, although it is difficult to predict as to what action the U.N.O. would take if a country withdraws its membership. Recently, South Africa threatened to sever her connection with the U.N.O. but after a temporary boycott of the General Assembly she resumed her seat in it. It should also be noted here that at present the U.N.O. is not in a position to force any member to remain within its fold.

Both the General Assembly and the Council of the League acted on the unanimity rule. If a decision was arrived at by simple majority it was not binding. No doubt, there were some exceptions, as for example, in matters of procedure only a simple majority was required. Moreover, the Assembly could admit a new member by a two-thirds majority and amend the Covenant of the League by a bare majority. But no amendment would be valid until it has been ratified by all the members of the Council and a majority of the members of the League. The U.N.O. has discarded the principle of unanimity of all members as it is difficult to attain. It has, therefore, substituted it by the unanimity of the big five which was arrived at between the big three statesmen of the world at the Yalta Conference which met in Crimea from February 4 to February 11, 1945 and which is popularly known as the big five veto.

5. Article 11, Section 2.

Under the League sanctions were primarily economic which means that in the first instance only trade and commercial intercourse with the aggressor country would be stopped and military sanctions would be applied later if the economic sanctions proved inadequate.⁶

The sanctions under the U.N.O. are also primarily economic but if the Security Council feels that they would be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea or land forces as it considers necessary. In such an eventuality it may call upon the member states to contribute military forces. For this purpose it has been provided with the expert assistance of a Military Staff Committee.

Without entering into the merits of the question it may be asserted that the action of the U.N.O. in coming to the military help of South Korea when she became an object of aggression of North Korea on June 25, 1950 constitutes a landmark in the history of International Organisation. It is the first instance of a world organisation using force to fight aggression. No doubt, it was possible because the U.S.A. was interested in it. But the U.N.O. failed to act in a similar case in Kashmir where Pakistan committed an act of aggression against India.

Moreover, recently an attempt has been made by some powers under the leadership of the U.S.A. to provide that in case the Security Council which is primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace and prevention of aggression is paralysed by the exercise of the veto power and is prevented from taking action, the General Assembly should be called into session at twenty-four hours' notice to discuss the matter and take suitable effective action. Such an emergency session of the General Assembly would be called if the Security Council so decides by a majority of seven votes. The Political Committee of the United Nations passed a resolution to this effect on October 18, 1950. Thereupon, the General Assembly set up a Collective Measures Committee to study the measures which would be taken including the contribution of armed forces of the various member states and to submit its report to the sixth session of the General Assembly held at Paris at the end of the last year. Consequently, the Political Committee passed a resolution sponsored by eleven members under the leadership of the U.S.A. on January 8, 1952 at Paris calling on the member states to help in the formation of a 'shadow army' which would be ready to fight aggression in any part of the world. The resolution states:

"Each should take such further action as is necessary to maintain within its national armed forces elements so trained, organised and equipped that they could promptly be made available in accordance with its constitutional processes, for services as a United Nations Unit or Units."

But what is regrettable is that this decision was not arrived at unanimously due to the fact that there is considerable misunderstanding between the two power-blocs represented in the U.N.O., one of which is

6. Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

permanently in the minority and which has every reason to think that the new move is directed against her. The establishment of an international army is the responsibility of the Security Council under Article 43 of the United Nations Charter. But Mr. Foster Dulles, the U.S. Representative at the fifth session of the General Assembly, remarked:

"The Security Council should, of course, have its chance to exercise its primary responsibility to international peace and security. But if it fails then the General Assembly has a duty promptly to consider the situation."

The League could not take the initiative in any matter. It could not discuss any matter unless it was brought before it by a member. But the Security Council can itself take the initiative. In fact, it is the duty of the Secretary General to bring any matter to the attention of the Security Council if he thinks that it is likely to threaten international peace and security⁷.

From the above it should not be inferred that the U.N.O. cannot be further improved. In fact, it can serve as a real instrument of world peace if the following reforms are effected in its organisation and working.

Firstly, it should be global and not hemispherical. At present the question of the admission of Red China seems to have become an obsession with some people but not only China but also Germany and Japan should be brought in the U.N.O.

Secondly, it should be a forum of the people and not the governments of the various countries because the governments are engaged in the game of power-politics while the people want peace. Moreover, the governments are also very touchy in regard to questions of precedence and prestige which often lead to war.

Thirdly, a world government can only succeed if the governments of the member states give up their national sovereignty which should be pooled at one place, i.e., UNO.

Fourthly, the governments of the member states should give up real-politik or power-politics. At present they are living in a state of nature. They should recognize international law and order their conduct in conformity with it.

Fifthly, the political parties in the various countries which are members of the United Nations should adopt the promotion of the objects of the U.N.O. as an integral part of their political programmes. In this respect the aims and objects of the Indian National Congress are quite satisfactory⁸. Moreover, Article 51 of the Constitution of India provides as a directive principle of state policy that the state shall endeavour (a) to promote international peace and security, (b) to maintain just and honourable relations between nations, (c) to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations and

7. Article 99 of the U. N. Charter.

8. Article 1 of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress lays down as its object the establishment of "World Peace and Fellowship."

(d) to encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration. But what is desirable is that such provisions should be incorporated in the constitutions of all countries.

Sixthly, although the principle of veto or the unanimity of the big five is an improvement over the unanimity of all the members, it prevents the U.N.O. from functioning as the effective instrument of world peace. That is why there is a proposal to assign the responsibility for the maintenance of world peace to the General Assembly in case the Security Council is prevented from taking action in any matter due to the use of veto power by any of the big five members. So long as the principle of equality of member states is not conceded, the U.N.O. cannot accomplish much. It may, therefore, be suggested that the important decisions of the U.N.O. should not be arrived at by the unanimity of the big five but by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting.

Seventhly, an international government without an international police force and army is worse than useless.

Eighthly, the five enemies of world peace, viz., nationalism, imperialism, militarism, racialism and social injustice should be abolished from the world to pave the way for a world government in the real sense of the term.

Finally, the U.N.O. is only a mechanism. No mechanism can work satisfactorily unless the men who work it are in right earnest. Therefore, the ultimate solution lies in improving human nature which is the spring of all human action and which is responsible for most of the ills of our present-day world.

In the words of Sir Alexander Cadogan, a former British representative on the Security Council:

"A hundred per cent reliance, if that were possible, on the efficiency of the United Nations, a certainty that the purposes and principles of its charter would be served and observed, would almost usher in the millennium. We should certainly be living in a very different world. But there is no such certainty, there can be no such reliance."

But there is no cause for despair because the U.N.O. is a real attempt at establishing a world parliament of man. In fact, it constitutes a mighty experiment in world government whose novelty does not lie in the fact that it outlaws war. That task was accomplished by the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1923 which permitted the waging of war in self-defence.

But "the important innovation in the present United Nations structure is the collective attempt to create a political, economic and military machine powerful enough to make it unnecessary for any country to be in a position in which it has to wage war in self-defence."

In the opinion of Dolliver, "The United Nations Organisation is potentially and actually much stronger than the League of Nations."⁹

9. Louis Dolliver: *The United Nations*, p. 12.

10. *Ibid.*

ON THE CENSUS OF PAKISTAN

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

In the Census of 1941 the Muhammadans, especially of Bengal, inflated their numbers under the inspiration of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haque. His speeches were almost direct appeals for inflation. A protest meeting at the Town Hall was held under the presidency of Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, former Law Member of the Viceroy's Council; and Mr. Haque had virtually to apologise by writing a personal letter to Sir N. N. Sircar. While the Hindus, who boycotted the Census of 1931 under the Congress guidance, were asked to have themselves counted, they were also asked not to inflate their numbers. The All-Bengal Census Board under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee issued daily appeals in the press not to inflate but to have themselves correctly enumerated; the Muhammadans acted otherwise.

That the Census of 1941 was an inflated one is the opinion of competent observers and competent authorities. Mr. M. W. M. Yeats in the *Administration Report* on the Census of 1941, says at p. 21 :

"In one major City, Lahore, communal passions were violent enough to destroy the value of the enumeration record . . . It was not the enumerators who wrecked the Lahore Census. It was the people themselves. Any census reposes on the householders' truthfulness and in a *pardah* country this is all the more so."

In another place, writing about the mother-tongue and subsidiary language, he says :

"Muslims were told to return their mother-tongue as Urdu and many cases were brought to my notice where men who manifestly knew nothing of that language but were Muslims by faith persisted in returning it as their mother-tongue admitting that they had been 'told' to do so. If this is how leaders imagine they can misuse a census then there is not much hope for India."

In another place he observes that

"Nothing will make me believe that the number of persons actually literate in Urdu is anything like so great as the number who returned it. The only effect of such misguided zeal is to destroy the very facts it is sought to obtain."

We need not multiply quotations. Mr. R. A. Gopalaswami, the Registrar-General of India for 1951 in *Census of India—Paper No. 1* of 1953, notes :

"In the 1941 Census, as is generally known, there was competition between communities in parts of Bengal and the Punjab, with the result that numbers were inflated." (p. 1).

Yet on the basis of the 1941 Census which was accepted as correct by our political leaders of the Congress and of the Muslim League, the partition of Bengal and of the Punjab took place.

The Pakistan Government now admits in their *Census Pamphlet No. 2*, that there has been an inflation of the number of Muslims. Let us give the figures for East Bengal.

Year	(The figures are in 000's)		
	Muslims	Hindus	Others
1931	2,48,97	1,07,12	4,30
1941	2,95,77	1,19,18	7,82
1951	3,22,27	92,39	4,66

The Pakistan authorities say at page 31 of their *Census Report, 1951* :

"Assuming that the rate of increase in the Muslim population has been rising fairly regularly it would appear that in 1941 the total strength of the Muslim element was between 270 and 280 lakhs."

In another place they say : (See p. 33)

"The Muslim increase include 7 lakhs of persons who reported themselves in the 1951 Census as Muhajirs, but the total immigrant element would appear to be between 15 and 20 lakhs."

In Statement H, they have given the adjusted communal comparison as follows :

Adjusted—	Adjusted communal comparison (in lakhs)			
	Total	Muslims	Hindus	Others
1941	336	270	109	7
1951	421	322	94	5
Variations	+35	+52	-15	-2

The percentage of Muslims in 1941 was 72.3.

The total population of East Bengal (as now constituted, i.e., including a portion of Sylhet) was in 1941 4,22,77,000 and in 1951 4,19,32,329; including 1,26,000 reporting their nationality as Indian. Thus there has been a net decrease of -0.8 per cent of the recorded population.

If we deduct the 20 lakh Muslim immigrants from the total recorded population, the net decrease would be -5 per cent. In their adjusted figures for 1941, they have reduced the population from 423 lakhs to 386 lakhs, i.e., by 37 lakhs; and distributed this among the Muslims and the Hindus by 26 lakhs and 10 lakhs respectively. The Muslim inflation is thus 26 lakhs.

According to their own admission, the Muslims in East Bengal inflated their number in 1941 by some 10 per cent.

In the case of the Pakistan Punjab they admit inflation of Muslims. From Diagram P given at p. 37, the amount of inflation of the Muslims is of the order of 10 lakhs. The number of Muslims in the Punjab in 1951 is 183,93 thousands; of these 48,82 thousands are said to be Muhajirs. The natural population in 1951, including the inter-censal normal increase, is thus 135,11 thousands. Thus the inflation is of the order of some 7 or 8 per cent.

We shall now try to give some broad statistical details of Pakistan's population.

	Area	Population
Pakistan (entire)	3,65,907 sq. miles	7,56,87,000
East Bengal	54,501 "	4,21,19,000

East Bengal as per cent of Pakistan		14.9 %	55.6 %	Pakistan		Percentage of Muslims	85.9
Religious Composition (as percentages)		Muslims	Caste Hindus	Scheduled Hindus	Christians	Others	
Pakistan	85.9	5.7	7.2	0.7	0.5		
East "	76.8	10	12	0.3	0.9		
West "	97.1	0.5	1.1	1.3	..		

Density of Population (per sq. mile)		Pakistan	East Bengal	Punjab
		206.9	772.8	298.7
				(next best in density to East Bengal)

West Pakistan		107.8
Percentage of Literacy		Pakistan
		13.8
		West Pakistan
		9.7
		East Bengal
		16.9

East Bengal's percentage is exceeded in federal Karachi alone, where it is 31.3 per cent.

Population details of East Bengal		3,22,26,639
Muslims		
Caste Hindus	41,87,353	
Scheduled Hindus	50,52,250	
All Hindus		92,39,603
Buddhists		3,18,951
Christians		1,06,507
Parsis		115
Tribal		30,278
Others		10,236
Total population		4,19,32,329

Area in sq. miles		Population (in 000's)					
		Total	Muslims	Caste Hindus	Scheduled Caste Hindus	Christians	Others
3,65,907	Pakistan	7,56,87	6,49,59	43,49	54,21	5,41	3,66
52,900	Baluchistan Districts	6,02	5,94	3	1	4	—
81,239	Baluchistan States	5,52	5,43	9	—	—	—
54,501	East Bengal	4,19,32	3,22,27	41,87	50,52	1,07	3,59
812	Federal Capital Area, Karachi	11,23	10,78	5	13	21	6
13,815	N.-W.F.P.	32,23	32,17	—	2	4	—
27,242	Tribal Area	26,42	26,41	1	—	—	—
62,987	Punjab	1,83,15	1,83,93	2	19	4,01	—
15,918	Bahawalpur	18,22	18,08	1	11	2	—
50,443	Sind	46,06	41,49	1,34	3,20	2	1
6,050	Khairpur	3,19	3,09	7	3	—	—

The number of Sikhs, if any in the Punjab, is less than 35 persons, and in Sind less than 12 persons. Thus one may say there are no Sikhs in Pakistan.

The number of Muhajirs, i.e., Muslims who have migrated to Pakistan and of Literates are as follows :

	Muhajirs (in 000's)	Literates (in 000's)	Literates as per cent of total population
Pakistan	71,50	1,03,74	13.8
East Bengal	7,01	71,08	16.9
Punjab	48,82	19,28	10.2
Bahawalpur	3,71	1,10	6.0
N.-W.F.P.	51	2,51	7.8
Tribal Area	—	33	1.3
Sind	5,61	5,02	10.8
Khairpur	11	28	8.8
Baluchistan	29	51	8.2
Baluchistan States	1	12	2.2
Federal Karachi	5,43	3,51	31.3

Percentage of Muslims in Districts of E. Bengal		
1. Dinajpore		64.6
2. Rangpore		79.8
3. Bogra		87.3
4. Rajshahi		80.4
5. Pabna		83.7
6. Kushtia		91.6
7. Jessore		69.7
8. Khulna		54.6
9. Bakerganj		79.5
10. Faridpore		70.7
11. Dacca		78.8
12. Mymensingh		82.9
13. Sylhet		67.7
14. Tipperah		81.3
15. Noakhali		84.2
16. Chittagong		77.3
17. Hill Tracts		6.2

We summarise below the main statistical data :

From these data we may guess the difficulty of Pakistan in equating East Pakistan with West Pakistan. East Pakistan has 56 per cent of the population, 70 per cent of the literates; 90.5 per cent of the Hindus in Pakistan, but only 15 per cent of the area. East Pakistan is densely populated, while West Pakistan is thinly peopled. But 90 per cent of the Muhajirs are in West Pakistan. In this context, it is not difficult to understand that there would be occasional shortages of food in East Pakistan. But it is not a little surprising that West Pakistan, with her large irrigated areas and a large food surplus, has thought it fit to export food rather than send it to East Pakistan in her times of difficulty and has now become highly deficit in food herself !

Kutch	.57	25	65	40
Saurashtra	4.14	290	472	182
Bombay	35.95	3892	4128	236
Ajmer	.69	22	80	53

Total deficit 1494

Net Surplus—1070 thousand tons

2. Central Zone : Areas—Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Mysore, Coorg, Bhopal and Travancore-Cochin.

The Food Position

Surplus States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Surplus
—(In thousand tons)—				
Madhya Bharat	7.95	1054	920	134
Madhya Pradesh	21.25	4042	2450	1582
Bhopal	.84	122	96	26
Coorg	.23	32	26	6

Total surplus 1748

Deficit States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Deficit
—(In thousand tons)—				
Hyderabad	18.65	1307	2144	837
Mysore	9.07	685	1035	350
Travancore-Cochin	9.28	224	1069	745

Total deficit 1932

We are left with a net deficit of about 2 lakh tons. But a closer study of the individual States would reveal that the deficit position is not so pessimistic. Hyderabad has never been supplied with more than one lakh tons of food-grains, the figure for the year 1950 being 91 thousand tons. This view is further confirmed by a *P.T.I.* news, dated March 22, 1951, which gives the views of an official of the Hyderabad State who said that the normal annual deficit of the State was 1 lakh tons of food-grains. We would, therefore, be fully justified in taking the normal outside requirements of Hyderabad at a maximum of 1 lakh tons. The whole of the net deficit is thus wiped off and we are left with a surplus of about 5 lakh tons.

Similar is the case of Travancore-Cochin, which produces as much as 7 to 10 lakh tons of tapioca and has never imported from outside more than 3 lakh tons of food-grains. After making adjustment on the above lines we find that even this zone will have a net surplus of about 9 lakh tons.

3. Eastern Zone : Areas—Assam, Manipur, West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar, Orissa, and Madras.

The Food Position

Surplus States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Surplus
—(In thousand tons)—				
Assam (including tribal area)	9.60	1530	1046	484
Tripura	.64	171	75	96

West Bengal	24.81	3306	2852	454
Bihar	40.22	4757	4623	134
Orissa	14.64	1875	1679	196

Total surplus 1364

Deficit States

Territory	Population in millions	Net production including gram	Requirements	Deficit
—(In thousand tons)—				
Manipur	.58	48	67	19
Madras	57.0	5833	6555	722

Total deficit 741

Net Surplus—619 thousand tons.

At the top of this huge surplus, the production of fish in this zone is as much as 9.5 million maunds and a huge production of subsidiary foods like tapioca, sweet potatoes and potatoes.

4. Northern Zone : This zone is to comprise of Uttar Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh, which have a population of 63.21 and 3.57 million, respectively, with a net production of 8770 and 495 thousand tons, against their normal requirements of 7260 and 640 thousand tons, respectively. This leaves us with a huge surplus of more than 13 lakh tons of food-grains which should be kept as a reserve under the control of Centre to meet any emergency in any part of the country. The demand for the Defence Services and Collieries which is of the order of 2 lakh tons and is the direct responsibility of the Centre can also be met out of the huge surplus of this zone.

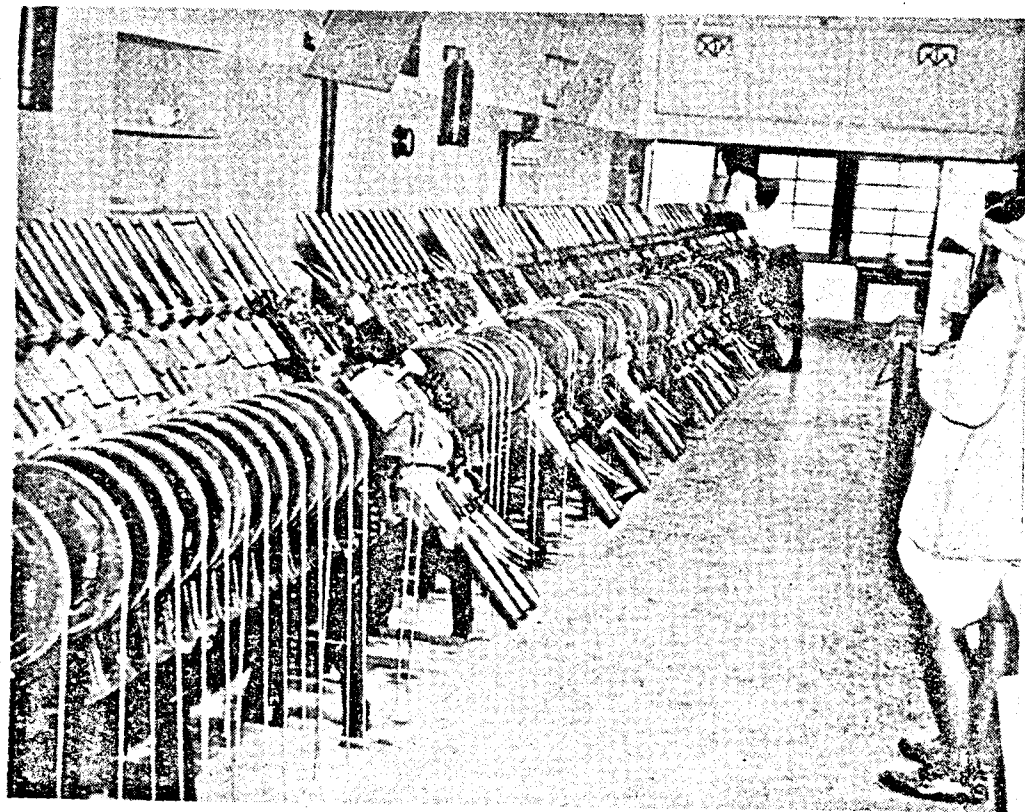
PRE-REQUISITES TO THE PLAN

Before embarking on the implementation of the plan, it would, however, be necessary that proper storage facilities are immediately provided at least at every Tahsil Headquarters and as the areas constituting each zone would be a little large, it would be essential to make arrangements with the Railway Ministry to reduce freight charges for long distances and give top priority to the movement of food-grains. The whole of our administrative machinery will require a complete overhauling and full intra-State as well as intra-Ministerial co-ordination obtained. The last but not the least, every effort will have to be made to win the co-operation of all the parties not represented in the Government by the formation of a Non-party Food Front. Each zone will be placed under the administrative control of a Zonal Commissioner, who will have an advisory committee, represented by all shades of opinions in the area and will apprise the Union Food Minister with the day-to-day developments. He will also be represented at the Food Ministers' Conferences as and when they are held.

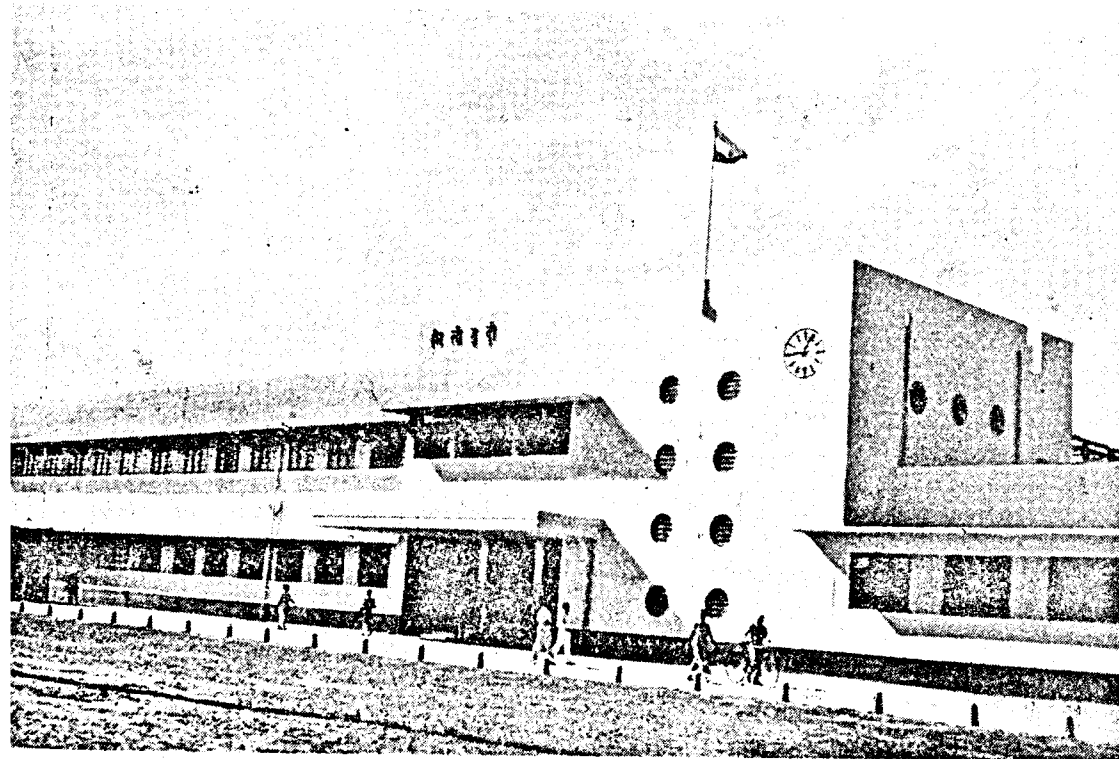
Efforts will be made to change the existing psychology of the people and a regular propaganda machinery set up for the purpose. If possible this may be done under the Non-party Food Front. Food imports would not be stopped immediately, but would be reduced for the time being and totally done away with the two or at the most three years.



Tagore Birthday celebration by Rabichakra at Kalibari Hall, Simla



During the past thirty years, the Indian Railways have made rapid strides in the development of signalling systems. Here is an interior view of the Central Cabin at Ondal



Siliguri Station Building which was built in 1951. It is most modern from the points of view of architecture and amenities

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

By DR. ROMA CHAUDHURI

THE position of women during the Middle Ages, is indeed a very interesting study. The Ancient Age and the Middle Age, roughly called the *Vedic* Age and the *Smriti* Age, present an interesting contrast, specially with regard to the question of women's position, education and progress. Due perhaps to political causes mostly (if not entirely), at the end of the Vedic period, the golden age of women's all-round progress and emancipation, a marked tendency was noticed in society-elders and Law-givers to put a restraint on women's freedom, both physical and mental, and confine them more and more within the safe sanctuary of a home. The inevitable result was that women, deprived of their birth-rights of education and freedom came, at the same time, to be deprived of their inherent social, legal and political rights. The start to this wholly regrettable and unwarrantable process of the subjugation of women was given in the 1st century A.D. by the most celebrated and ancient *Smriti-kara* or Law-giver, Manu. Hence, it would not be very wrong to hold that from the 1st to the 18th century A.D., this downward trend in the cultural life of the country continued unabated, leaving a permanent blot in our national life, when due to Herculean efforts of the great Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the father of modern India, the upward trend in women's progress and emancipation has started afresh, and is still continuing through the ungrudging service of liberal-minded social workers and reformers.

But while it is undoubtedly true that the position of women in medieval India during the *Smriti* Age, resulting from the absolutely panicky and, as such, short-sighted policy of the then heads of society, will ever remain a matter of deepest shame and sorrow for us all, yet it also cannot be denied at the same time that the picture is often overdrawn. For, even during that Dark Age, streaks of light are not wanting in the form of very just and liberal provisions for safeguarding women's fundamental rights to equality with men in all spheres: domestic, social and political. This is noticeable not only during the age of early *Smritis*, but no less in that of later *Smritis*, represented respectively by the famous *Smritas* Manu (1st century A.D.) and Raghunandana (15th century A.D.). Further, from the picture of society as painted in the literature of those days, as well as from the invaluable literary contributions of women during that time, we come to know that even during the Middle Age, women of India were not wholly deprived of education and freedom. The *Smriti* Age has been condemned enough—and rightly so. But it is now time to turn our attention also to this under-current of liberalism, this sense of fair-play and justice which fortunately never forsook us even under the greatest provocation of political exigencies.

Only one or two instances from the early *Smritis*, as well as from Sanskrit literature of medieval India are given here to illustrate the above.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN YAJNAVALKYA-SMRTI

Perhaps, next to Manu-Smriti, the Yajnavalkya-Smriti, composed approximately in the 2nd century A.D., is the most celebrated and ancient one. The views of this *Smriti*, regarding women are very similar to those of the Manu-Smriti. In the manner of the Manu-Smriti, it also asserts that, of the five objects of great veneration, *viz.*, *Ritvik* or one who performs sacrifices, *Upadhyaya* or one who teaches only one part of the Vedas, *Acharya* or one who undertakes initiation and teaching of the Vedas, *Guru* or one who undertakes all the Vedic rites from *garbhadhana* to *upanayana* and then teaches the Veda, father and mother—each succeeding one is to be honoured more than each preceding one, and thus mother is the most honoured of all (Yaj. 35). Like Manu again, he recognises 'Gandharva' marriage as a legal one (V. 51) and enjoins grown-up daughters to choose their own husbands; if there be no one to give them in marriage to suitable bridegrooms (Yaj. 64). Yajnavalkya supports the practice of *Niyoga* also (V. 63-69). He recommends bigamy only under certain special circumstances, *viz.*, only when the present wife is a drunkard, suffering for a long time, cunning, barren, harsh, etc. But if a husband remarries even when the first wife is living, he will have to pay an adequate maintenance for her (Yaj.-Sm. 73). If, however, a man remarries even when an obedient, qualified, sweet-tempered wife with sons is living, he will have to make over a third of his own property to her (Yaj. 76). Of course, exactly after Manu, Yajnavalkya, too, holds that women are never fit for independence, but must always be controlled by fathers, husbands, sons or relatives (Verse 83).

As regards women's right to property, however, Yajnavalkya holds advanced views, in comparison with those held by later law-givers. He enjoins that those wives who have no *stri-dhana* of their own, should be given equal shares with their sons by them. (V. 117). If the sons divide their father's property after his death, they should also give an equal share to their mother (V. 126), and an one-fourth share each to their unmarried sisters (V. 127).

Although Yajnavalkya denies freedom to women, he does not go to the length of vilifying them like Manu. On the contrary, he bows down to them as the greatest symbol of purity—The Moon has given them chastity, the *Gandharvas* auspicious speech, the Fire an all-round purity—hence it is that women are ever-pure (V. 71). Accordingly, those who vilify women, whether, justly or unjustly should be fined (V. 292).

ATRI-SMRITI

This is a well-known Smriti, composed approximately in the 2nd century A.D. In this Smriti, no accounts are found as regards the position of women. But what strikes us here is its repeated emphasis on the inherent and essential purity of women as a class. We find here, first, exactly the same verses as found in Yajnavalkya Smriti (V. 292), emphasising the all-round purity of women (Atri V. 139). Then again in verses 188-198, it is said that being ever pure, women are never polluted even by immoral gratification (V. 188). One of the greatest blemishes of later Hindu society was to ex-communicate as impure even those women who were forcibly abducted. But Atri-Smriti, in a right spirit of justice and fair-play, enjoins that abducted women are never to be discarded as impure, even when men of other castes or foreigners are responsible for this heinous crime, not only that, even when this leads to illegitimate child-birth. (V. 191, 197). In another place also, he eulogises women as ever pure like the flow of water or the grains of dust blown up by the wind (V. 238). Atri-Smriti also salutes the mother as the greatest *guru* (V. 149) :

नास्ति "वेदात् परं सास्त्रं नास्ति मातुः परं गुरुः ।"

VISHNU-SMRITI

This is also a well-known Smriti, composed approximately in the 2nd century A.D. the main interest of this Smriti centres round the fact that amongst all the Smritis, it for the first time refers to 'widow-burning,' though, by no means as a compulsory custom. The verse is as follows :

"A woman should be protected by her father, husband and sons during childhood, youth and old age respectively. If her husband dies, she should either follow him to the funeral pyre, or lead a life of chastity."* (V. 14).

But as regards the proprietary rights of women, the Vishnu-Smriti holds an advanced view. In the 17th chapter, it enjoins as follows :

"If a man dies without a son, his property would pass to the following in order of preference : wife, daughter, father, mother, brother."†

Thus, Atri-Smriti, though not so liberal as to allow the wife a share in her husband's property when her sons are living, is at least just enough to allow the same to her or to her daughter, to the exclusion of other male relatives.

It is also liberal enough to recognize the *Gandharva* form of marriage and like Manu and Yajnavalkya, recommends that after waiting for three years, grown-up girls should choose their own husbands (V. 24.40).

॥ बाल्य-यौवन-वार्धक्येष्वपि पितृभर्तृपुत्राधीनता ॥

मृते भर्तरि ब्रह्मचर्यं तदन्वारोहणं वा ॥

† "अपुत्रघनं पत्न्यभिगामि । तदभावे दुहितृगामि । तदभावे पितृगामि । तदभावे मातृगामि । तदभावे भ्रातृगामि ॥"

In common with other Smritis, it too, recognises three great *gurus* for a man—Mother, Father, and Teacher (31.1).

PARASARA-SMRITI

This celebrated Smriti, composed approximately in the 6th century A.D. contains the only verse, found in the Smritis, enjoining re-marriage for women under certain circumstances :

"If the husband be lost, dead, has embraced asceticism, be impotent, ex-communicated, then, in time of the above five kinds of disasters, women can marry again."*

As well-known, the famous reformer and philanthropist, Pandit Isvara Chandra Vidyasagar legalised widow-marriage on the strength of this verse.

Parasara-Smriti also holds, in common with Atri-Smriti, (188 ff) that as women are ever-pure, even abducted women are not to be ex-communicated and discarded (10.24, 26).

In a rather humorous verse, Atri-Smriti forcibly raises its voice against the senseless discarding of women as goods and chattels. It points out that a man who discards his innocent and virtuous wife will have to be born as woman seven times and repeatedly suffer from widowhood (4-15). In another well-known Smriti, viz., Katyayana, too, the same thing is mentioned, viz., that if an innocent, venerable wife dies after being insulted by her husband, then she will be born as a man thrice, and the husband will be born as a woman (20.13).

It is clear from the above that in the age of early Smritis, even to a late time, women were not entirely deprived of their fundamental birth-rights to education, property and freedom, though their position had much deteriorated from that in the Vedic Age.

POSITION OF WOMEN AS REFLECTED IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Literature, it is rightly said, is the mirror of the soul of society. From that standpoint, position of women, as reflected in the well-known literature of the Middle Ages, is indeed a very interesting study. Just one or two examples mainly from the Sanskrit dramatic literature which abounds in female characters, are enough to illustrate this fact.

In Kalidasa's first drama *Malavikagnimitra* (4th century) there are quite a large number of highly educated and cultured female roles. Here we first meet the great woman scholar and ascetic Pandita Kausiki, greatly honoured by all, including the king, for her deep and wide learning, profound and penetrating power of judgment, as well as her intensely affectionate and unselfish manners. This shows that even in the

॥ नष्टे मृते प्रवर्जिते क्लीबे च पतिते पतौ ।

पञ्चस्वापत्सु नारीनां पतिरण्यो विधीयते ॥

4th century A.D. asceticism and the life of a celibate student, were allowed to women. The heroine of this drama, Malavika, too, is a learned and accomplished young lady; and the Queen Dharini, too, has been delineated as no less perfect.

In Bhavabhuti's *Malati-Madhava* (7th century A.D.), we meet with a female ascetic of great repute, viz., Kamandaki, a Buddhist nun, to whose house flocked together students from different parts of the country for learning. The heroine, Malati, a learned young lady, is found to paint the picture of her beloved with the greatest ease and proficiency. The two ascetic disciples of Kamandaki, viz., Saudamini and Buddharakshita, Malati's friends and companions all represent a very bright picture of women's freedom and progress in those days.

In Banabhatta's *Kadambari* (7th century A.D.), a famous prose work, the three celebrated female characters, viz., Kadambari, Mahasveta and Patralekha, possessed of great learning and wisdom, also show a bright side of society. Mahasveta is described having her body purified by the wearing of a *Brahma-sutra* or holy thread of initiation, and expertly playing on a flute. The holy thread proves that she was entitled to the study of the Vedas as well.

The famous drama *Ratnavali* by Sriharsa (7th century) depicts the heroine Sagarika as painting a life-like picture of the king, after seeing him stealthily only once, and her friend Susangata painting her by the side of the king's picture at a moment's notice. As usual, all the ladies, here too, have been delineated as very qualified and cultured ones.

In another still later drama by Rajasekhara, viz., *Viddha-Sala-Bhanjika* (10th century A.D.), the heroine Mrigankavali writes such beautiful poetry in the difficult Vaidharbhi style and Sikharini metre as to gain the highest praise from the king. She is also depicted as an expert painter painting her own picture on crystal-walls for the king to see.

Another celebrated Prakrit drama *Karpura-manjari* by Rajasekhara also vividly portrays a very bright and encouraging picture of the high standard of educational proficiency attained by some women of those days (10th century A.D.). In this drama, all the ladies have been described as highly learned, most of them being experts in the difficult art of poetry-writing. Thus, even the royal maid-servant Vichakshana is found to compose poems regarding the *Malaya-samirana* or the spring-breeze and recite them before the king, queen and Vidusaka, and is highly praised by the king for her poetic abilities, fitting her name "Vichakshana" or a clever maiden. Her supreme cleverness and ready wit are admirably displayed in her palyful repartees with the Vidusaka before the king and the queen in this scene. Later, Vichakshana herself hands over to the king three poems composed by Karpuramanjari, herself and her elder sister Shulakshana describing the love-lorn state of the heroine Karpura-

manjari and her great grief at her forced separation from her beloved, the king. All the three are rightly complimented by the love-lorn king himself, and even Vidusaka, Vichakshana's constant opponent admits Vichakshana and her sister Sulakshana to be "Mahitala-Sarasvati" and "Tribhuvana-Sarasvati" or the goddess of learning on earth and in the three worlds respectively. In another place, again, when Karpuramanjari meets the king, Kurangika, her companion, reads out to the king a poem composed by Karpuramanjari describing the moon, which also charms the king by its sweetness of language, depth of meaning and variety and originality of ideas. Thus, in the *Karpuramanjari* we find many instances of women attaining that high standard of educational efficiency so as even to be able to compose excellent poems at a moment's notice.

Instances may be multiplied from classical Sanskrit works of medieval India to show that the female characters painted there do indeed stand out as bright examples of the height of literary perfection and moral excellence to which Indian women of those days reached. They were all well-educated, versed in the fine arts, like music, dancing and painting, and experts in the art of writing poetry, and witty conversation. Further, they enjoyed full freedom of thought and movement, were at perfect liberty to choose their own husbands, and did so, as a matter of fact, after secret meetings with their suitors, or in the open courts or *svayamvara-sabha*. Thus, adult-marriage and love-marriage were the only forms of marriage known to this classical Sanskrit literature, especially, dramas. In a word, these numerous women of Sanskrit literature seem to move in a beautiful dream world of their own above the actual social world of every-day life where the law-givers were increasingly depriving women of their fundamental rights of freedom and education and confining them to the narrow limits of their own homes only. But literature cannot entirely be cut off from life but rather reflects the present trend of society. The characters portrayed here are, no doubt, by themselves imaginary, in the sense that they do not stand for any living person. But, still they represent the proto-types of actual men and women as found at the time in society and that alone is the secret of their appeals to the readers. Merely impossible, absolutely fantastic personalities and situations cannot hold the attention for long or rouse the proper sentiments on proper occasions. Hence, the universal permanent appeal of those literary gems of Sanskrit literature is based on the fact that they did represent actualities and possibilities in those days. Thus, there can be no doubt, that even during the Middle Ages, a class of people belonging to the higher strata of society remained unaffected and unperturbed by the unjust Smriti-laws and rulings and continued to educate their girls, as before, give them freedom, in particular, when grown up a free choice of grooms.

In this way, it is no exaggeration to say that in

India, women's birth-right to education and freedom were never entirely jeopardised, never entirely ignored and trampled under foot, even in the face of that great avalanche of sudden fright and helplessness that seemed to sweep away the just and firm foundations of our social life during those ages.

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A REBEL MAGISTRATE OF BIHAR

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY, M.A., B.L.

[THE Wahabi Movement that aimed at the overthrow of the British power from India had one of its two storm-centres in Patna. It was in charge of Maulvi Ahmedullah, a Deputy Collector and Income-tax Assessor of Patna City.

He was, however, exposed in a Criminal case at Umballah and was arrested. He was tried in 1865 for treason, conspiracy and attempt to wage war. He was convicted and all his property at Sadickpur in Patna City was confiscated. His career is unique and is disclosed below. The writer has gone into the authoritative papers for the story.]

Maulvi Ahmedullah of Sadickpur, Patna City, was appointed a Deputy Collector and Income-tax Assessor under Government Orders No. 2577 of 21st September, 1830. Before that he had been appointed by Government Orders No. 301, dated the 6th June, 1853 a member of the Patna Committee of Public Instruction. While he was in Government employment as a member of the Patna Committee of Public Instruction along with a few other relatives he was arrested by the then Commissioner, William Taylor, during the Sepoy Mutiny. William Taylor, the Commissioner of Patna, had secret information and was morally convinced that the small but strong sect of the Wahabis in Patna City had a lot to do with the Sepoy Mutiny. He had put the arrested Wahabi in a bungalow under his personal surveillance and he ruthlessly executed in a public manner a few of the supposed conspirators at the Public Place now known as Bankipore Maidan. Taylor was later on persuaded to release the other Wahabi suspects including Maulvi Ahmedullah. Taylor had to pay dearly for the firm steps he took to stem the tide of the Sepoy Mutiny one of which was his action against the Wahabis. Taylor was removed from the Commissionership and later he resigned.

When Maulvi Ahmedullah was appointed a Deputy Collector in 1860 it was obviously not known that Ahmedullah was already in a big conspiracy of the Wahabis to throw out the British from India. One centre of the operation of the Wahabis was in Mulkah-Sittana and the other centre was in Patna under the operational guidance of Maulvi Ahmedullah, Deputy Collector and Income-tax Assessor.

Sitting in his house at Sadiokpur, Ahmedullah

with a number of aliases guided the operations of the Wahabis in their move against the British, and his field of operations went beyond the limits of India's frontiers. At his house a weekly meeting used to be held usually after evening prayers. The members of the committee were, besides Maulvi Ahmedullah, his brother Maulvi Yahiya Ali, Chief priest and correspondent, Abdul Rahim, relative and assistant to Yahiya Ali, Abdul Gufoor, a confidential servant of Maulvi Ahmedullah, treasurer. There was another very important member of the Committee, Elahi Buksh, who acted as the banker. The house of Ahmedullah was referred to as a *chota godown* in the correspondence. A regular system of code words was used in all Wahabi correspondence and everyone of the conspirators had an alias. The battle was referred to as *Mokardama* (suit or case in court). Gold mohurs were called red rubies. The remittance of money was mentioned as the price of books. The money transactions were very large as Elahi Buksh's books alone shew Rs. 26,000 in drafts in one year sent through him independent of other remittances in gold mohurs, which were sent by a private messenger or *kossid*.

Maulvi Ahmedullah had his secret agents in all the important places of Bengal and Bihar. One Haji Badruddin, a hide-merchant of Dacca, was the most active agent and all the collection from the east used to come through him and was forwarded by him to Patna through one Phagu Lal on whom drafts were drawn. In Calcutta there was one Abdul Jubber of mahalla Mooreganj who used to go out on preaching mission. Maqshud Ali, another agent, was a Muktear in the High Court and had also a house in Patna. Ahmedullah had his agent in important districts like Pabna, Rajshahi, 24-Parganas, Jessore, Faridpur, Murshidabad, Maldah, Rangpur, Monghyr, Tirhut (Muzaffarpur), Bihar, Arrah, Buxar, Banaras, Allahabad, Kanpur and Meerut besides other places. Patna was the storm-centre but the men who fomented the conspiracy acted in great secrecy. Ahmedullah had specially appointed *kossids* or messengers to carry information and money to and from Mulkah-Sittana. Among the *kossids* the more important were Samsuddin of Deobun in Saharanpur district, Abdul Rahman of Kaithal, Nizamuddin of Thanesar, Hidaetullah, a Kashmiri resident of Jammu and others. Besides the members of the Central Committee already mentioned

In Patna there was one Elahi Baksh, a Muktear, who took an active part in Wahabi movement. Maulvi Umair and Abdul Rahim, the two merchants, were employed to dispose of the hides and skins given as *sakat* in Jihad war fund. Sayed Ali, a partner of Monohor Das, a banker, was useful in remitting money to Sittana. There was another Elahi Buksh who later on was convicted and sentenced to transportation for being in the conspiracy. He turned to be an important witness against Maulavi Ahmedullah. One Nandlal, a resident of Fathua and *thikadar* of villages, was a clever forger and was employed wherever his talents were required.

There appears to have been a general move at the instance of Ahmedullah throughout the districts of Bengal (which comprised Bihar, Orissa and Assam) for the realisation of *zakat*, a contribution for the war fund. Through the agency on the political side as well as through the preachers the Muslims were constantly reminded that they have to raise a *jihad*, a holy war of Muslims, against the *kafirs* or infidels. In their correspondence Christian and British troops were called the heirs of Rookallah (Jesus Christ) deceased. One of the leading principles of Wahabism was the expectation of an Imam (guide or prophet) who will lead all true believers to victory over infidels. These two tenets make the Wahabis fanatics and men and money were constantly and ruthlessly raised in expectation of the Imam and the duty of *jihad*. Maulvi Ahmedullah was the pivot of these activities and fully utilised his opportunity as a Government servant to further the Wahabi conspiracy. Great care was taken by Ahmedullah to prevent the possibility of suspicion as to the share he had in Elahi Buksh's business. When he became a Deputy Collector and Income-tax Assessor he transferred his share to the name of the office treasurer, Abdul Gafoor. All letters from Bengal appear to have been received through a book-seller in Patna and all letters received from friends on the frontiers were received through Elahi Buksh. On the arrest of Elahi Buksh at Umballah (a story which will be disclosed) the last meeting of the committee was called by Ahmedullah at his Sadickpur house and it was decided to destroy the whole of the correspondence and they were all destroyed. But the papers that had been seized in connection with the trial of some of the Wahabis at Umballah give out a lot of secrets of the Wahabi movement guided by Maulvi Ahmedullah.

For a proper appreciation of the Wahabi movement, it is necessary to indicate briefly what Wahabism is. The sect of Wahabis takes its name from Abdul Wahab, a seceder from the orthodox Mohamedan faith, who acknowledged Mohammad as a great and good man but denied his divine character. Abdul Wahab was born at Elhautia, a village five or six days' journey, south of Deraiyeah, the capital of the province of Nejd. He preached that Mohammad the prophet was a mortal and he preached for all the nations of the

world and not for one only—the Arabs. He reduced Mahomedanism to pure Deism and made several prohibitions concerning social and religious habits, such as the use of opium, wine, tobacco and the use of the rosaries for prayers and would not allow the deification of any saints or graves of the saints. This reformed creed made great progress among the nomadic Arabs or Beduins. The creed received great encouragement under Saud, the grandson of Mohammad Ibu Saud who conquered Mecca. It is not necessary to follow the growth of Wahabism and how it affected Turkey and Egypt at one time. The death of Saud was the forerunner of the ruin of the Wahabis. But even when the power of the Wahabis was broken Wahabism was not exterminated. Wahibism had a great follower in Syud Ahmed who was a native of Rai Barielly and began his life as Sowar under Amir Khan Pindarry. Ahmed received his religious training under one Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi. Syud Ahmed quickly attracted a large number of followers and became a religious teacher. His influence in Bengal was great and the doctrines that he preached were almost identical with those of the Arabian Wahabis. Ahmed came to Patna and made many converts and appointed his agents. The Chief agent appointed in Patna was Shah Mohammad Hussain in whose house he stayed. Mohammad Hussain had been given a sanad empowering him to appoint his successors. This sanad was later traced to be in possession of Yahiya Ali who was convicted in the Umballah case and was the brother of Maulvi Ahmedullah. Syud Ahmed also visited Calcutta, Bombay, Barielly and after he had acquired a large number of followers he travelled in 1824 through Kandahar and Kabul preaching among the Yusufjahi tribes on the Peshawar borders. He also inflamed Barakazi sardars and proclaimed religious war against the Sikhs whose power in Punjab at this time had been very great. Their fight with the Sikhs brought only temporary and occasional success. Ahmed was defeated and fled into Surat. He afterwards acquired great influence among the Pathans through Futtah Khan of Panchadar. A general insurrection later occurred when the Pathans rebelled against him and Syud Ahmed was forced to fly to Hazara where he was joined by the remnants of his followers. In 1830, they were again defeated by the Sikhs under Sher Singh and Syud Ahmed was slain. Those of his followers who had escaped and found their way to Sittana, a village belonging to Syud Akbar Shah who had been a friend of Syud Ahmed. After Syud Ahmed's death some of his followers came back to Bengal and gave out that he had disappeared by a miracle but is still alive and would come forward as the Imam at some future time. This rumour reached Patna and some of the Patna Wahabis, namely, Maulvi Billait Ali and Inait Ali, started for tracing out Syud Ahmed who was considered by that time to be the

Imam and prophet. Fictitious stories of miracle were spread and the two Patna pilgrims returned preaching Jihad through the chief cities and towns of Upper India. They had been once arrested on the frontier for having attempted to create a disturbance among the Khagan tribes. They were sent back under custody to their homes and in Patna they were under security and the order was that they should not leave Patna. But some time after Enayet Ali was arrested in Rajshahi and in 1850 he was turned out of the district and sent back to Patna. Enayet Ali was again bound down by the Magistrate of Patna and his surety was Maulvi Awleeah Ali, a Wahabi of Sadikpur, father of Iradut Hussain. From the proceedings of the Punjab Board of Administration, dated 12th May, 1851, both Enayet and Willayat Ali were found to be on the frontier fomenting trouble. In 1852 the British Government were convinced that there was an attempt on the part of the Wahabi fanatics to tamper with the 4th Regiment of Native Infantry at Rawalpindi. This conspiracy had originated in Patna and many of the Sadikpur Muslims were found at Sittana in Swat. By this time men with arms and money from Patna were constantly going in small batches to the frontier for joining the Jihad.

In early 1852 on the representation of the Punjab Government the Magistrate of Patna searched the house of Hossein Ali Khan. Somehow the news that there would be a search had reached his ears and all the correspondence in the house were destroyed. The Magistrate of Patna in his letter to Government mentioned that Jihad was being preached from the house of Billait Ali and that the Wahabis were in league with the police. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, recorded a minute on the 28th August, 1852 to the effect that treasonable correspondence was being carried on between Patna and the frontier was known to Government and that the Patna conspirators should be closely watched. But it appears that the watch was extremely weak probably due to the fact that the police was in league with the local Wahabis in Patna.

There was a prosecution in 1853 at Rawalpindi where one Mohammad Wully was convicted for trying to tamper with the 4th Native Infantry Regiment of Rawalpindi. In this case also the names of Ahmedullah and other residents of Patna were mentioned as forwarding supplies to the fanatics in the frontiers. On the 7th September, 1862 the fanatics attacked the camp of the Guide Corps at Iopce but were repulsed. It has been mentioned:

"This hostile band of Hindustani and Bengalee fanatics which has cost the British Government so much trouble, treasure, and blood appears from all the information on record to have had its root in Patna where these frontier disturbances had been fomented and supplies of men and money regularly transmitted to the Hills by the family of the Maulvis in Sadikpur whose

influence and agencies had extended over the greater part of Lower Bengal, Behar, North-Western Provinces and the Punjab."

During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 the Wahabis were again in the limelight in Patna but the firm action of Commissioner Taylor nipped the trouble in the bud. Moreover, the Wahabis of Patna had already been invited to go to the hills and make an attack on the British frontier and for this reason they remained more underground in Sepoy Mutiny days.

After the Mutiny the Wahabis in Patna redoubled their activities and thousands of villagers from different parts of Bengal started coming to Sadikpur. From there they were despatched in small batches to Mulkah-Sittana hills through Umballa where they were led to believe that Imam Syud Ahmed would appear and lead them to victory. In 1863 four Bengali Muslims were arrested in Karnal on their way to Umballa. One Guzan Khan, an Esufzye in Military service, was approached by four Bengali Muslims to join them as there was going to be a fight. Guzan Khan arrested them but the Magistrate released the men. Two months later a disturbance broke out on the frontier as suggested by the Bengalis. On this Guzan Khan ascertained through his son who was sent to Mulkah-Sittana that the fanatics on the hills were assisted with men and arms by Mohammad Jaffir of Thaneswar. On this information Mohammad Jaffir's house was searched and a lot of correspondence were discovered. Jaffir had absconded but was later arrested at Aligarh in company of some Wahabis of Patna. These men gave out that they were the servants of Elahi Buksh and a telegram was sent to the Patna Magistrate to arrest Elahi Buksh. Among the correspondence seized in Jaffir's house a letter was found advising Mohammad Shufee that the rosaries composed of large and small red beads numbering 300 and crystal beads numbering 600 be despatched from Patna. At the same time one Hossain of Thaneswar was arrested coming in an *ekka* towards Umballa and had in his possession two jackets in which gold mohurs were sewn tallying in number with the number of beads noted in the letter found in Jaffir's house. All this led to a regular enquiry and Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, Magistrate of Patna, was asked to pursue the matter.

Ravenshaw's final report after the conviction of Ahmedullah is an important document and is dated 9th May, 1865. He followed up clues ascertained from the Umballa Trial which had resulted in the conviction and transportation for life of Mohammad Shufi and ten others among whom were Yahya Ali, his brother, Abdul Rahim, his nephew, Elahi Buksh, banker and Abdul Gufoor, a confidential servant and treasurer. Mr. Ravenshaw searched Phagu Lal's house and found several entries of drafts in his books from Dacca and other places. Elahi Buksh who had been convicted in the Umballa case was brought to

Patna and a lengthy statement was obtained from him. The statement of Elahi Buksh was a complete vindication of the theory that the pivot of the movement was Maulvi Ahmedullah. Elahi Buksh was brought to Patna from Umballa jail and was kept concealed in the bungalow in the compound of Mr. Ravenshaw. Ahmedullah of course had been arrested immediately on the starting of the enquiry.

Ravenshaw had worked hard for months. Ahmedullah was put in the dock for trial on various charges of treason and was convicted by the Judge and the sentence of death was passed on him. The Committing Magistrate was Mr. Monro who had relieved Ravenshaw as the Magistrate of Patna and the Judge was Mr. Ainslie. Ahmedullah was defended by W. Makenzie.

The case came up to the High Court for confirmation and the sentence of death passed by the Judge was commuted to transportation for life.

The judgement of the High Court was delivered on April 13, 1865 by Justices C. B. Trevor and G. Loch.

There were four charges against Ahmedullah, namely, that he had attempted to wage war against the Queen, that he had abetted waging war against the Queen, that he had collected and abetted collection of men with the intention of waging war against the Queen. The Sessions Judge had found him guilty. After discussing the evidence at some length the learned High Court Judges came to the conclusion:

"We think that the fact of the existence of a conspiracy in Patna for waging war against the British is proved; that in furtherance of that conspiracy a Jihad against the Government was preached and that men and money were forwarded across the frontier. We have evidence that some of the men thus sent joined the rank of the combatants at Sittana and fought against the British Government. We have evidence also that money in gold mohurs and hoondees for the support of these rebels was remitted to Mohammad Jaffir at Thaneswar and Mohammad Shufi at Umballa. We find that the prisoner was a constant attendant at the preaching in the house of Abdul Rahim at Patna proclaiming a Jihad. We find that he was cognizant of and consenting to the conspiracy and to the acts done in furtherance thereof and though it may not be possible to point to any one act in particular as proved to have been done by him directly in furtherance of the objects of that conspiracy yet the conspiracy being proved and his connection with it, the acts of each of his co-conspirators done in pursuance of the common object are his acts and therefore to be held as evidence against him. We think that the evidence before us is sufficient to support the conviction of the prisoner under section 121 of the Penal Code upon the second count of the charge. But as we do not find from that evidence that the prisoner took a more active part in this conspiracy than others who have been convicted and sentenced, we decline to confirm the sentence of death passed by the Sessions Judge but direct that the prisoner

Ahmedullah be transported for life and forfeit all his property to government."

So ended the famous trial and the writer is not aware of any other trial in which a Magistrate in India had been found guilty and convicted for treason. Mr. Ravenshaw pursued the case with meticulous care. Ravenshaw appeared before the Magistrate and the Judge. Although in the High Court he could not argue the case himself he entrusted it to another Advocate and instructed him. Ravenshaw's final report indicated that although the backbone of the Wahabi movement was broken by the conviction of Ahmedullah there were other Maulvis who were preaching treason at various places and going underground frequently. He also referred to the activities of the Ferizie sect in Lower Bengal whose doctrines were much allied to the Wahabi creed.

It may be mentioned here that the properties of Ahmedullah at mahalla Sadikpur in Patna City were confiscated and made over to the Patna Municipality.

The story of Ahmedullah discloses certain peculiar features. It is difficult to comprehend how a man, who had been suspected as a rebel and was sent away under surveillance from the Punjab, who had been arrested in Patna during the Sepoy Mutiny as a suspect, could have been appointed a Deputy Collector and Incometax Assessor. It is also clear that the police efficiency was questionable because in the very heart of Patna City meetings were held, hundreds of Bengali Muslims used to come to the Sadikpur house of Ahmedullah and very little was known on the surface till Ahmedullah's trial occurred. One is almost led to believe that the police were in tacit league with the Wahabis. It is difficult to appreciate how with all the lack of transport and communication facilities such a great and ramified conspiracy could be fostered. All this will show that there was a fanatic zeal almost verging on religious insanity which inspired the Wahabis. Successive repulses sat lightly on them and there was no decline in contribution in the shape of men and money for an end which was being kept up by the fiction that a man who had died would appear as the Imam and wage a successful war against the infidels. The hold of the Wahabis was indeed very firm on the Moslems of Bihar and Bengal as shown by the fact that lacs of rupees were sent to Mulk-Sittana every year from Patna and this continued for several years. Wahabism was a dynamic creed and the non-Wahabis also contributed liberally to their fund.

It is probably not known to many that the present Patna City Municipality office is situated on the land on which his house stood, the house that served as the place for the meeting and the clearing ground of men and money for the Wahabi cause.

By ALFRED S. SCHENKMAN,

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"If the East had been industrialized and not the West," said a speaker at the Universities of the Netherlands 1952 Summer Session, "then this session, instead of being held at Leiden in Holland, would have been held at Benares or Jakarta."* The quip was made in answer to a question, by Dr. Tjan Tjoe Som, new Professor of Chinese Philosophy at the University of Indonesia. He was one of almost two dozen professors and experts who spoke on such subjects as the meeting of East and West, the Population Problem, Social Movements in East and West, and the Development of Understanding between these two great areas, etc. The lecturers came from Indonesia, from India, and of course from Holland.

But this Summer Session was not for lecturers only. Its success—and this success was considerable—was in large measure due to the complete participation of the members of the Session. These members came from 16 countries, from Europe, from Asia (India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Japan, Iraq), from Africa, and from the U.S.A. and Canada.

The session was not "meant to be a training course from which the students return home with ready-made solutions." It was rather meant to function as "a meeting place where persons from various parts of the world could exchange information, opinions and experiences." The organizers of the course tried to find a way best to bring about this exchange of opinions. They thought that such exchange (in the words of the Vice-Chairman, Dr. G. W. Locher) should "not be limited to incidental personal talks but should form one of the most essential parts of the program." Therefore they "worked out a system of discussion groups as functional elements of the session." It is the place and manner of working of these discussion groups that we shall describe here.

Now, the writer presents this report as an "insider," for he was a Discussion Advisor, one of three officially appointed. But he was also in a very real sense an "outsider." For he was an American citizen working in a Dutch University. He saw things therefore with two eyes, one being that of an organizer, the other an observer's eye. This report, the product of such dichotomous vision, combines in itself both the inside and outside points of view. From the inside, the reporter writes as a participant in the making of important decisions and as one, therefore, who went through the ups and downs that go with the making (and the not-making) of particular decisions. From the outside, he reports as one who saw things from a different background and with therefore a different point of view. This "two-in-one"

outlook meant that he could be at the same time planner, critic, and proselytizer.

Let us turn from the reporter to the local scene. Universities just like any other institutions have their own histories and traditions; national educational systems likewise have roots that go far back. The Dutch universities, which have long and distinguished histories, show some of the bad points as well as the good points of adherence to tradition. As in most other European universities the lecture method has assumed the status of a *system*. And as in most cases of set and crystallized systems, the adherence to tradition is so much demanded that there can be little real examination either of the tradition or of the merits of the system.

Lack of financial resources, of course, is in all countries a handicap to education. But financial starvation is too often used as a cloak and shield to excuse lack of imagination and to excuse the unwillingness to tamper with tradition. There is a misconception that American universities can "do so much" because they have money; this arises from the publicity given to "new movements." Yet American professors are basically just as conservative as professors anywhere else; new methods though conclusively proved better than old find it just as hard to secure acceptance in the U.S.A. as in educationally conservative Holland or Britain or India.† Professors in every country are just about equally committed to their status roles and to the pseudo-security of the teaching method which makes them authority figures.

Universities, when they do advance in educational method, do so more because of the willingness of their professors (or of some of them) to examine the relevance of old traditions and of traditional methods than because of any supply of money. In the experiment to be reported on, for instance, there was a reasonable amount of financial starvation. Certainly this Dutch Summer Session was not backed by thousands of dollars or of guilders. But the Committee which decided the policy of this course was made up of members forward-looking and venture-some; the persons in charge of the day-to-day working of the course were willing and anxious to try new things. That is why its history teaches us much in the details. That it could develop so successfully in the brief space of two years teaches us how much a small group of persons can accomplish when its members are open to new ideas and suggestions.

The 1952 topic of the course was the same as that of the previous year. The writer was on the staff

† It can profitably be restated here that the lecture system has almost the same stranglehold in America that it has in most parts of Europe or Asia.

also in 1951, so that both he and the topic (*Eastern and Western World*) had already been tried. In both years the assignment of this *fonctionnaire* was to organize "workshops" (small discussion groups) but the 1952 experiment was the more successful because there was already the experience of the previous year to learn from.

After the 1951 session the writer prepared a report for the Chairman of the Course in which some nine points were made. These were summarized as follows:

"(1) Use every device possible to develop in the student members (from the start) a feeling of belongingness, of belonging to a group; to this end everyone must know everyone as soon as possible. (2) One individual should be given clear responsibility for seeing to the successful organization of the discussion periods, and (3) discussion policies should be decided on the basis of a well-formulated philosophy of education for the course. (4) Assuming the approval of a "Workshop" plan, then the real leaders of the small groups should not be appointed but should be elected "by their peers"—though there can be some manipulation of the chance method of assigning places in the workshops. (5) There was too much planned this year. Next year let the students plan a goodly number of their own evenings and cut down too on the number of lectures. (6) It would be educationally (and financially also) desirable to have a longer summer session—either one term of four or five weeks, or two terms of three weeks each. (7) To have a larger student enrollment it is necessary to use advertizing and more than one kind. (8) Travel scholarships (as from England or France to Holland) should be offered; this is in itself good advertizing for very little outlay of money. (9) There should be some speakers from the East."

It is relevant to give this summary here because most of the points were acted on, as we shall see in detail further on. To quote again from the report, from the section preceding the summary (above): "I make my suggestions boldly and without adulteration—also without apology—because it is only thus that the contrasts can be brought out; and contrast is a very effective way of increasing receptivity—as well as of increasing retrenchment!" Whatever the reason, there was great receptivity to new ideas on the part of the 1952 Committee.

To give additional background, we quote one further passage from the Report to the 1951 Chairman:

"I make the recommendation that the philosophy of education for the entire course be re-examined. While I accept as inevitable the dismissal of my formulation (that education is best which educates least) as too Utopian (!), I suggest a compromise between this point of view and the extreme example of the conservative (or kindergarten) philosophy: 'In the afternoons someone must summarize each speech of the morning and then ask if there are any questions.' Perhaps a better way of stating the antithesis is

to say that there must be some compromise between the idea that all discussions in an afternoon must be directed at an expert (or experts) on "Industrialization of India," "Nationalism in the West," or what-not, and the opposing extreme that the more aimless the discussion the better.

"My own feeling would be something like this. There must be some modification of the extreme academic position that it is only 'facts' and 'learning' that count. We must get away from the idea that there are experts and non-experts; in a course on 'Eastern and Western World' none of us is expert. And yet I need but cite the self-demonstrated pseudo-expertness of various 'students' from India, England, Egypt, Canada, America (if you wish to place me here), etc., to show that psychologically we all have need of being experts . . .

"Specific recommendations: It is impossible, with the limited time available and with the number of subjects covered in the lectures, to expect the students to read in order to have background on which to base sensible discussion. It is impossible to have satisfactory large meetings for asking questions of the duly constituted expert of the day. It is impossible on financial grounds to have officially appointed experts in the several small groups that are contemplated here. The solution: Have as discussion topics subjects on which everyone already has some ideas, i.e., (in many cases) in which people already feel themselves to be expert.

"In this connection I suggest here centering at least several of the discussions around answers written by the students themselves to certain questions given them at the very beginning of the course (at a definitely scheduled time). Certain questions of the questionnaire we used this year might well serve as starting points for four or five meetings. . . . Different methods could be worked out (or would be worked out by the groups themselves) for successful discussion . . .

"Assuming always the existence of small discussion groups and the absence of officially appointed leaders, there comes up the question of leadership. My own solution would be to rely on the leaders 'arising' in each group; they will come from the soil. This does not mean that in our "purely by chance" distribution of students into the different groups there cannot be a certain selection. The person charged with organizing the workshops should in some way, at registration time, have occasion to meet all the students and to form preliminary impressions.

"Completeness of reporting requires that I state here that I was not entirely happy with two of the 'leaders' who this year came to the fore in two different groups. That they were selected by the groups, however, cannot be questioned; and personality conflicts (or preferences) are inevitable consequences of democratic organization. One method of minimizing the danger of 'wrong' leaders would be to ask each group on the first two or three days to elect different temporary chairmen before making the final selection.

"In any case some of the difficulty this year was due to the schizophrenia already referred to, to the fact that the role of the small groups was never really adequately explained, etc. We did say that the groups would have the right to decide themselves what to do. But this 'glittering generality' became meaningless because in the

* *Eastern and Western World*.

absence of concrete examples all the groups fell back on the traditional and simply decided to 'discuss the lectures.'

"Suggestion: The groups might spend the first week say in discussing the written answers as noted above. Then in the remaining weeks they might each concentrate on one topic (or problem) to be selected by themselves, from among the lecture 'subjects' or elsewhere. By definition, the power to determine one's own destiny means just that. It would, I think, be a good idea for the workshop organizer to write out and to give in advance to every member of the course a memorandum expressing the Administration's ideas on the possibilities of the small groups."

With this as background, we turn now to the 1952 plans and organization.

There was a committee charged with the making of policy and with the selection of lecturers, staff, etc. On this committee there were representatives of the different Dutch universities. The Chairman was the Rector Magnificus of the Leiden University, Professor J. H. Boeke. The person responsible for the day-to-day operations of the committee was Dr. Locher, the excellent Vice-Chairman. We had discussions before the session began about the philosophy of education that would guide us and there was almost complete agreement in advance, and during the session, about this philosophy. This was in contradistinction to what we have already termed the schizophrenia in the 1951 session—where different persons followed different guiding stars. The agreement in advance on philosophical and methodological considerations accounted, as much as anything else, for the success of the course.

It was agreed before the session opened that there would be discussion groups and Discussion Advisors. The points made in the quoted paragraphs (above) about the methods of selecting discussion leaders were adhered to. There were six groups, of 16 or 17 members each. Each of the three Discussion Advisors was "responsible" for two groups (though each kept, to a greater or lesser degree, in the background).

At registration time all of the participants in the course were interviewed for "potential leadership ability." The division of the entire membership (of 100 +) into the six groups was made in part haphazardly, with an attempt to have where possible equal numerical representation of different countries in each group. The "potential leaders" were divided up, and six persons were chosen by the Discussion Advisor to be temporary Chairman for the first day. It was made clear that each group would have to select a different chairman for the second afternoon and that the final organization of the group would be decided only on the third day.

In general, the lectures were held in the mornings—sometimes one, sometimes two. The small groups met usually for one hour or one hour and 15 minutes in the early afternoon. The discussion was usually on the morning speech or speeches. And the

quality of the discussion depended on factors such as the personality of the Chairman for the day, the specificity or haziness of the topic, the need for factual information as opposed to mere opinion, etc. (The discussion of the place of women in the East, for example, was more solidly grounded than the talk about "Political Relations between East and West"). After the discussion in the groups there was customarily a meeting of the entire membership, for an hour or so, and questions were asked of the morning speaker or speakers. This question period was judged by the students to be in general less successful than the small group meetings.

Each group decided on its own type of organization. Two of the workshops chose a rotating chairmanship; one chose a Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen; the most popular form of organization was two joint chairmen—one from the East and the other from the West. It should be remarked that the original selection of potential leaders by the staff more often than not proved to be poor. No potential leader can be a leader in this type of discussion group if he talks too much! And the very qualities which impressed the Discussion Advisors at first sight in several cases inhibited group members from talking!

On the first day after Saturday and Sunday registration, there was the giving of the questionnaire. About one hour was given to answering the questions (in writing). Then the purpose and working of the groups was explained by the Vice-Chairman.

Two days later, on Wednesday, the whole afternoon was given over to the reading, and discussion, of selected answers. The time-table of this afternoon will make clear what was accomplished that day. From 2 p.m. to 2-20 the writer read selections from the answers to the question, "You have never visited the East. How would you describe as simply as possible your impressions of what the East consists of?" Then a representative, each from Ceylon, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, the Sudan, gave spontaneous comments about these answers.* After this, from about 2-50 to 3-15 there was general discussion, from the floor; this was not always restrained and reached some boiling temperatures.

A fifteen-minutes pause and rest, and then from 3-30 to 3-45 reading of answers to the question, "Before you came to Holland (or to some other Western country) how would you have described as simply as possible what the 'West' consists of?" Then spontaneous comments from a representative each of Britain, France, Holland, and the U.S.A. Again

* The answers are revealing. They give as good a collection of stereotypes as one could hope to get anywhere. Some of them, of course, show great insight and understanding. There is no space to give more than one or two samples here. A European student characterized America as: "Death of a Salesman." A Dutchman wrote of the East: "A mysterious people; their thoughts are quite different from ours, just like their characters."

general discussion. Finally the reading (briefly) of selections from the answers to the two questions: "If you are American, how did you visualize Europe before you came here?" and "America is 'West.' But if you have never before been to America, how do you visualize it?" The discussion at this point was also most "unrestrained!"

The formal meeting broke up at 5 p.m., but the discussion of differences and of newly discovered similarities went on at a formal tea, the next item on the program, and then on into the evening and into the rest of the session. At one stroke people had been made to know each other. Two dozen students had spoken at this meeting, and others had had their feelings and opinions voiced by the reading of those answers. No longer were persons from many different countries complete strangers to each other.

And so, even thus early in the Session had we accomplished a great part of our aim. We had always wanted the Summer Course to be "a meeting place . . . for the exchange of information, opinions and experiences." The "inoculation by questionnaire" provided the conditions which facilitated this exchange of views. The time given over for the use of the workshops in the next days was now more constructively used because some of the tensions existing between nationalities had been dissolved away.

To be sure, there were still the tensions between individuals. But they were no longer a problem of East-West relations; they were now rather a problem

of human relations. There was still sufficient ignorance, and prejudices galore. But the total environment now favoured the attack on ignorance; improvement could be made. There were still points to be smoothed out in the organization of the groups. But in no case can ideal running of a society be achieved instantaneously; from here on at least we had a co-operative tackling of our problems.

The six groups structured themselves differently. But the final achievements differed from case to case not so much because the formal committee organization varied but because group characters were different. Each group had its own individuality; this was the result of the interaction between the personalities of the individual members. The different groups had different members. But the members of the 1952 Summer Session of the Universities of the Netherlands, regardless of the groups into which they happened to have been placed, were pretty unanimously convinced of the desirability of the small "workshop" meetings.

Not only were the members of the course enthusiastic about the *small* groups, however. They were enthusiastic about the whole Session—about its organization, atmosphere, and accomplishments. Indeed, this 1952 course "Eastern and Western World" was in a very real sense a workshop for forging the new undivided world of the future. The course was after all a training course for the bringing in of this better world.

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WOMEN IN INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

I

THE part played by the women of Bengal in our freedom movement cannot be overestimated. They gave proof of courage and heroism even in the middle ages.

In the early days of British rule, Rani Sankar of Bansberia, Hooghly, and Rani Bhabani of Natore and, later on, Rani Rashmoni, Maharani Swarnamoyi of Kasimbazar, Murshidabad, Maharani Saradkumari of Putia, Rajshahi, Rani Bindubashini of Mymensingh, to name only a few, left their mark in the annals of the province as patrons of learning as well as administrative heads of respective families. Their liberality flowed in different channels. In times of scarcity, famine, flood and epidemics, they opened their coffers for the relief of the poor and the distressed, and won recognition of their unstinted service from the State.

Maharani Swarnamoyi went even one step further. Our political aspirations received a rude shock at the hands of the British Government when they almost closed the doors of the Civil Service, the "Steel Frame" of Indian administration, in 1876. The newly started

Indian Association took up the matter and carried on agitation against this governmental measure throughout the country and it was also considered necessary to move the English people at home on this subject. The Association had no money. Maharani Swarnamoyi stepped in and donated a few thousand rupees for the purpose. With this money of hers the Association deputed Barrister Lal Mohan Ghose, later President of the Indian National Congress, to England to conduct agitation there. The British people came to know of the actual state of affairs then prevailing in India from the spirited speeches of Lal Mohan Ghose.

IN THE PRE-SWADESHI DAYS

It is noteworthy that even in the early years of the Congress Indian women evinced particular interest in its affairs. We find two Bengali women, in the person of Swarnakumari Devi and Kadambini Ganguli, attend the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress in 1889 along with eight other Indian and European ladies. The association of these two ladies with the Congress became more intimate when they

Bengal, situated then at 108 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. It was here that she often delivered lectures to the young men on the nationalist movements of other climes. It has now been revealed that Nivedita was a member of the National Revolutionary Council of Five with Sri Aurobindo as one of them. Swami Vivekananda knew of her revolutionary leanings. He wished that she should eschew politics, otherwise his mission work might be hampered. Nivedita, however, did not give up politics. Within a fortnight after the death (1902) of the Swami, she severed her connection with the Ramakrishna Mission, with a view to have a free hand for herself as well as to save the mission from any entanglement.



Sarala Devi

Besides being a revolutionary of a high order, Nivedita, during the Swadeshi days, took up the pen to rouse in us a taste for the cultivation of our national art, architecture, literature and history—our national education and culture. She discovered a meaning in every trifling thing of Bengal and interpreted it to the people in her inimitable style. Her books on these subjects have become classics in English literature. Though she did not join the political movement or any political party publicly, her heart was always with the advocates of the revolution. She actually went to the court in 1907 to stand surety for Bhupendra Nath Dutta, youngest brother of Swami Vivekananda, who was arrested for sedition as editor of *Jugantar*, and subsequently convicted to one year's rigorous imprisonment. When working to relieve the famine-stricken people of Backergunge, Nivedita spoke at

women's meetings and preached Swadeshi amongst them. She asked them to take to the *charkha* and other useful handicrafts. The cult of the *charkha* was being preached in Bengal in the Swadeshi days long before Mahatma Gandhi took it as the symbol of his movement.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

On the 3rd December, 1903, there came the proposal for readjustments in the Madras and Bengal Presidencies. This created a storm of agitation. Rabindranath, in his famous address "Swadeshi Samaj," delivered in August, 1904, suggested the establishment of parallel government. Women also played their part. Sarala Devi and Sister Nivedita strove hard to infuse the spirit of patriotism in the rank and file and it is creditable that Bengali women effectively played their part in both the Swadeshi agitation and the revolutionary movements.

The Government of India passed orders on 20th July, 1905, to the effect that Bengal would be divided. This gave rise to a wave of discontent throughout Bengal. Meetings were held in the remote mofussil districts and proposals on the boycott of British goods were mooted everywhere. On 7th August 1905, a large meeting was held in the Town Hall. Here the comprehensive boycott resolution was passed. The actual partitioning of Bengal came off on 16th October, 1905. This day was a day of mourning for the Bengalees and was commemorated by abstaining from all sorts of work. Sacred threads were fastened round the wrists of brother and brother and sister and sister, which came to be known as *Rakhi-Bandhan*. Women observed *urandhan*, abstinence from cooking, as a protest against this autocratic measure. In Jemokandi, a village in the Murshidabad district, about five hundred women attended a meeting on the memorable 16th October and read out in chorus *Bangalakshmi brata katha* written for the occasion by Acharya Ramendrasundar Trivedi. In this *brata katha*, Ramendrasundar asked the women of Bengal to make up their mind, once for all, to use nothing but country-made goods in *pujas*, *bratas*, domestic ceremonies and festivals as also in our everyday life. Poet Girindra Mohini Dasi composed a poem, "Banganarir Rakhi-bandhan," in which she besought her sisters to resolve like Draupadi not to dress their hair till the partition of Bengal was annulled.

Like Girindra Mohini, Poet Kamini Roy, Man-kumari Basu, Hironmoyi Devi, and Kumudini Mitra (later Mrs. Basu) tried to infuse the Swadeshi spirit to our countrymen and women through their poems and essays in Bengali. Some went even a step further. To make Swadeshi successful a few of our sisters organised meetings in their houses and mahallas and undertook to introduce *charkha* or spinning-wheel in the zenana. Hironmoyi Devi wrote to the effect that, besides boycott of foreign goods, some of the women had resolved to resort to spinning since the 16th October.

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

The Non-co-operation proposal was mooted by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi for the redress of our national grievances, and was approved by the special session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in August 1920, and ratified in its plenary session at Nagpur in the following December. Women of Bengal, like their sisters in other provinces, began to respond to the call of Mahatma Gandhi. They did not hesitate to come forward to take part in the movement along with men. Sarojini Naidu was in England then. She acquainted the British public with the causes of our grievances. Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli, as captain of the women volunteers of the special Congress, had given sufficient proof of the organising powers of the daughters of Bengal.

With the progress of the movement Bengali women stood side by side with men, regardless of the consequences. They attended public meetings, gave liberally to the Swaraj Fund, took to *charkha* and hawked khaddar from door to door. Basanti Devi accompanied her husband, Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das, in his tour throughout the districts of Bengal, and asked her sisters to contribute their share in the national struggle. Boycott of foreign goods, especially cloth, was the main item of the programme—as before in 1905,—and women rose as one even in remote villages to make it a success.

As the movement grew in volume, the bureaucratic wrath also increased. Section 144 prohibiting public meetings as well as ordinances banning volunteer organisations were proclaimed in Calcutta. The Congress decided to break these orders. Basanti Devi, Urmila Devi and Suniti Devi were arrested in Calcutta, while hawking khaddar on the 7th December, 1921. At their arrest popular resentment ran so high that the Government were compelled to release them after a few hours' detention. This was the first time that women were arrested in any non-violent political work. In the absence of Deshabandhu, Basanti Devi carried on the work of her husband as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. She also presided over the Bengal Provincial Conference, held in Chittagong on April 15 and 16, 1922. Reference in her presidential address to the necessity of council-entry to conduct the Non-co-operation movement from within the Council Chambers, was the signal for the birth of a party, later known as Swaraj Party. She also referred in her address to the imprisonment of Sabitri Devi of Darjeeling for political activities.

To rouse political consciousness in women, a Women's Organisation was started by Urmila Devi, sister of Deshabandhu known as 'Nari Karma Mandir.' An able and sincere band of women workers centred

round this Mandir, the most notable being Hemaprabha Majumdar, wife of Basanta Kumar Majumdar of Comilla. The main function of this organisation was to carry on the constructive work of the Non-co-operation programme, such as political education, spinning and weaving and buying and selling khaddar from door to door by women. But it was soon drawn into the vortex of the movement. When men were arrested in thousands, the Nari Karma Mandir took upon itself the work of convening meetings in the public parks of Calcutta in defiance of the prohibitory orders. Women had now to face the baton of the



Urmila Devi

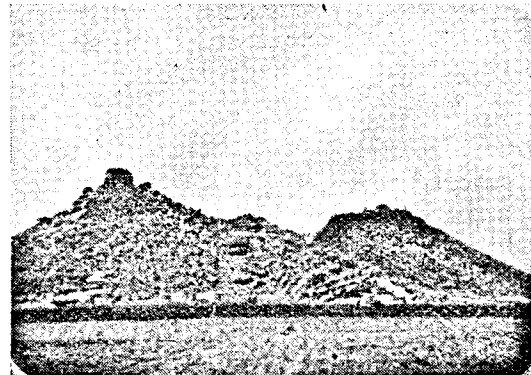
sergeant and the *lathi* of the police. It was at one of these meetings that Hemaprabha Majumdar received injuries at the hands of the police. She showed so much gallantry at the time that Deshabandhu used to say of Hemaprabha: "She is the only 'man' outside jail." Mohini Devi, an old lady, also dedicated herself to the cause of the country. She walked barefoot all along the streets, canvassed khaddar, attended public meetings and spoke whenever needed. It may be noted here that it was mainly due to the women of Contai, district Midnapore, that the movement there under the leadership of Birendra Nath Sasmal was tremendously successful.

(To be continued)

PRE-HISTORIC ROCK PICTURES IN BELLARY

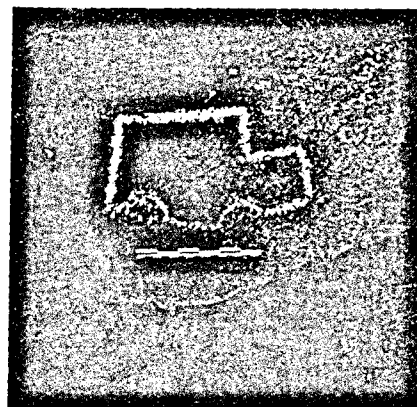
By RICHARD CHINNATHAMBI, M.A.

Rock engravings on the Peacock Hill some five miles north-east of Bellary town have been mentioned in the original Government Manual of the District, dated 1872. Mr. Fawcett read a paper on the subject before the



Peacock Hill, Bellary. Trap Dyke on right contains rock pictures

Congress of Orientalists in 1892 and illustrated it with photographs taken by him. Till the year 1948 when Dr. S. Subba Rao excavated the site on top of the Hill for evidence of pre-historic settlement, no attention was paid to the rock pictures. Dr. Subba Rao mentioned about their existence in his thesis, "Stone Age Cultures of Bellary." Instead of the vague description, "high up among the dark rocks which form the crest of the



Motor car as represented by the modern shepherd boy

trap dyke on the northern end of the hill . . . are a large number of rough figures, pictures or graffiti . . . found in the District Gazetteer, Dr. Subba Rao directed:

"You have to go up the Vittalappa Gutta from the valley in between the Sannarasamma Hill and the Vittalappa Gutta. If you go to the top you will

get a dried-up pond and a series of rock terraces with washed-out ash, etc. On the edge of the escarpment and on the steep face of the rock you have the drawings."

Failure to follow the direction will entail weeks of



Two bulls fighting over a cow—see a woman represented schematically between the two bulls

fruitless combing of the Hill, such as I had to go through and we might come only across crude copies of the originals as well as the present art of the shepherd boys on the stray boulders. In the monthly magazine of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, dated September 1951, Mr. D. H. Gordon has drawn attention to these rock engravings with a view to determine their age.



Idea of Lingam and Yoni equated with Siva and Parvati

ART OF THE SHEPHERD BOYS

The modern shepherd boy idling on the rock at the foot of the Peacock Hill has scratched on the boulders what passed before his eyes—the motor car and the Mysore bulls ploughing the fields below. He loved a cattle fight and he pictured two riders setting their

PRE-HISTORIC ROCK PICTURES IN BELLARY

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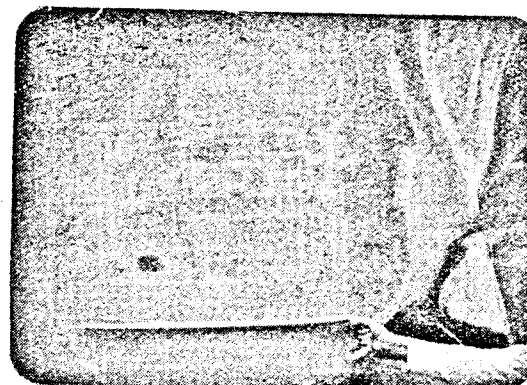
animals at each other. He knew also that bulls sometimes fought over a cow and he pictured that too; only he presented the other sex schematically by a well-known symbol. By adding a trident and a crescent moon he

The humans are still stick figures. I am inclined to date it as after the end of the Megalithic period 300 B.C. This is supported by another picture where three men are obviously driving away something. The



Cattle fight—deeply grooved lines. Note a poor imitation nearby

brought in the idea of Siva and Parvati. There can be no doubt that these scratchings by the shepherd boys are very recent but in one picture the lines are deeply grooved, about 1/2" and the fact that the modern shepherd boys has drawn a poor imitation of it nearly only emphasises the archaic nature of the original. It implies domesticated animals and if only a shepherd boy watching the fields had drawn this fine grooved picture of a cattle fight it could not have been earlier than 10,000 B.C. by which time "most of mankind was at the Neolithic level" (H.G. Wells). Higher up on the rocks there is another example of the domesticated animal with very long horns and there is the faint impression of a human beyond its tail. One gets to the conclusion that the human was driving it along. It is definitely not a hunting scene.



Domesticated animal—faint impression of a human driving it

BOWS AND ARROWS

On the stray boulders at the foot of the Hill there are further indications of a later culture. On one rock two humans are shown as fighting with bows and arrows.



Two stick men fighting with bows and arrows

two figures on the left look like later imitations and the one near the human hand is possibly the older original which was copied. But a sword and shield can clearly be seen on another boulder; only the man's head looks like a bird's with prominent beak. The figure is repeated on still another rock. The body is pecked which is clearly visible. These two bird-men are unique among the pictures depicted on the trap dyke and may be the representation of a supernatural friend or helper (*totem*).

SEX MOTIF

It is very rare to find sex motif in rock pictures, says Mr. Gordon. The Peacock Hill pictures are exceptions. I noticed two stick figures front to front in an unmistakable attitude. This pose is uncommon even among savages and the drawing may be of very recent origin, but on a boulder lying almost on the



Three men driving away something

plain there is a picture, grooved well of sexual intercourse between a man standing and a woman prostrate. I found the motif repeated in a bas-relief on one of the stones used for constructing the main wall of the upper fort on the Bellary rock. Higher up on the

rocks we have humans depicted in line but with exaggerated genitals. There can be no other motive than the sheer exuberance of life that must have impelled the pre-historic artist to indulge in representation of the sex act.



Man with sword and shield and bird's head

PECKING OR BRUISING?

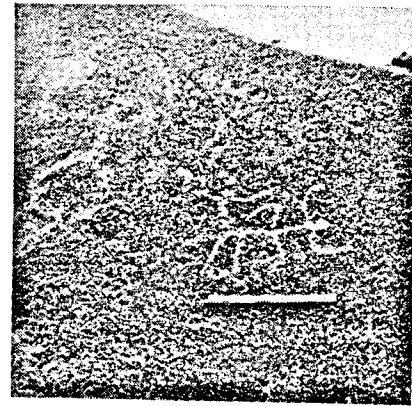
I examined some of the famous three-horned cattle referred to by Mr. Gordon. At close quarters it is diffi-



Human figure with sword and shield and bird's head on top of rock panel. Note also sex-act front to front of two stick figures on left of panel

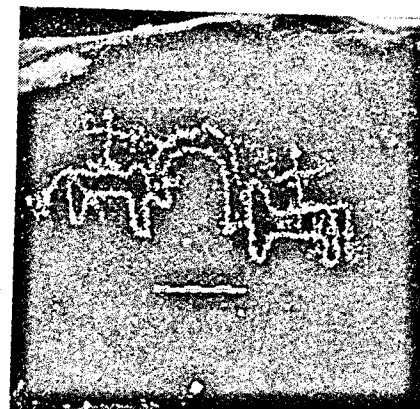
cult to make out the figures; but from some distance the figures are clear. They look a shade brighter than the surface in contiguity. To the touch the surface of the figures is also indistinguishable in its fineness from the general exterior of the rest of the rock panel. At this

distance of time the marks of chipping could have disappeared due to the weather, if at all the figures were drawn by pecking. Mr. Fawcett's view that the figures are the result of bruising, rubbing a hard piece of rock against the surface to give this shading, is borne out



Sex-act between a man standing and a woman prostrate

further by the smallness of the figures. These examples of bruising are found on only one rock panel. A typical specimen of pecking is however found on another rock surface. There is no mistaking the method used by the artist. The surface bears marks like those made on grinding-stones renewed by the stone-smiths in South Indian homes. It is arguable that the pre-historic man adopted bruising first for drawing figures before he thought of pecking the space bounded by the outline



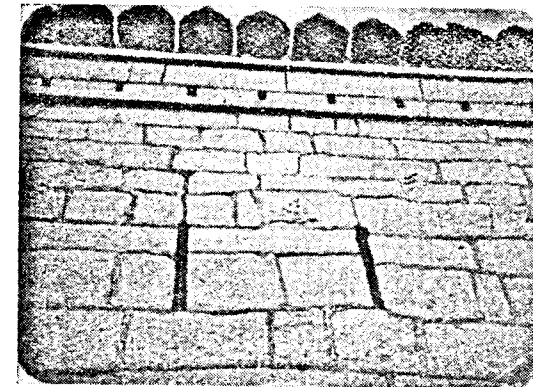
Cattle fight

grooved by him. In fact one figure of a human under a rock shelter was found scooped out uniformly to a depth of $\frac{1}{2}$ ". This would have been the natural result of very close pecking.

FAWCETT'S ORIGINALS

Mr. Fawcett's originals are grouped, nearly all of

them, on one overhanging rock panel inaccessible to shepherd boys or woodcutters, very high up among the cliffs. All the excitement of going into an art gallery newly opened can be experienced by merely gazing at these wonderful creations of the stone-age man. We see an elephant, a camel, deer, antelopes, long-horned cattle, what seems a tribal dance of stick-men, hand in hand, a long row of stick-men marching along, stick-men



Sex-act in the bas-relief on stone used for constructing ring wall, Upper Fort, Bellary Rock

cliffs. All the excitement of going into an art gallery newly opened can be experienced by merely gazing at these wonderful creations of the stone-age man. We see an elephant, a camel, deer, antelopes, long-horned cattle, what seems a tribal dance of stick-men, hand in hand, a long row of stick-men marching along, stick-men



Human figure with exaggerated genital. Note a faint figure raised on a T stand to the left. Below there is an antelope with long horns and tines

excitedly running about an antelope or long-horned animal—a roundup possibly. All that we associate with Bushmen art we notice—only there were no Bushmen here. The art tradition in Peacock Hill has a very early Palaeolithic origin. That "sub-men" sought shelter in the rock crevices of these low granite hills, and conti-



Examples of bruising—rock panel



Examples of bruising. Close-up but even by the yield of pre-historic implements of the cavemen.



Example of bruising. See cattle-like shading on top right centre

MOHENJO AND HARAPPA

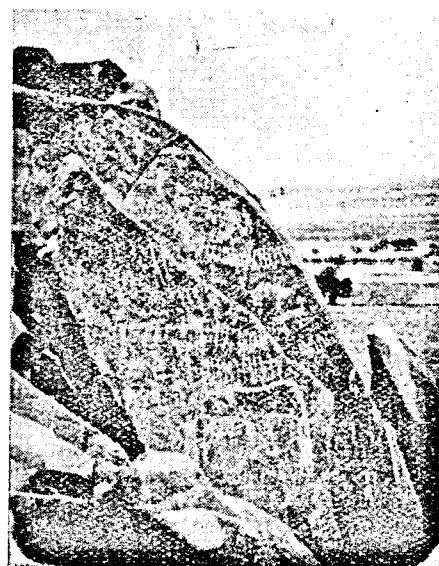
If the three-horned animals in the rock panels remind one of the trident between the horns of the oxen depicted on Harappa cemetery pottery, and the T-shaped

stands on which figures of oxen are shown raised bring to mind such representations on Mahenjo Daro sealings, we can argue that it was a later art tradition brought to Bellary which was a centrifugal focus of pre-historic cultures. "It has been proved," says L. Adam, "by



Typical examples of pecking : cattle with long horns and completely pecked body on left of centre

archaeological research that, even in pre-historic times, commercial relations extended over distances as wide as from the Mediterranean to Sweden," and cites how glass beads from ancient Egypt found their way to Africa, Europe and Asia.



Fawcett's original Peacock Hill

50,000 YEARS OLD

Fawcett mentions the figure of a couchant Nandi before a lingam on the rock panel. There is a tiger quite near and obviously very recently drawn. This group Fawcett would not put down to stone-age men. Mr. Gordon says it might have been executed anywhere in the 7th. century. Mr. Gordon further warns that pending tangible proof of the age of the rock from an

analysis of the patination (chemical changes on the skin of the rock) it is difficult to conclude the exact age of these rock pictures. He would, any way, put it down to, tentatively, the first half of the first millennium B.C. The Peacock Hill therefore holds a priceless art treasure for us. But it has not been protected from the



Another view of Fawcett's original Peacock Hill

vandalism of the quarry men. Out of the 260 dykes in Bellary district the Peacock Hill alone is endearing to



Schematic representation of two women

us for its association with our pre-historic ancestors. While no one minds the surface collection of stone axes, celts, hammer stones, scrapers and other implements by celt-hunters it would be a grave injustice to posterity not to take measures to protect, under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, the trap dyke on Peacock Hill from being blasted away.

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MERCHANTS IN VEDIC AND HEROIC INDIA

By SURESH PROSAD NIYOGI, F.R. ECON. S. (LOND.)

THE early part of the Vedic Age was an age of economic self-sufficiency, i.e., of primitive economy. So there was little scope for trading. The principal means of livelihood of the Vedic Aryans was agriculture and cattle-breeding. However, the beginning of various trades and industries can be traced in the Rigveda. References are particularly frequent to the labour of the worker in wood who was still a carpenter, joiner and wheelwright in one; construction of chariots and metal utensils was also his business. The Rigveda also refers to tanners and skins of animals prepared by them, sewing and plaiting of mats from grass or rags, weaving, etc.

The Yayurvedic society, however, was highly developed and we see the introduction of the principle of labour. In the 30th Chapter of the Vajasaneyi Samhita a number of trades and vocations like those of rope-makers, jewellers, potters, cultivators, weapon-makers, etc., are mentioned. References of traders and their guilds are not even wanting.

The excess of production in certain localities induced energetic men to carry them to other places where these could be disposed of on profit. In this way there arose commercial enterprise and we find the mention of merchants in the Rigveda and the use of the verb *kri* denoting purchase.

Generally speaking, in the Vedic Age we find three classes of merchants—the Vaisyas, Panis and Brahmanas. Of these three the Vaisyas were the most superior. In the Rigveda, Sankhayana Aranyaka and Aitareya Aranyaka the Vaisyas have been praised. In the highly developed society of the Yayurveda we find that the profession of trading has been assigned to the sons of Vaisyas (merchants). In the Vedic literature we also find the word Visapati meaning the leader of the Vaisyas, i.e., the merchants. This clearly indicates that the Vaisya merchants were organised and the Visapatis were the chief executives of their organisations.

The Panis were another class of merchants. We do not know, however, who the Panis were. The word 'pani' is derived from the verb *pan* meaning barter. This means that a pani is a merchant (*pani banik bhabati*). According to the evidence of the Vedic literature, these Panis were a rich and enterprising merchant class solely devoted to the cause of gain either by trade or through usury. Roth and Zinner say that they were a niggardly merchant class who neither worshipped the gods nor revered the priests. According to Hillebrandt they were the Parnians of Strabo. Ludwig thinks that they were aboriginal merchants who went in caravans to Arabia and North Africa. They were attacked by the Aryans, so they had organisations of their own. From the Vedas however, it appears that the Panis stole the treasure (cows) of the Aryans. The Aryans, on the other

hand, with the help of their national gods attacked and defeated them. According to Prof. Macdonell, the Panis were usurers (Bekanata) of Babylon or of aboriginal origin. They were very rich and did not give any offerings to Aryan gods, hence they were an object of intense dislike.

The Panis were no doubt exploiting aboriginal or foreign merchants having no faith in Vedic gods. They were detrimental to the peace and happiness of the Aryans. The discontent of the people voiced by the Risis will be evident from the following lines of the Vajasaneyi Samhita: "Let the Panis bringing about miseries and who are hostile to the gods clear out from the country." The Panis were Shylock traders and no doubt practised dishonest trade in the country, otherwise the popular feeling would not have been like this. According to the commentator Mahidhara, Panis were those merchants who exploited others with their goods and hence were monsters.

From a verse of the Rigveda it appears that the Panis had no faith in the religion of the Aryans. According to Sayana, the Panis were like hunters—society was their victim. The discontent of the people and the greed for money of the Panis may also be proved from the following lines of the same Veda: "Oh Indra! while bestowing upon us wealth do not behave with us like the Panis." This clearly indicates that the Panis exacted money from the people.

Brahmanas in the Vedic Age did not generally carry on trade. But sometimes they were compelled to take up trading as a means of their livelihood under extremely emergent circumstances. Thus in the Rigveda we find that Dirghasravas, a son of Usij and the sage Dirghatama, a Brahmin, was forced to adopt the profession of a trader due to the failure of rains.

In the Atharva Veda we have some information about the early merchants and the articles they exchanged. A verse shows that the Vedic merchant was an adventurous wanderer, who moving from place to place risked not only his goods but also his life for gain. So we see that the merchants are praying to their national god Indra, so that he might be their guide and leader, chasing ill-will, wild beasts and highway robbers. The merchant's main function was to sell and exchange his goods for those of another locality. He seems to have been the forerunner of the Sarthavahas and caravan-leaders of the Heroic age and early Buddhist age.

In the Vedic literature we find the words Ganas and Vratas which mean guilds or corporate unions in classical language. The word Ganapati meaning the leader of a guild is also found in the early Vedic literature. But it is doubtful whether all these were merchants' guilds. In the Aitareya Brahmana we find the word Sresthi meaning the leader of a mercantile guild.

In the history of the merchants' organisation Bhaga the god of fortune is regarded as traditionally the first Sresthi (being of the gods) as the war-god Indra is regarded as the king of the gods. A passage of the Taittiriya Brahmana states that Bhaga desired to be the lord of all earthly and supernatural powers and the leader of the mercantile guild of the gods. He was chief among the equals. This indicates that the merchants' guilds were formed at that time with persons standing on equal footing.

The origin of the word Sresthi is traced back to the word Srestha. In the Chhandyogopanishad it has been used to mean a leader. In the Aitareya Brahmana we find that the word has been used to mean supremacy or leadership through capacity or merit. The word Sresthi is also found in other Brahmanas.

Now who is Bhaga? Bhaga is the god of fortune and is one of the twelve Adityas. In the Zend Avesta Bhaga stands for prosperity. His other qualities are dignity, distinction, fame, glory, etc. All these indicate that the leader of the merchants' guild must have been prosperous, dignified, and should also have qualities like distinction, fame, glory, etc.

In the later Samhitas and Brahmanas the term Sresthi is often used to denote a wealthy merchant and lending of money with interest was the common commercial transaction as Sresthi was a special name of money-lenders at that time.

The growth of trade facilitated the growth of standards and measures of exchange. In course of time a metallic currency grew up and displaced barter. In the Brahmanas we meet with the Satanama, a piece of gold equivalent in weight to a 100 Krishmal. During the period of Grihya Sutras an extensive trade was carried on and trade and commerce were living activities of corporate life. The Vaisyas were primarily seen to be the commercial class. The rite of Panyasiddhi or success in trade, in which a portion of the particular article of trade was cut off and sacrificed with the words, "If, Oh God, we carry on trade to acquire new wealth by means of our (old) wealth, let Soma, Agni, Brihaspati and Indra bestow lustre thereon," was performed by them.

From the point of view of economic history it was the age of guild enterprise and marked the transition from individual enterprise to that of corporate activity.

The growth of the town and town life, the development of commerce, the greater demand for manufactured articles, all these contributed to the growth and volume of industry. The artisans and traders organised guilds and further developed their corporations which aimed at securing better opportunities for the realisation of their ideals. Almost all the industries were organised into guilds. Men of the same trade or occupation bound themselves to each other by the formation of corporate organisations known as guilds. In ancient India the movement towards the guild organisation began towards the later

part of the Vedic Age. It was during this period that the guilds came to play an important part in the various aspects of social life.

The recent discovery of the records of the settlement of some branches of the Aryan race in Syria and Sumeria worshipping some of the oldest gods of the Vedic pattern, the discovery of the presence of indigo in the clothes of some of the Egyptian mummies, the discovery of Indian cedar in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar and of the Indian teak in the temple of the moon-god Ur—all these point to the existence of commercial and cultural intercourse between India and some of the nations of antiquity (say 3rd millennium B.C.). The excavation at Mohenjo-Daro throw light on the probable Indo-Sumerian intercourse on the Indus Valley and confirm this race contact of the past. In the Satapatha and Taittiriya Brahmanas there is mention of the boatman, the oarsman and the poleman. This indicates that there was existence of trade with Babylon. On linguistic ground, Prof. Niyogi of the Banaras University thinks that the Panis were merchants from Phoenicia and with that country there was regular commercial intercourse at that time.

The economic history of the Heroic Age throws much light on the mercantile organisation in ancient India. The chief characteristics of the age were: (1) the rise of town life, (2) the growth of crafts and the organisation of the craftsmen into guilds and (3) the development of trade, both internal and external. As a result of these developments, political, mercantile and crafts guilds were organised. In the Ramayana we find words like *naigama* which means merchants in Sanskrit. According to Jayaswal, Naigama means "the association of the city merchants." They were highly organised and occupied an important position in the economic and political life of the city. Moreover, in the Ramayana we find that Ramachandra was welcomed by the head of a merchant guild on his entry to the city. This indicates that the chief of the merchant guilds played an important part in the political and social life of the city. His position was something like that of a modern Sheriff.

The Mahabharata throws much light on the organisation of merchants. In the Aranya Parva (Book III) we find reference of caravan-traders and their organisation (Sarthas). In the forest Damayanti met a band of merchants (maha-sartha) proceeding towards the kingdom of Chedi. Sartha means a band of merchants and maha-sartha a very large band of merchants. A maha-sartha consisted of the chief merchant, fellow merchants, elephants, horses, chariots, attendants, etc. Sarthavaha was the leader of the Sartha (*sarthasya neta*) and he was the Chief Executive (President) of the Sartha (*sarthasya mahata prabhu sarthavaha*) (M.B. III.61.120).

The merchant had a wandering habit. The travel and journey of the merchants in an organised way is the further development of the adventurous Vedic merchants. This continued even up to the Maurya age when the merchants' guilds had their own assembly halls,

HOW CORONATION SERVICE LINKS UP WHOLE OF BRITISH HISTORY

By LESLIE G. PINE,
Editor, "Burke's Peerage," London

THE Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II links up the whole of British history. She will be crowned in London's Westminster Abbey, which was built by Edward the Confessor nine centuries ago; and she will be the 39th sovereign to be crowned there since William the Conqueror in 1066. Both Edward and William were Her Majesty's ancestors, and long before the time of either of them the Queen's lineage extends into the dim centuries of the early Christian era.

Edward the Confessor was the successor of Egbert, King of Wessex, who in 829 became the acknowledged overlord of the other kings in Britain. Egbert's claim to rule depended upon his being of the royal house of the West Saxons, descended from Woden a great chief who ruled the ancestors of the Angles and Saxons when they were in their original continental homes in the 3rd century A.D. Thus the ancestry of Queen Elizabeth II can be traced for well over a millennium and a half; for the Kingdom of Wessex became in time the Kingdom of England and this in turn expanded into the United Kingdom, the Empire and the Commonwealth.

ACT OF RECOGNITION

Edward the Confessor was succeeded by Harold, who was akin through his mother to King Canute. Harold was elected by the Witan or Great Council, and this feature in the history of Britain's monarchy is preserved in the Act of Recognition. This takes place in the Abbey at each Coronation, before the beginning of the actual service when the Archbishop of Canterbury turns to the huge congregation and presents to them their undoubted sovereign Queen Elizabeth II and asks them if they are ready to do their homage to her. The great shout of "God Save Queen Elizabeth" which is the response, is, as it were, the historic echo of the shout of the early Saxon tribesmen as their King was lifted high for all to see.

We know that William the Conqueror was crowned in Westminster Abbey. At his Coronation there was a fight between his Norman and his Saxon subjects, and buildings near the Abbey were set on fire. Nevertheless Westminster Abbey was established as the Coronation place for all future kings. When the boy king Henry III was crowned in Gloucester Cathedral because the French controlled Westminster he had to be crowned anew in the Abbey on its liberation.

Edward I, son of Henry III, was the first sovereign to bear an English name after the Conquest; the old Saxon line had been united with the Plantagenet blood a century earlier. When the Plantagenets were replaced by the Tudors, under Henry VII, the blood of the ancient princes of Wales back to King Rhodri Mawr (844-878) was united with the English line in the children of Henry VII. Again, the Tudors intermarried with the Stuarts of Scotland and so James VI of Scotland succeeded his cousin Elizabeth I as James I of England. Through the Stuart line alliance was reached also with the Irish Princely lines back to Brian Boru, King of Ireland, who was slain at the Battle of Clontarf in 1014.

ANCIENT RITUAL AND CEREMONIES

Thus the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II is the hallowing of one who sums up all the royal inheritance of Britain. Little wonder that the Coronation contains ancient ritual and ceremonies. The service goes back to the time of Egbert, and the great Officers of State hold positions dating to the Norman Conquest. The Earl Marshal who orders the Coronation arrangements is the Duke of Norfolk, and the Office has been hereditary in his family since 1677. The Lord Great Chamberlain; the Marquess of Cholmondeley, represents the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, the last (and 20th) of whom died in 1702. The Archbishop of Canterbury's right to crown the sovereign was last confirmed 700 years ago.

Captain Dymoke who will bear the Royal Standard of England in the Coronation Procession is the Queen's Hereditary Champion. Formerly his forbears used to ride into the Coronation Banquet clad in armour and defy any who dared challenge the Sovereign's title.

The Royal Standard of Scotland is borne by Viscount Dudohope whose ancestor bore it at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. Such is the heritage of Britain, which will be present as in a living tableau at the Coronation.*

* There is now considerable interest in the ensuing coronation ceremony of the British Queen. We are indebted to the British Information Services for supplying us with authoritative material contained in this article on the Royal lineage of Britain.—Ed., M.R.

A SUMMARY SURVEY OF ART JOURNALS IN INDIA

By KAUNDINYA

IV

In April 1920, began the adventurous career of a very interesting Quarterly journal edited by Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya (sister of Sarojini Naidu) under the significant caption of *Shama'a* which is a Persian word for light (published from Aghore Mandir, Santhome, Madras). As suggested in the editorial in the first issue, "*Shama'a* heralds the dawn of a new era in art, literature and philosophy; it will, as far as possible, survey the trend of modern thoughts and study the contemporary developments in these subjects; it will attempt to serve as a suitable vehicle for the creative expression in prose, poetry, drama, painting, sculpture and music of both East and West. Translations from rare and valuable works in the various vernaculars of India will be published with a view to popularizing them among the English-knowing public." This indeed was an ambitious programme. Let us see how far the editorial view was fulfilled to cover the triple expression in Art, Literature and Philosophy. For the last section the following articles were published in the first year: (1) "Krishna—the Time and the Man" by the great savant philosopher of Benares, Dr. Bhagwan Das,—a series of four articles which deserve to be reprinted and republished, (2) "The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore" by Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, criticized by J. B. Raja with a rejoinder by Prof. Suryanarayanan, (3) "The Last Journey of Lin-Lang" by F. H. Davis—a profound and picturesque parable describing the Chinese poet's encounter with the Eight Immortals of Chinese Heaven: "When you turned a goldfish into a lady's slipper, the sole was missing. The soul is also missing in you, and so we give you a new name—Shih Ch'inghus (stone from Heaven). To this one of the Eight Immortals replied: Perceiving that our exquisite language and our exalted courtesy are wasted upon you, let us sum up our meaning in three blow-like words: 'Go to Hell.' And Lin-lang went to Hell exceedingly swiftly." Literature is represented by several articles of which the outstanding ones are: (1) "The Future of Literature in India" by Satyavrata Mookerjee, (2) "Symbol and Metaphor in Art" by James P. Cousins, (3) "Love Poetry of the Punjab" by Bawa Budh Singh and a remarkable travelogue by Sir John Woodroffe, "White and Gold," describing a thrilling visit to the Nigo and Goshu Palaces from Maruyama. The emphasis of the editor was on topics of Art and several articles by an English critic, Rupert Lee and by B. A. Ross, commenting on the many manifestations of Art in Europe: "The Victorian Age produced a morass

of sugary comfort and amiableness indulged in by men so much that they became guys of sentiment against this sentimentality. So that the brutal tap was turned on, and for fifty years it will be the thing to be brutal and emotional."

Art is represented by several articles, the outstanding ones being the "Art of the People" by Radha Kamal Mookerjee and the "Work of J. D. Fergusson" by the famous English critic, Charles Marriott. The editor treed to high-light Art by providing a distinguished masterpiece as a frontispiece in every number—"Hermes" (Athens), "Benzaitan" by the 17th century Japanese master Yukinopu of the Kano School, and a beautiful colour plate of Fergusson's "Rose Ryhm," an outstanding masterpiece of the English Modernistic School in which the distinction between Eastern and Western Art is sought to be obliterated.

In the second volume (1921), Art is high-lighted by Aurobindo Ghose's famous dissertation on the National Value of Art, and a series of reproductions of painting and sculpture: "The Offering" by Andree Karpels, a colour plate of a Moghul miniature "Princesses Playing Polo" and a photogravure print of "Shiva and Parvati," a Nepalese copper-gilt image with a descriptive article by O. C. Gangoly.

In the third volume (1922), Art is covered by four remarkable articles of permanent value. Sri Aurobindo Ghose's famous essay on the Revival of Indian Art, "Modern Movements in Japanese Painting," by James H. Cousins, "Toys" by Stella Kramrisch and "The Tantric Basis of Indian Art" by N. K. Dewal. The reproductions of masterpieces are outstanding items, providing frontispieces for the four numbers. The first is a fine linear copy of the famous piece in the Imperial Museum, Tokyo: "Three Wine-Tasters" (Sakyamuni, Confucius and Lao-tze).

Lowering over a jar of wine, which is "Life," Sakyamuni tasted it and declared it bitter, Confucius said it was sour, Lao-tze declared it sweet. The second frontispiece is a fine copy of a Moghul miniature (Collection of Maharani of Vizianagram), representing two Greek philosophers, Aristhoo and Hakeem (Aristotle and Plato). The third frontispiece was another remarkable Moghul miniature of a "Saint" from the same collection. The fourth one was borrowed from the same collection, illustrating "Jogiya Ragini," a duplicate of the same in the Boston Museum and the Calcutta Art Gallery.

The fourth volume (1924) is rather weak in

contributions on Art: (1) "The Art of Ramprasad" (the last representative of the Moghul School at Benares) by N. C. Mehta and (2) "Comments" by O. C. Gangoly on two remarkable examples of Moghul miniatures, (a) Jahangir's Embassy to Shah Abbas and (b) Portrait of Munawwin from the Rothenstein Collection. The frontispieces are provided by two mediocre examples of the copper-gilt Buddhist Images, a reproduction of "Shiva" by Ram Prasad, the finest reproduction being the famous Gupta masterpiece of "Kartikaya" (Bharat Kala Parisad) annotated by N. C. Mehta.

In the seventh volume (1927), the contributions of Art are represented by (1) "The New Art and the Kinema" by W. G. Raffe, (2) "The Achievement of Prince Spotoku" by W. G. B. Murdoch, (3) "The Modern Theatre and Histrionic Art, and (4) "The Caves of India" by Dr. K. N. Sitaram. The frontispieces are rather poor and archaic: "Mahisasuramardini of the Magadha School" (?) with comments by N. C. Mehta, A late Tibetan Banner, of mediocre merits, and the famous brozne tryp tych of Yakushih Nyorai, The Buddhist Aesculapiu by Tori Bushi in the Horuiji Temple, Nara.

The last volume (1928) certainly reveals signs of anaemia with articles on the Art and the Camera by W. G. Raffe, "A Prince of Decorators" (Ogata Korin) by W. G. B. Murdoch, and "Chera Patronage of Arts and Letters" by A. Govinda Wariyar.

The frontispieces are represented by a collection of Jain Bronzes from a Khalapur Temple, and a reproduction of Dr. P. Ray Chowdhury's "Lotus Pond" in the Treasurywalla Collection.

It is apparent in this summary survey of the ambitious venture of Mrinalini Chattopadhyaya and her brilliant editing of *Shama'a* that she failed to fulfil her ambition to build up a live Journal of Art, embracing both the Eastern and Western phases, for want of adequate readers and subscribers to provide moral and material support to a laudable effort, foredoomed to failure owing to the small number of educated persons in India with any manner of interest in Art. To what is this malady due? We shall endeavour to answer the query in subsequent sections of our survey.

To be continued

PSYCHOLOGY IN INDUSTRY

By SANTASIL BISWAS

WUNDT is the father of modern psychology. He snatched away psychology from the domain of Philosophy and gave psychology a start of progress on experimental status in his laboratory at Leipzig in the year 1879. It is a red-letter day in the history of modern experimental psychology. The scope of psychology has widened further and further. It has extended to newer and larger fields of application, such as education, medicine, law and industry.

Industrial psychology is nearly thirty years old, not more. But within this short time it has travelled a great distance. It is now full of possibilities suggesting new solutions. The aim of industrial psychology may be said to be in short, "Minimum labour maximum output," i.e., effective work in place of hard work.

Modern industry implies three factors: Capital (including Machinery), Organisation, and Labour. However great may be the part played by machinery in industry labour, i.e., the man behind the machine remains and will remain for ever an important factor. Industrial psychology is concerned with this human factor in industry.

Industry, as we broadly define it, means and includes factory, office, workshop, institutions, occupations and professions wherever man is concerned with some job. Industrial psychology deals with this human aspect in relation to job.

The main problem of industry at the present day is industrial labour unrest which involves strike, labour-

turnover, absentism, etc. Fisher and Hanna found on research that millions of dollars were wasted in the year 1931 only on account of labour-turnover in U.S.A.

There are many psychological reasons behind these labour-situations. One thing is maladjustment, i.e., 'misfit' in industry. Modern psychology can render definite help towards the solution of the problem by means of vocational guidance and vocational selection. How are these done by the psychologists?

Psychologists have devised many tests which have collectively proved to be the accurate measuring rod of mental qualities, traits and other psychological requirements found out by job-analysis of any particular work. Job-analysis is a very important thing. There are several techniques of job-analysis, viz., individual psychographic method, questionnaire method, job-analysis by test, job-analysis by activity and job-psychographic method. The last is the best method. By this method the psychological traits and requirements are arranged in a profile called 'job-profile' in such a way that at a glance even a layman can understand what are wanted.

Vocational selection is not a difficult task to a psychologist. He arranges a battery of tests accordingly for recruits. An example will make all these more clear. Say, a psychologist is to select some motor-drivers. On job-analysis he finds that the following are mainly required. How they are to be assessed is also indicated below:

(a) High concrete intelligence (i.e., intelligence required to deal effectively in concrete situations of life) is to be assessed by Performance tests, e.g., Pass-along, Dearborn-formboard tests, etc.

(b) Medium abstract intelligence is to be assessed by the application of Form M or L of Terman-Merill test (verbal).

(c) Steadiness is to be assessed by the 'dott-ing' test.

(d) Quick perception and reaction time is to be assessed by Heap's Chronoscope, an apparatus by means of which even .001th part of a second for reaction can be recorded.

(e) Another important thing to be detected is whether the person who is to be selected is 'accident-prone.' Accident-proneness denotes an unconscious wish to be involved in accidents. A very large number of people suffer from A. P. which is the result of maladjusted Aedipus complex (Freudian theory). If these accident-prone people become drivers, they are found out to be very rash and reckless drivers who do not consciously care a whit for dangers, because they entertain in their unconscious mind an urge for some accidents to happen. This A.P. or accident-proneness can, to some extent, be detected by the psychologist by behaviouristic study and by the application of some tests, such as word-association test, etc.

'Vocational guidance' is just the opposite. It is fitting the job to the man. If every one in society could have been given vocational guidance then the necessity of vocational selection would not have remained but unfortunately that is not possible. In some parts of U.S.A. and U.K. vocational guidance has been introduced for all at the primary-school-leaving age.

Environmental conditions, physical and mental, have also been responsible for trouble in workers. Physical environment includes illumination, air-movement, sound, etc. Proper adjustments are very necessary to keep the worker physically and mentally all right.

There should be optimum light inside the factory or the office, because light, both too high and low, have bad effects not only on the worker's physical condition directly producing eye strain but also on his mental condition resulting in tiredness and irritation. But unfortunately in most of the industrial places this aspect is neglected totally. Air-movement should also be adjusted properly because the stagnant air in the room damages the mucous linings of the lungs and facilitates the breeding ground of bacteria. Workers become fatigued more rapidly bringing in all its necessary mental effects, e.g., increase of fault, absent-mindedness, etc. Noise too has a great nervous strain on the workers specially doing mental work. Though the habit to work under noisy conditions become adjusted yet it does not altogether remove the distracting effect on the mind.

Though all these things are common sense still we neglect them. But psychology advises not to neglect these environmental conditions, because these factors

have a direct effect as well as an accumulated effect upon the minds of the workers, greater troubles such as labour-turnover, absenteeism, etc., following in its wake.

Mental environment implies human relationship. Factories, offices, firms and technical organisations should be sympathetic to workers and be humanly organised. At Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric Co., Chicago, from 1927-32 investigations were made on the causes of unrest among labourers. Over 20,000 workers were interviewed and it was found that the unsympathetic behaviour of the bosses or the authority was at the root of all the troubles. How a factory is to be humanly organised requires psychological knowledge and experience. Mere stereotype imitation does not become fruitful. Something on this point needs elaboration.

First of all we should have a clear knowledge of what the workers want from their Company. Some of the chief wants may be enumerated as follows:

- (1) Good pay, (2) Security of job, (3) Good behaviour, (4) Cheap ration, (5) Sympathetic and patient hearing of their grievances, (6) Comfortable working conditions, (7) Good supervision.

On the other hand, nepotism, snobbery on the part of the superiors as well as obstacles to production, poor routine, stool shortage, defective machinery, inadequate supply of materials, frequent changes of work, congested working space, etc., are resented by the workers. And these cause a wastage in which the potential energy is lost.

One thing which encourages labour towards output is the identification with the firm. The identification could be brought about by the suggestions given below:

- (i) Display or exhibition of the workers' own products.
- (ii) Organising garden parties and excursion parties where the workers get some scope to mix freely and on equal terms with their seniors as well as their juniors (in status).
- (iii) Publication of magazines both from the side of the workers and the authority of the concern which will help to express and understand the view-points of each camp and of each other.
- (iv) Declaration of prizes for better suggestion for improvement of products, etc.

The primary cause of industrial unrest is the feeling of inferiority grown in the conscious or unconscious minds of workers due to the lack of identification with the firm. With the growth of the conscious feeling among the workers the necessity of industrial relation department comes in.

Fatigue is another problem of industrial psychology. Fatigue may be both physical and mental. It is the natural outcome of continued work. The physiological cause of fatigue is the deposit of lactic acid in the muscles when the muscles work for a certain length of time. But the physical fatigue affects the mental faculty too. Fatigue causes loss of attention and

steadiness, increases faults and increases accident-liability. The only remedy of fatigue is rest. It requires experience to determine how suitable rest-pauses are to be arranged. There are variations in individuals regarding susceptibility to fatigue. The capacity to resist fatigability can be measured in the laboratory by an apparatus called Ergo-graph. Thus it has been possible to test a man's working capacity beforehand. The remedy for mental fatigue and boredom is rest and change of work. Change may be called the sauce of work as variety is the sauce of life.

The study and scaling of labour-attitude is a very important matter and industrial psychology renders us this help. Psychologists have devised some standardised sets of questionnaire as well as some techniques for this purpose. In U.S.A. extensive and successful work has been done by D. Houser and R. B. Hersey.

This is an industrial age. 'Accident—how to prevent it' has been a burning question of the day. The problem of "accident-proneness" has already been discussed. I shall now deal with accident-liability briefly. Frequency of accidents can be minimised by the following physical and psychological means.

(1) *Protected machinery*: This is an important step.

(2) *Propaganda*: "Safety first" propaganda with all available psychological techniques should be taken recourse to in order to touch at the very root of the people's mind and create proper alertness therein. This is very valuable for preventing accidents.

Apart from this a person is often faced with a situation either in a factory or outside it, where a moment's decision may save a great disaster. A psychologist will always select the most alert and quickly decisive persons by means of psychological tests, to act under dangerous situations demanding such types.

Incentives to work are required for the betterment of products in quality as well as quantity. But unfortunately there is no single incentive which can appeal to all persons at all times. The age, sex and

type of the worker and the nature of the job have to be considered. The incentive must be in proper form. Man does not always work for money alone. There are other considerations, such as sentiment, passion, opportunity for companionship (due to herd instinct), sympathy, love, fear, anger, competition, fellow-feeling, a chance to express oneself and opportunity to earn leisure after work, etc.

Researches have been made by the Applied Section of Psychology of the Calcutta University; it has been found on research in U.S.A. and also in our country that the demand for "higher wages" is not the main thing that is at the bottom of labour strikes and labour unrest in all cases, though apparently, judging by slogans, it seems to be so.

Availing psychological knowledge and techniques, if proper valuable incentives could be given to workers, the condition of labour will improve. It will help employers and employees alike by increasing the output as well as by diminishing labour tension.

Advertisement, or "selling in print" as it is defined by Daniel Starch, and propaganda are very important weapons in the hands of persons connected with modern industry and commerce. The aim of advertisement or propaganda is to put things in such a way as to touch the mind of the customer so that the customer will unconsciously think of the articles advertised at the time of purchase. No doubt it is the psychological thing that the advertisement is to serve. Advertisement should be made in such a way and such techniques should be adopted as to associate the conscious need of the customer with the commodities and also to secure in him conviction and secondary desire stimulating action on his part. For these industrial psychology can render great practical help.

I have just touched upon merely a few aspects of industrial psychology, not all. Industrial psychology is a progressive science. The more it will advance the more it will be applied in actual situation and in practice.

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A COUPLE OF CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

By G. M. SHAH, M.A., LL.B.

I CITIZENSHIP

BIRTH is now one of the universal criteria on which citizenship has come to rest; citizenship, to express otherwise, is a *birth-right*. Only adults cannot claim citizenship; babies born as well as bred are likewise entitled to citizenship that grants them civic rights like those to proper up-bringing and education.

The present Constitution of India does tacitly recognise birth as one of the criteria of citizenship of the whole of India, other such criteria being parentage and residence. Article 5 of the Constitution provides that

any person who is domiciled in India and who, what is more, possesses either of the following qualifications, viz.,

- (1) he or either of his parents was born in India, or
- (2) he was ordinarily resident of India for not less than five years immediately preceding the commencement of the Constitution, is a citizen of India at such commencement.

No doubt, under Article 10 of the Constitution, every person who is a citizen under the above provision continues to be such citizen, subject to the provisions of any law that may be made by Parliament; the above provision however does not qualify every person who is

born on or after the date of the commencement of the Constitution as a citizen. The effect of the Article 5 is then mainly retrospective; children born on or after the 26th January, 1950, having no immediate domicile in India acquire no citizenship.

The remark of Shri Mehboob Ali Beg while moving the amendments to the proposed citizenship articles during the discussion in the Constituent Assembly that they are not exhaustive and that some provision should be made to cover cases that might arise during the period between the commencement of the Constitution and the enactment of legislation on citizenship by Parliament may well be recalled to mind in the current context. Article 11 of the Constitution has hence laid down, in general, that Parliament will be entitled to make any provision with respect to the acquisition and termination of citizenship and all other matters relating to citizenship, which is the seventeenth matter in the Union List in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. No provision however is made in this regard either in Part XXI (Temporary and Transitional Provisions) of the Constitution or by the Parliament hitherto. Very recently the Citizenship Bill is said to be placed before the Cabinet; passage of it however does not seem to be due in the current session of Parliament. Such kind of legislation for the persons born in India on or after the 26th January, 1950 remains then overdue.

2 NUMBERS

Article 343 (1) of our Constitution lays down as under :

"The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari Script.

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals."

There was much heated controversy before the issue of the Union language was settled, say, compromised. Protagonists of English fought a very tough battle before Hindi had the constitutional recognition as "the official language of the Union"; some sort of pacification for them was considered expedient by Parliamentarians of a compromising nature. Munshi-Ayyangar Formula was an outcome. The pacification, unfortunately, not only cost us much time and money, but eventually led us to a curious, unpracticable, rash and awkward compromise; the most unbecoming part of it is the constitutional form of numerals.

"The international form of Indian numerals" has a long evolutionary history—too long to be accommodated

at the present occasion. Suffice it to say that it is now English and no more "Indian." Deadlock is turned into a wedlock of "Internationally India numerology" and "Devanagari script of Hindi." How this hackneyed mixture looks will be apparent from some recent publications of Deccan Hindustani Prachar Sabha, which has most readily honoured this part of the Constitution! Even an Indian well-versed in Devanagari-Hindi which is constitutionally sought to be the "lingua Indica" stops at every moment the numbers pop up before his eyes, as, though being nationally Indian, he is not usually aware of the internationally Indian numerals!

Impracticability is most evident in speaking the official language which includes numbers. There may be a constitutional form of writing the numbers—that is nothing but English; there is no constitutional form of pronouncing them. How should we pronounce when some number is there, say "25" (this is the international form of Indian numbers, as adopted by our constitutionalists!)—"twenty-five" or "Pachis"? Isn't it awkward both ways—I mean, the Hindi pronunciation of a number when it is in internationally Indian form, or the internationally Indian pronunciation (?) of a number when the entire language is Hindi?

This medley is meaningless. Clauses (2) and (3) of Article 343, inter alia, read as under :

"(2) Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order, authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union."

"(3) Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of

(a) the English language, or
(b) the Devanagari form of numerals,
for such purposes as may be specified in the law."

It is still wise and befitting for Indians to request their President and Parliament to legalise, not after the period of fifteen years but as immediately as possible, the use of Devanagari form of numerals, not in addition to the international form of numerals but instead of it and not only "for any of the official purposes of the Union" or "for such purposes as may be specified in the law," but for all purposes. We ought not to speculate on, and await, any recommendation in this regard for the Commission and Committee of Parliament, which are to be constituted at the expiration of five or ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, as provided in Article 344 (1) and (2) (d).

ANCIENT HOUSE-PLANNING

By Dr. Y. D. SHARMA

THE discovery of Kautilya's Arthashastra in 1905 evoked world-wide interest for many reasons. For the first and, in fact, for all time it gave conclusive proof that the achievements of India's ancient savants were not restricted to the speculative domain of philosophy and metaphysics. For the author of the Arthashastra, the so-called Indian Machiavelli, was without doubt a statesman of no mean merit. He was an idealist to some extent, as most thinkers are, nevertheless he was a practical man with a rare insight into the affairs of men; and what is most significant, he was not wanting in a secular approach to the problems of actual living.

Among the best illustrations of his practical wisdom and legal acumen is the part of his work that deals with Civil Law, especially the section relating to the building of houses—not the building of temples, palaces, fortresses or secretarial offices, which are also described, but the construction of dwelling houses of average citizens.

The Dharmasutras consisting of aphorisms on law and custom which preceded our author, do not say a word on this subject. The Smriti codes, which followed him, contain only a few haphazard and scattered notions. This indifferent attitude of the contemporary writers to what must be regarded as an important civic consideration brings out the Arthashastra in its proper perspective.

Considerate neighbourliness is apparently the first and the last principle of Kautilya's code. A drain or a pit for dirty water discharged from the interior of a house was never allowed to be built within less than three feet of the neighbour's wall. Fire-places, water-stands, hand-mills or husking mortars could, if necessary, be installed nearer, but even they were to be kept clear of a neighbouring house by at least a foot. No construction of a litter-pit, drain, staircase, ladder or privy, was permitted to interfere with the public right of way, except in a temporary emergency, when, for instance, a privy could be put up for a woman in confinement or a drain laid to carry off the water during a ceremony or festive occasion.

A public path of at least about four feet was always left between any two buildings, although the eaves of two projecting structures could sometimes be allowed

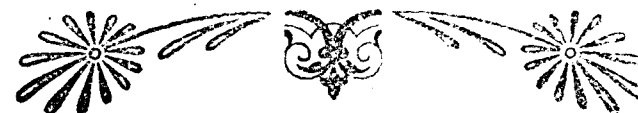
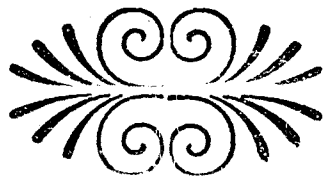
to overlap. At Taxila in the city of Sirkap and at Sisupalgarh in Orissa large blocks of dwellings are, in fact, noticed to be separated one from the other by narrow lanes. In order possibly to guard privacy, no doors or windows were allowed to face those of an opposite house, unless between the two houses intervened a royal highway or main thoroughfare.

The main entrance of a house obviously opened on to the street, but at the time of repairs a small side-door could also be opened into a lane.

A neighbouring house was never allowed to suffer damage from rain water from an opposite house. The roof of a structure was either covered with mats, so that the rain water slowly dripped down, or a parapet was built at the edges of the roof to collect the water and divert it through an opening to a harmless spot. A drain was always kept open while it rained, the consequences of closing a drain during the rain and releasing it afterwards being obviously annoying and harmful. Any damage to another person's house with water, urine or faeces was punished with a progressively increasing fine.

Whether Kautilya's code was really written about the third century B.C. may be a disputed question; it is evident, however, that the laws related therein are surprisingly progressive and enlightened. They partake in a measure of what would now be termed house-planning. Yet Kautilya's main object appears neither sanitation, nor generally the comfort and convenience of the citizen. His principal concern is with the removal of those causes that lead frequently to discord and friction and mitigate against neighbourly conduct. It is with that end in view that he conceded that the owners could build their houses as they liked provided they did so by mutual consent and avoided all that was undesirable and unpleasant.

Whatever may be Kautilya's aim, some of his laws are certainly in advance of many a modern municipal law and bye-law. The city-fathers of our present-day towns could take a leaf with advantage from this ancient manual. Even our own city of Calcutta would take on a cleaner appearance if damage to buildings with water, urine or faeces, as Kautilya put it, was strictly forbidden and actually stopped.



SURGERY IN SOUTH POLE

By P. K. BANERJEE, N. K. I. (Sweden)

It is a page torn from the saga of pioneering zeal and superhuman determination in the face of heavy odds, confronting the British-Norwegian-Swedish South Pole expedition.—Translated into English from the Swedish Monthly *Allt*.

I found him eight days later when I examined his eye; but I could do nothing at that time since our post was three weeks' journey from Maudheim. When we returned to our headquarters on the 30th of May I found that the condition of his eye was very bad and so I at once got in touch with eye-specialist professor Sven Larsson of Lund over the radio for consultation. What I had apprehended during the course of my continued treatment of his eye now appeared to be confirmed. The condition of his right eye was found to have deteriorated to such an extent that the patient ran the risk of losing his left eye as well with total blindness as an unavoidable consequence. Only the removal of the injured eye could save the patient. After making a thorough consultation with Professor Larsson I finally decided to perform the operation within a week. It was a most tragic situation since I had never before performed such an operation and since nobody else in Maudheim had any experience in assisting at such an operation. I at once started making all the necessary preparations and I instructed only a few members of the expedition for not causing a feeling of nervousness in the camp. Photographer Stig Hallgren was given a thorough grounding in the art of applying anaesthetic and he started experimenting on me and others with giving vitamin injections. Geologist Fred Roots was selected for doing the job of a surgeon's assistant and he was given instructions in details as to how he should proceed with the job of handling different surgical instruments. Glaciologist Walter Schytt was initiated in the art of nursing and was also entrusted with the task of managing the instruments table. I took upon myself the task of making the necessary surgical instruments for performing the operation and I was successful in making an instrument from a thick steel wire which was filed, cleaned and finally fitted with a little handle, taken out of a dentist's instrument.

When everything was ready, Reece was informed that an operation was necessary and he gave his consent to it. We decided to go into action three days later. Sledge-driver Peter Melleby made an operation table from sledge boxes and an oxygen mask from weasel skin. Surgical towels were made from pieces of bed-sheets and linens which were previously thoroughly sterilised like surgical instruments. The job of checking the patient's blood pressure was given to telegraphist Egil Rogstad after he had been instructed how he should proceed with this job. Regular rehearsals were made as to how everybody should co-operate during the time of actual operation and how the whole process of sterilisation should be put through without the slightest hitch taking place anywhere. Everything was ready by the 21st of July and we had now at our disposal all that a little hospital might require, except that there were no females to play the role of nurses.

At about 2 o'clock I put on my gloves and proceeded

with the task of sterilisation together with my assistants. Three-quarters of an hour later Reece made a bold entry into our chamber for lying down on the operation table and he broke the silence by bursting out with these few words with a spirit of resignation not unmixed with great fear: "Fellows, I am completely overcome with fear." Immediately after I began applying anaesthetic to him and when he had become completely unconscious, Hallgren took over from me so that I was now free to change my gloves for starting with the actual operation of his injured eye. Silently for a minute I went through all the details of such a risky operation with the utmost care, according to the very helpful instructions that I got over the radio from professor Sven Larsson of Lund. It was the most dramatic moment of my life and I began to wonder whether I would at all be successful in finding out the right spot for cutting off the optical nerves. Slowly but surely Hallgren had brought my patient into a deeper sleep for a complete anaesthesia.

Now with my operational knife I made my first cut through the pupil. Roots was by my side to assist me without betraying any feeling of nervousness. Schytt was there to pass on the necessary instruments without fumbling in the least; Rogstad kept on checking the patient's blood-pressure; meteorologist Goesta Liljequist kept on taking down notes as to the pulse-beat of the patient and Hallgren all the time kept himself busy regulating the application of the proper quantity of anaesthetic. A tense feeling of expectation not unmixed with fear had now reached its climax. Suddenly I found the first eye-muscle which I at once took out with my improvised instrument. Immediately afterwards I could cut out all the muscles of the eye. And the most dramatic moment came when I was looking for the optic-nerve. The only sound to break the grim silence reigning all around was the ticking of a camera in the background. After an hour's slow operation I could cut off the optic-nerve and then take out the entire eye-ball.

Now I started with the work of stitching the muscles and closing the wound with a membrane. After two hours and forty minutes of intense tension I got a feeling of some relief when the operation successfully ended, and we could then congratulate one another for mutual assistance rendered so thoroughly. But there still remained the question what would be the condition of the patient in the next few hours. Sudden increase in the patient's pulse-rate at night gave cause for anxiety. But the temperature could be reduced with an injection. On the following day to our great joy a tired but happy patient received us all by his bed-side. His left eye was now out of danger. After making a complete recovery he could once again participate in a new sledge-expedition, freed from all worries and anxieties and regaining his former form.



Book Reviews



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Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE GUPTA POLITY: By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras. 1952. Pp. 427. Price Rs. 15.

This work does credit to the author's industry and learning. But unfortunately it is not possible for us to agree either with his method of treatment or with his arguments and conclusions on many material points. He divides his work into seven chapters which are sub-divided into sections (sic). In the first chapter dealing with the historical sources the author mentions under the head of contemporary literature the dynastic lists of the Puranas, the Smritis of Vyasa, Harita, Pitamaha and Pulastya, Kamandaka's Nitisara, the Setubandhakavya, the Kaumudimahotsava, the Devichandraguptam and the Mudrarakshasa. Even admitting the author's literary chronology to be correct, it is difficult to understand the relevancy of these documents (other than the Nitisara) in a work limited as its title shows to the contemporary political institutions. From this standpoint the author's last chapter (Chap. VII) entitled Religion appears to be quite out of place. As for the Nitisara, the author's argument (pp. 14-15) for identifying its author with Sikharasvamin, the minister of Chandragupta II, are quite unconvincing. Nor do we think that the author has succeeded in disproving (pp. 19-39) the current view which ascribes Kalidasa to the Gupta Age, and pushing back his date to the first century B.C. 'in the last days of the Sunga rule.' Chapter II bearing the inappropriate title "Extent of the Empire," which deals with the political history of the period contains a number of rash statements not warranted by the facts. Thus the author (pp. 72-73) identifies Chandra of the Meharuli Pillar Inscription, Chandavarman of the Susunia Rock Inscription and even the king of the latter name in the Mandasor Inscription of the time of Naravarman; with Chandavarman of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Again he describes (p. 88) Chandragupta II's empire as comprising "the whole of Hindustan" (sic) and "reaching the farthest limits of the north-west up to Balkh." "With the foundation of the Gupta Empire," he says in another place (p. 106), "the Indian colonies (in Farther (sic) India and Insular India) transferred their allegiance to the Gupta emperors." Similar to the above are the author's statements in Chapter V bearing the title "Military Organisation," namely, that Samudragupta "conquered Kashmir and Afghanistan," but made no further advance "because the International law of the time as understood in Hindu India prevented him from marching towards the territories which were beyond the pale of Bharatavarsa" (p. 199), and that the Guptas "continued the policy of the

Bharasivas and the Nagas in Farther India, namely, the establishment of a colonial empire" (p. 200). The author's estimate of Gupta imperialism does more credit to his patriotism than to his historical judgment. The Gupta empire, he says (pp. 92-94) in accordance with the ancient Hindu conception of empire (as illustrated by Rama's treatment of Sugriva after his victory over Vali) subordinated the dominating motive to the conception of universal welfare. Again he observes (pp. 95-97) that the methods of conquest of Samudragupta and his successors followed the concept of *digvijaya* which "is akin to the *dharma* *vijaya* of Kautilya and Asoka, and also of the Mahabharata" and which resulted in "a voluntary union of States, or a loose confederation where the liberty of the individual was not sacrificed, though he was a unit in the group."

The author's further judgments (p. 98) on the nature of the Gupta empire are expressed in the same romantic style. "The Gupta empire achieved what we cannot achieve even in the twentieth century. Through the institution of the caste economy and by the fixation of services, the Gupta empire ensured the working of economic democracy with political freedom . . . By nationalising industries and through a network of guilds and merchant organisations the State allowed every man to earn his bread . . . The Gupta monarch carried the people with him in his administration. The government of the country was run on democratic lines. . . . The Gupta empire had not the elements of the unhealthy nationalism of the nineteenth century. The Gupta India (sic) was not influenced by a narrow nationalism of this type but evolved a national spirit which led to a fundamental unity, political, religious and cultural."

In his chapters on the Central administration (Chs. III-IV) and in the chapter on military organisation (Ch. V) the author draws extensively upon Kamandaka's Nitisara on the basis of his wholly unconvincing argument that "the polity of the Guptas was based" upon it (p. 108), and again that it was "a Manual on politics and administration" prepared at the instance of Chandragupta II by his minister, Sikharasvamin (p. 190). Equally unconvincing are the author's arguments for characterising the Gupta imperial government as a constitutional monarchy (p. 112). The epithets applied to the Gupta emperors (and specially Samudragupta) he says (p. 114) "have nothing to do with the divine theory of kings as promulgated in some of our law-books . . . The highest sovereign of the State was the common law of the land, formulated by the chosen representatives of the people, the sages and seers of ancient India." Other checks and balances, the author continues, were imposed by the Royal Council which was "not merely an advisory body" but "an important administrative

organisation" to whose authority the king often bent his will (pp. 150-151), and the *sabha* which was "a popular assembly wherein sat the representatives of the people, citizens of the capital and of the rural parts" and which was "similar to the *Paura-Janapada* organisation" of the Maurya period (p. 151).

From the foregoing observations it will appear that the present work fails to give us a true picture of the political institutions of the imperial Guptas in some essential respects. This is not to deny that the author (pp. 152-189 and 223-278) has made useful studies of the details of the Central and Provincial administration of these rulers. Useful also for purpose of reference is the list of Gupta Inscriptions which the author has given us in an Appendix after the transcript and translation of Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. We have noticed a few misprints of which the most serious is *abrogated* for *arrogated* (p. 115). The paper, print and general get-up are satisfactory and there is a good index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

OLD CALCUTTA CAMEOS: By B. V. Roy, M.A. Distributor: Asoka Library, 15-5, Shyamacharan De Street, Calcutta. Pp. xiv+144. Price Rs. 4.

Calcutta has grown from a cluster of petty pestilential hamlets into the foremost city in Asia. The story of this phenomenal growth is shot through with romance. Here, from the days of Mughal rule, the European people of different nationalities mingled with the native population drawn from different parts of India. Here they bargained with each other at the commercial counter, and jostled in the *nautch* parties. Here the Sahibs competed with the Indian noblemen in maintaining a *harem* for the "Hindoo-shani female friend," enjoying the inebriating smoke of hookah, and taking joy rides in "Moyurpankhi" boats. Here the first Indian (possibly) Raja Ram-joanan took the fancy of attiring himself in "buckskin breeches, hunting frock and jockey cap": here was the lullaby composed to make fun at the trumpery of Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley:

"*Hathi par howdah, ghora par jeen
Jaldi bahar jata Sahib Warren Hastings.*"

The clarion-call for political liberation was sounded here, the movements for social and religious reform had their seed-bed as well in this city. Yet strangely enough, no readable account of this city has been written up to the present times.

The hand-book under review offers sketch of a few aspects of life of this city under such titles as (1) The Englishman and His Household, (2) Bengali Society: Its Manners and Customs, (3) Crimes and Punishments, (4) Plays and Playhouses, (5) English and Bengali Theatres, and so on. The author carefully gleans many interesting bits of information from contemporary writings; but owing to his limitations, the pages do not glow with life. For those who would like to get a bird's-eye view of old Calcutta, its fashions, and tastes, this small book would be suitable.

N. B. ROY

GOLDEN JUBILEE VOLUME: COTTON COLLEGE: GAUHATI.

The Cotton College, Gauhati, was formally opened on the 27th May, 1901. Since then it has had a chequered career. From a premier college in Assam under the Calcutta University, it has now become the nucleus of the Gauhati University, the only university of Assam. This volume contains a brief history of the Cotton College together with a running account of

higher education during the nineteenth century as well as a few reminiscences and sketches of the teachers and students of the College. The history of higher education in Assam in the 19th century is closely linked up with that in Bengal. Brilliant students from Assam, such as Ananda Ram Barua, got themselves educated in Calcutta colleges and became prominent members of the society in after-life. Educated Bengalis went out to Assam as they did elsewhere, maybe as servants of the State. But they took prominent and active part in disseminating higher education and culture according to their light in different places. Some of them went there as teachers also. To speak disrespectfully of these sojourners, without mentioning the good things done by them, is, to say the least, disappointing. It is strange that the history of higher education in Assam does not contain even a single reference to the services rendered by the Bengalis during the last century. The article in question, of course, does not fail to include quotations from officials speaking ill of the Bengali race! The virus of provincialism even in the sphere of education is very much deplorable. The volume is illustrated.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

**1. THE SPIRIT OF INDIAN CULTURE. Pp. 76
2. MORAL AND SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE. Pp. 73.**

By Dr. B. L. Atreya, M.A., D.Litt. Published by International Standard Publications, Banaras 5, India. Price not mentioned.

Dr. Atreya is the Professor of Philosophy and Head of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology and Indian Philosophy and Religion at Banaras Hindu University. He is the author of several outstanding works on Indian Philosophy and culture in English, Hindi and Sanskrit. As the author of monumental works on the Yogavasishta, a very voluminous Sanskrit scripture, he is well known all over India. As a Birla Visiting Professor he visited U.S.A. in 1948 and Japan in 1951 and delivered lectures in many places of those two foreign countries.

In the two booklets under review are collected some of his papers read at the Indian philosophical Congress, Indian Science Congress and similar learned conferences as well as contributed to the *Banaras Hindu University Journal*, *Illustrated Weekly* and other important magazines. The first booklet contains three essays on Indian Philosophy and Culture. One of them deals with the distinctive features of Indian Philosophy and was read at the tenth International Congress of Philosophy held in 1948 at Amsterdam and published in the Proceedings of the same Congress by North Holland Publishing Company of that city. Another essay is on the spiritual, moral and social aspects of Indian culture. It is approved and accepted for publication by the Unesco under its scheme of cultural inquiry. The second booklet contains seven essays on the foundations and ethics of peace.

The ten essays of Dr. Atreya contained in these two books are thought-provoking and well-written. During his tour round the world he met many educated people in Europe and America who are eager for a knowledge of Indian Philosophy and Culture. One college student of California wrote to the author that he believed strongly in the Indian ideals presented in the Gita, Upanishads and other Vedanta scriptures. This observation of an American student should be an eye-opener to those Indian youths who are restless for western ideals.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ANTHROPOLOGY—THE STUDY OF MAN:
By S. C. Dube, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Dube has specifically limited the scope of this handbook to the use of general readers and university students. Within the brief space available, the author has touched the main topics of physical and cultural Anthropology and has also discussed on the problems of field work. The general reader may be assured to have a comfortable passage through the pages, for, the author maintains a simple, non-technical style in presentation. For the university students, the manoeuvring of facts is inadequate to make it a text book in the real sense of the term, but, it can very well supplement a standard text book (like *Bones*, *Kroeber* or *Goldenweiser*) for subsidiary reading.

The chapter "Anthropology and Tribal Welfare" has been well-written indicating the author's first-hand knowledge of the problems. Along with presentation of problems typical to India, Dr. Dube has tried to acquaint us with the measures in tribal administration taken by the governments of U. S. and British Africa.

In contrast, the chapter "Art in Primitive Society" lacks clarity in classification of facts. The author has cited some examples of primitive art but has failed to connect them properly in functional or evolutionary link. Finally, I point out a mistake in definition in the glossary:

"Acculturation—A process in which two societies interact upon each other and the culture of one is completely changed under the influence of that of another."

This definition actually means "Assimilation," whereas, acculturation has been defined by Herskovits, Linton and Redfield as—"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original pattern of either or both groups." Here neither complete change nor change in the pattern of only one party in the contact is implied.

Dr. Dube's definition of family as simply—"a bilateral kinship group"—is rather vague.

S. C. SINHA

GOSPEL OF THE DIRTY HAND: By K. M. Munshi. Published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi. Pp. 184. Price Rs. 2-8.

Mr. Munshi as Minister for Food and Agriculture brought a new life in his department by his untiring energy and this publication contains 36 speeches he delivered between May 22, 1950 and March 21, 1952. Although an idealist and a philosopher and a man of literature, Mr. Munshi proved himself no less a realist when he introduced *Vana Mahotsava* or Tree-planting Week for the whole of India. Any reader of these pages will be struck by the optimism and enthusiasm which they contain and the *Gospel of the Dirty Hand* will inspire him with a new outlook in matters of agriculture and food production in the country.

KARL MARX AND VIVEKANANDA: By Bejoy Chandra Bhattacharyya. Published by the author, 133, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 106. Price Re. 1-8.

This is an attempt to show that Karl Marx, the philosopher of dialectic materialism, was a spiritualist almost like Swami Vivekananda—the Vedantist. In spite of the best and sincere efforts of the learned

author, the way of his explanation will hardly be acceptable either to the students and interpreters of the Marxian or Vedanta philosophies. Of course, nobody will dispute the contention that these two great persons of history were sincere in their philosophic convictions, kind and sympathetic towards human misery and uncompromising in their efforts to ameliorate the conditions of human races irrespective of country, colour, race and religion. In the major portion of the book, the author has advocated the preachings of Vivekananda although in the first portion (p. 3) he describes himself as a convert to Marxism (since 14th March, 1952). If Vivekananda was a Marxist and Karl Marx a Vedantist or, leaving aside a jugglery of words, if both were one and the same in spirit, there would have been a new world, not of ideas but of actions as the author envisages. While we appreciate the author in his pious education, we are afraid he is not likely to find a sufficient number of supporters to his views.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

KABLIKATHA: By Sudhir Chandra Kar. *Supra-kasan*, 3 Circus Range, Calcutta 19, Price Rs. 3-8.

In this interesting work, the author narrates his reminiscence about Rabindranath, whose close association he had the fortune to enjoy, first as a library assistant at Santiniketan and later as his private secretary. A good writer himself S. Kar has carefully revealed the strong yet delicate loving soul of Gurudev through many apparently trivial incidents. This intimate story of the poet's daily life, though personal in respect of the experiences described, is sure to prove universal in its appeal.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

NISARGOPACHAR ASHRAM: Published by Balkoba Bhawe, Managing Trustee, Nisargopachar Gram Sudhar Trust, Uruli Kanchan, Dist. Poona. Pp. 122. Price twelve annas.

Nisargopachar Ashram is the name of the Nature Cure Centre started by Mahatma Gandhi at Uruli Kanchan on the Solapur-Poona line, 17 miles from Poona, at the end of 1946. It was Gandhi's last pet child. He wanted to nurse it for four months in the year. He could not. He, however, kept himself in touch with it by post. Twenty such letters given in the book give the reader an idea of what he wanted the institution to be. Morarji Desai, president of the Trust, sets forth in a few able words Gandhi's conception of Nature Cure, in his preface to the book, and says that the Ashram is conducted on those lines. An account of its reverses and achievements, as also its modest plan for the future, is given in restrained words by Balkoba Bhawe. Chapters on Cow-keeping, Agriculture, Nutrition and Preparation of Food, may strike one extraneous. But they are not. For, Nature Cure is not 'selling cure' to the patient but teaching him the right way of living.

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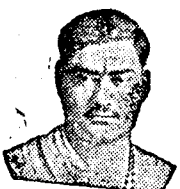
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GUJARATI

SORATHA BAVNI: By Bhaktkavi Dulabhai Bhayabhai Kag. Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1.

Bavan means fifty-two and Bavani means a eulogy consisting of fifty-two stanzas. Dula Bava Kag is a household word in Gujarat, Kathiawad and Cutch. His poems in the Charanic style have proved of immense delight and they give valuable information to his readers, rather hearers, for he is at his best, when he recites them himself, with apposite gestures. A Charan performs the functions of a court-poet to princes. This particular poem is written in praise of Shri Samaldas Gandhi, who rescued Junagad from passing into the hands of Pakistan and thus won a laurel to his crown, though a Bania and unused to functions where the sword gives the final decision and not the pea.

SWATANTRYA PRABHAT: By Nathulal Dave, Principal, Gurukul, Songadh (Saurashtra). Printed at the Swatantrya Press, Ranpur. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 32. Price six annas.

Mr. Nathulal has a penchant for writing short poems. Fifteenth of August, 1947, being our Independence Day, inspired him to write verses, celebrating that happy day and Gandhiji's crown of achievement. A few other poems are also printed along with those connected with this day, all of them well-conceived.

(1) **DAN DHARMA PANCHACHAR:** By Mansukhbhai Kirat Chand Mehta. Printed at the N. M. Printers Press, Ahmedabad, 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 200. Price Re. 1.

(2) **SHRIMAD RAJCHANDRANI JIVAN-REKHA:** By the same. Printed at the same. 1949. Cloth-bound. Pp. 196. Price Re. 1-4.

Both these books are published by Dr. Bhagvandas, the son of the deceased author, who has left a name behind him as a noted writer on Jaina philosophy. The first book deals, as its title implies, with the merits of Dan (charity) and the five Acharas—jnan, darshana, charitra, tapas and virya. Their propriety is set out lucidly and clearly. It includes an analytical essay on Swami-vatsalya under the garb of which rich and elaborate caste dinners called Nekarashi Dinners are given in the present times. These Dinners are mere outward shells, he says, the core is different, viz., love proving one the principles of fraternity in other words and that is forgotten. The second book contains the outlines of the life of Shreemat Raj Chandra, a noted Jaina philosopher and writer, the Guru of Mahatma Gandhiji. He died early in life after accomplishing much.

MANDAKINI: By Dr. M. V. Suraiya. Printed at the Vishnu Sadi Press, Bombay. 1949. Khadi cloth-bound. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 10.

Dr. Suraiya has a penchant for translating or rather rendering into Gujarati verse, noted English poems. He has had seven such to his credit till now: (1) Wordsworth's "We are Seven," (2) Gold-

smith's "The Hermit," (3) Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village," (4) Grey's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," (5) Tennyson's "Enoch Arden," (6) Keat's "Isabella," and (7) Longfellow's "Evangeline." He has reprinted them all in a collected form in this book and called it *Mandakini*, the celestial river, brought down on earth by King Bhagirath to wash out the sins of his ancestors. As is usual with all publications of Dr. Suraiya, a Muslim knowing so much about Hindu life and philosophy; a bevy of young ladies—whose photographs adorn the publication—have contributed their opinions and appreciations which figure in the work, with a very well-written introduction by Prof. Dr. Bipin Jhaveri, a well-known rising Gujarati writer.

GANDHI GITA: By Chandulal Becharlal Patel. Printed at the Bhagwat Singhji Electric Press, Gondal. 1949. Khadi cloth-bound. Pp. 124. Price not mentioned.

The composer was the Director of State education in Gondal State before its integration with the unit of Saurashtra State. His father had great love for Gita and he has inherited it and the result is this small treatise in verse, published by Shrimati Savitri Chandulal Patel, of Gita Bhuvan, Gondal. Gandhiji's beneficent activities have been divided into 18 sections, in imitation of those in the Bhagvad Gita and the dialogues are held between Gandhiji, Jawaharlal, Rabindranath, Charles Andrews, Horace Alexander and various other well-known leaders in thought and action. In one place, Gandhiji describes himself like this:

"I am a worshipper of Truth, Ahimsa is my pledge, I desire Peace and Love everywhere, I consider that Salvation lies in Brahmacharya (celibacy)."

Mr. Patel has accomplished his task well.

DIARATINAN CHHORU: Published by the Navchetan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Cloth-bound. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is an unusual composition. It is a novel, the main object of which is to accentuate the sense of service and sacrifice amongst our countrymen. Seven different writers, Krishnaprasad Bhatt, Kusum, Shivani Sundaram, Mukund P. Shah, Bhagilal C. Shah and Palash have each contributed to the weaving of this web of a story, in such a way that they have been able to put forth a harmonious whole and not a conglomeration of differing ideals or ideas. It is commendable for this reason at least. The title means Children of the Earth.

K. M. J.

DIWADI: By Ramanlal Basantlal Desai, M.A. Published by Messrs. R. R. Seth and Co., Booksellers and Publishers, Princess Street, Kesab Bag, Bombay 2, October 1951. Price Rs. 5.

Sri Desai, the well-known litterateur of Gujarat, has in this volume presented to the readers 21 short stories the first of which has stamped its name on the collection. This volume is the fifth of his collected short stories. The stories are more or less social, and the last which is named "Why did I not marry again" relates to a widower being restrained from contracting second marriage by the spirit of the dead wife through the voice of a bird or through the dreams. The stories show a simplicity of style and construction and show the author's retention of his usual skill even when he has retired from active government service. The readers will welcome the volume for its sympathetic treatment of human character and a certain blend of humour and pathos.

P. R. SEN

The Sister Nivedita

Swami Yatiswarananda writes in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

Sister Nivedita was indeed the choicest flower of womanhood which Swami Vivekananda brought from the West and offered at the feet of his Divine Master, the Holy Mother and Mother India. I did not have the opportunity of knowing the Sister personally but had the good fortune of seeing her twice and getting two indelible pictures on my mind. In 1906 many of us young men heard her roaring like a lioness and giving a fiery speech calling us all to national service. The other picture I got was in the Udbodhan office in 1911 when she came to meet the Holy Mother to whom she was a 'Khoki'—a dear little daughter. The fiery lioness was like a quiet lamb; in place of the dynamic personality, we saw a quiet soul radiating purity, sincerity and devotion which she possessed abundantly.

Later I had the opportunity of learning about her from the monastic disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, from M., from Miss Macleod and others who knew her and also from her remarkable books, particularly *The Master As I Saw Him*. From all these sources I came to understand that Ramakrishna-Vivekananda came for the whole world. That is the reason why the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement started from the very beginning as a world movement encompassing both the East and the West, which undoubtedly are parts of a greater whole. It was not due to an accident but through the Divine will that Swami Vivekananda went to America and delivered his universal message of Vedanta at Chicago, U.S.A. in 1893 only 7 years after the passing of Sri Ramakrishna. It was the Divine will again that took him to England in 1895 as well as in 1896 and brought him into contact with Miss Margaret Noble, a bright educationist and an intrepid seeker after Truth who later became his spiritual daughter and received from him the name Nivedita—the Dedicated.

Most fascinating is the story of the life of Nivedita.

Miss Margaret Noble—that was the name of the Sister before she took the vow of life-long Brahmacharya and Service from her Master—was dedicated to God even before she was born. Her mother—a lady of great devotion—fell seriously ill before the birth of this her first daughter in 1867 and prayed to the Lord to spare her for the sake of the child whom she dedicated to His service. As later events came to show, by the will of Providence the girl was to live a life of consecration devoted to the service of God and His children.

Little Margaret grew into a girl of rare personality and rarer intellectual powers. She came to evince a great interest in education, underwent training as a teacher in England and started a school of her own in 1892 with a view to realise her ideals of education. She was one of the most active and enthusiastic lady educationists, interested in 'the newer applications' of educational theories, when she came under the transforming influence of Swami Vivekananda during his first visit to London in 1895.

Miss Noble was an earnest seeker after Truth, yearning for the deeper and universal truths of religion, bold enquirer and a deep thinker. She possessed a keen and critical mind that could account a truth only after a thorough test and analysis. Many were the new striking ideas she got from the Swami: (i) Body and mind predominated by the self—the spirit in man. (ii) The Swami stressed not faith but experience of truth—'It is well to be born in a church but had to die there.' (iii) Man progresses not from error to truth but from truth to truth—from lower truths to higher truths. She disputed some of the assertions of the Swami, raising controversies. The 'Hindu Yogi' instead of feeling offended was glad at heart on the discovery of the superior stuff she was made of. Later on he said: 'Let none regret that they were difficult to convince. I fought my Master for six years with the result that I know every inch of the way.' Miss Noble resisted her Master only to be conquered by him heart and soul, and before the Swami left England she began to address him as 'Master.' The remarkable breadth of his religious culture and the irresistible charm of his personality came as a great revelation to her. Her scepticism yielded place to a great faith in her Master.

The Swami visited England for the second time in 1896. Miss Noble now got the opportunity to hear and know him more intimately. She recognized the heroic fibre of the Swami and his great love for his motherland and desired to make herself the servant of his love for his people.

The Master, Swami Vivekananda, discovered the rare worth of the disciple.

He had plans for bringing about the regeneration of Indian women, through proper education. As the Swami said later:

"We want that education by which character is formed, strength of mind increased, the intellect expanded, and by which one can stand on one's own feet. History and the Puranas, housekeeping and arts, the duties of home-life and principles that make for the development of character have to be taught with the help of modern science. . . . The noble qualities of Sita, Savitri, Damayanti, Lilavati, Khana

and Mira should be brought home to their minds and they should be inspired to mould their own lives in the light of these Then only there will be the reappearance of such ideal characters as Sita, Savitri and Gargi."

With the help of whom was he to inaugurate the women's movement? One day he told Miss Noble, "I have plans for the women of my country in which you, I think, could be of great help to me." She knew now that she heard a call which would change her life. She decided to go to India and readily got the permission of her mother, who had dedicated her to the service of God even before her birth.

The Swami wrote to his disciple about all the difficulties she would have to face in India but she remained undaunted. Seeing that she was determined to come, he wrote to her later on:

"Let me tell you frankly that I am now convinced that you have a great future in the work of India. What was wanted, was not a man, but a woman, a real lioness, to work for Indians, women especially . . . India cannot yet produce great women, she must borrow them from other nations. Your education, sincerity, purity, immense love, determination and above all the Celtic blood make you just the woman wanted."

Miss Noble landed at Calcutta in January 1899. Her training began soon after her arrival in India and during the next birthday of Sri Ramakrishna she was initiated into Brahmacharya and was given the name Nivedita by which she became known all the world over. At the beginning of her coming to India, she joined the brothers of the Ramakrishna Order in conducting plague relief work in Calcutta and rendered services which endeared her to the people. A party of American friends and students of Swami Vivekananda arrived from America. The Swami took Nivedita on an extensive tour along with them for giving her a deep insight into Indian thought and culture and also a personal training for the work he wanted her to undertake for the women of India.

Nivedita had now to pass through a terrific conflict of ideals. She was in constant clash with her Master who wanted to give her a new mould by destroying her self-sufficiency and preconceived notions. This period of training made her feel most unhappy but still she never thought of retracting her proffered services.

The Swami too had accepted her wholeheartedly and wrote to her before she came to India:

"I will stand by you unto death, whether you work or not for India, whether you give up Vedanta or remain in it."

Her suffering was the travail of a new birth and happily it ended soon. One day the Master said: 'Let us begin a new life.' He wholeheartedly blessed his 'most rebellious' disciple. It was a moment of wonderful sweetness. As predicted by Sri Ramakrishna, the touch of the Swami brought a new knowledge and awakening to the disciple. By destroying the personal relation, he bestowed on her the impersonal vision.

After her most profitable travels Nivedita returned to Calcutta in November 1899 and started a girls' school for gaining experience. She lived with the Holy Mother and her community of holy women. They exerted a great influence on her life and thought revealing to her the intensity and extensivity of Indian spiritual culture and the ideal and glory of Indian womanhood.

The Swami was thus able to make a place for her in orthodox Hindu society. She was now to live the life of a Brahmin Brahmacharini.

Not by remaining as a foreigner but by identifying herself with the life and thought of the Indians could she work for the welfare of Indian womanhood. During their voyage to England in 1899, the Swami made the ideal very clear to her:

"You have to set yourself to Hinduise your thoughts, your needs, your conceptions and your habits. Your life, internal and external, has to become all that an orthodox Hindu Brahmacharini ought to be. The method will come to you if only you desire it sufficiently."

Nivedita's close touch with the great personality of her Master during the voyage and stay with American friends in America and Europe enabled her to understand his wonderful mind and personality and also the depths of Hindu religion and culture. Before leaving Europe the Swami called her and blessed her most heartily:

"Go forth into the world, and there, if I made you, be destroyed! If Mother made you, live!"

Nivedita came back to India at the beginning of 1902 as if to receive the final benediction of her Master who passed away in July of the same year. She now resumed her school work and was cordially accepted by the people she came to serve. She was helped in her educational work by an American fellow-disciple, Sister Christine, who really shared the greater portion of her school burden. The two Sisters tried their best to create there an ideal Indian environment and drew not only little girls up to the marriageable age but also a large number of married women and widows. The students were helped to imbibe the highest Indian ideals, tradition and customs along with their general education. The great educational experiment of which the golden jubilee was celebrated recently proved to be eminently successful. But it was unfortunate that while many admired the institution, few came forward to support it financially. Nivedita the Tapasvini had to make the greatest sacrifices for the school. She had to live in a small house without comforts and had often to deny herself even the barest necessities of life. She buried herself mostly in her literary work undertaken for the maintenance of the school. The life of privation brought her a serious illness in 1905. She recovered from it but later got an attack of malaria when she visited the flood and famine stricken area in East Bengal in 1906. Her magnificent health broke down and could not be regained thereafter.

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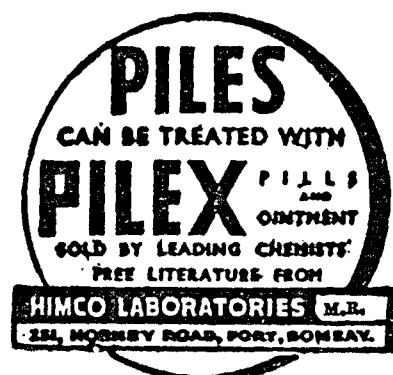
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Sister Nivedita lived an intense active life. Besides attending to her school and literary works, she used to give addresses to various audiences in Calcutta and elsewhere, spreading the dynamic message of her Master and laying bare before all the glory of Indian religion and culture, history and art. Besides these, she became a centre of great personal influence by the high ideals of her deep religious culture and spiritual nationalism, intense sympathy and selfless service.

Sister Nivedita inspired many leaders of political thought, men of letters, scientists, artists, journalists, teachers and students alike.

Nivedita spent the last three years of her life in England and America, and returned to India during the first half of 1911. But she came back only to pass away in October of the same year in the lap of her adopted motherland for whose service she had offered her body, heart and soul.

"The boat is sinking but I shall see the Sun rise," saying these words her soul went to the abode of light and immortality.

It was a blessing that the Sister chose to be a writer rather than a speaker. In her immortal works she revealed the greatness of the spiritual and cultural heritage of India with a unique sympathy, introspection and power. Are we the children of Mother India proving to be true to the great ideal the Sister lived for, worked for and died for? Our young men and women should study the illuminating works of the Sister, imbibe her ideas, mould their life and character and try to bring in a new order in the country.

It was the most earnest desire of Swami Vivekananda to inaugurate a movement for the regeneration of Indian womanhood and to carry on this great work he wished to see our women imbibing the ideals of Sita, Savitri and Maitreyi. He also wanted cultured and fearless Brahmacharinis who would lead a life of perfect chastity and spirituality, renunciation and service.

"The celibate nuns," said the Swami, "will be teachers and through such devout preachers of character there will be the real spread of female education in the country."

It was a pity that the Swami could not find among the daughters of India a single soul to embody the ideal which the Swami had in view but he was fortunate in discovering in a noble daughter of the West the potentiality of a Gargi, one who was to realise the ideal of a life-long Brahmacharini, as he dreamt of, and also to interpret Hindu culture for the benefit of others. Her the Swami trained with infinite patience and affection, her the Swami held as an ideal of a new type of womanhood—an ideal he embodied in his blessings to the spiritual daughter of his:

"The Mother's heart, the hero's will,
The sweetness of the southern breeze,
The sacred charm and strength that dwell
On Aryan altars, flaming, free;
All these be yours, and many more
No ancient sage could dream before—
Be thou to India's future son
The mistress, servant, friend in one."

May the women of India lovingly treasure and cherish the noble ideal, and prove by their life, thought and action that a regenerated womanhood does always stand for a regenerated nation and for a regenerated world.



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Literature and Freedom

R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path*:

When peace came to Europe the first impulse was to cry "Never again!" Gazing through the drifting smoke at the debris of splendid cities it is not surprising that sensitive observers felt the need for affirming human solidarity and protesting against the senseless cruelty of war. Hiroshima was denounced as an evidence of barbarous atavism unworthy of civilized man. An American investigator, intent on serving his fellows, caught the spirit of the time in the title of his book, *One World*. For a moment it looked as though humanity was willing to accept the view that we must all make the best of living together in this world we share, irrespective of differences of colour, creed and social opinions.

This seemed a wise decision for a war-torn, ragged, limping world to make. There was so much to do in the way of rebuilding and rehabilitation. The sick and the wounded, the displaced persons, the thousands of orphans, required attention.

Suddenly all this was changed. Instead of one world, we were confronted with two worlds in perpetual conflict. The cold war is merely a time of preparation for hot warfare, with its programme of annihilation— invasion, napalm bombs, the atom bomb and all those other ways of mass killing which the clever scientists are perfecting in secret, with no expense spared.

If the world chooses to follow the path of destruction rather than the path of creative adventure it must be because the makers of public opinion have recommended that course. Writers cannot evade their responsibility in this matter. It is true, of course, that there has never been a lack of pens to serve ignoble causes. Nazi Germany had its full quota of professors and pundits ready to advocate and justify its worst excesses, its racial domination and its brutal tyranny. Before the Hitler malady overtook Germany one could meet bands of young people—youths and girls—wandering along the mountain paths, picnicking in the woods, strumming guitars and singing of the glories of nature and peace. This *Wander-roger* movement had its thousands of adherents and, had it been allowed to develop freely, might have made Germany a land of democracy and peace. After the Second World War, too, the feeling for disarmament was widespread in the land. This was encouraged to begin with, but now the militarists have insisted that the Germans take their place in the ranks of those who stand for a division of the world on lines of war and hatred.

In times of social tension—such as our own—the forces of repression are active.

It was so in the years following the Napoleonic Wars when the world was shaken by the storms of the French Revolution. In Britain there were countless victims of the laws against a free press and free speech. Yet the influence of the French Revolution spread, for repression can never prevent the advance of a social movement born of the needs of the time.

The parallel between this earlier after-war period and our own times is very close. But America's role in them has been quite different. The newly established United States gave an impetus to the revolutionary movement in France and helped to clear away those remnants of feudalism which still cluttered the stage in Europe. Today America takes the lead in resisting any influence that comes either directly from the mighty upheaval in Russia or—like the various national movements in Asia—takes its rise out of similar forces in a changing world. The spectacle of America vainly trying to sweep back the tide with a broom has its comic side but when there is an atom bomb tied to the broom it ceases to be funny.

Panic repression has been the key-note of recent years. Men and women whose only crime is that they have been sensitive to suffering and social injustice, have been hauled up before blatant committees for investigation of their beliefs. Mr. Truman himself has suggested that people might be afraid to put their names to the Declaration of Independence—the foundation document of the States—for fear of imprisonment or loss of employment. And this rule of terror has been carried out in the name of "Free Society."



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This wave of repression is particularly harmful to writers who, to do their best work, need scope for the exercise of a free creative spirit.

American writers of an earlier age, such as Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman, would almost certainly have come into conflict with the present organs of repression. One wonders whether men like Theodore Dreiser, Jack London and Sinclair Lewis might not find themselves in gaol if they penned their biting social criticisms in our era. From the standpoint of intellectual freedom the world has taken a step backward. When men are imprisoned or victimized for their social opinions, the whole of the intellectual life of the time is poisoned, for honest, fearless criticism becomes impossible.

This situation will confront the International Conference of the P.E.N.—representing the writers of many lands—when, in 1953, it meets in Dublin. Will this Conference stand for the free spirit of literature not only in the East but in the West as well, where its voice should be more effective? Meeting in Dublin, the capital of a country not officially linked with the United Nations, the conference should speak with the greater freedom. One hopes that the responsible spokesmen of literature will not run away from the issue by merely mouthing partisan platitudes about the "Free Society" of the West, for all writers worthy of their pens know very well that the "free world" of which they speak does not exist except as an aspiration in the minds and honest men.

A Chinese woman, Dr. Han Suyin, who received her medical training in London and has friends in the East and the West, has said with fitting dignity what she feels is true about the "intellectuals" of her race who have been condemned for staying in China instead of joining the trek to Hong Kong or Formosa. In her book *A Many-Splendoured Thing* she writes:

"They remained to serve their people. They believed beyond political ends, beyond wars and balances of power. They did not join their voices to the small indignant chorus of those who pollute the word of freedom with hope for a third world war to re-establish an order dead long ago."

Freedom is indeed a jewel beyond price but to invoke it as a social bludgeon to increase the strife in the world does not help the cause of literature or of truth.

If one can speak of the spirit of literature—and the phrase still has a meaning—it is the task and privilege of writers to lift the lamp of understanding high so that its beams may light the whole path of human endeavour. Tolerance, a sense of human solidarity, a respect for the opinions of others—however widely these differ from our own—this is the true spirit of literature.

Our great heritage of literature, of art and of drama, is valuable because it is an expression of the human spirit. If there is no belief in that expression, there is no reason to treasure the books, plays and pictures that have come down to us through the ages. The intellectual integrity of the writer is not only essential for his own work; it is essential also for the health of society. Unless the writer guards his independence he will not be allowed to emphasize the oneness of the world, the need for friendship between East and West. On both sides of the Iron Curtain that hangs across the world there is fear, suspicion and ignorance which can be exploited by vulgar vested interest that profit by war. Not by becoming partisans can writers best serve their cause but rather by drawing together all those who want to build the free society of the future which will extend its boundaries to include the East and the West.

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Britain's National Dailies

William Clark observes in *The Indian Review*:

As a journalist, I believe that most people do not turn to newspapers primarily for news but for comment and for entertainment, and to see how their familiar paper treats the news. That is why there is plenty of room for the ten national papers which are all equally available in every corner of Britain.

The importance of this comment and play of the news is reflected in the regular review of the Press on the BBC's Overseas Service which deals mostly with the comment of the newspapers, or the way in which they treat the news. Who decides this? Who is responsible for the attitude of the Press? What does it mean when foreign journalists in London cable home that "public opinion as reflected in the Press" takes this or that view? Is there any relation between public opinion and Press opinion?

Perhaps it would be best if I tried to answer these questions by taking up the papers one by one, as I do each morning. I normally begin the day with *The Times*. This is the oldest London paper, the most famous, and, I believe, by far the most influential. Yet its circulation is only a little more than a quarter of a million in a field where there are papers with circulations of four million. But *The Times* is the national paper of record; it attempts to give a thorough survey of all the news, giving weight to those items that are of serious national importance. People read *The Times* because they want the news fully reported, and as a result of this high-level readership the editorials in *The Times* can carry great weight. Often the editorials are explanatory rather than giving a lead, but when *The Times* decides to be really definite it can exert the greatest influence. Who decides that?

In fact one must say it is almost entirely the Editor and his numerous able and expert assistants. The power behind the Editor's chair is the chief proprietors, the two men who actually own the property of *The Times*. They are Colonel John Astor, who bought the control in 1922 from the estate of the late Lord Northcliffe, and Mr. John Walter, whose great-grandfather founded *The Times*.

These two men, with the directors of *The Times* Publishing Company, are responsible for appointing the Editor—a very important decision indeed—but in practice they do not interfere with him once he is appointed. The ownership of *The Times* in a financial sense is separated from the editorial control by custom, and in fact a special arrangement has been made to try to ensure that the financial control will never pass into hands which will use *The Times* as an instrument of personal policy.

OUTSPOKEN AND LIBERAL

The second paper I pick up is the *Manchester Guardian*, and you may very well ask why I include a "provincial paper?" But the "M. G." as it is familiarly known, undoubtedly ranks as one of the national papers. I read it for two reasons; it has a small but brilliant foreign staff, and it is famous for its outspoken and liberal editorials—I mean liberal in a broader sense than the Liberal Party, though the *Guardian* is generally regarded as pro-Liberal Party. Who controls the editorials of the "M. G.?"

Again the answer is the Editor, because the financial control and ownership of the paper has been placed in a trust, which appoints the Editor but then leaves him free to run the paper. I say "leaves him free," but it would be unreal to pretend that an Editor is really free to make just what he likes of the paper. A great paper like the *Guardian* has a tradition which it cannot ignore if it was suddenly to change its entire policy or to put

on a new character it might very easily lose the respect and ultimately the support of its readers.

The third "quality" paper—that is, papers designed to suit the more serious-minded—is the *Daily Telegraph*, which has a circulation of about a million. This paper is owned by Lord Camrose, a brother of Lord Kemsley who owns a chain of provincial dailies, and Lord Camrose also has the title of Editor-in-Chief. As owner he is a majority stockholder in a joint stock company and so he can control the financial actions which lie behind newspaper production. As Editor-in-Chief he can, and does, control the policy of the paper.

On the whole the policy of the *Daily Telegraph* is fairly predictable: politically it favours the Conservative Party, and in foreign affairs favours a strong Britain in close association with the United States. That basic policy is personally laid down by the Editor-in-Chief, but the Editor who looks after the paper day after day can, of course, exercise control within limits. So in this case we have an example of the financial owner being also the editorial controller of the comment and the tone of his paper.

FAMILY PROPERTIES

A fairly similar case is the *Daily Mail*. This is also a paper with rightwing tendencies but it is more designed for the man in the street, it is more "popular" than the *Daily Telegraph*, it costs less, and it has a circulation of about two million. In fact the *Daily Mail* was the pioneer of all popular journalism at the turn of the century, when it was built up by Alfred Harmsworth, who later became Lord Northcliffe.

It is still owned by the Harmsworth family to-day, and that perhaps illustrates rather well a feature of the British newspaper world. Many newspapers are family properties: *The Times*, as I mentioned, has been partly in the hands of the Walter family since its foundation in the eighteenth century; the *Manchester Guardian* has been closely associated in ownership with the Scott family; the *Daily Mail* is a Harmsworth property.

Lord Rothermere controls the financial side of the *Daily Mail* and its associated papers, the *Evening News* and *Sunday Dispatch*. But Lord Rothermere also has considerable editorial control of his papers. He told the Press Commission in 1947 that the policy pursued by his London papers was entirely in his hands. He has an office in the newspaper building and he talks to the Editor of the *Daily Mail* almost every day; he talks to the Editor of the *Evening News* and the *Sunday Dispatch* at least once a week, and whenever a matter of importance comes up.

What that means in fact is that ultimately the policy and editorial line of the *Daily Mail*—and the other papers—depends on Lord Rothermere, but he receives advice, which must count very highly, from his Editor, and other members of his staff.

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ONE-MAN CONTROL

Perhaps the paper which is most completely controlled by one man is the *Daily Express*, which is "owned" by Lord Beaverbrook in the sense that he has the controlling interest in the shares of the company. Lord Beaverbrook is not the managing director of his company (as Lord Rothermere is of his); he is not a director at all; he is not Editor-in-Chief (as Lord Camrose is of the *Daily Telegraph*); in fact, he has never had an office in that big glass building in Fleet Street that houses the *Daily Express*. He has very little formal connection with the paper. Yet the chairman of the company once summed it up by saying "undoubtedly Lord Beaverbrook is the paper." This shows, I think, what is true of all newspapers; that you cannot tell who runs it by looking at its financial statement or at its editorial board.

Because Lord Beaverbrook's control is so personal it is hard to give an exact description of the policy of his papers; it is definitely anti-Socialist; it is less, definitely pro-Conservative, since it holds that those Tory M.P.s who do not favour Empire trade are heretics.

It is a good deal easier to know the policy of the *Daily Herald*. It is laid down in the articles of association of the Daily Herald Company that the policy of the paper shall be that directed by the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress.

The ownership of the *Herald* is a complicated business, but briefly I would say that for all policy matter the control is in Labour Party hands; for all business matters it is in the hands of Odhams Press. But a board of directors cannot edit a newspaper, and in fact the *Daily Herald* produces a fairly independent paper because its editor is given considerable latitude. For instance, recently it strongly attacked Aneurin Bevan, which shows that it can be independent even of members of the party executive. But the *Herald* is

the organ of the Labour Party, and it is tied to that point of view.

One of the papers I always glance at with interest is the *Daily Worker*. It gives me simply and without fuss the Communist Party line. It does not waver, it does not doubt, though it sometimes is a day or two late in making the sharp turns demanded of loyal party members. The *Worker* is owned by a co-operative society called the Peoples' Printing Society. Policy is laid down by the Communist Party.

At the other pole, I would put the *News Chronicle*, which is a Liberal Party paper, but because of the smallness of that Parliamentary party it maintains a very detached attitude to most party politics. The ownership of this paper is again really vested in a family, the Quaker Cadbury family, but they have made a trust out of their ownership, and financial control seems to be exerted by the Cadburys' nominee, Lord Layton.

I am now left at the bottom of my pile with the two picture papers, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Daily Sketch*. The *Mirror* is a very popular paper with a circulation of about four million, and a slightly left-of-centre viewpoint. It is owned by a public company, and it is very hard to know where the financial control is really centred; I believe the control of the *Daily Mirror* is exerted mainly from the editorial office. Finally, the *Daily Sketch*, which has changed hands in the last month: it has been sold by Kemsley newspapers and bought by the *Daily Mail* company. It is too early to say what its policy will settle down to, but it seems possible it will be a slightly right-of-centre version of the *Daily Mirror*.

As I finish my last paper each morning, what I often reflect is that in Britain the reader has a very free and very wide choice. No one need be bored or ill-informed.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Civil Disobedience in South Africa

John Hatch, author of *Dilemma in South Africa* and Professor of history in the University of Glasgow and an authority on South African affairs, writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, March, 1953 :

During the six months between the end of June 1952, and the end of the year, 8055 Africans, Indians and Coloureds (people of mixed descent) were imprisoned in the Union of South Africa for deliberately breaking laws. During this period a well-organized campaign for the deliberate breach of law was conducted by an action committee set up by the South African Indian Congress and the African National Congress, and it has been announced that this campaign is to be continued and intensified during 1953. Meanwhile the South African Nationalist Government, under Dr. Malan, has announced that it intends to introduce new legislation early in 1953 to take drastic powers to suppress the movement. At the same time, during the last few weeks of 1952, two new features of the situation appeared, when first widespread rioting developed in Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London, and then a handful of Europeans, led by Mr. Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General of the Union, took part in the law-breaking campaign.

The background to this unhappy prospect for South Africa in 1953 is the complicated racial composition of its population and the psychology of its different racial groups. The racial situation in South Africa has sometimes been compared with that of the United States of America. The comparison is, however, quite false, for whereas the American Negro is in a minority of less than one to ten, the Non-Europeans of South Africa constitute four-fifths of the total population of the country. Out of a population of 12½ million, only slightly more than 2½ millions are whites. Yet it is this small white minority which controls every aspect of the political, social and economic life of the nation. Parliament, for instance, is composed of an upper house, the Senate, and a lower house, the House of Assembly. Both Houses admit only white representatives. In the former, out of 48 Senators four only are indirectly elected by the 8½ million African inhabitants, whilst of the 159 Members of the lower house, only three are elected by Africans who live in the Cape Province. The remaining forty-four Senators and 156 Members of the House of Assembly represent the white citizens plus an electorate of less than 50,000 Cape Coloureds (whom the Government, incidentally, has been trying to remove from the common roll for the past two years.) In social life, complete segregation of the races is enforced by the white community and, of course, social facilities for the Non-Europeans are greatly inferior to those provided for whites. In every aspect of the entertainment world, in public transport vehicles, in the post offices and telephone booths, in residential areas, in all societies and groups, in restaurants and hotels, even in churches and on the beaches, on park benches and station seats, strict segregation is enforced. A whole complexity of laws prevents the Non-Europeans from becoming skilled workers, whilst the barriers to the professions are very high and usually salaries are much

lower, and trade union organization of the African is not recognized by law.

This national policy of segregation, with the inferior role allotted to the Non-European, has developed from the historical influences of the past three hundred years, since Dutchmen first settled at the Cape. Gradually they developed an insularity of character which became ever more deeply imbued with the conviction that the white skin was a badge of inherent superiority and that racial purity was their divine responsibility. The fact that many of them had colored ancestors from the early days of racial mixture was and is ignored and, if anything, the knowledge of it promotes an even greater racialist fanaticism. It was largely the abhorrence with which they viewed the possibility of being treated on the basis of equality with the non-white peoples that led the Boers in the 1830s to retreat from British rule and found their own new states of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State on constitutions based upon the declared principle of "No equality in Church or State." Since the Union of 1910, which linked these two former Boer Republics with the British Cape Colony and Natal in a united South Africa, this deeply ingrained color prejudice of the Boers, or *Afrikaners*, has gradually but steadily infiltrated amongst the British descendants and the other white settlers until today, with hardly any exceptions, the whole white community supports the principle of permanent white superiority and supremacy.

This feeling has also been greatly aggravated by the fact that throughout this century South Africa has gradually been undergoing the process of an industrial revolution. As a consequence, an increasing stream of Non-Europeans have been leaving the countryside for the towns to provide the basis of a national labor force. This process has been greatly accelerated over the last fifteen years, and between 1936 and 1951 the total population of Non-Europeans in the four largest cities rose from 648,783 to 1,307,095, more than doubling, whilst the average population increase of the nation was only two per cent per annum. One of the inevitable

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consequences of this process has been that an increasing number of Non-Europeans have secured educational opportunities as well as economic and political consciousness, which has greatly aggravated the fear of the whites that their privileged position will be undermined. As a small minority, not only in their country, but in a continent with nearly 200 million Africans, this fear has led to increasingly desperate measures to preserve their position of supremacy.

During this period since 1910, whilst the color fanaticism of the Boers has been steadily spreading throughout the nation, the attitude of the Non-Europeans has undergone a corresponding change. From the middle of last century up to the time of Union the Non-Europeans could be broadly divided into two sections. In the two northern Boer Republics and in Natal they had very largely been forced to accept a position of complete servitude to the white masters. In the Cape they increasingly enjoyed a degree of partnership with the white man in which, although the Non-European was very much of a junior partner, there was some opportunity for him to develop in civilization and thus to gain the respect and even the friendship of the whites. In politics, for instance, no discrimination on grounds of color was permitted in the Cape.

Since 1910, however, the whole trend of South African policy has been to enforce ever more rigid color bars and progressively to diminish the rights of citizenship of the Non-Europeans. As a consequence, and in view of their increasing political and economic consciousness, the Non-Europeans have been steadily forced into a struggle with the white community. In the sphere of organization they began from extreme weakness, for, without capital or the means of gathering it, hindered on all sides by restrictive legislation which was entirely controlled by the whites, with very little experience of organization and with vast distances separating the main urban centers, the Non-Europeans have hardly been equipped to combat the resources of modern state power. On the other hand, they have been assisted by the basic facts of South African national life. In spite of the constant and feverish attempts of successive South African governments to impose a pattern of segregation upon the nation, South African national economy has constantly demanded further supplies of cheap industrial labour, and the consequent increasing social grouping of Non-Europeans in the towns has aided their selfconsciousness and opportunity for organization. At the same time, through the appalling housing, health, and social conditions of the Non-European urban locations, through urban discrimination, further fuel has been added to the smoldering fires of discontent.

Various methods of protest have been attempted. Strikes, the burning of passes, nonpayment of taxes, squatters' movements, and rioting have from

time to time given warning of the spreading poison below the social surface. Attempts at trade union organization, various political movements, and organized demonstrations have shown an increasing development of organizational experience.

Yet protest has been largely ineffective and the weak basic foundations noted above, together with suspicions and jealousy between different tribes and between Africans, Coloureds and Indians, has prevented any considerable success attending such movements. Meanwhile, developing capitalism and increasing discrimination has tightened the economic stranglehold of the white community, whilst legislation has steadily decreased the political influence of the Non-Europeans. It has been the major effect of Dr. Malan's Nationalist Government since 1948 to accelerate all these processes leading towards heightened racial tension and to drive all sections of the Non-European community to neglect their mutual suspicions and conflicts in order to recognize their common

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hostility towards the whites and the necessity to combine in one common struggle. The Nationalist Government has not basically altered the traditional principles of South African white policy, but it has stated them in more uncompromising language and used more drastic and spectacular action than ever before. Its Mixed Marriages Act made illegal any marriage between European and Non-European, whilst its amendment to the Immorality Act made any sexual union between European and Non-European a criminal offense. The Group Areas Act is designed to force Non-Europeans into strictly segregated residential and business areas, whilst the Population Registration Act codified the racial origins of every inhabitant of the Union. The Suppression of Communism Act gave the government powers to remove any of its opponents from public life, to suppress organizations and newspapers, on the grounds of aiming "at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and Non-European races of the Union." Finally, in the Separate Representation of Voters Act, an attempt was made by the government to remove the last of the Non-European voters who had survived on the common electoral roll from the days of Cape liberalism, and to separate permanently those 50,000 Cape Coloured voters from the European electorate. This Act has temporarily been held up by the decision of the Appeal Court. That is to be made an issue of confidence in the government at the general election to be held in April of this year. At the same time, by a multitude of new regulations and a more rigid enforcement and interpretation of former rules, the Nationalists have attempted to enforce the principles of segregation in every aspect of national, local, and personal life.

The suppression of a minority by a majority in the state eventually leads to a social eruption, even if the consequence be martyrdom. In the final resort men will sacrifice their lives for self-respect and personal liberty. But in South Africa it is a majority who have been subjected to tyranny. For every white man there are five non-whites, and, though all the forces of the state are held in the hands of the Europeans, such subjection cannot permanently be maintained without conflict. This is particularly so in a world in which the Non-European peoples are becoming increasingly conscious of their national and human aspiration and taking an ever greater part in national and international life.

Since 1948, therefore, a new phase of struggle has developed amongst the Non-Europeans in South Africa. The old weaknesses still remain, but lessons have been learned from the experiences of the past. Above all, the different Non-European communities have been forced to learn by hard experience that only by dropping their differences and waging a concerted struggle can they hope for any success.

One weapon only lies in the hand of the Non-European community. Debarred from any opportunity of securing constitutional redress, with all capital, legislation, and the means of force in the hands of the whites, the Non-Europeans have only the value of their labor to use in the struggle. The white community constantly impresses upon the world the argument that they have built up in South Africa a foundation of white civilization which has brought to that country the benefits and comforts of western society. Yet that civilization has been built as much by non-white labor powers as by white initiative and capital, and it can only exist so long as that non-white labor force is willing to continue its operation.

The main aim of the Non-European leaders over the last few years has been to expose this fact to the mass of the non-white population. In June 1950 a first national attempt was made on these lines by the organization of a one-day national political strike as a means of protest-

ing against discriminatory legislation. The strike was by no means one hundred per cent successful, but its main effect was to demonstrate to hundreds of thousands of Non-Europeans the importance of their place in South African society. A similar attempt was made in 1951, and, immediately following it, a joint committee was set up by the African National Congress and the Indian National Congress to organize a more serious attempt to protest against the whole discriminatory structure of South African life and to demand that the Non-European should be recognized as a full and equal South African citizen. The fact that it was possible for the main organizations of the Africans and the Indians to come together in this joint enterprise was in itself a most significant demonstration that the two sections of the Non-European community which had been most hostile to each other were now realizing the common object of their immediate aims.

The plans made by this joint committee were fully approved by the annual conferences of the African National Congress and the Indian National Congress held at the end of 1951 and the beginning of 1952 respectively. It was now clear that the African Congress had quite changed its character. It had been mainly an organization which passed resolutions, organized deputations, and held personal consultations with the authorities. A change had come at the conference at the end of 1949 when Dr. J. S. Moroka replaced Dr. Xuma as President-General. Dr. Moroka is a medical doctor from Thaba Nchu in the Orange Free State and quite conservative in his political outlook. His ancestors actually received land from the Voortrekkers in gratitude for their help. Yet he realized that the only method of combating the policy of the Nationalists was to lead an active organization and to associate with the organizations of the other Non-Europeans. The Indians have for long been the most experienced in organization and have shown the greatest initiative in tactics and, led, by Dr. Dadoo in the Transvaal and Dr. Naicker in Natal, were trying to develop a strong and active Non-European organization.

The plan laid down by the two Congresses was seen effectively for the first time in February 1952 when a letter was sent to the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan demanding that all discriminatory legislation be repealed. The Prime Minister inevitably refused to entertain any such idea and warned the Congresses that the Government would use all the powers of the state to suppress their activities if the law was broken. Accordingly the second move in the campaign was made on April 6th, when mass meetings of Non-Europeans were called throughout the country on the very same day that the white community was celebrating the tercentenary of the landing of Jan van

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Riebeeck to found the first white settlement in South Africa. The process of organization continued until the campaign proper began on June 26th, now established as "Freedom Day" amongst the Non-Europeans, from its use as the day of general strike in the two previous years.

Many of those who have studied and observed African organization at first hand did not believe that this campaign could ever succeed in its primary objects for more than a few weeks. The aim of its organizers was to emulate the achievement of Mahatma Gandhi in India by organizing and controlling thousands of their people deliberately to break discriminatory laws, to court arrest, but to offer no shadow of resistance or violence. The leaders were obviously acting with common sense in this objective, for they recognized that their people had no defense against violence and would only suffer severely if it were provoked. Yet, though they might have sense on their side, they had set themselves a tremendous objective. Gandhi's achievement was immense, but he had the advantage of the tradition of oriental passivity. No such tradition existed amongst the Africans nor had they anything like the same experience of organization and tradition in discipline which had been enjoyed by their Indian predecessors.

In spite of these facts, the strength of organization and the maintenance of discipline since the campaign started on June 26th, has astounded the world. During that time, whilst over 8,000 resisters have been imprisoned and still more arrested, no violence at all was offered. It should be further remembered that the South African police force is accustomed to dealing quite brutally with its Non-European prisoners, and many charges have been made of ill-treatment accorded to these resisters in prison.

It has been clear from the start that a more efficient organization has been created here than has ever previously been known amongst the Non-Europeans of South Africa. Obviously working to a set plan, groups have gone into action in successive areas, occupying seats reserved for Europeans, using European counters in post offices or breaking the curfew and crossing prohibited frontiers, appearing in the streets without passes and entering locations without permits.

Meanwhile, the Government has become increasingly restive in the face of this threat to the privileged position of the white community. At first it tried to treat it lightly and imposed only mild sentences. Then it began to threaten the leaders and arrested a number of them, Drs. Moroka, Dadoo, and Naicker, under the Suppression of Communism Act. It is significant to note that in convicting them and sentencing them to nine months imprisonment, suspended for two years, the judge indicated that they were guilty of "Statutory Communism," which, he said, had nothing to do with "Communism as it is commonly known." At the same time, flogging sentences were imposed upon junior resisters, but still the movement gathered momentum, spreading from the Transvaal, the Cape and the Orange Free State.

In the midst of the campaign tragic rioting occurred in Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London, but, though the government has tried hard to link it with the campaign of passive resistance, it has completely failed to do so and it is obvious that this violence has hampered rather than assisted the resistance movement. However, it gave the government the excuse of banning all unauthorized meetings in African areas, issuing orders to the police to fire at the leaders of any potential riots, and preparing new legislation making it a severe offense to participate in organized defiance of laws and taking powers to proclaim a state of emergency in any areas where trouble is expected.

In spite of this reign of terror which the Government is threatening, the movement has continued and, although suspended over Christmas, is to be intensified during 1953. A significant development of it has been the participation of a handful of Europeans who have thus given practical demonstration of the support which a tiny minority of the whites feel for the revolt against oppression conducted by the Non-Europeans. At the same time, at the end of 1952, Dr. Moroka was replaced as President-General of the African National Congress by Mr. Albert Luthuli, a chief from Natal who was dismissed by the government from his chieftaincy because of his support of the campaign. He announced to the conference that his policy would be "Never to resort to force, to invite more Europeans to volunteer and to allow nothing to stand in the way of my people's freedom."

It would be unrealistic to imagine that this campaign, or, indeed, anything which the Non-Europeans can do, is likely to lead to the establishment of their equal rights with Europeans, or to a prospect of the achievement of such an aim in the foreseeable future. Not only the Nationalist Government, but both the United Party and the Labor Party which form the opposition, have completely condemned the campaign and stand solidly on the principle of continued white supremacy. What the campaign is doing, however, is to cement the Non-European alliance, give it experience of struggle, and mature the self-consciousness of the Non-European people. At the same time, it is focussing overseas opinion, particularly amongst non-white peoples, upon conditions in South Africa, and is gaining the sympathetic support of Africans elsewhere on the continent. Such support, sympathy, and perhaps assistance, may well be of vital importance in the struggles which clearly lie ahead in this unhappy country where racial tensions have become so taut, for it must be obvious that now, in the second half of the twentieth century when a Dr. Bunche has won a Nobel Peace Prize and become Director of the United Nations Trusteeship Division, when a Nehru leads nearly a fifth of the world's population in India, and a Kwame Nkrumah has become the first Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, the peoples with colored skins cannot and will no longer remain second class citizens of the world.

1954 ILO Session

1954 Ilo Session to Discuss Seven Items

The Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation has decided that seven items are to be included in the agenda of the ILO's general Conference in 1954.

The session will be held beginning June 2 at Geneva.

The "technical questions to be considered will be (1) penal sanctions for breaches of contracts of employment, (2) the conditions of migrant workers in under-developed countries, and (3) vocational rehabilitation of the disabled.

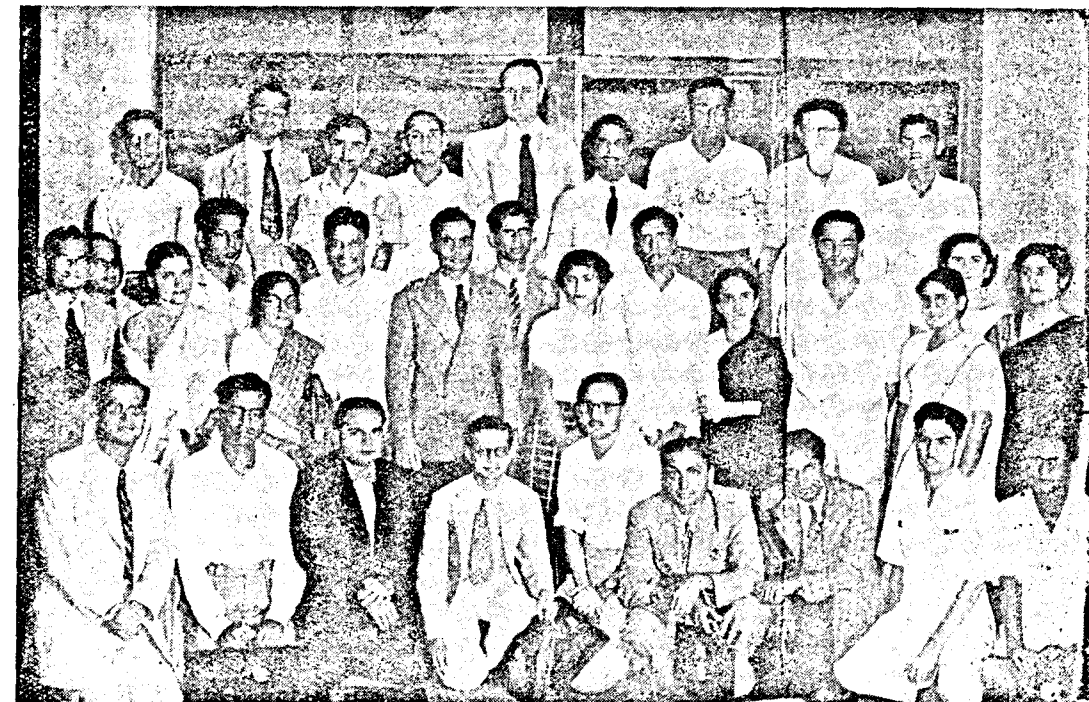
A discussion of holidays with pay, which is scheduled to begin at the 1953 session, will be taken up again in 1954 if the 1953 meeting decides to follow the usual "double discussion" procedure.

The Governing Body agreed that the ILO's technical assistance programme would be reviewed by the 1951 Conference on the basis of a report which the Governing Body will submit.

The session will also debate a report by Director-General David A. Morse, fix the ILO's annual budget, and examine the manner in which countries are fulfilling their obligations in regard to the ILO's Conventions and Recommendations.—*ILO News*.



Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, leads the procession of the faculty members of the Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, where he delivered the Convocation address on June 2, 1953



Forty-five scholars from all parts of India left Bombay for the United States on July 2, 1953, for a year's study and training in various fields under scholarship grants from the U. S. Govt.

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



1953

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NOTES

The One-Pice War

The murky pool of Calcutta politics was again violently agitated in July. This time the stench of the mud reached even the inner recesses of private homes because most of the newspapers liberally plastered their pages with the foul muck that was being flung about in the streets and the parks and maidans by the disruptionists, demagogues and the unemployed. The greatest amount of the suffering fell on the poor common citizens, 95 per cent of whom, at a modest computation, would have preferred to have been left in peace.

The ostensible reason advanced was the increase in the 2nd class tram fare by one pice. And it cannot be denied that the Government of West Bengal's cool announcement of the increase, without previously acquainting the public of the reasons for the increase and the investigations thereof, was not only stupid and tactless but also provided ample material for arousing resentment in the public mind. Black-marketing and profiteering is perhaps more rife in Calcutta than in any other city of note in the Union, and thanks to the methods of the Law and the mentality of the highest officers in charge of the dispensation of justice, there does not seem to be any means of either punishing the criminals or of giving relief to the man-in-the street. The opportunity thus given to stir up resentment was quickly taken advantage of by disruptionists and their fellow-travellers in the camps that now pass under various names but are commonly grouped together as "Leftists." The public, or at least the majority of the thinking section of it, had lost all confidence in the Congress and the Congress Government, and the forces that usually operated in previous similar occasions to steady the public mind and stem lawlessness, had been badly betrayed and let down by both the Government and the Congress and were therefore left helpless and frustrated. The newspapers of the City being mostly

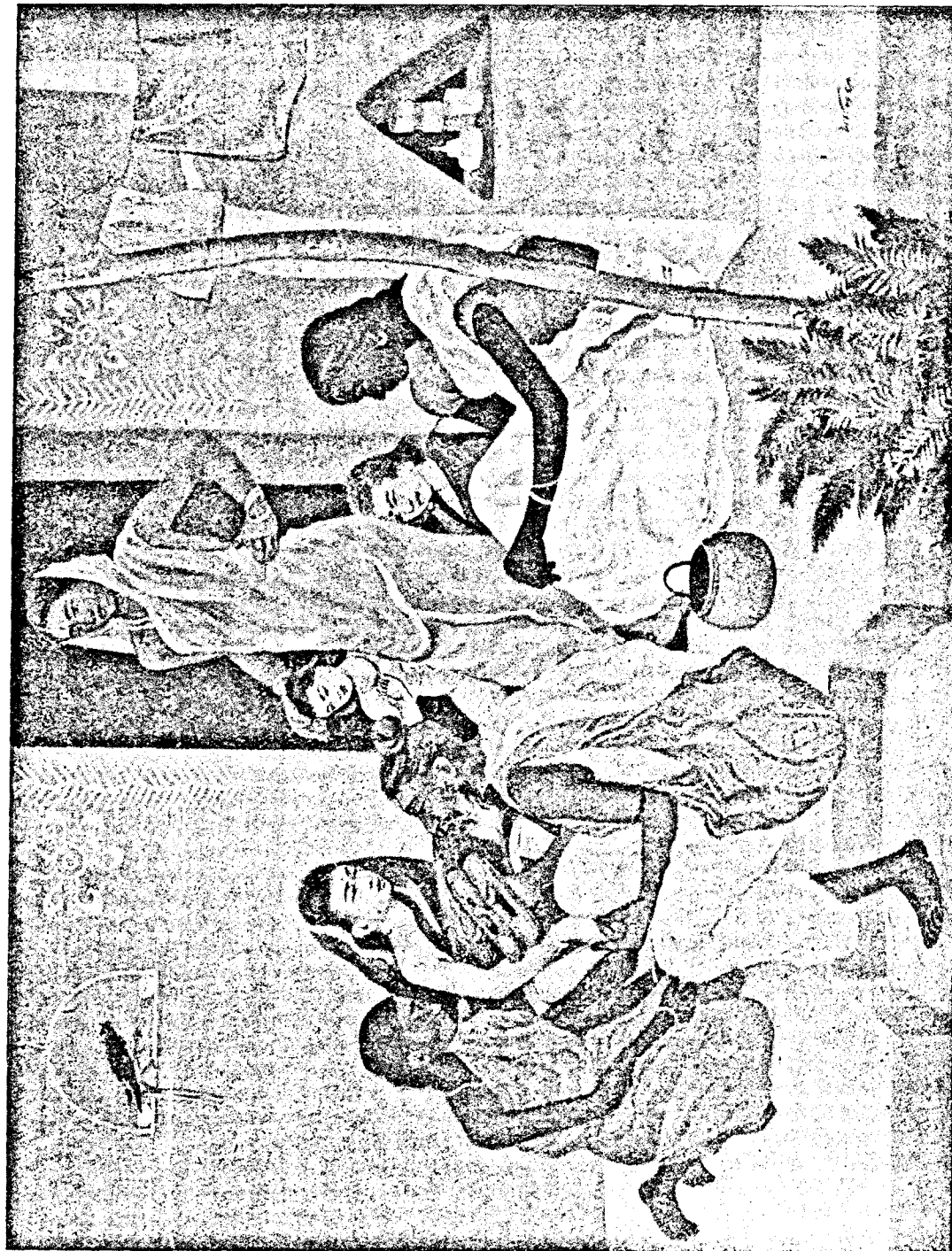
of the weathercock variety, veering whichever way appeared easy for increase of circulation, there was nothing to check a flare-up.

A far-flung meandering city with an extremely heterogeneous population is at the best of times full of adventurous and lawless elements. Further, Calcutta is the only major city of India that experienced all the anti-social and disturbing effects of the last Great War. Then the devastating effects of the communal riots, with its attendant evils of murder, arson, rape and plunder have deeply scored the minds of the unsteady and immature sections of its peoples. And, to cap all, there has been a mass influx of the uprooted refugees, in hundreds of thousands, with all moral values upset. Add to this unemployment on a vast scale and ruthless looting by profiteers, and there you have an explosive mixture.

The Government, blissfully oblivious of all this, being totally out-of-touch with its people, provided the spark. It reflects the greatest amount of credit on the common citizen that the explosion was not disastrous. Perhaps, the flimsy nature of the ostensible reason for the movement was the main deterrent.

The prices of far more vital necessities, like food and clothing, have gone up to a greater extent within the last few months. In the case of cotton dhoties, the market price has gone up by 55 per cent. But the leftist "leaders" did not even bat an eyelid nor did the newspapers give so much as an inch of column space or even a 12-point headline. But the tram-fare which has not been raised since 1938, and is the cheapest in India, caused this frightful uproar. We have indeed a crazy world of our own in these parts!

The announcement of the increase in fares was quickly seized upon by the "leftist" leaders as a god-send. A Resistance Committee was formed, public meetings were held and the Government was denounced in the usual terms. The public were advised to ride in the 2nd class cars *but to pay no fares*. All the unemployed and the street urchins received this order



A VILLAGE SINGER
Manicklal Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

with whoops of joy and the trams were loaded with crowds of them. But even then trams ran and people who had their livings to earn rode on them, and some of them even offered to pay enhanced fares. This did not suit the agitators and so more violent methods came into action. Bombs, soda water bottles, acid-filled bulbs and stones were used against the tram-cars and the police, and the peaceful citizen, being of no account, came in for a fairly heavy share. Arrests were made, but the incidents increased. The West Bengal Cabinet was wobbly in the extreme, particularly, the Minister in temporary charge of law and order, being totally unfit for that—or, for that, for any—portfolio. The police were abused and stoned, and a continuous game of hide and seek went on in the streets and lanes of Calcutta.

Then came a *Hartal* on the 4th of July, paralysing the city. Fire and bombs were used, trams stopped and coaches set on fire and violent attacks were made on trams, and the police. Mob violence assumed an ugly shape. Over 500 persons were arrested, of whom the majority were released after warning or with nominal fines. A temporary lull ensued.

Then started molestation of tram-passengers. Filthy abuse and pulling-off the cars by force began it and soon it changed to heavy stone-throwing. Students were called out from schools and colleges and helped greatly in creating pandemonium on the streets. Bombs and crackers and acid-bulbs followed, injuring innocent passers-by mostly. Police dispersed a procession which attempted to break into an area prohibited under Section 144, by tear-gas and lathi charge. In other areas too, lathi-charges and tear-gas were used to disperse unruly crowds. Again an uneasy lull followed.

Then came another call for a full all-West-Bengal *hartal* on the 15th. And at this juncture the effete and degraded Congress under its totally inept leader issued a challenge to the agitators. What is more, they brought out a procession on the 14th under strong police escort. The result was a flare-up.

In the days that followed incident succeeded incident. The *hartal* was anything but peaceful, trams, trains, shopkeepers, hawkers and, of course, the peace-loving common people all suffered. Police resorted to firing, Fire Engines rushing to the aid of poor *bustee*-dwellers were attacked and some firemen seriously injured. Calcutta became the stage for a mob and police saturnalia. The Congress beat a hasty and most inglorious retreat, which was only what was to be expected. The Ministry issued a bombastic statement that "force will be met with force," while quaking in their shoes at the shape that the movement was assuming. It called out troops in route marches to bolster up its own courage—and let things slide, after proclaiming Section-144 all over the city.

Then followed a night-mare orgy of violence in some areas, with police opening fire on attacking mobs and tram and State buses attacked and paralyzed. The

Government tried to conciliate public opinion by suspending the tram-fare enhancement order, subject to an enquiry and decision by an independent tribunal. It was late in the day, and the demagogues had gained the upper hand. So, little effect of this concession was apparent.

Then followed an incident which showed how far deterioration had taken place in public Services. In breaking up a meeting in the maidan, press reporters and press photographers were brutally assaulted by policemen. It was officially stated that the police had been assaulted first. But even if that be true, there can be no excuse for this extremely disgraceful lapse from discipline and shameless breach of faith on the part of those who are supposed to be guardians of law and order and custodians of peace.

What of the press in Calcutta, through all this? The Fourth Estate, the Mentor of the Rulers, the Mirror of Public Opinion? We all ask for the fullest measure of liberty for the press, and most of us are sincere believers in that. But is there any liberty without responsibility, or is the Press like Cæsar's capricious wife, above all reproach, be she no better than she could be?

If the A.I.N.E.C. be anything but an unctuous body of decorative self-seekers, then there is cause for enquiry.

Enquiry into Syamaprasad's Death

After Pandit Nehru's return to India he addressed a condolence letter to the sorrowing mother of our beloved Syamaprasad. In reply Sringati Jogmaya Devi, the bereaved mother, sent a very restrained and dignified appeal for an enquiry into the circumstances leading to the demise of her distinguished son. Pandit Nehru's reply to that was not only evasive but was lame, inasmuch as he formulated conclusions without any vestige of an investigation by an independent body, official or non-official. The mother closed the unhappy correspondence with a gentle reproach in a resigned mood. The correspondence was released to the press.

But does that mean that no enquiry should ever materialise? It would be an unhappy precedent for all political parties and leaders. The enquiry has been asked for by people holding widely different political opinions. For Syamaprasad did not belong solely to his party or to the province of his birth. The sphere of his work extended over a very wide area.

We know Pandit Nehru is faced with a Frankenstein of his own creation. But is he the supreme arbiter of all things in the Union? Has no one else any voice?

Further, we would enquire, where are the parties that assured Syamaprasad of full-hearted support in his movement? He has kept his faith even unto death. Is it not incumbent on those that promised support to come out, staking all, and force the enquiry. It will be a lasting disgrace to all of them, and indeed to democracy in India if this attempt at foiling enquiry succeeds.

Report on Currency and Finance

The Reserve Bank's Report on Currency and Finance for the financial year 1952-53 starts with a survey of the recent world economic developments, which provides a background to the detailed review of the economic and financial developments in India. The report draws attention to the fair measure of economic stability achieved during 1952. The post-Korean inflationary pressures, which had been generally halted by the end of 1951, eased further in many parts of the world. The movement towards stability resulted from the operation of such factors as increased production and a fall in demand, following the decline in stock-piling and the stretching-out of defence expenditures, and the further flexible use of the orthodox instruments of credit control.

The international payments situation in general underwent a marked improvement during 1952, especially in the dollar sector. The sterling area recorded an impressive improvement in its overall payments position, having converted a deficit of £531 million in 1951 to a surplus of £77 million in 1952. The surplus in the US balance of payments on current account showed a sizeable decline, though the problem of the dollar gap continued to exist. Despite a larger movement of short-term private capital into the USA, the total holdings of gold and dollars by the rest of the world increased by over \$1 billion, the largest share accruing to Western Europe. The volume of lending by the IBRD and the Export-Import Bank also showed an increase over the previous year.

Against the background of these international developments, the Report proceeds to review the major economic and financial developments in India during 1952-53. The Report says that the year 1952-53 recorded further progress in several directions, although it was not free from difficulties. The stresses and strains of the post-partition period and the war and post-war inflationary pressures were largely relieved, the new monetary policy adopted in November 1951 having contributed significantly to this result. Industrial production showed a further substantial improvement during 1952, the average index (base: 1946=100) of industrial output for 1952 rising by 10.0 per cent. The progress in industrial production was general, covering basic as well as consumer goods industries. Higher production was facilitated, the Report says, by the continued prevalence of industrial peace and larger availability of industrial raw materials. The improvement in production was achieved in spite of the difficulties experienced by some industries as a result of the recent world-wide shift to a buyers' market, with the accompanying recession in prices.

Agricultural production in 1951-52, on the whole, showed an improvement as a result of continued efforts under the Integrated Production Programme. Increases were mainly noticed in respect of cotton, jute and sugar, while the output of foodgrains and oilseeds showed

declines. In 1952-53, there was an increase in acreage under foodgrains.

The general price-level in India was comparatively free from the sharp fluctuations noticed since the outbreak of the Korean war. The precipitate decline in wholesale prices during February-March 1952 was followed by the restoration of a measure of stability at the lower levels, notwithstanding wide variations in prices of some internationally-traded commodities. Speculative overtrading and overstocking which had greatly accentuated price variations in the post-Korean period, were considerably subdued during the year, largely owing to the new monetary policy. The Economic Adviser's general index number of wholesale prices (base year: August 1939=100) moved by about 2 per cent from 377.5 in March 1952 to 385.2 in March 1953. It may be mentioned here that the price-level has gone up further with a corresponding rise in the cost of living. Speculative overtrading and overstocking in recent months have considerably increased.

The monetary and banking conditions in the country, the Report states, recorded further improvement as compared to the post-Korean phase. Money supply showed a further downward adjustment, the decline, however, being relatively smaller at Rs. 37 crores, as compared with Rs. 175 crores in 1951-52. This smaller contraction was due partly to the budget deficit in 1952-53 on Union Government account, and partly to the foreign assets of the Reserve Bank being almost in balance in 1952-53, as against a considerable decline in 1951-52. The foreign assets of the Reserve Bank reflect changes in balance of payments on current account as well as capital movements. Recourse to the Reserve Bank by scheduled banks for accommodation during the year was considerably less than in 1951-52, and in the absence of any change in the Bank's lending policy, this probably indicated that available resources in the money market were generally adequate.

Regarding the trouble in the capital market, the Report points to the considerable measure of stability in the capital market, after a period of uncertainty following the adoption of the new monetary policy and the general price recession of February-March 1952. As the year advanced, fears of a possible further trend towards dearer money seemed to recede, and there was a growing feeling of confidence in the pattern of existing structure of interest rates. This lent considerable strength to the gilt-edged market. The open market operations of the Reserve Bank were in broad harmony with the new monetary policy enunciated in November 1951 and were conducted with a view to the stability and strength of the Government bond market. The industrial securities market, on the other hand, evinced on the whole a downward trend, though it was much less marked than in the previous year.

Reviewing the working of the Bombay bullion market, the Report refers to the new bye-laws promulgated in May 1952, which were designed to prevent overtrading

and to ensure speedy payment of differences when fluctuations were rather excessive. These objectives were largely fulfilled. The aggregate volume of business as well as the outstanding business showed a substantial decline to safer levels in comparison with previous years. The fluctuations in prices, however, inevitably continued to be somewhat frequent owing to the narrower market.

As regards the budgetary position of the Union Government as well as of the State Governments and Railways, the Report states that there was deterioration during 1952-53. As against an overall surplus of Rs. 7 crores in 1951-52 for the Centre and the States combined, it is estimated that in 1952-53 there would be an overall deficit, taking the revenue and capital accounts, of Rs. 122 crores,—Rs. 64 crores at the Centre and Rs. 58 crores in the case of Part A and Part B States. The actual deficit, however, in the sense of an excess of the Government expenditures over receipts from the public will be smaller if account is taken of the transactions between the Reserve Bank and Government and the difference between the estimated and actual closing cash balances held by the Union and State Governments. The net surplus of railways fell from Rs. 28 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 9.5 crores in 1952-53. The worsening of the budgetary position of the Government sector was due mainly to the steep fall in tax revenues during 1952-53 and to the stepping up of the development expenditure of the public sector in accordance with the targets set in the Five-Year Plan. An important development during the year was the change in respect of devolution of taxes and grants-in-aid to the State Governments, as a result of the acceptance by the Government of India, of the recommendations of the Finance Commission.

Expenditure on development schemes included in the Five-Year Plan rose from Rs. 262 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 322 crores in 1952-53 for the Union Government, Railways and the State Governments taken together. The budgetary resources allocated for development by the Union Government and Railways fell from Rs. 159 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 103 crores in 1952-53, whereas in the case of Part A and Part B States, they rose from about Rs. 46 crores to Rs. 55 crores. A good part of the development expenditure was financed through grants and loans received from abroad, which during 1951-52 and 1952-53 amounted to Rs. 189 crores.

The record of India's balance of payments position in 1952 was one of adjustment to the disinflationary trends, which gathered strength at home and abroad. In exports, the adjustment was mainly in respect of prices, effected partly through lowering of export duties. The progress of disinflation necessitated a number of other changes in trade policy, mainly by way of relaxation of export controls in an effort to maintain and promote exports. Even then, the volume of exports declined by some 10 per cent as compared to the previous year. The volume of imports also dropped by 12 per cent. The changes in prices are estimated to have caused a deterioration of 24 per cent in the average terms of trade for

the year. The net result of the series of price and volume re-adjustments was a widening of the trade deficit from Rs. 113 crores in 1951 to Rs. 134 crores in 1952. On the other hand, the current account deficit was actually smaller by Rs. 20 crores, as a result of a favourable swing in invisibles and donations. An analysis of the regional pattern of the current account in 1952 shows major shifts except in regard to OEEC countries. The surplus with the sterling area countries other than Pakistan was more than halved in 1952, while the deficit with the dollar area rose from Rs. 62 crores to Rs. 115 crores. The payments position on current account with Pakistan showed a swing of nearly Rs. 79 crores from a deficit of Rs. 47 crores in 1951 to a surplus of Rs. 32 crores.

Sterling Agreement

India and the UK entered into a financial agreement on the 20th June, 1953 at New Delhi with respect to the release of sterling balances which India holds in the UK with the Bank of England. The agreement has retrospective effect from 1st July, 1951 and will remain in force for a period of six years, that is up to 30th June, 1957. This agreement is only a consolidating one and as such does not break any fresh ground. It consolidates the provisions of the agreement entered into by an exchange of letters on 8th February, 1952 between the Government of India and the UK Government. The agreed arrangement for the release of sterling balances remains unaltered.

The first Indo-UK financial agreement on the release of sterling balances was signed on 14th August, 1947. This agreement was in force originally for a period of six months ended 31st December, 1947. But later on it was modified and extended from time to time by letters exchanged between the two Governments. It was eventually extended for a period of six years ending 30th June, 1957, by exchange of letters on 8th February.

India's sterling balances are held in two accounts, namely, No. I account (current account) and No. II account (blocked account). The current account is credited with any sterling received by the Reserve Bank of India for current transactions and any sums transferred from No. II account. The No. II account will be credited with the proceeds, at maturity or on realisation, of any investments purchased in accordance with established custom, out of funds standing to the credit of that account. The No. II account will also be credited with any sums, transferred from No. I account which had been paid into it (i) after 15th July 1947, in respect of the settlement of any matters outstanding under the Defence Expenditure Plan and of any other accounts relating to transactions which were connected with the war and took place before 15th July, 1947 (the date from which the first agreement came into force), (ii) any amount equal to the net capital movement from the other scheduled territories to India, and (iii) such other items as may be agreed upon between the two Governments.

An important provision of the agreement is that the sum of £310 million unblocked and transferred to the current account under the agreement of October 1951, will be retained in that account by the Reserve Bank of India as a currency reserve and will not be drawn upon without prior consultation with the Government of the UK. The other provisions of the agreement are intended to regulate the flow of the annual instalment transferred from No. II account to No. I account. Every year, during the period of currency of the agreement, a sum of £35 million will be transferred to the No. I account. Such transfers will be made only as and when necessary to maintain a minimum balance of £30 million on No. I account, in addition to the above-mentioned sum of £310 million held as currency reserve. This amount of £35 million will be available for utilisation during each year. Any balance of the unutilised portion of the amount transferable in any year will be carried forward and added to the sums available in the later periods, provided the minimum balance of £30 million is retained in addition to the currency reserve. Subject to this condition, the Government of India can overdraw in any year to the extent of £5 million without prior consultation with the UK Government. If in any year India requires to draw more, it should consult the UK Government. Any balance remaining on No. II account on 30th June, 1957 will be transferred to No. I account.

The result of working of the agreement during the last two years indicates that the utilisation of sterling balances had been less than the amount available. On 1st July, 1951, the date of commencement of the agreement, India's sterling balances amounted to £643.06 million, including £90 million in the current account, representing the unutilised releases during the period before 1st July, 1951. Under the agreement India could have drawn £70 million during these two years, in addition to the sum of £90 million brought in from the previous years—a total of £160 million in all. Of this amount, £50.62 million remains unutilised. This unspent balance of £50.62 million, in addition to £105 million, making a total of £155.62 million, will be available for drawing during the next three years. The balance of £533.68 million as on 3rd July, 1953, includes £343 million which represents the currency reserve and the minimum balance of £30 million to be kept in the current account.

Expansion of Hindusthan Shipyard

Addressing the first Ordinary Annual General Meeting of the Hindusthan Shipyard Ltd., the Chairman of the Company characterised the last year as one of preparation rather than of achievement. The Company had to face innumerable difficulties, such as shortage of steel and propelling machinery. The year consequently ended with a loss of Rs. 15.47 lakhs for the Company. The way in which this loss could be made up still remains to be explored, as there is little prospect of its making a profit in the near future. The surplus staff drained away a good deal of money of the concern. With

effect from 15th July, 1952 it has entered into a five-year agreement with a French firm for technical advice required for training Indian personnel at its shipyard, for securing orders for ships from outside India, and if necessary, for trying to bring about the sale of the ships built in the yard.

The Hindusthan Shipyard was registered on 21st January, 1952 as a private limited company, the Government of India holding two-thirds share. The new company took over the Vishakhapatnam shipyard from the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. on 1st March, 1952 at a valuation of Rs. 2.72 crores. The authorised capital of the Company is Rs. 10 crores and the paid-up capital is Rs. 3.09 crores. Of the paid-up capital, Government of India holds two-thirds, that is, Rs. 2.06 crores and the balance is held by the Scindias. Although the Government is the principal shareholder, the company has a distinct legal entity and it is being run on commercial lines.

The Five-Year Plan has provided a sum of Rs. 4.75 crores for the development of the yard and Rs. 7.34 crores for the grant of loans to ship-owners for the purchase of new or additional tonnage and for payment of subsidies on the ships built at the shipyard. In addition, the Plan envisages an expenditure of Rs. 1.50 crores for the development of the shipyard. The object is to raise the productive capacity of the yard to about 50,000 d.w.t. per year and to establish a workshop for building engines in this country. As regards shipping, the plan is to increase the coastal and overseas tonnage from about 400,000 to about 600,000 gross registered tons. The shipyard's contribution to this is expected to be 100,000 gross registered tons.

The Government of India has already advanced Rs. 30 lakhs for the development of works now on hand. The third berth has been completed and equipped and a keel will be laid on it by the next month. The 35-ton crane has been erected and the foundation of the 125-ton crane is ready. The future programme of the company includes the building of one large and one small berth, raising the capacity of the hull-shop, machine-shop and other shops, installation of more up-to-date and more extensive cranes and erection of a large prefabricated shop which would be able to build 12 ships a year. The establishment of a dry-dock at the Vishakhapatnam port is considered to be an urgent necessity.

At present, two 8,000 d.w.t. Jala-type ships are under construction. The first of these ships is for the Barat Line and the second for the Scindia Steam Navigation. It is said that the performance of the shipyard in recent months has been slow. This is mainly due to the shortage of ship-building steel resulting from a number of unforeseen breakdowns in the only plate-rolling mill in India. The company has been permitted to import plates from overseas and it is expected that in future such hold-ups will not occur. The company is still, however, dependent on foreign firms for the supply of engines and auxiliary machinery. Orders were placed

for engines and machineries for these two ships under construction in December 1951 with a Glasgow firm, but delivery is promised only in October of this year for the first ship and in December for the second ship.

About 60 per cent of the parts of a ship, including the hull, superstructure, deck and cabins are being constructed at the shipyard, while the remaining 40 per cent including electric fittings, copper pipes and steam fittings together with all the prime movers and auxiliary machineries are being imported, mostly from the UK.

The question of subsidy is an important problem regarding the financing of the ship-building. The Government of India has accepted the principle that the price to be charged for ships built in the shipyard should be equivalent, as nearly as possible, to the cost of building a similar ship in a shipyard in the UK, and that the difference between the actual cost of construction and such a price would be paid by the Government to the shipyard as subsidy. But the difficulty would be regarding the determination of the UK parity price. Foreign shipyards are reluctant to quote a price unless they have a reasonable prospect of getting an order. Further, the cost of building the same ship in different shipyards in the UK differs. These are the problems that confront the shipyard at present.

The Progress of the Damodar Valley

The Damodar Valley Corporation now in its fifth year of construction programme has so far spent about Rs. 45 crores out of the revised estimates of Rs. 83.8 crores for the first phase of development. The Tilaiya Project is in final stages and the opening ceremony of the dam was performed by the Prime Minister on February 21, 1953. About 5,000 acres were irrigated from the reservoir here during the year. Two generating sets of 2,000 Kw each are being installed. About 55 per cent of the earth dam and 63 per cent of the concrete dam at Konar has been completed. It is almost ready. The gates will be fixed by the end of this year. At Maithon the right embankment has been built. The river has been diverted through a tunnel, and work on the main earth dam is proceeding. In the Panchet Hill area good progress has been made on the diversion channel.

The first unit of 50,000 Kw at the Bokaro thermal power station began to operate on February 21, 1953. Two more units have been installed in June of this year. The transmission system to distribute the power produced at Bokaro has also been completed by June 1953.

The Damodar Valley is the source of important minerals in India. It contains nearly 80 per cent of India's known resources of coal, 94 per cent of her iron ore, 70 per cent of her mica, 100 per cent of copper, 10 per cent. manganese, 100 per cent kyanite, 70 per cent chromite, 45 per cent china clay and asbestos and 20 per cent lime-stone.

The supply of electric power will facilitate the exploitation of these resources, will increase food production

in the lower reaches of the river and improve the navigation facilities for better trade and commerce.

The committee, under Mr. P. S. Rau, the present administrator of Pepsu, which had been appointed by the Government of India last year to investigate charges against the Damodar Valley Corporation, was understood to have reported that as a result of high charges for extra-contractual work on the Konar Dam, the Corporation was liable to overpay to the extent of Rs. 175 lakhs, reports the *PTI*. These items, like clearing the jungles, it was pointed out, should properly have been included in the contract itself. The rates allowed were also on the high side. Mr. Rau was stated to have said that some of the criticisms were justified, specially in regard to the nine-crore Konar Dam. The Tilaiya Dam was originally designed to be an earthen one. But the design was changed to a concrete construction long after the plans had been finalised and tenders had been invited, resulting in an increase in its cost by about rupees one crore. He had also criticised the failure to appoint a Chief Engineer for the Corporation for the first three years of its life.

The report was now under the consideration of the Government of India. *PTI* reports that "one of the points under consideration is how far even in the absence of a chief engineer in the early stages the high charges and payments could have been avoided in view of the fact that the Corporation had the services of a firm of Swiss consultants for the construction of the Konar Dam, as also a number of Indian technical personnel at lower levels who were acquainted with Indian conditions and rates." The Swiss firm had been engaged for a fee of Rs. 18 lakhs to advise the Corporation on the Konar Dam and, particularly, for preparing designs, drawing up tender documents, selection of contractors, supervising contractors and checking the bills of contractors before payment.

The Government had decided not to renew the terms of the Chairman and other members of the Corporation, it was learnt.

Situation in Hyderabad

Sri B. Ramakrishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad, told a Press Conference in Hyderabad on July 17 that the State Government contemplated floating District Development Loans to the tune of four to five crores of rupees and the loan amount collected from each district would be spent on developments on that district, reports the *Hindu* in its issue on July 19. The Premier said that an announcement to this effect would be made after obtaining the necessary concurrence of the Government of India. The Loan would enable the State Government to develop those areas to which proper attention could not be given in the Five-Year Plan for lack of resources. Rupees forty-one crores allotted to the State under the Plan were to be spent mostly to complete projects that had been taken up. The Government would finance the development of

the Mahrathawada area, to which no project could be provided under the Plan, by the State Government, Central Government and the District Development Loans to be floated.

The Chief Minister disclosed that the Government had decided to set up four Wage Boards, which would find out the extent of hardship caused to labour by the demonetisation of Hali currency. According to the Premier, the State Government had under contemplation a proposal to introduce a labour unemployment insurance scheme.

The Government had also sanctioned a land census scheme at a cost of Rs. 15 lakhs, to be completed by the end of the year. The Government would shortly take a decision in the report submitted by the committee on the question of abolishing cash grants to Mansabdars which now totalled Rs. 26 lakhs. The Government had also appointed an expert committee to examine the question of land development under the Tungabhadra. At present 2000 acres were ready for cultivation and soon another 4000 acres of land could be reclaimed.

The correspondent of the *Hindu* further reports that "questioned whether the Nizam had obtained the permission of State Government before he authorised his financial adviser to bring out a book *From Ruler to Rajpramukh*, the Chief Minister replied that no such permission was necessary. The book contained facts which were known to everybody. Besides, it was meant for circulation in India, and was not to be sent to foreign countries. It was obviously intended to meet the agitation to curtail the compensation that was given to him in lieu of taking over his personal estates by the State Government. 'Perhaps' the mark had been overhit'."

Film Industry and Finance

In an interview with the representative of the *Hindu* in Madras on July 10, Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting said that though the organisation of a Film Finance Corporation was no doubt very important, the problem was one of finding money for starting such a corporation. The Government was not in a position to provide the necessary finance; however, they were thinking over the matter and considering whether it was possible to get money from somewhere for such a corporation.

Music Policy of 'All-India' Radio

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Sri B. V. Keskar, had recently introduced measures banning the relay of film music which was said to corrupt the people's tastes; and auditioning of artistes throughout the country and categorizing them, so as to improve the quality of the classical music from A.I.R. Discussing these measures in an article in the *Vigil* of July 18, Sri C. P. Wadehra writes: "The mark has been missed in both." The first had anta-

gonized the listening public and the second had resulted in extreme apathy, and even positive hostility on the part of the artistes who were the main prop of the A.I.R.'s programmes.

Sri Wadehra writes that there was certainly no denying the fact that certain film songs had a very undesirable effect on the people. But for all that it was wrong to brand all film music as falling in such category. All film music was not "vulgar." On the contrary, the connoisseurs of classical music would admit that certain musical forms, such as, *thumri*, *dadra*, *ghazal*, *kajri* and *ghaiti* were invariably woven round the so-called "vulgar" themes. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that very often film songs acted as an aid to the masses for an appreciation of classical music itself.

But the All-India Radio refused to recognise the beauties and subtleties of film music. According to Sri Wadehra, the proper thing for them to do would be to "pluck out the string of vulgarity and cheapness from film music and let the rest take care of itself. It should not throw the baby along with the bath water."

Criticizing the measure of auditioning of artistes Sri Wadehra writes that it "has hitherto done more harm than good." The selection of the personnel for the jury was not happy. With the exception of Rattanankar and Patwardhan, none of the others were "better than non-conversant listeners. It is hard to see on what criterion Mr. H. N. Haksar, Proprietor of Pandit Bros., New Delhi, has been included in the committee." Besides, it was hardly possible to judge the abilities of an artiste by a single performance. Hazards of mood, instrumental accompaniment and audition consciousness might intervene to spoil his performance. Moreover, in many cases the judges had no idea of the artistes broadcasting from stations other than that lying in their region. Therefore, the writer suggests that an official of the local A.I.R. should be on the jury to advise the jury in all such cases.

There were instances of misjudgements due to partiality and prejudice of the judges. He lists several such instances. One of the instances he cites related to Ustad Chand Khan who had refused to broadcast from the A.I.R. as he was shabbily treated by the jury. Sri Wadehra writes: "While the jury thought lightly of this venerable artiste, the A.I.R. insisted upon his broadcasting in the National programme on June 27. A violinist from Bombay who was given "C" class was re-auditioned at the instance of the authorities and the same jury declared him as a musician of the highest merit."

The writer alleges that the power of exempting certain artistes from the audition tests had not been properly used by the jury "whose members invariably exempted their own friends and *chelas*, but subjected

even eminent musicians to the test." He continues: "And as far as the North is concerned, it is the 'Bhatkaude Group' that is in power and it favours at various A.I.R. stations only its own men."

Concluding he writes that while auditioning as such need not be given up, the authorities should see that no injustice was done to eminent and deserving musicians and nepotism and groupism were not allowed to have free play.

We ourselves are very pessimistic about the functioning of the A.I.R. The *Vigil* has put emphasis on one aspect of the A.I.R. programmes. Similar criticism might with justification be levelled about many others. Each centre has its local cliques which influence not only the choice of artistes but all matters where money and patronage are concerned. Even the local committees usually have a large number of totally unfit persons, incapable of either preventing the deterioration of the programmes or of suggesting alternatives. But then such is the condition of all Government departments, inefficiency, corruption and nepotism being rampant. In the A.I.R., there are further some even viler factors.

Library Movement in India

Sri Girija Kumar wrote in the *Vigil* that the library movement was a powerful social agency for universal social education. The name 'library movement' was somewhat misleading in Indian context because it had hardly touched the fringe of any section of the mass of people in our country. This limitation of its growth was due to illiteracy, absence of library legislation, poverty and limited influence of democratic ideas.

The first landmark in the growth of the library movement, according to the writer, "was the establishment of a free State-aided library system throughout Baroda State forty years ago." At the unofficial level the contribution of Madras was unique. The Madras Library Association founded in 1928 launched a systematic campaign for the passing of a library legislation which was partially successful when in 1949 the Madras Public Libraries Act, 1948, the first of its kind in India came into force. Though the Act had some inherent defects and its implementation was rather slow, it was very much welcome as a first measure of legislative enactment. The efforts of Dr. S. R. Ranganathan were also a great contribution towards the growth of the movement.

In the opinion of the writer, the National Library, Calcutta, did not perform any of the functions of a national library. He suggests a central enactment with the following provisions: "(1) To watch the progress of library development, (2) Persuade States to set up a comprehensive library system, (3) Establish the National Central Library, and (4) Make library finance statutory as for other essential services."

The Palm Gur Industry in Madras

The *Hindu* writes that Madras was the leading producer of palm-gur. The industry had received an impetus with the introduction of prohibition in some of the States. Figures relating to the industry showed that in 1952 more than two thousand jaggery manufacturing co-operative societies in Madras had a membership of more than a lakh and a half and the annual production was twenty-two and a half lakhs of maunds of jaggery, valued at about Rs. 78.1 lakhs. Madras had made efforts to increase output and improve the quality.

The newspaper continues that though palm-gur was claimed to be more healthy, people preferred to use white sugar. In the opinion of the newspaper, therefore, "what seems required urgently is the widespread introduction of cheap but effective method of manufacture of gur in attractive and clean forms and the marketing of the product in a manner which would increase the number of consumers."

The price of sugar being what it is, there should be no difficulty in disposing of the gur if the price is as low as indicated in the valuation above. If the gur be *clean and fairly dry*, both of which qualities being easily attainable, and is kept out of the black market, then that could be a real source of income to a host of tappers. Gur cannot be used in tea or coffee because of its strong flavour, but it can be consumed in many different forms of sweets, comestibles and dishes. Some cheap literature on that could be distributed through ration-shops, where they exist, and the Government might buy and sell the clean product for a while, just to encourage the better type of producers. The cottage industries department should take it up, without increasing the price unreasonably, as they do in almost every case.

Checking Expansion of Rajasthan Desert

The *Bombay Chronicle* of June 19 reports that much headway could not be made with the scheme for the immobilisation of the Rajasthan desert which was expanding insidiously. Mr. Mahendra Prakash, Senior Officer of the Research Station at Jodhpur, said that the slow progress in afforestation and land reclamation was due to the high cost of operations.

Mr. Chaturvedi's plan to immobilise the desert envisaged the establishment of a Desert Afforestation Research Station at Jodhpur which would study the sylviculture of various species growing already in the desert; possibility of the introduction of exotic species of trees from other countries; hydrological conditions by collection of water level data of wells; rainfall; and wind velocities at selected points.

The Desert Station would also maintain a large seed store for the free distribution of seeds of various species, carefully cleaned and packed, to be sown broadcast at the break of rains. In addition, the Officer-in-Charge of the Station was to arrange for demonstration of desert control methods by organising the creation of cases of vegetation around Raja-

sthan Armed Constabulary Posts; Railway Stations, Police Stations; Tehsils and Schools; creating a fifty-mile wide forest belt extending over 400 miles to withstand the onslaught of blown sands from Sind, the belt to be located about five miles inwards of the western border of Rajasthan and completed in ten years; establishing shelter belts along selected roads and railway lines running transversely to the direction of winds.

The pressing need of Rajasthan at present, the newspaper adds, was to increase the proportion of the area under forest which was now only 10 per cent of the total area. The desert region had, however, only less than 1 per cent under forest.

Crisis in the Uttar Pradesh P.S.P.

The *People* writes:

"The crisis of confidence that occurred at the Betul Conference of the Praja-Socialist Party is having serious repercussions in the PSP ranks in U.P.—as must be the case elsewhere. . . . The crisis of Betul has a long past. The U.P. Socialist Party is familiar with such crises for quite some time and has not been able to resolve them in spite of Kripalani's meandering into Marxism and Lohia's surface sympathy for Sarvodaya."

The first collision between the leadership and the rank and file of the U.P. Socialist Party occurred at the Muzaffarnagar Conference in 1949 when the leadership suffered a reverse as its nominees lost in the battle of ballots over the election of the new executive. At the following conference at Azamgarh, Sri Jaiprakash Narain only temporarily succeeded in patching up the differences. The Praja-Socialist merger was another bitter shock to the U.P. Socialists. Even Acharya Narendra Dev did not feel quite happy with it. This was due to the fact that the K.M.P.P. in U.P. consisted of Rightist Congressmen. The recent talks of coalition with the Congress and Government on the top and on a personal level had led to some genuine heart-searching among the Socialists, who were now seriously attempting to reconsider their Socialism.

According to the paper, the chief dilemma facing the Praja-Socialist Party was "one of clearly and definitely defining their ideology when everybody is some sort of a Socialist." In U.P., this predicament was all the more great because the Congress leaders there were old Socialists.

Dr. Lohia's influence was on the wane among the U.P. Socialists, though he carried the day at Betul.

New Horizons in Orissa Politics

Significant news is coming from Orissa Congress circles. *PTI* reports that Sri Harekrushna Mahatab had expressed his desire to resign from the post of Secretary-General of the Congress Parliamentary Party. He was also reported to be in correspondence with the Congress President and the Secretary of the Congress for resigning his membership of Parliament

and the A.I. C.C. He would engage himself in constructive work among the people of Orissa.

The Chief Minister of Orissa, Sri Nabakrishna Chowdhury, is also understood to have expressed his desire to be relieved of the leadership of the Party so that he could devote himself to the Bhoodan movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. It is known that his family members have been opposed to his continuing as Chief Minister for quite a long time, and are now pressing upon him the futility of functioning as a driver of the Congress engine.

Literacy in Bombay Villages

A survey carried out by the State's Bureau of Economics and Statistics in 1951-52 revealed that 17.41 per cent of the rural population of Bombay were literates.

Mr. "Statisticus" analyses the results of the survey in an article in the *Bombay Chronicle* and writes that according to the survey, the proportion of literates was the highest among the age groups 6 to 15. The overall picture of literacy among the young was that 40 per cent of them were literates and 60 per cent still illiterate.

The results of the survey was confirmed by the national census which had recorded a figure of 17 per cent for literacy of the rural population in Bombay. Incidentally, Bombay was the first State in India to introduce free and compulsory education.

The Power Behind Bhoodan

As there are many curious explanations of the nature of Bhoodan movement, we give the following words from Vinobaji's speech at Chandil:

"Many ask me: You seem to have considerable influence with the Government. Why do you not then press them to pass a suitable legislation and thus bring about the distribution of land without compensation? I reply, I do not stand in the way of legislation.

"If, however, this does not satisfy you and you want more from me, I may tell you that whatever the measure of success I may achieve in my work, it will surely facilitate the passing of such legislation. I am creating the atmosphere which will smoothen the way for it.

"But there I must stop. If I go a step further and start repeating that our objective cannot be achieved except through legislation, then it means I have strayed from my duty, the duty imposed on me by the particular path that I have chosen to go. My duty is clear. It demands that without taking recourse to legislation we should be able to bring about a change of heart among the people, so that they may voluntarily distribute land without waiting for the legislation. Is it because of legislation that mothers suckle their children?

"There is then such a power as love in the hearts of men which enriches human life. Man lives on love, he is born through love and through love is he sustained in his life and finally when he makes ready to depart from

here and looks around to catch a sight of his dear ones, it is love which consoles him and strengthens him to start on his unknown journey.

"If in spite of such overwhelming evidence of the power of love on every side, I do not endeavour to enlarge the bounds of this force so as to make it the basis of social life, if instead I merely keep harping on legislation, I fail to discharge my duty and I falsify the hope of the Government. I therefore want to devote myself to the creation of *Jan-Shakti*; the forging of the sanction of enlightened masses—a power which is opposed to the force of violence and different from the authority of the State."

Indians in Kenya

Mr. Peter Evans, the Irish lawyer, who had been deported from Kenya, speaking on July 2, at a dinner given by the Indian National Overseas Congress at the Tajmahal Hotel, Bombay, criticized the Indian leadership in Kenya, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*. Mr. Evans said that the mentality of the Indian leaders was outdated and they were still thinking in terms of 'special rights,' unless the Indian leaders gave up this attitude and were ready to share the lot of the African masses, Mr. Evans warned, they would be "finished as settlers" and would be rejected by the masses of Africans. "The Indian settlers would perhaps even be forced back to India if they alienated the sympathies of the Africans."

"One ray of hope for the Indians," Mr. Evans said, "was the slow but gradual emergence of 'new and younger Indian leadership'. This consisted of young businessmen but mostly of the young professionals—the doctors, teachers, and the lawyers."

Speaking on the same occasion, Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Secretary-General of the Kenyan African Union, said that the Africans looked to the East and India for encouragement in their struggle for national independence. He said he had been overwhelmed at the sincerity of the Indian people for the Africans.

Mr. S. K. Patil, President of Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, endorsed the view of Mr. Evans that Bombay could give a lead in mobilising Indian opinion in the country to bring pressure on the present Indian leadership in Kenya so as to bring about harmony between the views of the Government of India on the subject and the views of the Indian leaders in Kenya itself.

Foreign Agents in Indian Press

The special correspondent of the *People* in New Delhi writes that there was great anxiety in New Delhi over the growing influence of certain foreign agents over some sections of the Indian Press. "These agents," the correspondent writes, "no longer satisfied with merely getting praise for their power bloc, and abuse for their enemies are attempting to dictate newspaper attitudes even in national affairs." Continuing he writes: "It is learnt on good authority that the new line, which the foreign influenced section

of the press would take now would be one of supporting the Congress and sabotaging Shri Nehru on the international front."

This new strategy for the purchased press had been devised after the debacle that certain foreign influenced papers had faced in becoming blatantly anti-Nehru and anti-Congress.

The correspondent notes that since the efforts of the American newspaper *Tycoon Marguline* to buy up or start newspapers in India were rebuffed by the Indian press and public foreign agents had succeeded in employing some Indian newspapers and even newspapermen to serve their ends. He refers to the fact that "newspapers that have recently grown prosperous by merely changing their content and tone without any increase in their circulation or advertisement revenues are numerous." The recent session of the Federation of Indian journalists is said to have also drawn the attention of all concerned to this aspect.

This is a most curious statement and evidently refers to papers in Delhi or New Delhi. But is that all the reason behind criticisms of Pandit Nehru?

Krishna Menon Defence Minister?

The *Hitavada*, July 13, reports that Sri V. K. Krishna Menon was likely to be included in the Cabinet as Minister of Defence. He might also replace Sri Charu Chandra Biswas as the leader of the House in the Council of States. Sri Menon had already been elected to the Council of States in the vacancy caused by the death of Sri Gopalaswamy Iyengar.

Earlier on July 3, the *Bombay Chronicle*, quoting the *U.P.I.*, had also predicted an imminent change in the Cabinet and a reshuffling of the portfolios. The possibility of Sri Menon's joining the Cabinet was also stressed. It was stated further that some members of the present Ministry might quit. The portfolios listed as likely to change hands as a result of the re-shuffle included Food and Agriculture, Railways and Transport, Home Affairs and Planning.

As the Ministry stands today, it matters little as to what changes are made in the personnel of the Cabinet. Sri Krishna Menon may be given any portfolio without causing any deterioration or improvement regarding the efficiency of that august and effete body. Pandit Nehru has a unique system in choosing his colleagues. The common citizen has less than little to say about that, having given him the supreme authority. The bye-elections that are now taking place provide some index about the esteem with which the general public regard the methods of our tin-gods.

Abroad also our stock is sinking because of Pandit Nehru's wobbling methods and incongruities. The contemptuous statement of Dr. Syngman Rhee is only a straw in the wind.

If we had a choice, we would have preferred to put a poet of standing, like Sri Suryakanta Tripathi "Nirala" in charge of defence—since "offense" is

anathema. His poems would have cheered the troops and melted the hearts of our enemies. Nothing further could be done by any Minister while Pandit Nehru held the reins.

Portuguese Possessions in India

Dr. Antonio Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal, declared in Lisbon on July 12 that Portugal would not negotiate for the transfer of a fraction of her possessions in India either with or without a plebiscite. Apparently Portugal's constitutional obligations and her debt to the people of Portuguese India stood in the way.

Commenting on the statement Mr. Peter Alvarez, Vice-President of the National Congress of Goa, said that the statement did not come as a surprise as it was quite in keeping with Portugal's imperialist tradition. Dr. Malan had assured Belgium, France and Portugal of his support for their territorial possessions in Africa because of their common purpose to 'stabilise and civilize that country.' Mr. Alvarez said that Dr. Salazar's statement was an extension of Dr. Malan's principle to Indian territory.

Mr. Alvarez said that during September the Action Committee of the peoples in foreign possessions in India would draw up their plans for a co-ordinated movement for liberating the people of Goa and Pondicherry from Portuguese and French rule.

Mr. George Vaz, the General Secretary of the Goan People's Party, said that Dr. Salazar was being backed by the imperialist powers, the U.S.A. and Britain, who were under treaty obligations to come to Portugal's aid, should India decide to take direct action to end the foreign pockets in Free India.

Mr. Vaz said that the Mutual Assistance Pact signed between Portugal and America in 1951 by which Portugal would use such money and armaments as necessary to defend her imperial possessions in India and elsewhere, must be considered as hostile to India.

In reality it is the vacillations of our own Cæsars and Pro-Consuls that have brought us to this low rank in the Comity of nations. If their spinal cords could be stiffened, all else would vanish.

Developments in Nepal

Referring to the formation of a care-taker government under Sri Matrika Prasad Koirala, leader of the newly-formed National Democratic Party, the special correspondent of the *Leader* at Kathmandu writes that the King's proclamation terminating the counsellors' regime and establishing a popular ministry indicated the King's sincerity for democratic ideals. He reproaches the other political parties for not joining the Cabinet and praises Sri M. P. Koirala's action in accepting the King's invitation to head the new government.

Referring to the charges of the Nepal Congress under Mr. B. P. Koirala that the ministry was undemocratic and a product of conspiracy and palace

intrigue, the correspondent writes that nothing was "further from truth and nothing could be meaner, because the Nepali Congress till the eleventh hour were themselves striving to join the same ministry with the same leader."

The correspondent adds that the present Premier, Sri M. P. Koirala, was trying to expand his Cabinet, the sanction for which had been accorded to him by the King, but all his efforts to rope in some well-known political leaders and independents had so far been infructuous. The Premier was reported to be willing to accord parity in the government to the Nepali Congress. But the Working Committee of the National Democratic Party feared that if any such opportunity was extended to Sri B. P. Koirala, he was certain to delve into group politics and make it difficult for the ministry to work as a team which was so essential for its success.

The diplomatic correspondent of the *People*, however, has a different story to tell about the same happenings. He invites the attention of all Indians to the growing anti-Indian feeling in Nepal which was being whipped up by Nepalese undesirables and foreign agents. This anti-Indianism came to the fore during the reception given to Tensing Norkey by the people of Kathmandu. The correspondent writes: "How the Indian pressmen were abducted and maltreated is a well-known tale, but it is not known that even the Indian Ambassador had difficulty to get access through the crowds and reach his seat at the reception." According to him, the Indian advisers in Nepal, partly contributed to this anti-Indian feeling. The advisers had been in Nepal for over two years to advise the Government of Nepal on political and financial matters. But, nothing seemed to have been done so far.

The correspondent writes: "Everybody in Nepal believes that certain foreign agents operating through one of King's closest friends, who owns big business in India, are exercising their sinister influence over the King."

These agents were allied to the ex-Ranas and the Gorkha Parishad. But since it was very difficult to push through to power such a discredited and communalist body as the Gorkha Parishad, those foreign agents wanted "continued chaos in Nepal, so that at a future date it may become another Korea or Kashmir giving free play to international intrigues." Those agents were, therefore, sabotaging by all means any effort for a rapprochement between the Koirala brothers.

The correspondent further writes that "some months ago there was a missionary influx into Nepal to the extent that even the Government of Nepal were alarmed. But since some of the King's closest advisers are agents of that foreign power they hushed up the whole episode."

Referring to the formation of the Ministry, the

diplomatic correspondent writes that the "Cabinet was formed in a conspiratorial manner which, perhaps, came as a surprise even to the Indian Ambassador, who as the reliable reports go, was informed only two hours before the swearing in ceremony.

"Besides two men, Dr. D. R. Regmi and Mr. Tanak Prasad were invited to join the Cabinet only two hours before the swearing in ceremony and naturally both of them refused. Even the King's councillors did not know of it in advance."

Meanwhile, rumblings of revolt were now audible in Nepal. A *PTI* despatch from Kathmandu on July 11 said that the Governor of Dailekh, Nepal's western area, had fled to Nepalganj, on the Nepal-Uttar Pradesh border, following unrest in his province. The insurgents were reported to be led by Sri Bhim Dut Pande, the Communist leader. *PTI* correspondent in Bareilly reported on July 21 that the rebels were retreating after their first engagement on the 19th with the Uttar Pradesh Armed Constabulary lent by the Government of India and operating under the joint Indo-Nepalese command. Two Communist rebels were reported to have been killed and over 50 injured while 276 insurgents including their 28 leaders were captured. The correspondent of the *Leader* at Bareilly reports that the Commander-in-Chief of Nepalese armed forces who had earlier visited Lucknow reached Dudwa, base of operations near the Indian border on the 19th July and held consultations with the Indian officials who readily accorded their permission for transit of Nepalese armed forces which were being rushed through the Indian territory for putting down the insurgents.

A *PTI* despatch from Kathmandu on July 26 states that the Prime Minister, Sri M. P. Koirala, said that the Government had no concrete evidence so far whether the Communist Party or any other political party had inspired the activities of Sri Bhim Dut Pande, who was stated to be a follower of Dr. K. I. Singh, Nepalese rebel leader now in Tibet.

No clear picture can be materialised out of this chaotic nebula. But one thing is clear. And that is we are going to be befooled again, thanks to our Foreign Minister's wonderful choice of men and bumbling methods.

U.S. Interference in Kashmir

The *Leader* in an editorial on July 19 writes that though it could not agree with those who said that India had committed a mistake by referring the Kashmir question to the Security Council, it had to be said with regret that the Western Powers had misused their influence both inside and outside the Security Council in regard to the question of Kashmir. Even after six years the U.N. had failed to brand Pakistan as aggressor though it took them only a few hours to do so in the case of Korea. The difference of U.N. attitude in the two cases confirmed the Soviet allegations that the United States and Great Britain had been

sabotaging a solution of the Kashmir problem.

The only positive course of action suggested by the Anglo-American bloc was a plebiscite in Kashmir supervised by foreign troops. "If this resolution had been implemented," the paper goes on to say, "soldiers from Britain and America would have taken possession of Kashmir, the present Kashmir Government would have been superseded and either an American or a British soldier would have been appointed dictator in Kashmir." India had wisely opposed this solution.

But, the editorial continued, foreign interference was still continuing and Pandit Nehru's recent protest was therefore quite welcome. The editorial refers to certain suggestions put forward by the American press which, if implemented, would lead to a Balkanisation of Kashmir. The American formula provided for the incorporation of so-called Azad Kashmir in Pakistan, the accession of Jammu to India, the conferment on the Kashmir Valley of the status of an independent State and no plebiscite. "This solution," says the paper, "cannot be acceptable to the people of Kashmir and India because it is not a just solution. Whereas they wanted that the United Nations should take steps to put an end to Pakistani aggression, the arrangement suggested will enable Pakistan to a considerable extent to gather the fruits of her aggression. As for the offer of independence to the Valley, it is device to create a split between India and Kashmir . . ."

In this connection we have to take into consideration the attitude of Sheikh Abdullah, who has been set firmly on his feet by Pandit Nehru and has been able to make a catspaw of the Indian Union for his own personal ambitions and interests, thanks to the inhibitions of Pandit Nehru regarding the communal bogey. Pandit Nehru's 'trusty' advisers have helped Sheikh Abdullah very considerably, though in an indirect fashion. As a result today we stand to lose either way, after having poured out blood and treasure in torrents to save the people of Kashmir from aggression. It is apparent to all but the Sheikh that no part of Kashmir can exist as a fully sovereign and independent State for any length of time, but that does not help in this crazy world.

East Berlin General Strikes

Those of us that have observed at first hand the unrest in Calcutta during the last one month will read the following account, taken from the *Newsweek* of New York for June 29, of the East Berlin strikes. Of course, the latter were on a far greater scale, the causes being infinitely graver. The totalitarian methods of combatting the uprising are also instructive.

"The stone proved mightier than the sword last week. True, the Russians crushed with tanks and guns the mass rebellion of the workers of East Berlin. But the final victory belonged to these Germans. The men and boys hurling stones at tanks, burning Red flags, and attacking the Red Police demonstrated that

force alone was not enough to break the human spirit. And they were able to fight the good fight in a showcase along the dividing line between West and East Berlin, where their heroism could stimulate the entire free world. For two days they showed the West how weak its enemy was and how strong it was—if it had the courage to use that strength.

The Spark : On Tuesday morning, June 16, in East Berlin, construction workers reported on the job as usual at the massive model housing project along the stretch of Stalinallee. But about 9 o'clock, the clatter of construction stilled as workers by thousands downed tools. Some bare to the waist, some in white smocks and paper caps or the carpenter's traditional black velvet, they began to march up the newly broadened showpiece avenue behind a blue banner. Originally it had boasted: "Block 40 fights proudly for socialism!" Now the cloth had been turned back to front and upside-down and painted with a new rallying cry: "We demand a lowering of the work norm!"

Ostensibly the workers were protesting a new order increasing work-quotas by 10 per cent without raising pay. But as they headed for Leipzigerstrasse, seat of the principal offices of the puppet Red government, their chorus of shouts came from more deeply seated grievances: "We don't want to be slaves! We want free elections! Down with the People's Army! Down with the government!"

The swelling procession halted noisily in front of the gray building which once housed Goering's Air Ministry. "Bring out [Premier] Grotewohl!" "You've had your turn—now it's our turn!" Fritz Sellman, heavy industry chief, at last ventured out. "Fellow workers—!" Instantly a great chorus of "You're no worker!" drowned out his voice. A tall bricklayer leaped up beside him, denounced the regime, and called for a general protest strike.

At 2 o'clock, the outdoor loudspeakers announced that the work-quota order had been revoked. But by now East Berlin was beginning to seethe. The Communist banners and posters that almost cover the drab walls of East Berlin were yanked down. Laborers attacked and scattered blue-shirted youth groups. Angry street-corner gatherings shouted down Red agents arguing against demonstrations. A Russian armored division began moving into the city.

The Blast : Wednesday, June 17, began with rain. It didn't stop the East Berliners from massing in the streets and the squares. The general strike was on; even subway and streetcar service halted. From the suburbs and as far as the huge state steel plant at Hennigsdorf, 12 miles distant, thousands of grim East Germans converged on downtown East Berlin.

They found every important government and party building ringed with black lines of *Volkspolizei*, backed by Russian tanks and troops. A huge mob gathered on the parade ground of Marx-Engels Platz to burn posters and demand free elections. Youths climbed the bullet-

scarred Brandenburg Gate, hauled down the huge Red flag raised over it by the Red Army, and burned it—with Russian soldiers looking on from one side and a West Berlin throng from the other.

As the fever of rebellion mounted, Deputy Premier Otto Nuschke, fat, bearded, and 70, was trapped by a mob and handed over to West Berlin authorities like a prisoner of war (they returned him two days later).

Russian infantrymen advancing with fixed bayonets stopped an attack on the Politburo office, but an assault on *Volkspolizei* headquarters was only driven off when shots were fired into the crowd. By early afternoon the Soviet military commander in Berlin had proclaimed martial law and Soviet tanks were trying to clear the embattled streets. Machine-gun fire crackled and demonstrators dropped. Enraged, the rioters rained stones against the advancing tanks and forced them to close hatches; men leaped on their decks and struggled to break off the radio aerials.

In spite of a curfew and the arrival of a new Soviet tank division, the violence continued on Wednesday night. By next day, the East-West Berlin border was closed tight and mass arrests were under way. A firing squad executed the first alleged "foreign agent provocateur"—Willi Gottling, a 35-year-old jobless West Berlin painter with a wife and two small daughters.

The Berlin general strike spread into an East German revolt. Flames swept the huge Leuna synthetic-gasoline refinery at Halle. Mines, docks, factories, and rail routes throughout the zone were out of service as the rioting spread. At the end of the week much of East Germany was under martial law. No one knew how many had died.

The Shock Waves : In West Germany, flags flew at half staff everywhere in mourning for the victims of Soviet repression. West Berliners stormed and wrecked the Communist headquarters in their sector. Mayor Ernst Reuter of West Berlin called the events "a full revolution and the beginning of the end of the East Berlin regime." The allied military commandants in Berlin protested the execution of Willi Gottling as a "travesty of justice" and appealed to the Russians to stop shooting: "Enough blood has flowed."

Unrest in Czechoslovakia

Not even the Red regime in Prague could conceal last week the impact of its drastic economic decrees of May 30. Copies of the Pilsen Communist organ *Pravda*, filtering across the Iron Curtain into Vienna, admitted that a "counterrevolutionary putsch" had been staged in protest in that arms-making city. By the Reds' own stories, machinery at the huge Lenin (formerly Skoda) works in Pilsen was destroyed and the City Hall archives were burned. Photos of Stalin and Klement Gottwald, late Czech President, were "publicly trod underfoot"; the Soviet flag was "disgraced" and an American flag was waved. But in the end, the Pilsen *Pravda* reported, "this gang of rioters" was "liquidated."

Exit Beria

The fall of Lavrenti Pavlovich Beria, deputy premier of the Soviet Union and No. 2 of the Triumvirate, is another more proof that the basis of the Soviet regime is the government by elimination. Over the fate of Beria revolve much guesswork and speculation since the drama has been played behind the closed doors of the Kremlin. The blow struck at the policeman-in-chief is really directed at the whole policy of reform and concessions that followed since Stalin's death. During the first hundred days or so after Stalin, Soviet policy reflected a coherent picture. The new regime was beginning to eliminate the worse features of Stalinism at home and was determined to take a more conciliatory attitude towards the West. The stage thus seemed to be dominated by reformers and conciliators—but the followers of Stalinism that were bred in toughness seemed lost and bewildered. After the Berlin rising the Stalinists raised their heads again.

It is now clear that the form taken by the campaign against Beria marks a return to Stalinism at its worst. When a man who has served his country for the whole of his adult life is described as a "bourgeois renegade," a "hireling of foreign imperialism," and an "enemy of the people," and when mass vituperation against him is staged throughout the country, Russia seems to be rattling back to the day of the notorious thirties. At least this is not the way of liberal reform. Further, it is significant that throughout the indictment of Beria reference is made to intensified infiltration by foreign agents, and stress has been given on increased vigilance. This was the main refrain of the campaign that was going on before Stalin's death and this reached the climax with the doctors' plot. It suddenly stopped on the morrow of Stalin's death when Beria assumed direct control of home affairs and internal security. The line of policy was reversed. During Beria's hundred days the crucial point was that the grip of the police was not tightened but relaxed. An amnesty was proclaimed and the constitutional rights of the citizen were emphasised. The "criminal" Jewish doctors were set free. Their accusers from the security services were arrested for having extracted information by "unconstitutional means." The self-confidence of the totalitarian policemen was being sapped. Beria's move was towards a freer democracy based on popular support secured not by threats but by consent. But Stalinism dies hard, although the Master is dead and Beria had to follow the fate of his predecessors, Yagoda and Yezhov.

The sequel to Beria's move was played out first in his native Georgia and then in all the other republics of the Soviet Russia. The "tough" directors of the purge, recently appointed who had been thriving on the vigilance campaign, were dismissed. Their victims were rehabilitated and charges of "nationalism" against them were exploded. In the process the whole Moscow policy of Russification was discredited and several of its exponents were eliminated. This is now being described by Beria's accusers as his attempt to excite "bourgeois

nationalist" elements as a prelude to a restoration of capitalism. The charges of "capitulation" to foreign imperialism is indirectly a condemnation not only of the internal policy followed in recent months after Stalin's death, but also the new approach towards the West and of reforms within the Soviet sphere as well. The Berlin and East German revolts played an important part in discrediting Beria's policy of conciliation. It was only after Berlin (June 17th) the signs of a comeback of the Stalinist diehards could be visible. The cult of the dead Master was partly revived and the very reporting of Berlin events, with its emphasis on the part played by "foreign agents" smacked of Stalinism. The partisans of "toughness" raised the plea that a switch from the iron hand of a General Chuikov to the velvet glove of a Mr. Semeonov would lead to the disintegration of the Soviet State, without any compensating gains.

The exit of Beria may not necessarily bring a reversal in the Soviet foreign policy in the immediate future, nor a sharp change in the treatment of Eastern Europe is expected. It is however said that the Berlin riots and their repercussions were not the only causes of the set-back of the conciliators. The growing economic difficulties in Russia are also responsible to a certain extent for the downfall of Beria. The new regime on assumption of power promised a more plentiful supply of consumer goods, hoping to obtain it partly through cuts in the production of other things and partly through increased production. The move towards liberalisation at home seems to have resulted in reduced supply of foodstuffs and a relaxation of factory discipline.

Regarding Beria's downfall there is another interpretation that this is the result of a struggle for power between rivals and this indicates a personal victory for Malenkov. It should however be remembered that a personality rises to power only as a representative of groups, of social trends and political forces. And moreover, the stress in the indictment on the need for collective—not individual—leadership strengthens the view that Beria's fall does not indicate Malenkov's climb to supreme power, but is rather a concession extracted from Malenkov by Russia's tough men for keeping him in power. It is however not easy to say who are these tough men that control the destiny of the nation from behind the curtain. One thing is certain and it is that the army, whatever role it played in the struggle, emerges as the principal beneficiary in the present political turmoil. Internecine struggle among civilians has strengthened its hands, while a return to vigilance and the glorification of the army opens the door to Bonapartism. Malenkov's is a very difficult job and it is confirmed that he does not lean too heavily on the victors over Beria.

The Stalinist policy towards national minorities was discarded by the new regime and there was signs of liberalisation in the treatment of minorities. The problem of minorities is a vital one for the Soviet Union, as there roughly half the total population is non-Russian. The economic development of the country, which brought

about a growth of non-Russian intelligentsia, has rendered the nationalist question still more acute. Stalin's successors thought that the Soviet Union could be cemented better by a more conciliatory method. During the very short period of the united regime, the Russifiers were in disgrace, and the "nationalist culprits" of Georgia, Ukraine or the Baltic States rehabilitated. Soviet propaganda always moves between the two poles of "co-existence with capitalism" and "imperialist encirclement." The possibility of the former and the risk of the latter are never completely dismissed and either one or the other is being played up at different times. When "co-existence" dominates the stage, relaxation, concessions and reform are advocated. But when emphasis is laid on "encirclement," appeals are made to vigilance and toughness, particularly in the vulnerable outposts. Just before Stalin's death warnings against "encirclement" became louder than propaganda about "co-existence." During the following hundred days after Stalin's death the line was reversed. A milder policy towards the minorities was advocated by Stalin's successors as part and parcel of a general campaign of relaxation. Now it is discarded and the cry of "encirclement" is being revived. *Pravda* recently warned: "To think that the capitalist world can look with equanimity upon our economic successes, successes which infect the working class of the whole world with the spirit of revolution is to indulge in illusions." The blame for the departure from the Stalinist policy of Russification is now being put on Beria who is being accused of "having tried to sow discord among the people of the USSR and to foster the bourgeois nationalist elements in the republics."

Changing Lights in the U.S.S.R.

During March many changes came out of Moscow. Communist organs throughout the world began to stress the possibility of "peaceful co-existence." Malenkov declared that no issues existed between Russia and other countries that could not be settled by peaceful means, specifically mentioning the United States. In the U.S., Mayor Ernst Reuter of Berlin contradicted press reports and said that West German goods passing through the Soviet Zone were receiving little interference and were not stolen, as so often stated. The Russians opened the Rothensee Canal in Berlin, connecting the city with Ruhr industries. Soviet radio broadcasters emphasized American help in winning the war against Hitler. Russian delegates to the European Economic Commission ceased recriminations and worked harmoniously. In the U.N., Russia voted with the U.S. to choose Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary General.

April brought more surprises. Where Soviet sailors had been punished for fraternizing with citizens of countries at ports of call, they were permitted to visit Paris and praise its beauty. U.S. editors were lavishly dined at Moscow and given freedom to look around. Secretary of State Dulles remarked: "Nothing that has happened, or which seems to me likely to happen, has

changed the basic situation of danger in which we stand." At Moscow, the accused doctors were freed, and those who charged them with murdering high officials were arrested, instead. At the American Embassy in Moscow, a group of high Russians attended a party and made themselves agreeable. At the Finnish legation, Molotov mingled with Western diplomats in an easy and friendly fashion. At the U.N., Soviet spokesmen drastically modified their germ warfare charges and their insistence on pressing them, Soviet censorship in Russia was markedly liberalized. *Pravda* asserted that no longer would one-man rule be tolerated, but would be supplanted by group decisions. President Eisenhower's peace speech was published fully and promptly, and the U.S.S.R. gave an immediate and optimistic, if firm, reply. Even the *New York Herald Tribune* declared: "Russia is receptive."

Meanwhile, Chou En-lai in Red China had indicated a willingness to re-open truce talks, and if he proved intransigent later, it could not be said that the U.S. negotiators were entirely flexible or conspicuously bent on speedy accomplishment. As May went on, Hungary concluded an agreement over the long-disputed Danube shipping, and Rumania did the same with Yugoslavia. Washington newsmen found the Russian Embassy willing to answer their letters of inquiry. Western military men going through the Soviet Zone of Berlin were no longer shadowed. Terms of abuse previously used to blackguard the West by East German speakers were banned. At Moscow, however, Marshal Nikoli Bulganin said that Russia wants peace, but must continue to arm until tension ends—thereby taking the words out of the mouths of some dozens of speakers in and out of the U.S. Congress. Finally, on May 16, William Oatis was freed from his Czechoslovak prison.

Soviet-French Trade and Payments Agreement

Tass reports that as a result of the conference for the development of trade between the East and the West convened by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe last April in Geneva, Soviet-French trade negotiations were opened in Paris on June 6, 1953 and culminated in the signing of a trade agreement and payments agreement on July 13.

These agreements were concluded on the basis of the September 3, 1951 agreement for regulating trade between the U.S.S.R. and France. The trade agreement would run for three years and deliveries by each side during the first year would approximate 12,000 million francs.

The U.S.S.R. would export to France, corn, anthracite, coal pitch, chromium ore, manganese ore, asbestos, oil, furs and other goods in exchange for which France would deliver to the Soviet Union, among other things, rayon yarn and fabrics, woollen, cocoa beans, citrus fruits, lead and essential oils. France would also build for the Soviet Union cargo ships of a 5,000-ton

carrying capacity, hoisting and transport equipment and steam boilers, this equipment to be delivered during the second and third years of the operation of this agreement.

Under the payments agreement, accounts for mutual deliveries were to be settled in French francs.

The Other Side of the Medal

In view of many contradictory phases of world events, the following remarks, taken from the *Worldover Press* of June 12, are interesting:

"Stubborn inflexibility may be a virtue at rare intervals in human affairs, but in the complex area of world relations, it is becoming one of the biggest nuisances with which intelligent people have to contend. Totalitarianism is not only a theory of government, it is a state of mind, and nothing in our time is more conspicuously impeding progress. All over the globe we are hampered by this humptious attitude, so like that of the proverbial (and universally hated) sandlot baseball youngster whose method of coercion is: 'If I can't bat when I want to, I'll take my bat home.'

Syngman Rhee was only the latest stuffed shirt in the Korean mess to lay down his own law to the world. All through the protracted truce negotiations, the Communists have been proudly hard-boiled, and at many times the U.N. negotiators, meaning those from the United States, have been a close second. It remained for Rhee, in collaboration with Senator Taft, Senator Knowland, and the Washington coterie who have so often talked glibly of widening out the war, almost to break up the hope of a truce at the most crucial stage.

Over in Europe, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, desperately fearful lest German rearmament fails to go through, thus frustrating his desire for greater power, has begged President Eisenhower not to enter into any direct negotiations with the Russians. Knowing rearmament is still unpopular with millions of his countrymen, apprehensive of the Social Democrats' strength, he is out to convince the world that German unity can't be had without German remilitarization. The truth is just the other way around. Adenauer and his friends would prefer a national army, but knowing they can't have it, they are stubbornly plugging for a big share in the European Defense Community—a share they will try to make bigger and bigger at every opportunity. Everything, even a possible settlement of the cold war, must to bent around to fit the Chancellor's internal program.

As usual, the more insistent each so-called statesman is about having his own way, the more he relies on the menace of Communism to justify what otherwise would often be laughed at as fantastic. No one who follows this column could say it has been remiss in warning of Communism's real dangers; but Communism is not the sole and exclusive threat to freedom. Sometimes you wonder what would happen if there were no Communism to use as a justification for everything men want and couldn't hope to get without it. Around Washington a

quarter of a century ago, the Big Navy boys used to say they needed a mammoth navy to protect the Philippines; it was often whispered sardonically that in reality, the Philippines were necessary to save the navy. Whether or not that was true, it is true today that without Communism, many a "leader" would be left without an idea to his name. Look at Mossadegh, who is suffered because he seems to be the best bet against Communism.

Fortunately for such people, the Communists themselves can be counted on to give an assist whenever sanity is likely to break through. On 258 separate occasions, the West has tried to get Soviet agreement to an Austrian peace treaty. Now Russia backs away again, leaving open some devious diplomatic channels, but shunning any decisive top-level conference. As if it had suddenly found itself so amiable as to be alarming, the Kremlin had to show that it could be "firm" and like a veritable rock. The Communists have long been masters at the art of embedding themselves in a stony petrification. But alas, they haven't been alone.

Few people would advocate letting China into the U.N. while it is still a belligerent in Korea, but to tie the President's hands, and those of the American people (not to mention the entire U.N.) is nothing less than an act of political sabotage. How unrealistic is the old rocklike stubbornness behind this move can be seen when you realize how often the enemies of today become the allies of tomorrow. Right now it may appear inconceivable; but the day might come when Americans would be as glad to see Red China in the U.N. as it would be at the present time to see the entry of its former enemies, Japan and Italy. In any event, the one characteristic of a sane foreign policy which no government can afford to surrender is flexibility, the right to change as the facts themselves become different."

American Publishers and Book-burning

The American Library Association (21,000 members) and the American Book Publishers Council have come out against the book-burning policy of the Government of the United States under the direction of Senator MacCarthy. In a declaration issued during the first week of July they said: "The freedom to read is essential to our democracy. It is under attack."

The declaration said that books were among the greatest instruments of freedom—the natural medium for the new idea and the untried voice, from which came the original contributions to social growth. They were essential to the extended discussion which serious thought required, and to the accumulation of knowledge and ideas into organized collections. Therefore, it was in the public interest that publishers and libraries should make available the widest diversity of views and expressions including those "which are unorthodox or unpopular with the majority. . . ."

The declaration continued: "It is contrary to public interest for publishers or librarians to determine the acceptability of a book solely on the basis of the

personal history or political affiliations of the author. A book should be judged as a book. No art or literature can flourish if it is to be measured by the political views or private lives of its creators. No society of free men can flourish which draws up lists of writers to whom it will not listen, whatever they may have to say."

It was the duty of the publishers and librarians to contest encroachments upon the freedom to read by individuals or groups seeking to impose their own standards or tastes upon the community. No group had the right to impose its own concepts of politics or morality upon other members of a democratic society.

The declaration added: "We state these propositions neither lightly nor as easy generalizations. We believe that what people read is deeply important; that ideas can be dangerous but that the suppression of ideas is fatal. . . . Freedom itself is a dangerous way of life, but it is ours."

With this book-burning, Senator MacCarthy has brought the U.S.A. in line with Hitler's Central Europa and Stalin's U.S.S.R.

"Nothing like Leather"

As the prospects for a quick Korean truce improved, the question of the admission of Red China to the United Nations increasingly haunted Anglo-American relations. At the same time Whitehall, presumably prodded by the so-called China Traders' Lobby, stressed anew the importance to Britain of trade with China. Perhaps the explanation lay in the sardonic remark of one influential Briton: "We British have always sold cooking pots to cannibals and there is no reason why we should not continue to do so now."

Story Behind U. S. Wheat Aid to Pakistan

The *Star* of Lahore in its 17th July issue publishes a dispatch from its U.S.A. correspondent, Mr. Munir Ahmad, giving the background story of the United States million-ton wheat aid to Pakistan.

According to Mr. Ahmad, "The decision of President Eisenhower to ask the Congress to make a gift of wheat to Pakistan was apparently based upon the report of Dr. Reed's special mission which pointed out the critical shortage of food supply; and also upon the report of Secretary Dulles in which he stated that the shortage of wheat was a grave and immediate problem for Pakistan and without large imports widespread famine would ensue."

Mr. Ahmad lists the following reasons as prompting the U.S. to come to Pakistan's aid:

Firstly, it fitted into the American policy of "enlightened self-interest" whereby the U.S. Government wished to have friends and allies throughout the world. It was also in keeping with the greater interest evinced by the present administration in Asian affairs.

Secondly, the U.S.A. was facing an unprecedented problem of storing 37 million tons of surplus wheat.

The wheat aid presented her with an opportunity of disposing her stocks, at the same time gaining for her the goodwill of foreign people.

Thirdly, the present Government in Pakistan was more friendly to America than any one before. The correspondent notes that "especially Prime Minister Mohammed Ali was noted in this country (U.S.A.) for his unqualified support to the West in his speeches. Sometimes he seemed to go a few steps ahead of Karachi in asserting Pakistan's alliance with America."

Fourthly, a strong Pakistan would act as a counterpoise to India so far as the balance of power in South-east Asia was concerned; and it would tend to check India's independence of action in the international field.

Fifthly, there was a precedent in the U.S. wheat loan to India.

Sixthly, there was the obvious consideration of the great importance Pakistan had in the Muslim world. This aspect was greatly emphasized by Mr. Dulles in his broadcast to the American people on his tour of the Middle East and South-east Asia.

Lastly, Mr. Ahmad lists a psychological factor. He writes that "so far the best way to get aid from Washington has been to tell Uncle Sam that your country is strongly threatened with Communism; the Communists are increasing in number and unless American aid is rushed to stabilize the crumbling economy, the country would go Red. This approach has worked splendidly well. . . ."

Nurul Amin also to go?

Pakistani politics seems to be in a flux. After the sudden dismissal of Nazimuddin there was at first a tendency not to accept the new Premier, Mr. Mohammed Ali, but, to quote the *Star*, "overnight a change came and people began to hail him as their 'Messiah'." The plight of the common people, however, had changed very little from the change in the top and retrenchment was still going on in all Government departments and mercantile firms.

Eastern Pakistan also had its share of this political conundrum. On the occasion of the recent visit of Mr. Mohammed Ali to that Province political activity was stepped up and, according to the Chittagong correspondent of the *Star*, ground was being prepared by the Opposition to oust Mr. Nurul Amin from his stewardship of the Province. The correspondent adds:

"East Pakistan's 'Political Robert Bruce' Mohon Mian who has been trying to capture power for the past many years, has not given up all hope. He is still doing his level best to make his men ministers. He had been to Karachi to discuss with Prime Minister Mohammed Ali and to impress on him that the Nurul Ministry has failed to deliver the goods for the common man."

The Dacca correspondent of the paper writes that there was some difference between the Pak Premier's

recent visit to East Pakistan and the previous one. While his first visit was intended to enlist supporters to his regime the latest visit was primarily related to bringing about some order in the chaos within the Muslim League which was torn asunder by a weak and ineffective leadership and by the growth of an opposition party within.

A Second University in East Pakistan

The *Star* reports that a new university had been started in Eastern Pakistan since July 1 by elevating the grade one college at Rajshahi to that status. The university would have jurisdiction over the area known as the Northern Bengal districts of East Pakistan. It was estimated that about seven thousand students would be benefited from the new university.

If this report be correct, then a move in the right direction has been made. No university can function with a large sprawling area within its orbit. The control becomes inefficient and the conflict in interests that follows hampers the actual progress of education. The foundation of the Dacca University was a consequence of the recognition of that fact.

Terms of Reference for Repatriation

The long-awaited truce has come at last, even though it might look uncertain as yet as to its duration. As such the repatriation terms as originally framed are worthy of record.

On June 8, General Nam Il, of the Korean People's Army and General William K. Harrison, United Nations Command Delegation, reached an agreement on the repatriation of the prisoners of war. The agreement provided for a Neutral Nations' Repatriation Commission consisting of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Switzerland and India to "take custody in Korea of those prisoners of war who, while in the custody of the detaining powers, have not exercised their rights to be repatriated." The Commission would have its headquarters in the vicinity of Panmunjon and would be headed by India. India would provide "sufficient armed forces and any other operating personnel required to assist the neutral nations' repatriation commission in carrying out its functions and responsibilities." The representative of India would also function as the umpire in accordance with the provisions of Article 132 of the Geneva Convention. Representatives from each of the other four Powers would be allowed staff assistants in equal number not to exceed 50 each. The arms of all personnel provided by the members of the commission would be limited to "military police type small arms."

No force or threat of force would be used against the prisoners of war to prevent or effect their repatriation. The Commission was to ensure humane treatment to the POW's in accordance with the specific provisions of the Geneva Convention.

All prisoners of war who had "not exercised their

right of repatriation following the effective date of the armistice agreement shall be released from the military control and from the custody of the detaining side as soon as practicable, and, in all cases, within sixty days subsequent to the effective date of the armistice agreement to the neutral nations' repatriation commission at locations in Korea to be designated by the detaining side." The detaining side would withdraw its military forces and the locations would be taken over by Indian troops. But the detaining power would be responsible for maintaining peace and tranquillity in the areas around the locations where the POW's were in custody.

"The neutral nations repatriation commission, after having received and taken into custody all those prisoners of war who have not exercised their right to be repatriated, shall immediately make arrangements so that within 90 days after the neutral nations' repatriation commission takes over the custody, the nations to which the prisoners of war belong shall have freedom and facilities to send representatives to the locations where the prisoners of war are in custody to explain to all the prisoners of war depending upon these nations their rights and to inform them of any matters relating to their return to their homelands, particularly of their full freedom to return home to lead a peaceful life." The number of such explaining representatives was not to exceed seven per thousand prisoners of war held in custody of the Commission and the minimum authorized was not to be less than a total of five. All explanations and interviews were to be conducted in the presence of a representative of each member nation of the Commission and a representative from the detaining power. After 90 days the work of the explaining representatives would cease.

Prisoners of war in the custody of the Commission would be free to communicate with the Commission for which there would be full facilities.

The prisoners of war seeking repatriation were to make an application requesting repatriation to a body consisting of a representative of each member nation of the neutral nations' repatriation commission. The application was to be immediately considered to determine by majority vote the validity of such application and on approval, the POW's concerned "shall be immediately transferred to and accommodated in the tents set up for those who are ready to be repatriated."

After the expiry of 90 days after the transfer of custody of the prisoners of war to the Commission, the question of disposition of the prisoners who had not exercised their right to be repatriated would be submitted to the political conference recommended to be convened in Paragraph 60, Draft Armistice Agreement, which was to endeavour to settle that question within 30 days, during which period the neutral

nations' repatriation Commission would continue to retain custody of those prisoners of war. The Commission was to free all prisoners of war who had not exercised their right to be repatriated and for whom no other disposition had been agreed to by the political conference within 120 days after the neutral nations' repatriation Commission had assumed their custody.

The Commission and the Red Cross Society of India would assist all those prisoners who indicated their willingness to go to a neutral country and after 30 days the Commission would be dissolved. If after the dissolution of the Commission any former POW would want to return to his homeland, the authorities of the country where he was staying would be responsible for assisting him in his repatriation.

Each side was to provide logistical support for the prisoners of war in the area under its military control, delivering required support to the neutral nations' repatriation Commission at an agreed delivery point in the vicinity of each prisoner-of-war installation. Both the contending parties were to be responsible for providing logistical support for the personnel of the Commission stationed in the area under their respective control and contribute on an equal basis to such support within the militarized zone.

After the armistice agreement became effective, the terms of this agreement would be made known to all prisoners of war who, while in the custody of the detaining side, had not exercised their right to be repatriated.

The interpretation of the agreement would rest with the Commission, which, including all its subsidiary bodies, would operate on the basis of a majority vote. The Commission was to submit a weekly report to the opposing commanders on the status of prisoners of war in its custody, indicating the numbers repatriated and remaining at the end of each week.

The agreement would be effective upon the date the armistice came into operation and after all the five powers mentioned had acceded to it.

Rhee's Standpoint

To most of us the actions of Dr. Syngman Rhee appear inexplicable. The following extract, from the *Newsweek* of June 22, might help in clarification.

Rhee and his Cabinet aides declared repeatedly: "A truce on the present terms simply means death to us. . . . Chinese Communist forces should be driven out from our territory even if in so doing we have to fight by ourselves. . . . We cannot survive without achieving unification." In Philadelphia, ROK Ambassador Dr. You Chan Yang accused "officials of the United Nations" of threatening to cut off even food shipments to Korea, "to force us to accept the truce terms." The State Department flatly denied it, and reportedly considered asking that You be called home.

Only once last week did Rhee hint that his mind

could be changed. Answering question submitted by a Swedish newspaperman, he wrote: "I need something concrete to show the people that our security has been guaranteed. . . . If the U.S. Government is ready to conclude a mutual-security pact, it will be a great encouragement to our people—so long as it is not conditioned, as it [now] is, by so perilous an armistice." President Eisenhower had offered to negotiate a defense treaty with South Korea, but only after the armistice had been signed.

As Rhee continued to blast the armistice "sell-out," U.N. officials in the Far East could only shake their heads and wonder: "What makes the old devil so bullheaded?"

One answer: After 60 years of striving for a single goal, at the cost of months of torture, seven years in prison, and 33 years in exile, it was cruelly hard for an old man to give up his dream. Since he was 19 and leader of an "Independence Club" scheming to rid the government of Japanese influence, Rhee has been struggling for a free Korea. When the Japanese tightened their grasp, Rhee went underground to organize resistance and finally was forced to flee with a price on his head. For decades he endured the embittering life of a lobbyist for an unwanted cause, haunting foreign ministries and international conferences in vain attempts to interest the great powers in the plight of Korea.

To such a man, the war which began in 1950 could only be a struggle to unite his country—not simply a police action to preserve its free southern half. And Rhee's friends believe his single-track ardor was encouraged by his Austrian wife, Francesca. Twenty-five years his junior, she tends his health with equally single-minded devotion and exerts a strong influence on him to persevere.

French Policy in Indo-China

The *Leader* reports that the French Government was reliably understood to have agreed in principle to full independence to Cambodia, Laos and Indo-China, within the framework of the French Union and subject to military control of such regions as are in the operational area of war against the Communists.

France was willing to envisage the granting such demands by Cambodia as its own customs, currency, judiciary (abolition of extra-territorial courts) and national command of its armed forces except in the operational area, east of the Mekong river.

Negotiations on similar lines would be carried on with Emperor Bao Dai, head of the Viet Nam State, who was due on a private visit to Paris shortly and with the representatives of the kingdom of Laos who were already in Paris. Negotiations would be with each State separately.

The French Cabinet would pursue their policy in Indo-China on two lines. They would work out measures of independence with the three associated

States of Indo-China, within the framework of membership of the French Union. At the same time military action would be stepped up within the possibilities of French resources without however having recourse to sending conscripts to Indo-China.

Dr. K. S. Shelvankar writes in the *Hindu*, July 19, that the grave problems and perplexities of the French with regard to Indo-China had in no way been eased by the Washington Conference of the foreign ministers of the U.S.A., U.K. and France and M. Bidault's mission in this vital respect was generally regarded as "having been inconclusive, if not a failure."

According to him, Foreign Minister Bidault, had two main aims: "Firstly, to secure a pledge of increased American aid needed to carry out the so-called 'Narre Plan' for military victory; and secondly, to consider ways and means of terminating the war as part of a wider Far Eastern settlement."

Egypt and Britain

Discussing the Anglo-Egyptian relations in an article in the *Daily Sketch*, London, reproduced in the *Bombay Chronicle* on July 8, General Neguib, President and Prime Minister of Egypt, writes that British occupation of Egypt dated back to 1882 when the British had occupied the country to restore the Khedive's authority following the military rising led by Ahmed Arabi Pasha with the object of securing certain internal reforms. On August 10, 1882, Mr. Gladstone declared before the House of Commons that the British Government did not contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt.

"Such being Britain's commitments and pledges," continues Gen. Neguib, "she was bound, as time went on to attempt a self-vindication and defence of her intentions to remain in Egypt through a series of declarations avowing that the occupation was only a temporary measure and that she would evacuate the country as soon as order and security were established."

During these 71 years the British Government had made 60 such declarations but the British pledges still remained unredeemed. Britain still maintained 30,000 armed forces in the Suez Canal Zone.

All the efforts of Egypt to reach a peaceful settlement had been fruitless because the British "maintained their traditional imperialistic policy and never once deviated from the rigorous self-interest imposed by that policy." With a view to settling the Anglo-Egyptian dispute over the Suez Canal Zone Egypt had tried to accommodate the British but it had been clear that Britain would not be content with less than full technical and administrative control of the base which meant virtual occupation of the Zone. Egypt, being a sovereign country, could not accept such a subservient position. "The Egyptian Government cannot be expected to have on her territory a large number of British technicians receiving their instructions from the British war office direct and having the full management of the base while she complacently looks on," Gen. Neguib says. Egypt

herself could provide the necessary technical personnel.

Concluding he urged a change of attitude on the part of the British Government if friendly relations were to be maintained between the two countries.

Iranian Politics and Oil

The Teheran correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports in the July 7 issue of the paper that political forces in Iran were divided on the question of compensation to be paid to the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He writes: "The pro-Government *Niru-e-Siwam* indirectly defended in an editorial the principle of compensation and criticized Ayatollah Kashani who said that not even a pence was due to the ex-A.I.O.C. as compensation... The anti-Government influential daily *Dad* alleged that Britain had agreed to accept a compensation of £800 million or ten million tons of oil every year till the amount is equalled in price thereof."

The Premier, Dr. Mossadeq, was reported to have set up a special committee consisting of Messrs. Mattian Daftari, Shaygan, Sanjabi, Abulfazal Lisani, Hussaibi Khusbin, Mohammed Hussain Aliabadi and Abdul Hussain Aliabadi to decide the amount that could be paid by Iran as compensation to the AIOC, to find ways and means to lessen international legal complications in the sale of nationalised oil to world markets and to put up suggestions as to how best Iran could sell the maximum quantity of oil under the circumstances.

The Iranian ambassador to Washington, says the correspondent, was believed to have informed Teheran that the question of the Iranian oil would certainly come up for discussion during the Western Big Three meeting after which some new proposals were likely to be made.

In another despatch from Teheran, published in the same issue of the paper, the correspondent writes: "Abadan, the largest oil refinery in the world at one time, has now been 'nationalized' in all respects, so much so that all foreign nationals working in the installations have either been sacked or marked for retrenchment in near future. The strength of the personnel is 3,000, all hands being regularly paid, but the place is no more humming with the previous orderly life and is lying just idle, except for refining oil for home consumption, said Mr. D. M. Jejurikar, Second Secretary to the Indian ambassador in Teheran."

Prof. Vincenc Lesny

We have heard with deep regret the news of the demise of Prof. Dr. V. Lesny of the University of Prague at the age of 71 years.

Professor Lesny was in the first rank of the distinguished Orientalists and Indologists of the West.

He was a great friend of India, having visited this country twice, in 1923 and 1927, in the capacity of a visiting professor at Santiniketan.

Incidentally, he died in April of this year and the sad news has taken over two months to filter through. But we have the assurance of Srimati Amrit Kaur that there is no Iron Curtain!

BHOODAN-YAJNA AS THE CALL OF THE AGE

By SURESH RAMABHAI

It is the object of this article to see how the Bhoodan-Yajna movement is in keeping with the call of this age. Before doing so we must have a clear picture of the national and international situation to-day.

About six years ago the British Parliament passed an enactment partitioning India into two—India and Pakistan, and conferring upon them self-government absolving itself of all political responsibilities in the newly created States. It meant a withdrawal of the British political authority from India. In our country, the goods were delivered to the Congress party which has since been holding the reins of power both at the Centre and in the Provinces (now called States). In accordance with the new Constitution of India, adopted on January 26, 1950, country-wide elections were held in December 1951-January 1952 in which, again, the Congress party was returned to power with a large majority. Almost every adult, male or female, had the right to exercise his or her vote and about seventeen crores of people did exercise it—an unparalleled event in world history. The right to vote notwithstanding, it did not bring about any change in the status-quo. For the legal postulates defining the basis of our 'democratic' constitution, as in any other democratic state, are but the incidents of the standing class-relations in which an economic oligarchy, working on the profit system derived from private ownership, reigns supreme. In sober fact, the Government of India is nothing save the executive instrument of the class in society which owns the means of production and wealth. So the new Republic of India secured political freedom for India as a whole but not for the masses. It remains the exclusive preserve of a bureaucracy controlling the production-resources, again, as elsewhere too.

To come to the economic sphere. The British occupation of India was both political and economic. Nay, it was essentially economic and it was political to the extent to which it protected their economic interests. Surely, British economic interests govern the British political policy resulting in the establishment of a long chain of British possessions from Gibraltar in the Mediterranean, via Suez and Aden, to the far-off Perth on the West coast of Australia. Incredible as it appears, the Republican India has not touched the British economic interest even with a pair of tongs. On the contrary, they have been assured every facility and a no-discrimination guarantee (between Indian and foreign business) promised besides. Intimately linked with and dependant on the British big business is the Indian big business. The latter a new phenomenon since the Great War I, is verily a younger cousin of the former. During non-co-operation days the

latter fully exploited the freedom struggle and made a good headway, though in no way approaching its white brother. Even to-day the Indian business is not resourceful or strong enough to stand completely on its own feet and has, therefore, entered into equal or unequal partnership with the foreign business to gain a firmer grounding. Perhaps this continued dependence of the Indian big business on the British one is very largely responsible for letting the latter remain intact in free India. But it needs no prophetic vision to state that with the lapse of time would deepen the British economic entrenchment which only a strong Government, serving class-interests other than those as the one now, could resist. This, in substance, implies the substitution of the visible political slavery by invisible economic domination of the country.

As observed above, the State in India serves a definite class-interest. To earn more profit this class seeks to extend its activities which means setting up more and more machinery to produce the articles of consumption. In other words, this class brings about a ruin of Indian home or cottage industry wiping out the cunning of the hand or the craft of the village. It has actually led to tremendous unemployment in our countryside, making the village-weaver, oilman, tanner, spinner, shoemaker all idle, and progressively so. Our village self-sufficiency whose foundations were wrecked by the British rulers, seems to be getting the last kicks by the Indian rulers themselves.

Yet another misfortune. In spite of all official support and foreign backing, Indian big business finds that our country is becoming a "high-cost producer in precisely those branches of production where her supremacy had been established by the low cost of management, and her position as an exporter of Jute manufactures, cotton piece-goods, coal and plantation products has been weakened by rising cost of production," which is mostly attributable to wages and other increases in labour-remuneration. The Indian industry must reduce cost which it can do either by paying labour less or retrenching it. As the former is not a practical proposition (for judged by Western standards, Indian labour even now is very poorly paid) the latter is the only course which is termed as "rationalization" in industrial circles. Without installing improved machinery requiring less hands the cost is not likely to go down. This requires retrenchment and yet greater retrenchment, which means further increasing the force of the unemployed.

Unemployment seems to grip not only the uneducated or the unskilled labourer but also the educated or the skilled labourer. The problem of educated unemployed

is assuming alarming proportions and has become a source of headache to the Government. But India Government is not likely to succeed easily where the gigantic, resourceful and colonial Governments like those of U.S., U.K. and France, are not able to pull their way through.

Mounting unemployment and aggravating ruin of our cottage industries are intimately connected with the frequent recurrence of famines or scarcity conditions in several parts of the country.

The social status of an individual is very much a reflection of his economic position. The deteriorating economic condition of a large section of the population, specially of the poorer section has further countenanced social disparities. The Harijans, though by law equal in status to any one else, are almost as outlawed as ever. Isolated humanitarian attempts to mix them with the scheduled caste are only an exception to the general untouchability practice. Besides, the gulf between the rich and the poor has gone wider with no symptoms of its decrease.

The climax of the situation is reached in the administrative sphere. Honesty and industry seem to be at a discount in our present administration. Here is the view of a retired I.C.S. Officer, trusted by the Government and a well-known authority in this sphere :

"In all the circumstances it would not be wrong to conclude the Government is not deeply concerned about clear or impartial administration. Is Government in this country really anxious to stamp out corruption? Obviously not."

This is the picture in brief.

Thus in the different walks of our national life to-day after six years of political freedom, the position of the man in the street has not only not improved but definitely worsened in many a regard. The result is frustration and dissatisfaction and, in general, a consequent disinclination to apply oneself devotedly to any serious objective. The various political parties or the political leaders have no solution for the sad crisis engulfing us all to-day. And India presents the woeful spectacle like that of the unfortunate, inert owner who refuses to work up and till his newly-acquired piece of land. At a time when we should have been marching like one man we are frittering away our energies in trifles, disputes and *tamashas*.

A cold war is on in the outside world divided in two blocs, the capitalist countries led by USA and the socialist ones led by USSR. The former are not only trying to fight out the latter but seeking new colonies (economic if not directly political) or strengthening old colonial powers to pass over the capitalist crisis at home. The latter, not as much suffering from the maladies of unemployment and economic or social disabilities—and enjoying greater social justice than elsewhere, are arming themselves with a terrific speed to meet any eventuality. The moral sympathy of the large masses on the globe is with the latter. But on the whole the world seems to

be receding from peace. For while the one bloc is interested in it only inasmuch as it can help preserve its economic oligarchy, the other, behaving like an armed vigil trying to do away with the vultures likely to seize hold of a carcass, is not inclined, at present at least, to bury the carcass and throw away arms for good. Thus a race for armaments goes on unabatedly in which the greatest casualty is the personality of the individual or the being of man as Man.

It is in the above context of the present situation that Acharya Vinoba's Bhoodan-Yajna movement has to be appraised. Its basic principles, in fine, are two :

- (i) All land belongs to God ; all property is His ;
- (ii) He who feeds his body must work it.

The coal-like crude, allotropic forms of these two diamonds are :

- (i) No body is to remain landless in India ;
- (ii) Everybody who eats must do some bodily labour at least for, say, four hours, a day.

In contrast, the reality is :

- (i) There are crores of landless people in our country ;
- (ii) There are crores who work but have never known a full meal, crores who have no work for many months in the year ; there are lakhs who work (in factories or plantations) but remain underfed and lakhs who do no productive work and yet eat and enjoy.

The method to operate the said two principles is that of love and self-suffering, i.e., Satyagraha and conversion. The movement reposes faith in the essential goodness of man ; his heart is a human heart which cannot escape melting at the higher and yet higher heats of fellow-man's voluntary suffering. As even the hardest platinum melts at the corresponding high temperature of the heat furnace so also the hardest heart, if any, would melt at the correspondingly high human self-sacrifice. Gandhi demonstrated the efficacy of this method in the political sphere in South Africa and India. Vinoba—his chosen and ideal Satyagrahi—seeks to demonstrate the same, as a corollary, in the socio-economic sphere. His is not merely to obtain a bit of land here and another there but to lay, in Vinobaji's words, the foundations of 'Gram-Rajya' (Village-sovereignty) :

"Obtaining a sixth share of one's land is the smallest part of the Bhoodan-Yajna. The land collected has also to be distributed. Those who would be given land would also be provided with resources to cultivate it. They would have to be established on those lands. By means of khadi, village industries, Nai Talim, etc., Gram Rajya has to be established in the villages where we obtain land."

Obviously the movement proposes to upturn the current flow of the tide of economic wealth and resources and build up a new, truly or religiously democratic State which would not dance to the tune of any economic oligarchy. Neither would it perpetuate a managerial class of unproductive Babus and administrators running the State on self-made or totalitarian lines. Nor would it allow Capital to remain and enjoy its present 'gaddi' or capital position, yesterday a keep of the capitalist and

to-day of the administrator ; it seeks to do away with capital as far as possible and crown instead the labour of man. Nor would it let a majority have its say on account of its sheer weight of numbers : no voting but unanimous selection with regard to meritorious and selfless service will determine the leader or the higher authority. Thus the movement seeks to bring about an order which in its political and economic set-up would be in complete variance with the pattern we have to-day. The characteristic traits of the present order, military power and the legal coercive power of the State, would be conspicuous by their absence in the new order which would command only one power, popular strength or the self-reliant power of the people working under the single sanction of progressive non-violent non-co-operation. Again, in this order nobody will be a pure administrator or intellectual worker or desk-clerk nor any a purely manual worker or labourer. The classes will be merged among themselves so that everybody works by hand for his maintenance and nobody is denied an opportunity to develop his special faculties or tastes. In a word, the objective of the movement is the formation of a caste-less and class-less society, with the might of ariens or state non-existent, in which the innocent bar of conscious public opinion settles all problems within and the simple instrument of non-violent non-co-operation, of course voluntary and thorough, meets all foes from without.

The technique employed by Vinoba to fulfill his mission is by now well-known. Like a beggar he goes from door to door saying :

"If you have four sons please consider me as the fifth. And accordingly give me my share."

He makes his appeal on behalf of the Daridra Narain :

"With folded hands I entreat you to fulfill my mission. I am not asking land for my own sake. Those on whose behalf I come to demand are mute and cannot express their minds. I wish my words touch your very hearts straight as Ram Ban (Divine Arrow)."

His appeal is not one of pity. He wants the donors to make their gifts not in a spirit of arrogant generosity but of dutiful devotion as they cannot ignore the writing on the wall. Hence Vinoba's warning is :

"I have attempted to bring it home to the people that land is but a symbol here. It cannot be removed from its place. And when the poor are hungry of it, it is bound to go to them tomorrow if not today, by another means if not this. It is absolutely impossible that the general public should permanently accept the position of being deprived of this land for ever. I, therefore, do not want these lands to pass anyhow from their rich owners to the landless, but that it should reach them by right and proper means."

Thus awaking the rich to his duty and the poor to his right, the movement launches for economic equality on sane and kindly lines, avoiding all bitterness and

inhumanity. When Vinoba obtained six thousand acres in 50 days in Telangana, intellectuals applied their wits to calculate the time to secure the target of five crores acres. But in two years he obtained about ten lakhs and the present speed threatens to recognise no established progressions of Mathematics. They of Mangroth in Hamirpur district of U.P. donated the entire village. So also at Seeyadeeh in Gaya. An unknown and unheard-of phenomenon indeed !

More important than the gifts secured in the movement is the spirit behind it. In the midst of prevailing discontent and frustration Vinoba shows the only way of rescue. Through his movement he provides a medium to carry out constructive work or building the nation anew. While giving hope to the poor he has roused the rich from slumber in time. And because the catastrophe is national, everybody in the nation must contribute his or her share and apply the shoulder. He, therefore, calls his movement *Yajna*—sacrifice. Indian tradition bears it that on occasions of misfortune all joined together in penance and prayer (in the form of fire-worship) to ward off the evil. What form should the penance take today ? Where is *Ghi* to arouse the fire ? Where are other ingredients ? And even can everybody afford to secure timbers to add to it ? No, certainly not. Also the occasion demands highest sacrifice. So Vinoba wants nothing less than one's dearest—the very land on and by which one lives, the very wealth one owns, the very labour one performs—as one's offering in this prayer. This is why donations from the poorest are also accepted. None can be denied the joy of participation in this national penance. And because the penance begins from the self, i.e., one changes one's own heart and fashions one's activity accordingly, it is a revolutionary penance and the Bhoodan-Yajna a revolution of the revolutions. It differs from all preceding revolutions in history in that it does not let one having-to-do-nothing-himself revolutionary bypass himself to rob some one else of his position or privilege : the Bhoodan-Yajna revolutionary has to recast his ownself in a new economic mould before whipping others to social change or economic equality. Which is why the appeal of Bhoodan-Yajna goes straight to the heart and has succeeded whereas every other has failed in modern India.

Now let us briefly see how the movement undertakes to meet our standing problems. Obviously, our food production is low because, in general, those who own land do not till it and those who till do not own it. Reverse the order—he who owns land tills it and he who tills it owns it—and the food problem will disappear like darkness before light and we would be able to provide food to others also after satisfying our needs.

But man does not live on bread alone. So a mere redistribution of land will not serve the purpose. What is required is a decentralised redistribution of all resources and means of production, i.e., creation of decentralised self-sufficient units meeting their basic needs—

like food, clothing, housing, sanitation, medicine, education, etc.—themselves with no interference from without. Says a resolution passed by the Sarva Sava Sangh at Chandil on March 8, 1953 on the occasion of the last conference :

"It is our firm conviction that Sarvodaya Samaj can only be brought into being through the establishment of 'Gram Rajya.' In order to attain this ideal every village must develop the capacity to be self-sufficient at least, with regard to the primary necessities of life, viz, food, clothing, shelter, health and education so that it may not have to depend on centralised production for the satisfaction of these primary needs. This will enable the people of the villages to establish 'Gram Rajya' by their own unaided efforts through the decentralisation of political as well as economic power. In the opinion of the Sangh, unless Power and Wealth are decentralised the individual will not have the opportunity for the harmonious development of his personality through labour rather than by capital.

"Therefore, with a view to give a country-wide impetus to the development of decentralised industries or in other words, village industries, the Sarva Sava Sangh had, in its Sevapuri resolution, appealed to the nation to begin with the boycott of such centralised industries as have been found to prove detrimental to the self-sufficiency of the villages in regard to food and clothing. The Sangh again calls the attention of the people to that resolution with all the earnestness at its command and earnestly hopes that the whole country will make a determined effort to make the programme the success for the fulfilment of the Bhoodan-Yajna."

This plan of an effective boycott of non-village made essentials can be more easily and successfully implemented in villages like Mangroth which, so to say, get a new birth at new redistribution. So long as the entire village land is not redistributed boycott would strengthen and be strengthened by popular opinion. In the words of Vinoba :

"The villages must wake up to the realization of their duty and decide what things they will produce in the village and then ask the Government to ban the import of those things which thwart their efforts. If the Government does not come to their help, they should be bold enough to stand up against the Government. Such resistance by the people against the Government will be of great help to the latter because that would pave the way for doing away with the need for the military. The Centre can never develop enough intelligence for governing all our numberless villages well and wisely. It is simply impossible. Therefore, instead of a body of planners, however competent, for the whole nation, every village should be enabled to become its own planner. The Central Government would only come in to help this village planning wherever and whenever it is approached to extend such help."

Herein lies the seed of evolving not only a new economic arrangement but also of laying up lines to secure political liberty to every citizen, or raising up a religious democracy where man in the street would

command as much, say, as the tallest in the land. Again, not, relying on violent power or coercive power of the State and working its way through popular opinion alone, this new democracy would be something unique in world annals and eliminating the poisonous elements of the so-called democracies of the West pave the way for the flowering up of people's real republics merging morals and ethics, politics and economics, theory and practice, all in one complete whole. It would mark a significant step onward in the march of mankind towards the goal of the kingdom of God, thereby slaking its parched throat which knows no solace at present. No other movement in the world today strives to strike the human malady at so deep a root and save the man from his impending ruin. Vinoba shows for all time that economic issues can be tackled by kindly and non-violent means and social-structures reared up on purely humanitarian basis. The war-mad world may ignore his message today, but if man is to live he cannot but adopt it tomorrow or the day after. That the torch-bearer of this new light should be Gandhi's own disciple and spiritual son with India as his laboratory is worthy both of India and the cause.

For us in India, even grounds of expediency demand, let apart high principles, Vinoba's method must be given every trial and co-operation. With starvation facing us and unemployment stalking around, only the course of decentralised self-sufficiency can get us out of the vicious circle of reducing our every development to disfigurement and progress to poverty. Also reliance on alien arms and ammunition will not let us fare better, in case of contingency, than, say, Japan or France. Just as of boycott and non-co-operation, non-co-operation was the more practical method to face the British boycott, so also decentralised self-sufficiency and Satyagraha or non-violent non-co-operation is the practical method now to meet foes within or without. And we cannot have decentralised self-sufficient units until the whole land mass in the country is rearranged. In other words, every village must become a Mangroth—wholesale donation.

It is a Herculean task no doubt. No single individual can do it. No single party can do it. It requires the united effort of one and all. India is like a house on fire which all inmates, whatever their calling or aptitude, must take to quench with whatever they get hold of—water, sand, rugs, etc. Once the fire is quenched—the enormous disparities in land-holdings removed and land redistributed on just and impartial lines—we can remodel the house to meet every want. The response evoked by the movement during the last two years does show that it is catching popular imagination. And soon it would take us by the storm. Let us lift us out of our little selves and join it and contribute our own offering, humbly and sincerely, in this the greatest penance, mission or Yajna, ever held for the emancipation of the common man.

HISTORY AND GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

I

INTRODUCTION

THE Co-operative Movement in India has been a growth of about half a century and is largely dependent for its origin as well as development on the Government. Even before 1904 (when the movement was first officially set up), the Government was not unaware of the difficulties which the peasants and farmers were facing in borrowing funds and was anxious to ease the situation. As early as 1882 Sir William Wedderburn and Justice Ranade prepared a scheme for establishing the Agricultural Banks to provide loans to farmers. Their scheme was not accepted in the form in which it was presented; but its essential features were embodied in the Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans Act (XIX of 1883 and XII of 1884 respectively) under which the agriculturists could borrow from the Government for productive purposes at about 6½ per cent. Under the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1883, long-term *takavi* loans on the security of mortgage of land, are available for the following purposes:

- (a) Construction of wells, tanks and other works of storage, supply or distribution of water for purposes of agriculture, or for the use of men and cattle employed in agriculture;
- (b) Preparation of land for agriculture;
- (c) Drainage, reclamation from rivers or other waters, or protection from floods or from soil erosion or other damages by water of land used for agricultural purposes or waste land which is cultivable;
- (d) Reclamation, clearance, enclosure or permanent improvement of land for agricultural purposes;
- (e) Renewal or reconstruction of any of the foregoing works or alternatives thereon or addition thereto; and
- (f) Such other works which the Government may so declare.

The Agriculturists' Loans Act made provision for the short-term credit for the relief of distress and to enable the cultivators to purchase cattle, seeds, implements, etc. The Gadgil Committee remarked that such loans were properly closely connected in their origin and their operation with times of distress or famine, and that the Committee had agreed that that Act should be confined to times of emergency and stress and not be used more extensively in normal circumstances.¹

Takavi loans have been advanced not only in times of threatened famine but also for agricultural improvement. But various objections have been raised against such loans. Firstly, it is held that the vast business of financing agriculture in general would put too great a strain upon the Government finance. Secondly, it only furnishes cheap capital and makes no

provision for cultivating thrift and self-help.² The borrower has no interest in the welfare of his fellow-borrowers, nor participation in profits, supposing there were any, and no control over the management.³ Thirdly, loans cannot be advanced under either the agriculturists' Loans Act or the Land Improvement Loans Act for the redemption of old debts or the consolidation of holdings. Fourthly, there has been widespread ignorance about the facilities for credit and procedure necessary to secure *takavi* loans,⁴ which have been positively unpopular. This is attributed partly to the delay and uncertainty in getting the loan, due partly to the strictness of enquiries the administrative officials are required by the Act to make, and partly to the rigidity of the system of collection.⁵ In short, the *takavi* system is claimed to have failed in its primary purpose of stimulating agriculture.⁶ In brief, "the high rate of interest, the rigidity of collection, the onerous terms regarding periods of payment and conditions relating to securities required" are the chief objections to State loans.⁷

In 1892, Fredrick Nicholson was appointed by the Madras Government to report on the advisability of starting a system of Agricultural and Land Banks in the Presidency. He submitted a very exhaustive report summing up the situation as "Find Raiffeisen." He suggested that "small locally worked institutions on the lines of European village institutions were ideal agencies for the supply of rural credit because they would satisfy the postulates of proximity security, facility, excite local confidence and consequently draw in local capital, work cheaply, almost gratuitously and thus provide cheap credit, influence borrowers towards the true use of credit, and watch the utilisation of loans in accordance with the contract, exercise educative influence in matters of thrift, association and self-help, and develop high forms both of individual capacity, of public life and of national character." But his report was shelved. It was declared that it was unnecessary to take any action on it, as rural credit in the opinion of officials was not an urgent problem.

In the meantime, H. Depernex had submitted another scheme under the title of "People's Bank for Northern India." The Committee appointed by the Government of India to consider these schemes came to the conclusion that the best way of providing loans to farmers was to start co-operative societies on the

2. Indian Year Book, 1929, p. 29.

3. Calvert : Law and Principles of Co-operation in India, p. 2.

4. Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, Vol. I, pp. 86-87.

5. Wallis : Co-operation in India, p. 43.

6. Calvert : Op. cit., p. 2.

7. Agricultural Finance Sub-committee Report, pp. 32-33.

1. Report of the Agricultural Finance Sub-committee, pp. 32-33.

lines of Raiffeisen societies. The Famine Commission of 1901 strongly recommended that in order to prevent further famines, it was essential that credit should be made available to the farmers to improve agriculture and that Mutual Credit Association should be started. This point was referred to a Committee in Simla, which in 1901 drafted a Bill for the establishment of Co-operative Societies under the presidentship of Sir Edward Law. After much discussion this new Bill took the form of Co-operative Societies Act of 1904. The passage of this Act formally inaugurated the co-operative movement in India.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

The Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed on the 25th March, 1904. Its chief provisions were:

(1) Any ten persons living in the same village or town or belonging to the same class or tribe, might be registered as a Co-operative Credit Society for the encouragement of thrift and self-help among the members.

(2) The main objects of the society were to raise funds by deposits from members and loans from non-members, Government and other co-operative societies, and to distribute the money thus obtained in loans to members, or with the special permission of the Registrar, to other co-operative Credit Societies.

(3) The organisation and control of Co-operative Credit Societies in each province were put under the charge of the special government officer called the Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies.

(4) The accounts of every society were to be audited by the Registrar or by a member of his staff free of charge.

(5) Rural Societies were to have four-fifth of their members agriculturists; urban four-fifth of non-agriculturists.

(6) The liability of the members of a rural society was to be unlimited, except with special sanction by the local Government; liability of the urban society members might be either limited or unlimited.

(7) No dividends were to be paid from the profits of a rural society but the profits were to be carried at the end of the year to the reserve fund, although when this fund had grown beyond certain limits fixed under the by-laws, a bonus might be distributed to the members.

(8) In urban societies no dividend was payable until one quarter of the profits in a given year were carried to the reserve fund.

(9) Loans could be given only to members, and usually only on personal or real but not ordinarily on chattel security, although ornaments, the common form of savings of many peasants, might legally be accepted as security.

(10) The interest of any one member in the society's share capital was strictly restricted.

(11) Societies formed under the Act were exempt from fees payable under the stamp, registration and income-tax.

In the words of Sir Denzil Ibbetson:

The chief object of these societies was "to give encouragement to the individual thrift, and of mutual co-operation among the members, with a

view to utilization of their combined credit, by the aid of their intimate knowledge of one another's needs and capacities and of the pressure of local public opinion."

In other words, the object was to encourage thrift, self-help and co-operation among agriculturists, artisans and persons of limited means.

Sir Adamson cherished this hope for the future of these societies in these words:

"Our co-operative credit society is but a frail barque launched upon a treacherous ocean but if it can escape from being wrecked by the opposition of the moneylender, if it can avoid being stranded on the shoals of mutual distrust among its members, if it can carry safe to the port a portion of its cargo of self-help and co-operation, it will some day rank as the most important bill ever passed by the Government for the betterment of the Indian agriculturists."

The following table gives us an idea of the growth of the credit societies in India as a result of the Act of 1904 up to 1912:

Year	No. of societies	No. of members	Amount of working capital (in Rs.)
1906-7	843	90844	2371683
1907-8	1357	149160	4414086
1908-9	1937	180338	8232225
1909-10	3428	224797	12468312
1910-11	5321	305058	20305800
1911-12	8177	403318	33574162

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

The Act of 1904 provided for the registration of the Primary Credit Societies only. But the experience of 7 or 8 years' working showed that much progress could not be made in the supply of credit under it to the rural areas. It was for various reasons:

(i) It made no provision for purposes other than credit, i.e., marketing, supply, etc., or for the establishment of central agencies, such as Central Banks or Unions, necessary for the proper financing of Primary Credit Societies;

(ii) The total prohibition of distribution of profits (in Madras and the Punjab) in rural societies with unlimited liability was found to cause some hardship to rural members; and

(iii) The classification of societies into rural and urban was found to be extremely unsatisfactory and inconvenient.

The Government realised these deficiencies and passed a comprehensive Co-operative Societies Act in 1912, the distinctive provisions of which are given below:

(1) Instead of registration being limited to Credit Societies, any society may be registered "which has for its objects the promotion of economic interests of its members in accordance with co-operative principles, or a society established with the object of facilitating the operation of such society."

(2) Unless otherwise directed by the local Government: (a) The liability of the Central Societies shall be limited. (b) The liability of the Rural Societies shall be unlimited.

(3) The requirement of an annual credit is retained, as are numerous other provisions of the Act of 1904.

(4) Any registered society may with the Registrar's sanction after carrying $\frac{1}{4}$ of the annual net profits to a reserve fund, contribute up to 10 per cent of the remaining net profits to a wide range of charitable purposes.

(5) Local Governments are given considerable discretion in connection with the making of rules for the working of societies under the Act, including conditions of membership, methods of operation, procedure at general meetings and provisions for arbitration between members and the committee or officers of the society, such rules to have the same force in the respective provinces as the Act itself.

(6) "Co-operation" may not be used as part of the title of any business concern not registered under the Act, unless it was already doing business under the name before the Act came into effect.

(7) Shares or interest in co-operative societies are exempt from attachment.

(8) Societies have a prior claim to enforce the recovery of certain dues.

The defects of the Act of 1904 were remedied by the new Act of 1912. This Act gave a great stimulus to the co-operative movement. It legalised many co-operative societies which had hitherto no legal recognition. Societies were now classified according as they were limited and unlimited. The Act also recognised non-credit forms of co-operation, such as societies for the purchase of supplies, for sale of produce, insurance and housing. It also recognised three kinds of Central societies as distinguished from primary societies, viz., (a) unions consisting of primary societies for mutual control and credit; (b) central banks consisting partly of societies and partly of individuals; and (c) provincial banks consisting of individuals.

After 1912, there was a rapid growth not only in the number of co-operative credit societies but also in non-agricultural credit societies and in their membership. The development, of course, was not uniform in all the provinces; it being more rapid in areas like Bombay, Madras and the Punjab (where the agriculturist has mortgage rights in his land) than in the zamindari areas like Bengal (where the cultivator has little to offer except his personal security). The non-credit types of co-operation were also being gradually developed, so that societies for milk supply, sale of produce, cattle insurance, yarn, silk and manure purchase, retailing of farm implements and common necessities were also coming into prominence.

THE THIRD STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

The movement entered into the third stage in 1914 when the Government of India appointed a Committee under Sir Edward Maclagan to "examine whether the movement especially in its higher stages and financial aspects was progressing on sound lines and to suggest measures for improvement which seemed to be required." The Report appeared in 1915. It is considered as a document in the annals of co-operative history.

But unfortunately many of the very valuable recommendations made in this Report have not been scrupulously followed. The following points made in connection with Rural Credit Societies in order to make them truly co-operative may be studied with great interest and benefit:

(1) Knowledge of co-operative principles and proper selection of members,

(2) Honesty is the chief basis of the Credit,

(3) Dealings to take place with the members only,

(4) Loans not to be granted for speculative purposes,

(5) Exercise of careful scrutiny before advancing loans and proper vigilance afterwards,

(6) Ultimate authority to be in the hands of members and not in those of office-bearers,

(7) Encouragement of thrift and the constitution of an adequate reserve fund,

(8) Only one vote for one member and maximum publicity within the society,

(9) Capital to be raised as far as possible from savings among the members and neighbours,

(10) Punctual repayment of loans.

The searching enquiries by the Maclagan Committee brought to light a number of glaring defects which hampered the movement in its further development. The chief defects that were pointed out were:

(1) The illiteracy and ignorance of the masses created a number of serious difficulties in the way of management, supervision and formation of the societies.

(2) The members of the management committee acted in a selfish spirit inasmuch as they misappropriated the bulk of the loans by means of *benami* loans, and were found guilty of criminal negligence of duty, of mismanagement and fraud.

(3) Nepotism in advancing loans to the near relations and friends of the committee of management. Punctuality was not rigidly enforced and this delinquency coupled with apathy stood in the way of other members getting adequate credit.

(4) The very notion that co-operation is a Government-born activity or the societies are "Sarkars' Banks" militated against the success of the movement. "When we think of co-operation in India we do not call to memory the humanitarian and philanthropic Raiffeisen but the mercenary Registrar of the Co-operative Societies."

(5) Much delay is caused in granting loans to the needy cultivators and this helps to drive them to the moneylenders.

The Committee very wisely warned against the starting of new societies by remarking that the pace of movement should not be unduly quickened from outside. It emphasized that the urge towards co-operation should be spontaneous as far as possible and pointed to the necessity of guarding against the dangers of granting credit too easily. It further emphasized the need for thorough audit and supervision in order to prevent bad management and embezzlement and to inspire confidence in the investing public. These very sound and valuable recommendations were honoured more often in their neglect than in their

execution. The period between 1904 and the publication of the MacLagan Committee Report in 1915 may be taken as the period of initial effort and planning.⁸

THE FOURTH STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

On the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, co-operation became a provincial subject and was administered by the Provincial Governments. This Act gave the option of retaining or modifying the existing Act of 1912 to the Provincial Governments. Some Provinces exercised the option given to them of enacting their own Provincial Acts and consequently they passed their own Provincial Acts, e.g., Bombay gave the lead by passing the Co-operative Societies Act of 1925. This was followed by Madras in 1932 and Bihar and Orissa in 1935, Coorg in 1937 and Bengal in 1941. The other Provinces have been following the Central Act of 1912. Their Act of 1919 gave great stimulus to the movement. Its success was measured more by its quantity than by its quality, but all seemed to be going on very well during those early prosperous days. The economic prosperity between 1920 and 1929 facilitated expansion and there was a rapid increase in the number of societies. But side by side with this expansion there were also some disquieting features, e.g., a steady increase in overdues. These led to the institution by various Provinces of Co-operative Committees of Enquiry to enquire into the working of movement. The Central Provinces led the way with such an enquiry in 1922, and Bihar and Orissa in 1923. The Okden Committee in U.P., the Townsend Committee in Madras, the Calvert Committee in Burma made similar enquiries. The rapid growth of the movement between 1919 and 1930 is characterised by Mr. Ramdas Pantalu as the period of "unplanned expansion." During this period co-operation received sufficient encouragement under the popular ministers. This will be clear from the following table:

Year	No. of societies	No. of members	Working capital (Rs. 000)
1914-15	17327	824469	122292
1916-17	23036	1048425	311225
1921-22	52182	1974290	311225
1923-24	61106	2313567	405297
1925-26	80182	3058625	576039
1927-28	96091	3070173	767087
1929-30	104187	4181904	895178

Unfortunately with the first onslaught of the depression the fall in prices aggravated the situation and recoveries became difficult. The movement came to grief first in Burma and then suffered seriously in prestige in Bihar, Bengal and many other provinces. Since then efforts are being directed more to the rehabilitation, reconstruction and reorganisation of

existing societies than to further rapid expansion. The co-operative movement in India is passing through a phase of rectification and consolidation, cautious expansion and experiment.¹⁰

When the Reserve Bank of India was established in 1935 it was asked to submit a report to the Government of India on the improvements of the machinery for dealing with agricultural finance and to maintain a special department for the study of all questions relating to agricultural credit. The introduction of the Provincial Autonomy in 1937 was followed by legislation for the regulation of money. The depression in the early thirties of this century and the collapse of the movement in some provinces as a result of it, led to the appointment of special experts and Enquiry Committees in different provinces to examine the position of the co-operative movement and the fundamentals of co-operative structure with a view to reconstruction and in some cases permanent reorganisation. The most important Committees appointed and reports submitted were:

- i. Report of the Co-operative Enquiry Committee, Travancore (1935), under G. K. Devdhar as chairman.
- ii. Report of Committee on Co-operation in Mysore (1935) under K. S. Iyer as chairman.
- iii. Report on Co-operative Societies and Banks in Gwalior (1937) under V. G. Kale as chairman.
- iv. Report on Agricultural Indebtedness in Nizam's Dominion (1937) under S. M. Bharucha as chairman.
- v. Report on the Reorganisation of Co-operative movement in Bombay (1937) under Messrs. V. L. Mehta and M. D. Bhansali as chairman.
- vi. Report on Enquiry in conditions of Co-operative movement in Orissa (1938) under K. Deivasikhamani as chairman.
- vii. Report of Berar Co-operative Enquiry Committee (1939) under P. K. Gole as chairman.
- viii. Report of the Board of Experts for Co-operative Rehabilitation (1939) under V. Ramdas Pantalu as chairman.
- ix. Report on the Co-operative movement in the Punjab (1939) under F. W. Wace as chairman.
- x. Report of the Committee on Co-operation in Madras (1940) under T. Vijay Raghavacharya as chairman.

During the period the development of co-operation is given as below:

Year	No. of societies (000)	Membership (in lakhs)	Working capital (in crores of Rs.)
1931-35	105.71	43.22	91.61
1936-40	116.96	50.77	104.68
1941-45	149.89	72.18	124.35

(To be continued)

8. R. Pantalu : *Year Book and Directory of India Co-operation*, p. 1.

9. R. Pantalu : *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

10. Reserve Bank : *Review of the Co-operative Movement in India*, (1941), p. 4.

THE EDUCATIONAL PATTERN IN PRE-BRITISH INDIA

By S. S. ROY CHOUDHURY, B.A.,

National Archives of India, New Delhi

LONG before the British came into this country, India possessed a sound system of education which catered for the educational needs of the people. The characteristics of this system were extreme simplicity, wide diffusion and practical realism. In an age of predominantly money economy, it is difficult to envisage a time when educational benefits were available at insignificant costs, more in kind than in cash. Social awareness of responsibility to the adolescent school-going population was marked. While education was almost totally financed by public and private endowments and charity, outside interference was reduced to the minimum. The records of the East India Company are replete with references to the gratuitous instruction provided and the refusal of teachers to accept any remuneration.¹ Local initiative and resources were also fully utilized.

Education has been a traditional feature in the Indian economy²; but on the advent of the British it was in its declining years. Though differing in details, the educational system possessed to a remarkable degree features common in all India. An accurate picture of this system is, unfortunately, not available due to paucity of materials. Indian sources are scanty and scattered in a number of literary compositions. Information gleaned from them would, however, furnish us with a rough idea of how the people tended their educational requirements. The launching of Christian missionary educational projects in Bengal from the 18th century onwards focussed attention on the existing state of indigenous education and a number of missionary accounts are with us. Moreover, from 1813 onwards an annual amount of one lakh, subsequently augmented, was available from the Company's revenues for the cause of education. The Company was forced to think out ways and means of spending the money. Mr. W. Adam³ was appointed in 1835 to undertake a survey of the existing state of

indigenous education. Adam's reports, submitted between 1835 and 1838, constitute a veritable mine of information. They, however, unmistakably reveal indigenous education on the way to progressive dissolution.

In the primary stage, instructions were imparted in the three R's and elementary literary compositions; writing of petitions and letters, book-keeping and the like. It attained eminent success in turning out good clerks as is testified to by the almost unanimous verdict passed on Indian clerks by the foreigners. Specialised instructions in advanced literature, humanities, and sciences were provided by the many *tols* or *madrassas* which were interspersed throughout the country. In higher education intimate personal relations subsisted between students and teachers. Higher education was free and the ideal of self-sufficiency was stressed. Financial motives were almost wholly absent and the commercialization of education was undreamt of. Knowledge for its own sake was the ideal of the scholars and the proverbial simplicity of the teachers is quite well-known. The ultimate value of higher education lay in the estimation in which society looked upon the studies of the sacred Shastras. But big educational institutions typified by Nalanda belonged to the forgotten past. Mostly, the schools were run on the personal reputation and discipline of single teachers specialized in particular branches of knowledge. But the abstract and other-worldly nature of their interests and pursuits made them entirely unfit for original speculation and research; their influence on the students and the society in general was not strong and constructive. Concern with the hair-splitting subtleties and niceties of grammar, logic and philosophy deprived them of intellectual freedom and vigour.⁴ Not surprisingly, they failed to take up cudgels on behalf of national culture and national traditions when assailed by the West.

Official and non-official comments and observations on this system are available in plenty. Thus, the Court of Directors in its letter⁵ to the Governor-General-in-

versed in Indian languages and literatures. The reports he submitted to the Government have been edited by Mr. A. N. Bose and published by the Calcutta University.

4. Rammohun Roy cites an instance: "For instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *khad*, signifying to eat; *khadati*, he or she or it eats. Query, whether does the word *khadati*, taken as a whole, convey the meaning he, she, or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinct portions of the word. As if in the English language it were asked, how much meaning is there in the eat, how much in the s? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly or by them taken jointly?"—(Rammohun Roy's Letter to Lord Amherst, December 11, 1823—*Selections from Educational Records*, p. 100).

5. *Selections from Educational Records*, p. 23.

1. "A prejudice appears to exist among the Hindoos at that City (Benaras) against the office of Professor considered as an office or even as a service; and the most learned Pandits have consequently invariably refused the situation although the salary attached to it is liberal."—(Extracts from Lord Minto's Minute of March, 1811).

2. "Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day, there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars. The immense literature which this long period has produced is thoroughly penetrated with the scholastic spirit; and the same spirit has left a deep impression on the social conditions of the people among whom that literature was produced."—(F. W. Thomas: *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*. Quoted in *Selections from Educational Records*, p. 1).

3. Mr. William Adam came as a missionary to India. He was a prominent educationist, journalist and linguist. He was thoroughly

Council refers to "that distinguished feature of internal polity, by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community." It also refers to the adoption of the Indian method of instruction in England by Dr. Bell,⁶

"Which is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction. This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindoos is represented to have withstood the shocks of revolution and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants."

Further,

"Judged by a comparison with any corresponding character in this country, we understand that these village teachers are held in great veneration throughout India."

Mr. Keir Hardie wrote in his work on India:

"Max Muller on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then, 80,000 native schools in Bengal or one for every 400 of the population."⁷

Ludlow⁸ reports that

"In every Hindoo village school which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write and cypher."

Adam says:⁹

"... that these (village schools) are the institutions closely interwoven as they are with the habits and the customs of the country. . . ."

Schools were very simple in organisation, methods of study, equipment and personnel. There was no educational authority to lay down uniform standards in regard to qualifications of teachers, syllabuses, periods of study and such cognate matters. Neither was there any uniform system of examinations. But usually, the Pandit Mahashaya, as the teacher was called, was a man in his middle years, with a stern look and strict discipline, which he enforced by a liberal use of the cane. He established his school either on his own initiative or under the auspices of "princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals, under the

native governments." (Hamilton). In the latter case, his expenses both personal and school were met by his patrons. Thus philanthropy, public and private, perquisites and fees went into the finances of the average school.

Ordinarily, the school consisted of only a bare room. The students brought pieces of carpet or matting, books and writing accessories. Classes in the modern sense were not there. The school assembled in the early hours of the morning or late in afternoon, leaving noon-time free for rest and sleep. All students at different stages of progress read together and the teachers taught on an individual basis, varying his progress according to individual capacity. The general course ranged from 4 to 6 years. In the absence of common educational standards, conditions were bound to differ greatly from place to place, often from village to village. With all these, there was, on the whole, a certain uniformity of the ideas about education which people entertained in widely separated parts of the country.

A new-comer started his auspicious life of student-ship by a prayer at the altar of Goddess Saraswati or God Ganesha as in Western India. He was initiated into the mysteries of the alphabet by writing on the ground with a piece of stick for a few days. He, then, went up to the palm-leaf stage, writing difficult parts of the alphabet, like joining vowels to the consonants, forming compound letters, syllables and words. He also learnt by heart the tables of numeration, money, weight and measures and the correct mode of writing the proper names.

A year after, the novice wrote on plantain leaf with lamp-black ink. The subjects of study during this stage were the simplest forms of letter writing, composition distinguishing the written from the spoken, simple arithmetic, simple mensuration of land and accounts, both agricultural and commercial. The method of study was to read aloud the different tables, "the forms of keeping debit and credit accounts, calculation of the value of daily or monthly rates."¹⁰

The student now came to the stage of paper. Advanced accounts, arithmetic, composition of letters of all kinds: business, grants, leases and petitions. He was now eligible for the grant of a certificate if the pathshala could only grant it.

The punishment meted out to defaulting scholars took various forms. The scholars on their part also played various tricks on their teachers. A number of them are quoted here from the *Calcutta Review*, No. IV, p. 331:

"A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground; a heavy brick is then placed on his back, and another on his neck; and should he let either of them fall, within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane."

10. Adam's Report, p. 131.

"A boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position, with one leg turned up behind his neck."

"A boy is made to hang for a few minutes, with his head downwards, from the branch of a neighbouring tree."

"His hands and feet are bound with cords, to these members so bound a rope is fastened, and the boy is then hoisted up by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school."

"The boy who first comes to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand, the next receives two strokes, and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of boys that preceded him, the first being the privileged administrator of them all."

On the tricks played on the Guru Mahashaya:

"In preparing his *hookah*, it is a common trick, for the boys to mix the tobacco with chillies and other pungent ingredients; . . . or, beneath the mat on which he sits, may be strewn thorns and sharp prickles, . . . or at night, he is waylaid by his pupils, who, from their concealed position in a tree, or thicket, or behind a wall, pelt him well with pebbles, bricks or stones; or, once more, they rehearse doggerel songs, in which they implore the gods, and more particularly Kali, to remove him by death—vowing, in the event of the prayer being heard, to present offerings of sugar and coconuts."

The scholars had a number of ways of evading the school, one of them was,

"... in making good their escape, they often wade or swim through tanks, or along the current of running drains, with a large earthen pot over their heads, so that the suspicion of passers-by, or of those in pursuit, is not even excited . . ."

or another amusing way,

"... the runaway actually remained for three days on the top of a coconut tree, vigorously hurling the coconuts, as missiles, at the heads of all who attempted to ascend for the purpose of securing him."

Higher education was mainly concerned with gaining mastery over the Vedic texts and other sacred ore. The primary purpose of higher education was religious as learning in the Shastras ranked high in social estimation. So every encouragement was bestowed and inducement offered to learn as well as to teach. Social assistance, both public and private, was ever lacking and deserving students found full opportunity to pursue higher studies.

As in primary schools, land and occasionally suitable buildings thereon were received in gift by the teachers from the land-owners, kings and others religiously inclined. Often the expenses of residential accommodation both for teachers and students were provided out of charity, sometimes in the form of landed gifts or in that of regular monetary assistance. After the completion of the buildings, "the teacher invites a number of respectable Brahmins and give them some presents. Occasionally the teacher instructs his own junior relations and establishes his reputation

by occasional public disputations."¹¹ The students learnt their lessons in turn from their teachers in the morning while in the evening and at night they revised what they had learnt before.

Adam classifies schools of higher learning into three categories.¹² Doubtlessly, this classification is general and quite a large number of the schools fell into one or other of these:

1. Schools where grammar, general literature, rhetoric and occasionally the great mythological poems and law were taught.
2. Schools where chiefly law and occasionally mythological poems were taught.
3. Schools where solely logic was taught.

There were standard books on each subject, supplemented by commentaries.

In the first kind of schools, the teachers asked the students to commit to memory their lessons and after that they explained the meaning of difficult passages. It took two to six years to complete the grammar course and when Panini was taught, even ten years. After gaining a working knowledge of grammar, the student concurrently proceeded with law, philosophy or literary texts along with the remainder of grammar.

In the other kind of school, the pupils were divided according to their progress. In the presence of the teacher, the best reader read aloud to the class and the other students asked for and got explanations from the teachers. Law and logic studies were exceptionally difficult and students used to go from one teacher to another getting the best out of them. It took six to ten years to complete the legal and logical course. The following quotation from Mr. Ward would give an idea:¹³

"Amongst one hundred thousand Brahmins, there may be 1,000 who learn the grammar of the Sanskrit, of whom four or five may read some parts of Alankara Shastras. Four hundred of this thousand may read some of the Smritis (or law works); but not more than any part of the Tantras. Three hundred may study Nyaya, but only five or six the Mimamsa, the Sankhya, the Vedanta, the Patanjali, the Vaisheshikas or the Veda. Ten per cent in this number of Brahmins may become learned in the astronomical Shastras, while ten more understand them imperfectly. Fifty of this thousand may read the Bhagavada and some of the Puranas."

The immediate impression gathered from the above is its extreme simplicity. Absence of detailed rules and regulations, minimum expenses, simplicity of materials used, tended to make it cheap and simple. Of course, mere simplicity is not capable of balancing deficiency which indubitably existed in other respects, like absence of proper standards of teaching, the extreme narrowness of the subjects taught, little encouragement to originality and the like. A partial explanation of this may be found in the economic history of the times.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

6. Dr. Andrew Bell introduced the system of mutual tuition in England. Mr. A. D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, wrote in his report in 1823: "The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools and the methods by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced and at the same time confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable and well deserve the imitation it has received in England." Strangely enough, compare this with the verdict passed upon it in the following words: "It was officially condemned in 1839 as a vicious system leading to disastrous results; and has been condemned by most educational authorities since."—(Selections from Educational Records, foot-note, p. 23).

7. Quoted in Maj. B. D. Bose's book, *History of Education under the East India Company*.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Adam's Report on the State of Education, p. 7.

Adam comments on the character and ability of the teachers in a disparaging tone.¹⁴ Doubtless, at the time he inspected the schools, they were already on their way to dissolution due to operation of wider socio-economic factors. Even so, the fact that Adam planned to carry out his educational reforms through the instrumentality of these teachers only prove that their fundamental core was sound. In the course of his extensive field of investigations he found enough materials to lend support to this faith. But it must be borne in mind that at that time healthy influences had been corrupted and disruption had set in the political and economic order. The traditional foundations of society had been rudely shaken. With all patronage withdrawn, and insecure conditions rendering normal life impossible, the teachers did not have sufficient incentive for quality improvement. Thus, deterioration in educational standards indicated by the type of teachers is only an index of the prevailing social conditions. However, the stern discipline, exemplary punishment and rigorous courses of study had their parallel in the grammar schools of England.

Schools with buildings and equipment, possessing a corporate personality and inspiring a sense of loyalty in the *alma mater* were wholly unknown. Nalanda was buried deep in oblivion physically as well as in the memories of the people. Primary schools invariably and higher schools mostly were one-man affairs with little roots in inherited traditions. Donations, in the form of land, cash or in kind, from patrons were generally made to individuals who bequeathed them to their lineal descendants. The latter often used them for purposes other than originally meant.

Apart from a number of well-known text-books, with some commentaries, school books were not in wide use.¹⁵ Printing did not come to affect such a revolution as it did in the case of education in Europe. The masters stocked into their brains all that they had to impart to their pupils by way of instructions, and urged their pupils to do the same. Originality in methods and subjects of study was not encouraged. Fantastic stories are told of the feats of memory performed by many of the scholars and teachers alike, like the Naiyayik Raghunatha. For convenience of memory, poetry found greater favour and subjects of study were versified, which accounts for the absence of prose literature in Bengali.

The methods of instruction have been commended.¹⁶

14. "The teacher in virtue of his character or in the way of advice or reproof exercised no moral influence on the character of the pupils. For the sake of pay, he performs a menial service in the spirit of a menial." *Ibid*, p. 9.

15. Monstuart Elphinstone speaking of Deccan in 1819, says: "Books are scarce and the common ones probably ill-chosen but there exist in the Hindu languages many tales and fables that would be generally read and that would circulate sound morals. There must be religious books tending more directly to the same end."

16. *Adam's Report*, p. 147.

"Hand, eye and the ear are employed; the memory is a good deal exercised, the judgment is not wholly neglected; and the religious sentiment is early and perseveringly cherished, however, 'misdirected.' . . . well adapted to quality for the actual business of native society," i.e., 'for the village zemindar, the village accountant and the village shop-keeper'." (Lord Moira).¹⁷

But the system suffered from grave shortcomings. Adam says:

" . . . popular mind is necessarily cabined, cribbed and confined within the smallest possible range of ideas and those of the most limited local and temporary interest."¹⁸

On the whole, education was confined to the higher strata of society. It was considered neither desirable nor necessary to impart education to the artisans, manual labourers and peasants. But the tendency to provide some sort of schooling to their young ones of both sexes was very widely prevalent among all classes of people. Discrimination in schools on grounds of caste and religion was uncommon.

Female education did not go beyond the primary stage.¹⁹ The idea of the equality of the sexes was strange to the morals of those times. The respective spheres of men and women were considered to be different. Generally, a working knowledge of the three R's and conversance with the poetical and mythological literature constituted the hallmark of women's education. In well-to-do families, however, domestic education was fairly common. Many women attained eminence in poetry. Also, many rose equal to the occasion when entrusted with responsibility in the management of estates, etc.

The status of Bengali was far below that of Sanskrit and even of Persian. The one was the language of the learned and the other that of the Court. Knowledge of Persian was quite common among the people of the higher and middle classes, both Hindus and Muslims, particularly in the urban areas. Bengali poets had to depend for their patronage on the favour of the fair sex and the unlettered masses. Local entertainments were frequent and constituted the only means of mass education. They took such forms such as public recitation of poems, often in competition among the poets (*kavi-gans*), dramas (*jatras*), public sermons (*kathakatas*), etc. In the 19th century, Bengali literature was braced up with the stimulating contact

* Underlined by me.

17. *Minute on Judicial Administration of the Presidency of Fort William*, 1815.

18. *Adam's Report*, p. 147.

19. "To the women of Brahmins and women in general they are unknown, because the knowledge of them is prohibited and regarded as unbecoming the modesty of the sex and fit only for public dancers. . . . The prohibition against women learning to read is, probably from various causes, much less attended to in some districts than in others, and it is possible that in every district a few females may be found in the reading schools."—Extracts from *Fort St. George Revenue Consultations*, 2nd July, 1822.

with the Christian missionaries. The Serampur missionaries were responsible for the early development of Bengali prose literature, and the earliest Bengali journals also owe their origin to them. After the missionaries introduced printing in Bengali, education became much more varied and widespread.

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THE DEPUTY MINISTERS—THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

By PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., O.E.S.

THE answer given by Prof. D. N. Banerjee to the question raised by Sri Mitra (Vide *The Modern Review*, April, 1953) is quite interesting and informative, but the reasoning is not fully conclusive. I agree with Prof. Banerjee that there is no constitutional bar to the appointment of Deputy Ministers, but I cannot agree with him that there can be an 'Inner Cabinet' different from the 'Council of Ministers' whose membership is denied to some of the ministers. Nor do I feel certain that the British analogy he has brought in is quite relevant here. I also contend that the present practice of appointing Parliamentary Secretaries is not quite constitutional.

First, the British analogy. It is a habit with many of us to bring in the British analogy whenever we discuss any constitutional question in India. It is all right if it is brought in merely to make a point clearer for our understanding, but it cannot be used for a conclusive argument to say that because there is a certain practice or convention in vogue in England a similar thing in this country is either justified or constitutional. It is true that our constitution is deliberately based on the British model—I am not disputing that point at all here—but the basic fact that ours is a *written constitution* makes all the difference. A written constitution limits the structure to a definite shape, and while, just like any unwritten one, it can also grow and adapt itself to changing needs and circumstances, it cannot grow beyond the original basis unlike the British one, which has no such limitations. In other words, we can say that nothing of a new constitutional practice or institution can grow which is prohibited by any provisions of the written constitution. Putting it positively, we can freely adopt any new practice and convention we like unless it is explicitly prohibited by the Constitution. We must also understand the meaning of 'prohibition' here. It means that such a constitutional prohibition should be effective, which means that it could be enforced. We can put it as an axiom that a written constitution allows what it does not prohibit.

So the best approach to the question of the Deputy Ministers is in this way: Is it prohibited by the Constitution and is that prohibition enforceable? The answer to the first question is that it is not prohibited

by the Constitution and so we can easily agree with Prof. Banerjee that there is no constitutional bar to their appointment, as a matter of fact to any other kind of ministers as long as they are called 'Ministers,' to the Council of Ministers created by Arts. 74 and 163. That all the members of that Council need not be of the same status is borne out by the fact that the Constitution itself recognises two kinds of Ministers—the Prime/Chief Minister and other Ministers. The 'other Ministers' in Arts. 75 and 164 may be Ministers or Deputy Ministers, not because the Constitution explicitly permits them but because it does not prohibit any such classification and also because the Executive wants it and the Legislature to which the Executive is responsible agrees to it.

But there is another question. Can there be an 'Inner Cabinet' apart from the 'Council of Ministers' to which membership is denied to some of the Ministers, Deputy or otherwise? I cannot agree with Prof. Banerjee that there could be, because the Constitution certainly prohibits it. The argument is as follows:

The Constitution creates only a 'Council of Ministers' to aid and advise the President/Governor under Art. 74|Art. 163, and, therefore, when any Minister or Deputy Minister has to be appointed he can be appointed only as a Member of this 'Council' and the Minister concerned is also administered an oath only as a member of this 'Council.' Therefore, if the President/Governor is to be 'aided and advised' by any other body, other than the full Council of Ministers, like an 'Inner Cabinet' which excludes membership to some of the members of the 'Council,' then such a body is 'unconstitutional.' This (the inner Cabinet) is not the body contemplated by the Constitution and appointed by the President/Governor to advise him. The status of the Inner Cabinet is, therefore, only that of a Committee of the Council of Ministers but its decisions are not the decisions of the latter full Council and therefore should be ratified once again in the full meeting of the Council. Nor can the full Council abrogate its functions and power and delegate them to the Cabinet just as the Parliament cannot delegate its law-making function to the Select Committees. So any decision of the

Council of Ministers reaching the Governor for his signature should go in the name of the Council but not in the name of the Inner Cabinet. This point comes out more prominently when we come to the operation of Arts. 78(C) and 167(C) when the President/Governor sends back individual decisions of his Ministers for the consideration of the Council of Ministers. Such a matter should be discussed by the Council of Ministers of which every Minister is a Member, but not by the Inner Cabinet. The Constitution, I submit, is quite clear on that point.

But the question: Can this view be upheld and enforced? If it cannot be enforced, then the constitutional provision is as good as dead. It can be enforced in three ways. Firstly, the President/Governor might refuse to recognise any 'Inner Cabinet' insisting that he should be advised only by the 'Council of Ministers' he has appointed. But such a course itself is unimaginable and probably will be looked upon as 'unconstitutional' in a Constitution that is based on the British model. We cannot expect the President/Governor to enforce it, though we need not rule out the possibility altogether. The Lower House can enforce it by refusing to pay the salary and allowances, but this also is unthinkable in a system of government dominated by political parties and executive lead. So this 'political' enforcement is out of the question.

The only alternative left is legal enforcement. Can the Courts insist that the President/Governor should take his advice only from the 'Council of Ministers' but not from the 'Inner Cabinet'? No, obviously not. There are many reasons. Firstly, the President/Governor need not always take advice from the full Council. Art. 78(C)/167(C) implies that it is not necessary unless he himself wants. The deciding point, however, is Art. 74(2)/163(3) whereby the Courts have been expressly forbidden to enquire into any advice, if given at all. So it is beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts to insist that the 'Inner Cabinet' is not the same as the 'Council.'

There is, however, a remote possibility. Suppose a particular executive order of the President/Governor comes in dispute before the Courts, and suppose it was proved then that it was one where the President/Governor referred it back to the Council under Art. 78(C)/167(C), then the Courts could possibly rule that as the constitutional requirement has not been fulfilled, it is not a properly constituted order of the President/Governor! But it is a very very remote possibility. We can conclude, therefore, that this point is enforceable neither politically nor legally.

So we have to accept the point that there can be an 'Inner Cabinet,' not because it is allowed by the Constitution, nor not prohibited by it, but because there is no means of enforcing the contrary

point of view either politically or legally. Several such breaches of the Constitution have already occurred because of the same reason.*

I may add one more important point. It is not very necessary that we should worry ourselves with legal quibbles when such questions of the working of the Constitution are concerned. After all, the Constitution is intended to facilitate good government but not obstruct it, and, as long as new practices do not break the constitution, but help carry on a good administration, we should actually welcome them. The appointment of Deputy Ministers is one such thing.

The last point now is about the practice of appointing Parliamentary Secretaries at the Centre. These holders of office are not appointed by the President to the Council of Ministers nor do they take an oath of office before him; nor consequently hold office 'during the pleasure of the President.' Thus they are in a way 'extra-presidential jobs' and they should be discouraged as it places the mantle of appointing Ministers on the Prime Ministers evidently not contemplated by the Constitution. In fact, according to the Constitution, there cannot be a Minister of any kind or designation unless he is appointed by the President to the Council and administered the oath accordingly. This view can also be upheld in a Court whenever an executive order passed or signed by one of the Parliamentary Secretaries comes up for review before the Courts. Another point. When the Prime Minister or any Minister having Parliamentary Secretaries discusses and conveys top-secrets of the State, they may indeed be deemed to have broken the oath of office and secrecy taken before the President!

* Take, for instance, the election of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as the Vice-President of India. The Constitution clearly says (Art. 66 i) that the Vice-President "shall be elected by the Members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at a joint meeting . . ." (Italics mine). Dr. Radhakrishnan was not elected by this way at all, but still nothing has happened and no legal action is taken by anybody, though India today has an 'unconstitutionally elected Vice-President.' That is because all people concerned agree on his appointment. (Probably trouble might arise when he acts as President on any future occasion and then his election is questioned in a Court of Law). Or take the nomination of C. R. to the Madras State Council and then his appointment as the Chief Minister. The Governor himself said that he did not consult his Cabinet when he nominated C. R. to the Council, though Art. 163 implies that the Governor shall have to take the aid and advice of his Ministers in all matters unless the Constitution asks him expressly to act in his discretion; and the Constitution does not give the Governor express discretionary power while nominating to the Council. Lastly, take a third case (though I am subject to correction here on the facts of the case). Dr. K. N. Katju was appointed as Minister in the Centre while he was Governor of West Bengal and in his place Dr. Mookerjee was appointed by the President. Now a Governor's post falls vacant by death, resignation, dismissal or end of five-year period. Now which of these, resignation or dismissal happened at that time was not known to the public. Probably none and I hold that Dr. Mookerjee assumed charge of an office that never fell vacant!

SCIENCE AND AGRICULTURE

By J. N. CHAKRAVARTY, I.A.S.,
Retired Director of Agriculture

SCIENTIFIC agriculture is an expression used (or abused) by many people without a correct appreciation of its significance. Since the reorganisation of the Department of Agriculture by Lord Curzon, half a century ago, a large section have derided it as an exotic gadget superfluous for India. The Indian cultivator has agriculture bred in his bones for generations and needed no teaching from outside. It is true that the Indian cultivator has few peers in craftsmanship within his limitations. It is equally true that he has no conception of the vast strides made in agriculture in Western countries by the application of scientific principles. A smaller but increasingly growing section is depending on science for raising Indian agriculture from its present stagnation, for solving India's food problem. Agricultural research has been subjected to severe and sometimes undeserved criticism for its failure to achieve this object. Those conversant with facts fully recognise that research has made no mean contribution towards increasing India's agricultural knowledge. But it is only when the results of the laboratory are transferred to the fields of cultivators that scientific agriculture will have achieved its objective, and it is here that past efforts have failed. Although a few progressive cultivators have adopted the teachings of science and reaped a rich harvest, the Indian peasantry, by and large, have gone their traditional way. The remarks of Sir John Russel, a foremost British scientist, are almost as true today as they were, when made fifteen years ago.

"The new selections and the varieties which represent the highest achievements of Indian agricultural science are used to a very small extent. The ryots continue largely unaffected by the enormous efforts made on their behalf. In India, the stage has been reached when the machinery for gaining more knowledge is working better than the machinery for utilising it."

It is necessary to study and remove the obstacles which have stood in the way of the cultivators in adopting these methods. This is due neither wholly to ignorance nor to mere love of tradition. There are more fundamental reasons. Mass poverty, mass illiteracy, insanitary conditions, bureaucratic ineptitude, want of co-ordination, zamindari system and fragmentation of land have all played their part in the perpetuation of tradition and stagnation. It is proposed to study only the last two factors in this article.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that agriculture is not only a science but an art, that success depends

on practice, that agriculture is a way of life. If agriculture is to be improved all the rural problems which have stood in the way must be attacked simultaneously; the whole life of the peasants must be raised to a higher level; improvement cannot be piecemeal. In the past the various rural uplift schemes worked in separate compartments and failed in almost every sphere. What is essential is that an integrated development programme, embracing all spheres of rural life, of which agriculture will form the corner-stone, should be implemented.

It is essential that in implementing such schemes, local co-operation should be sought to the maximum extent possible. It is only through an association of the government machinery and local leadership that such schemes can achieve their objective. It is here that the old bureaucratic methods met with their most grievous failure. The Planning Commission have considered this problem in detail and have recommended that all Development Departments should be co-ordinated and work as an integrated whole. They have also recommended that local committees and other existing institutions should be utilised to the maximum extent possible. Both these recommendations are of utmost importance in the successful implementation of the Five-Year Agricultural Plan.

In a democratic State, the Minister of Agriculture should be a fit person to effect such co-ordination and integration. What is really wanted is a dynamic urge rather than a soulless machine. The Development Community Projects, if properly implemented (and this is a big if) would go a long way in effecting such co-ordination and providing such urge.

Zamindari system is on the verge of extinction. But fragmentation, dividing the ryot's already small holdings into tiny plots scattered over different parts of the village persists. This results in considerable wastage of labour and prevents the adoption of even simple mechanisation, not to speak of tractors. It also makes it difficult for individual peasants to adopt various devices for saving his crops from insects and other pests which require comparatively large areas for effective results. Effective methods of irrigation can only be provided by government or arranged by cultivators through co-operative efforts for large areas. In the absence of either, the cultivator has to depend on the fickle rainfall which do not always come at the right moment. The Western countries have solved this problem by adopting capitalistic large-scale farming.

This would throw out a considerable section of the Indian peasantry from the land and is impossible of adoption. The Communist countries have adopted the system of collective farming. This involves expropriation of individual ownership of land consolidating the whole village area in one unit and work in it as a single farm. This also involves compulsory labour and each family is paid not according to the land contributed but to the needs of each family. Both methods are repugnant to Indian ideas of democracy. The Indian peasantry is deeply attached to its land and any attempt at expropriation might conceivably lead to a revolution. The Planning Commission after careful consideration of the technical as well as the psychological factors have recommended the adoption of what it has called the Co-operative Village Management. The essence of this scheme is as follows:

A committee of Panchayet should be formed in each village, individual cultivators would surrender the management of their land to this committee, retaining, however, their right of ownership. The whole village area would then be pooled together and managed by the committee as a single unit. Labour would be voluntary and paid for. The profits after meeting the expenses will be divided according to the areas of land contributed.

This would enable the introduction of rationalisation, irrigation and many other improved scientific methods, without involving expropriation of land and compulsory labour. The system will not be as simple in actual working as it reads on paper. It will be a difficult task to induce the peasant rooted to his land to surrender even his right of management. Sense of civic responsibility even among the educated community is very frequently lacking. To work for the co-operative farm as zealously as for their own plots will not come easily to the peasant; the spirit of evasion will continue for a long time. Results will take some time to come and convince the doubters. It will not be possible to make any payment according to the fertility of individual plots and some will nourish a grievance that they are being deprived of their legitimate dues. The managing committee must be not only technically efficient but, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. Election does not always ensure this.

Collectivisation and rationalisation though effecting economy and increased productivity will throw a proportion of agricultural labour out of employment. It will be necessary to absorb them in industrial activities. This will necessitate the creation of small industries. Local cottage industries would be most suitable for such purposes and would cause the least economic disturbance. Rural electrification schemes will be of considerable help in starting such industries.

All these must be recognised and steps taken from inception to surmount them. It is here that local co-operation and leadership are of overwhelming importance. It will require statesmanship and leadership of the highest order to kindle enthusiasm and enlist co-operation which will overcome these obstacles. Two of the five years have already passed and with the exception of a few sporadic efforts most of the agricultural programme continue to be mostly mere extensions of the Grow More Food schemes.

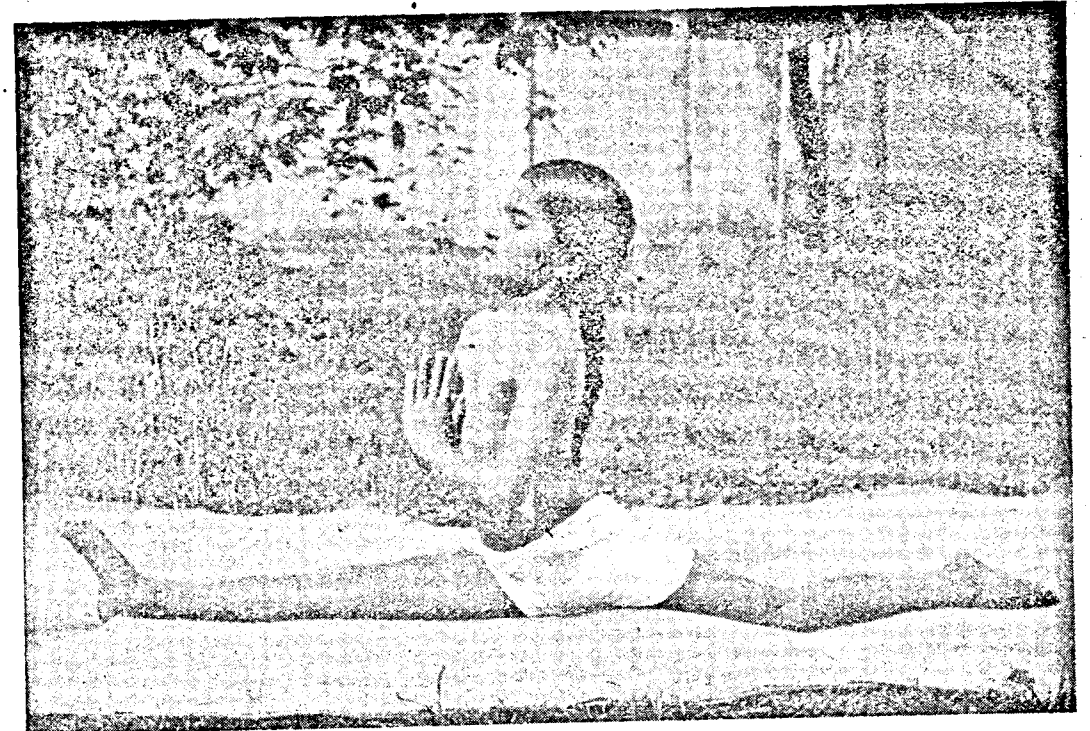
A start has been made in the Uttar Pradesh in the form of what is called Co-operative Collective Farms. These are very similar to what is recommended by the Planning Commission. The societies have been formed under the Co-operative Societies Act and the executive elected accordingly. It has not yet been possible to induce all the cultivators of a village to join these societies, but the authorities hope to effect this with patience. Thirty-two such societies have been formed with a membership of 1388, a capital of Rs. 251,377. The total acreage of the farms is 14,683. A number of Agricultural Co-operative Societies have also been registered in West Bengal under the same Act. Many of them are in the nature of Better Farming Societies with limited spheres of co-operation in farming. In a few cases small areas have been allotted for joint management. A few, numbering 9, however, have been formed on principle of collective farms, with a membership of 1580, share capital of Rs. 176,340 and a farm acreage of 4117. Most of these have been formed by refugees from East Pakistan with lands and loans granted by government. The results of their working have yet to be seen. In no case have a majority of villagers surrendered their land for joint management.

It is doubtful if co-operative societies under old rigid rules are suitable for efficient management of collective farms. A more active and flexible management is required both in the technical and psychological spheres.

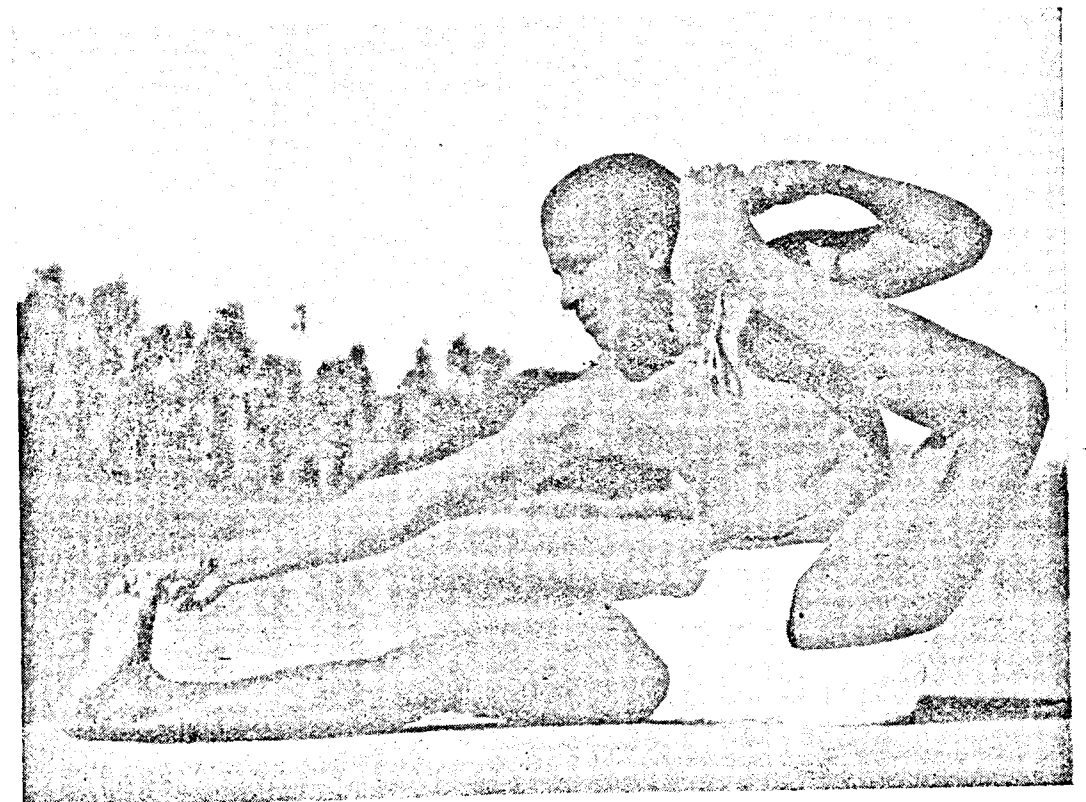
It is unfortunate that this part of the Five-Year Plan has not received the publicity and attention it deserves. It is on this pivot that the future agricultural progress of the country will largely depend. It is hoped that government will take more active steps to implement the programme. Piecemeal schemes will be of just as little avail as they have been in the past. They will not solve India's food problem.

The fundamental obstacles confronting the cultivators must be removed. It is only then that science can play its legitimate part in dragging India's agriculture out of present stagnation, that Indian agriculture can attain the highest level in the world.

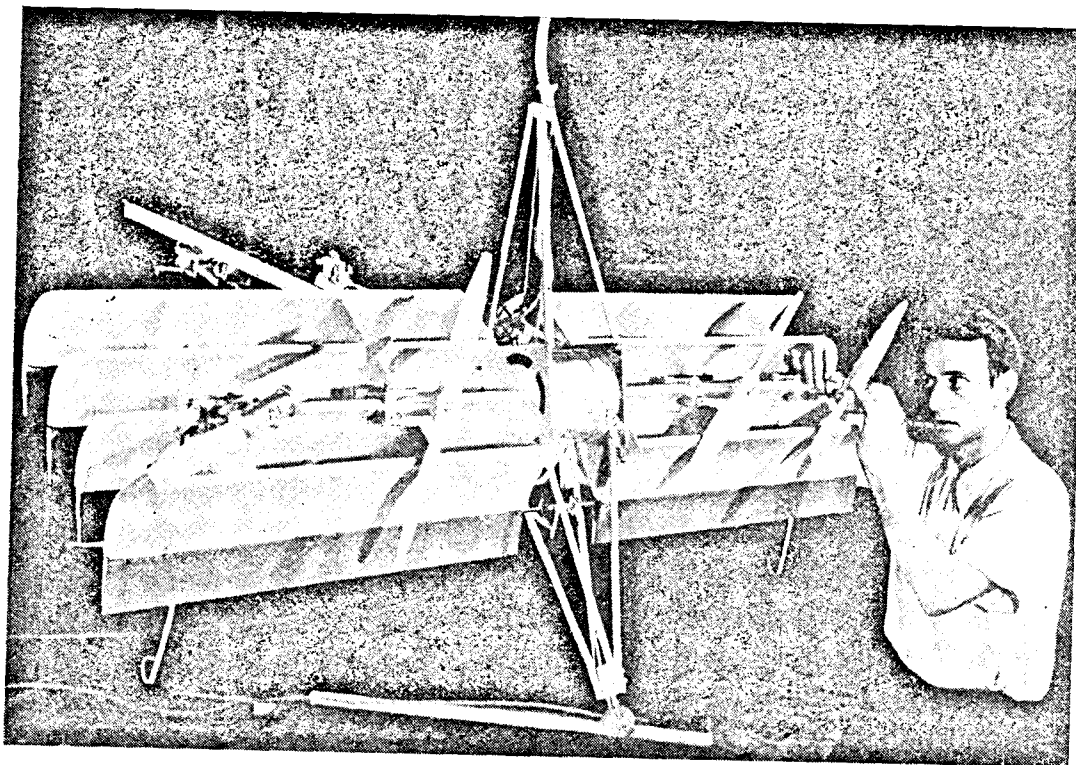
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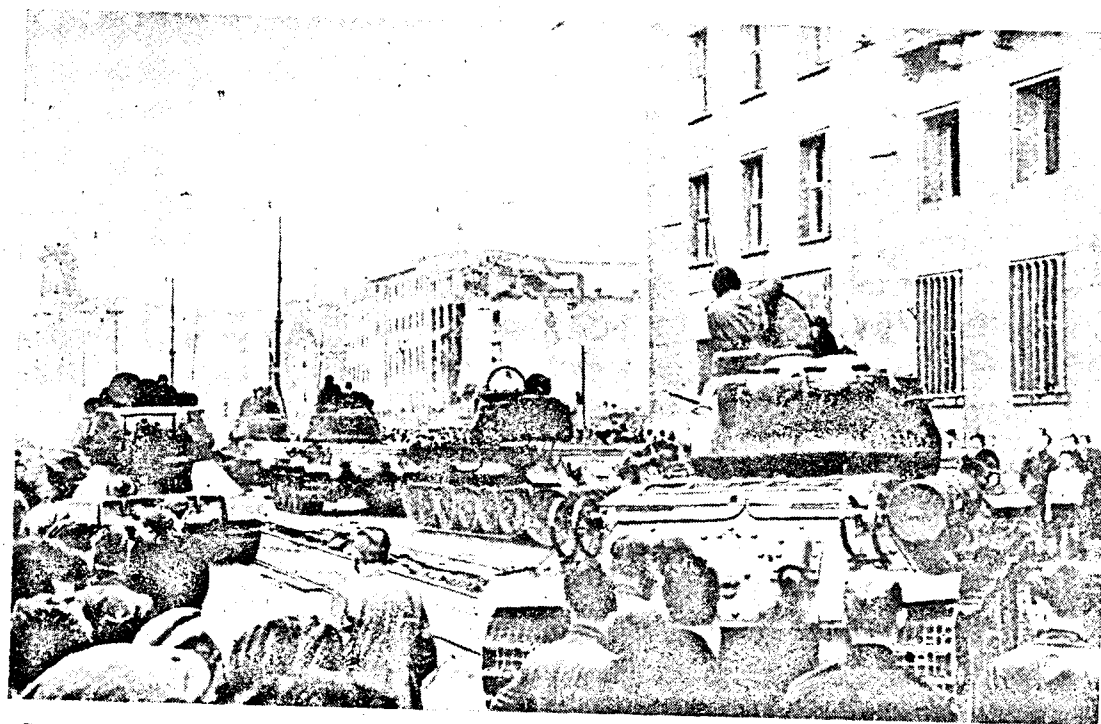
Hammanasan, a posture for prayer



Akarsha-dhanurasan, another difficult posture



This odd-looking machine is an experimental model aircraft which can fly vertically. It was tested recently at Langley Field, Virginia, by the U. S. National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. Here, an employee of the committee adjusts a propeller on the model.



Soviet tanks move through the streets of East Berlin to repress the civilian outbreaks against Communist police state rule.

WHAT IS TO HAPPEN TO THE PALESTINE REFUGEES?

By KARL LOEWY

THE small diversion, which the American Secretary of State, Dulles, made during his flight to Beyrouth over the constructions for the Yamuk Dam, has not been without effect on the Middle East Policy. With the return of the State Secretary to Washington, the impression becomes stronger that there the settlement of the problem of the Palestine Refugees is viewed as the primary condition for the realisation of the Jewish-Arab Peace.

While the views about the Refugee Problem, contorted by party lust and hatred, become indefinable shadows in the noisy world of daily politics, they are still further obscured by information based on very superficial knowledge, or no knowledge at all, of the facts. The way to a solution will be found only when at last an effort will be made to leave politics out of the game, to free oneself from the sentiments of a humanity which feels no responsibility, and to view the whole matter as one of the important issues for the development of the Middle East—just as significant as the question of oil.

Already, the question of who is responsible for the creation of a Palestine Refugee Problem, proves that its meaning far outreaches local significance. When examining the problem justly, one realises, that the guilt is a collective one. Shortsightedness and hysteria have led to hurried transactions, which are reaping bitter vengeance to-day. The whole evil could have been avoided, if Jews and Arabs had refused to use the panic of the Arab populace as a means for war. The Jews thought that with pressure, they would be able to force them to leave the country, in order to make room for their own immigrants, while a considerable number of the Arab leaders are still of the opinion that in their Refugees they have the nucleus for an army of the War of Vengeance.

Both calculations, have in the course of years been proved not only to be incorrect but also very dangerous. In all probability, the Arabs, who fled from Israel, would have been able to contribute just as much to the amelioration of the country's food-difficulties, as their compatriots who remained in Israel, had there existed a land-policy with a wide range of vision, and if they had had fair treatment as a minority. However, the missing of this opportunity in the heat of the battle for the country, was not the greatest sin committed against the Refugees. It was far worse, that through long-drawn-out treaties they were pushed from the world of peoples' politics into the depths of a badly-run Welfare Organisation. As all those responsible were afraid of taking any decisive action, the Refugee Problem has, in the course of five years, developed into a stagnant mire, with miasma far outreaching in their effects the immediate locality.

How little has been done even in theory to settle this question, is proved by the uncertainty, which exists, about the number of those who were made homeless.

For obvious reasons, one party minimises the number, while the other party exaggerates it. A Jewish estimation of 300,000 is just as ridiculous, as an Arab one of 1 million. The true figure would probably be somewhere in the middle, taking 554,000 as minimum, and 616,000 as maximum.

The reports about the economic and moral situation of the Refugees are equally contradictory. They enjoy as little popularity in their new countries, as do their fellow-sufferers all over the world. As the years have gone by, these people, who were once a necessary evil, have become a burden, because, up to now, nobody has managed to establish them as a productive element in their new surroundings.

Views also differ very much concerning the question of whether or not enough has been done for the provision of food and accommodation for the Refugees. The Egyptian Publicist, Ali el Dali, whose position is close to the left wing of the military circle around General Naguib, has tried to prove in the organ of this group *Al Tahir* that the Refugees in the Egyptian Gaza District do not by any means suffer hunger, but at the cost of various Welfare Organisations lead quite a decent life.

According to a report by the World Health Organisation and the Food and Agricultural Organisation of UNO, the representatives of which spent two weeks in the Spring of 1952 inspecting the Refugee Camps in the Lebanon, Syria, the Gaza District and in Jordan, the standard of the food was in many cases better than that of the countries' own inhabitants.

Indeed, the sufferings of the Refugees do not lie so much in the sphere of the physiological as the social psychological. They are threatened by the danger of slowly rotting away in idleness. Their greatest lack is the lack of regular physical work, to which the Palestine Fellach is accustomed from youth.

A young American, who has visited the Camps in various countries, points to the dangers of this condition. The stream of life seems to have passed the inhabitants of the Camps. Years of useless hoping, lack of work, and the everlasting dependance on others for the most elementary necessities of life, have broken their energy. They brood away senselessly and have become mere pawns, who, possessing no will of their own, let themselves be pushed about on the political chessboard of the Middle East.

The first essential condition for changing them into a useful element will have to be their gradual re-education for productive work. With kindness, and when necessary, with well-meaning discipline, it will have to be made clear to them, that only through their own efforts will they be able once more to build up an independent existence. Simultaneously with these preparations, the Refugees will have to be told, that from being Welfare-receivers, they must once more become people with a pride in their work, which was never

absent in Palestine peasants and landworkers in normal times. Education and technical development will have to reach their purpose by building up an apparatus under combined leadership, which will take in hand the organising of the supervision of Refugees from Egypt to Iraq.

Although the majority of Refugees are to be found in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, the kernel of the Refugee Problem lies in Jordan, not only because most of the Refugees live there—their number being estimated at 350,000—but also for political, psychological and technical reasons. Quite contrary to the fear expressed by Israel, of collecting unruly neighbours near her border, just, *there* is to be found a district, which is more suited for the pacifying of the Refugees than any other in the whole of the Middle East. Between Israel and Jordan, there is a portion of land, which could accommodate a far larger number of people than is reckoned with at the time. This district is along the river Jordan and its tributaries. It had once been chosen as a home for exiles from other countries—that time for the Jews who were driven out of Europe by Hitler. While looking for a stretch of land suitable to accommodate new immigrants—their numbers being calculated at about 3 million,—without infringing upon the living space of 1,800,000 Jews and Arabs, who were then living in Palestine, this district was noticed by the American erosion specialist, Henry Clay Lowdermilk, while measuring Palestine from the air. Lowdermilk induced the American Zionist, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, to raise the funds for supporting a technical commission for the study of the economic possibilities of this district. This Commission after working for 2½ years on this project, discovered that by utilising the difference in altitude of 300 metres between the Mediterranean near Haifa and the Dead Sea, at a cost of 250 million dollars, the area in the bend of the Jordan, which could be watered, could be increased from 100,000 acres by another 606,000. With the hydro-electric power thus harnessed, these 3 million people would have been able to procure for themselves, through agriculture as well as through industry, a new economically secure existence. It is symbolical of the spirit which governed the initiators that the finished project should bear the name “Jordan Valley Authority.” Even during the partition of Palestine, Lowdermilk’s idea was given due consideration. In the Treaty, a clause was set down, stipulating Jewish-Arab co-operation in land cultivation and the supply of water. This work was to be directed by a group, consisting of three Arabs, three Jews and three neutral members, nominated by UNO.

In the sticky atmosphere of the five years’ Armistice, this beautiful idea was really pushed into oblivion. The water, in fact, became the main bone of contention, which several times, brought the neighbouring states near the edge of a war. The efforts to produce more order, have developed into chaos, which became worse every year, because the Jews and the Arabs, as well as the Armistice Commission of the UNO, treated the problem

from political points of view. As a result, all neighbours concentrated their efforts on securing for themselves as much of the water-installations as possible, by dint of their superiority in military power. Up to now, therefore, nobody has derived any real benefit from the blessings of the Jordan, whereas, with understanding and good-will, all participants could profit greatly for their economic development. But, up to now, Israel has merely tried to sink the mirror of the Huleh-Sea, while Syria has cut off the water of the Yamuk, flowing into Israel, and Jordan, supported by UNWRA, has demanded help for the construction of the Yamuk River Dam. According to calculations made by technicians, 300,000 people would in this way be settled. However, the great idea of the Lowdermilk plan would come to nothing, because the huge portion of 90% of the water-supply would be allotted to Jordan, and 10% to Syria, while Israel would receive nothing. Obviously, new differences must arise out of this solution. There will be peace and good-will in this question concerning the water from the Jordan, only, when the idea of the Jordan Valley Authority is once more taken up in its original form.

Meanwhile, Israel has declared her readiness to resume negotiations about a water agreement with Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon. Also, Washington is willing to give money for the financing of a combined Jewish-Arab undertaking on water. Of far greater importance it would be, however, if anywhere in this world a man could be found, able to perform the diplomatic task of making the Jordan Valley Authority work, as did Harry Hopkins for the Roosevelt Tennessee Valley Authority.

The attempt to operate the Jordan Valley Authority as originally laid down, would confront all those taking part, with big, hitherto unknown difficulties. In the Middle East, for half a century, the struggle of all against all, was considered as the expression of the greatest political wisdom. The statesmen of those countries, benefiting from the Jordan should strike this method off completely from their thoughts, and they should make a consideration for the needs of others of the law in all their dealings. The training for this kind of political thinking is not easy, but one day, it will be worth all the trouble. As prize for the effort, the possibility of quickly finding suitable work for hundreds of thousands of idle hands and the liberation from the eternal obsession that only the merciless extermination of one’s neighbour can increase one’s own living-space, await us. The greatest reward would be the fact that groups of people, who until then had existed in enmity, would, with the question of the water as a unifying element, and the combined blessings of their cultural activities, live amicably together again in a part of the world, which after hopeless ruination and division, pregnant with threatening danger, would once more enter into the history of the East as a living force.

Nahariya, Israel

COTTAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES

By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

It is very good that cottage and small industries are receiving increasing attention from the thinking section of the population. This is because it is being realised that unless the *eighty-five* per cent of the population represented by the primary producers prosper, the country cannot attain the objective of a truly welfare and democratic state, and the people as a whole become prosperous and progressive in the full sense of the latter term. As early as July, 1949, the present writer submitted a printed memorandum (Appendix), first to the Fiscal Commission, and later, revised and slightly modified, to the Planning Commission. He also had about 550 copies of it circulated among competent individuals and associations all over India, and thus tried in his humble way to influence thought. In the December (1950) number of *The Modern Review* in “Railway Goods Tariff and Cottage and Small Industries” he discussed, among other things, how discriminatory railway freight rates were, on the one side, hampering and discouraging growth and development of these industries, and on the other, promoting and encouraging their rivals and competitors, namely, large-scale factory products, indigenous and foreign. In the December 15, 1950, number of *The Eastern Economist*, he laid emphasis on the need for regional self-sufficiency.

In the very nature of things, the treatment of the freight rate question in the issue of this magazine was critical, and not constructive. Hence the necessity of reopening the issue. The overall consideration of the welfare of the 85 per cent together with the needs of democratic approach has been kept in view all the while. The scale of rates charged by the Indian Railways for carriage of commercial goods and parcels should be based on, first, *uniform mileage rate* to replace existing discriminatory rates between consignments booked for long distances and short distances, making it possible for the product to spread out even as wavelets proceed shoreward unhampered when a stone is cast into the middle of a pond. And, secondly, *distance covered being the same, freight chargeable should be directly proportional to intrinsic value of the consignment* according to the formula $V/W \times B$, where V =total value of the consignment, W =total weight, and B =common basic rate for all classes of goods or parcels, as the case may be. This is expected to be more equitable than the current arbitrary rates. Obviously, the consigner will have to produce the invoice before the despatching authorities.

The question of credit should receive some consideration in connection with the development of this sector of our national economy. Here also there has been discriminatory treatment. The Scheduled Banks provide credit for large-scale industries and commerce, backed by the credit facilities provided by

the Reserve Bank of India. And the credit-making power of the latter rests on the guarantee of the State, which, in its turn, is based on the total national income for the year. In the last analysis, therefore, it is the credit of the State which finances all Indian industrial and commercial concerns. Of the national income for any one year, almost the entire amount is contributed by the aforesaid 85 per cent, the primary producers, handicraftsmen-cum-agriculturists! That is, it is they who finance and fill the pockets of their rivals! And it is well-known that for lack of credit facilities they have fallen into the grip of moneylenders and *mahajans*.

The third factor to be considered is that whereas the large-scale industries products, their competitors in many cases, generally operate in the seller’s market, the products of the sector concerned have perforce to sell in the buyer’s market.

These questions have to be satisfactorily dealt with, not piecemeal but wholesale, before we may see our people smiling. Obviously, these policies will reduce the supply of cheap labour and recruits to brothels.

A reference to the first item in the memorandum referred to in the opening paragraph will show that it has been recognised that in the larger national interests, until we have all the basic and strategic industries we need, all sections of the people will have to make sacrifices. It is certainly not right to throw all the burden on those who are the least able to bear it. Imports of luxury goods at the cost of capital goods should be put under rigorous restrictions. It should be noted in this connection that so long as the existing individualistic capitalist set-up continues, the benefits of the forced sacrifices of the primary producers will be pocketed by an insignificantly small percentage of the population who have not only been guaranteed reasonable profits by a favourable fiscal policy, and the ever alert Tariff Commission, but also, in addition, a majority of them know how to cook books of accounts and fill their pockets to bursting!

APPENDIX

Memorandum on the Reconstruction of India’s National Economy

1. Defence and allied industries, such as
 - (a) steel and iron, copper, brass, tin and other metallurgical products,
 - (b) arms, armaments, and ammunition,
 - (c) communications, including
 - (i) Rail transport including locomotives, rolling stock, and accessories,
 - (ii) ship-building,
 - (iii) steam, Diesel, and oil engines,
 - (iv) aircraft and parts,
 - (v) automobiles and cycles,
 - (vi) telegraph, telephone, and wireless transmission equipment,

- (vii) electrical equipment, including generators, storage batteries, and insulators,
 - (d) medical and surgical stores,
 - (e) scientific instruments and appliances,
 - (f) optical goods, and
 - (g) fuels of all kinds, including coal, wood, petrol and combustible oils of all varieties should have first priority, and complete protection from foreign competition irrespective of cost.
2. (A) Cottage and small industries should come next in order for the following reasons:
- (a) India lives in the villages and cottages;
 - (b) prosperity of India is prosperity and happiness of the majority; and
 - (c) that end may be attained by a gradual raising of the purchasing power and the standard of living of our people, rather than its concentration in a few hands.
- (B) India is a sub-continent, rich in potential resources, and teeming millions living in villages and cottages possessing hereditary skill in most handicrafts; she is therefore specially suited for this type of crafts.
- (C) Reasons for decay of old time crafts:
- (a) British policy;
 - (b) lack of intelligent leadership during foreign rule;
 - (c) imitiveness of the new generation of Indian capitalist; and
 - (d) incapacity of the Indian products of the classical school of economics to realise
 - (i) the significance of the true objective of economic effort in terms of happiness and well-being of the majority,
 - (ii) difference between the objective backgrounds of Britain and India, and
 - (iii) the need of emphasis on production for employment, irrespective of the difference in the ruling conditions in the two countries in terms of extent, population, terrain, and natural resources.
- (D) Resuscitation, growth and development of small and cottage industries to be secured by setting-up of statutory "Cottage and Small Scale Industries Boards" at the Centre and Provinces with finance supplied by
- (a) Government, and
 - (b) small investors, preferably craftsmen concerned, to serve the following ends:
 - (i) stocking raw material at the cheapest market,
 - (ii) supplying it to craftsmen without making any profit,
 - (iii) acting as bankers,
 - (iv) selling finished products on commission through retail Sales Depots all over the country, and
- (v) conducting researches into methods and appliances.
- (E) Elimination of favoured treatment hitherto accorded by Railways to large consignees, and to goods carried over long distances in the matter of freight rates to the prejudice of goods booked over short distances, and in small quantities, leading to increased cost of production and marketing, and higher price of commodities of the consumer class, under consideration, relatively to products of large-scale centralised industries.
- (F) This should not be difficult in view of what the Railway Board wrote in their letter No. 2972-T.C. d/30-4-49 to the present writer in answer to the latter's letter of 1-4-49, "Reduction of freight rate if justified, is allowed with a view to helping the development of industries wherever located."
3. Centralised large-scale industries should concern themselves exclusively with such items as are not capable of decentralisation, and where the basic raw material is available in India. Even then these industries should not be localised in and around a few large cities only, but on the other hand, should be scattered more or less, uniformly all over India, as far as possible.
4. Full implementation of the policies adumbrated here will take some time. Meanwhile, export of surplus industrial raw material abroad should be permitted to countries willing to co-operate with India in her industrialisation programme on the basis of reciprocal "most favoured nation treatment."
5. Automatically adjustable sliding scale of protective duties, in keeping with periodical fluctuations in the ratio between the "index numbers" of the exporting country and India, to be imposed
- (a) on all imports from relatively lower "index number" countries with reference to pre-war index number of prices for purposes of equalisation, and
 - (b) to check dumping. (Instance: some brands of English cigarettes sell in India at prices very much lower than what prevail in the land of their origin).
6. Agriculture:
- (a) Intelligent leadership in the several operations, e.g., ploughing, manuring, sowing, and irrigation, etc.
 - (b) suitable amendments to tenancy laws with a view to elimination of superfluous intermediaries between the rent receiver and the tiller of the soil, and
 - (c) setting-up of suitable machinery for assisting the agriculturist in securing
 - (i) finance,

- (ii) good price for produce, and
 - (iii) providing technical guidance, very similar to what has been proposed for the benefit of craftsmen, and
 - (iv) extension and improvement of the road system with a view to improving communication between villages and markets.
- N.B.—The crux of the suggestions are:
- (i) Elimination of middlemen at all stages, as far as possible,
 - (ii) reduction of cost of production and marketing, and
 - (iii) securing maximum return to the worker.
- Under the existing circumstances, both craftsmen and cultivators are at a disadvantage in bargaining for their wares with relatively more resourceful and better educated middlemen.

REORGANISATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

IN the course of a resolution on Social and Economic Programme, the Congress Working Committee, at its meeting held on May 16 last, observed that "the machinery of administration has now to face new problems connected with the establishment of a Welfare State." "The Services should, therefore, be reorganised from this point of view." The Planning Commission, in their recommendations for the Five-Year Plan, have also strongly pleaded for a reform in Public Administration. "The pace of development," state the Commission, "will depend largely upon the quality of public administration, the efficiency with which it works and the co-operation which it evokes." During the British regime, the main responsibility of the administrative set-up was the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order. The major emphasis now shifts to the development of human and material resources and the elimination of hunger, poverty and unemployment in the country. Although it is not fair to indulge in wholesale and sweeping condemnation of all Government servants, we must admit the naked fact that the Public Services in India have not so far been able to readjust themselves to their new responsibilities and have proved unequal to the great task of re-building the country on sound social and economic foundations.

The nation, during the last five years, has undoubtedly, accomplished many great tasks; our achievements could be favourably compared with those of any other important country in the world including Russia and America. India has framed a new Constitution. She has re-organised the Governments after holding General elections on an unprecedented scale. We have reorganised the States after liquidating six hundred and odd rulers and princes. The Congress has also tried to reorganise the social and economic system of the country through the preparation of the First Five-Year Plan. The process of re-organising the Congress Organisation itself is well under way. The important task of re-organising the Administrative Services has now to be taken up in all seriousness without further loss of time. As the Planning Commission rightly observe, "Public co-operation and good-will are obtained when there is a belief in the integrity and efficiency of adminis-

tration." The work of successful implementation of the Five-Year Plan is suffering greatly because such a faith in the integrity and efficiency of the Services is sadly lacking.

A number of schemes have been prepared for the proper re-organisation of the administrative machinery both at the Centre and in the States. The late Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyanger had made a number of valuable suggestions; the Estimates Committee also submitted a very useful report on the Reorganisation of the Secretariat. Shri A. D. Gorewala wrote a report on Public Administration at the instance of the Planning Commission and recommended a number of measures for achieving integrity and efficiency in Administrative Services. Many of his recommendations have been incorporated in the Five-Year Plan. Recently, Prof. Appleby, the well-known American expert on Public Administration, has submitted a report to the Government of India regarding the reorganisation of the Services on a more flexible and less rigid basis. The alien rulers had given us a "steel frame" which served their own purposes very well but which is ill-fitted to undertake new and onerous tasks under a free and democratic Government. It has, therefore, to be re-oriented and overhauled to serve effectively the pressing needs and requirements of a Welfare State.

In order to achieve the above objective, it is essential to revise radically the existing rules of service and procedure of work in various Government departments. The Britishers framed the rules with a specific purpose in view. They wanted to maintain and prop up the prestige of their officials by laying down rules and regulations in such a manner that the highest in the land could not touch even the lowest officer of their bureaucracy. If the officers have now to become the real servants of the people, these rules of service will have to be revised thoroughly by the Union as well as State Governments. The Indian Constitution provides for such a revision by the Parliament or the State Legislatures. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has given a lead in this direction. Other States should profit by the experiment of the U.P. Government and take immediate steps to change their standing rules of recruitment, training, promotions

and dismissals relating to the administrative services. These rules should inter alia provide for speedy departmental enquiries by competent Tribunals so that the corrupt and the inefficient public servants may be rooted out quickly and effectively. The rules should also be framed in such a manner that the honest and efficient officials may have ample opportunities of proving their worth and merit. It should be made amply clear to the Government servants that it is not only important to be honest but also to have the reputation of being honest. In this process of purification, it may be that a few innocent persons are also liquidated. But such exceptional and hard cases should not deter us from launching a regular campaign against corruption, nepotism and inefficiency in Public Administration. The Ministers also should be prepared to undergo the same process of purification by facing Impartial Tribunals whenever necessary. Everybody in the Government, from the highest to the lowest, should be, like Caesar's wife, above all suspicions and must be ever-ready to vindicate his integrity by submitting to enquiries and cross-examinations.

As the Planning Commission have suggested, all Government servants should be required to furnish returns of movable as well as immovable property acquired by them or their near relations during the preceding year. Under the existing rules, the Government servants are required to submit details only about immovable property of their own; the properties acquired by their near relations do not come into the picture at all. It has

also been recommended that the Central Government should establish a Special Intelligence Department for tracing and investigating offences involving corruption and nepotism in the States. Even the best officers in the States may not be able to rise above certain local considerations in instituting impartial enquiries in their respective regions. The dishonest and the guilty should be given exemplary punishments; they should not only be dismissed from service but also heavily fined and speedily prosecuted. Corruption and dishonesty should be regarded as the worst crimes under the new laws of the land. Without adopting drastic measures in this regard, it will be impossible to rid the existing administrative machinery of its numerous faults and shortcomings.

Corruption is not the sole monopoly of any particular section of society. It is a hydra-headed monster which has to be fought on many fronts. The Public Servant, the businessman, and the public in general have to be tackled simultaneously in uprooting dishonesty from the Indian society. Let all of us read the signs of the times. Let us understand once and for all that the masses can tolerate many economic hardships and difficulties; but they cannot and should not tolerate corruption and inefficiency in the administration. India must forge ahead on the economic front; she must succeed in liquidating hunger, poverty and unemployment within a few years. Anybody who comes in the way of her progress will have to go!

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ORIGINAL PERSIAN DOCUMENTS IN THE HYDERABAD STATE AND THEIR VALUE

By PROF. N. B. ROY, M.A.,
Visva-Bharati

LEOPOLD VON RANKE, the great German historian, predicted, a century ago, that modern history would be based in future not merely on the account of "contemporary historians, much less on derivative writers but also on the relation of eye-witnesses and the original documents." That prophecy has been justified. The craze is now everywhere for official documents, diaries, and news-reports of the age the history of which requires to be built up.

The 16th century may be roughly defined as the age when modern Indian history began, because apart from Reason which began to sway increasingly the minds of men, the Mughal emperor Akbar put the greatest emphasis on the collection of intelligence (*akhbar*) from different parts of the empire and a *waqa-navis* (news-recorder) was appointed to each *subah* of the empire. The distant Subahdars, military chiefs and lesser officials in their turn, hankered for

news about the occurrences in the court, the twists and turns in the emperor's policy and temper, which were regularly supplied to them by their agents at the imperial court. These documents, whenever available, naturally from the most important source material for the reconstruction of history. Fortunately for us, a mass of original documents belonging to the times of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and of the Hyderabad State are preserved in the archives of the State (*Daftar-i-Diwan*), selections from which were published in recent years in the two volumes, (1) *Muntakhab-i-Kaghzat-i-Ahad-i-Shah Jahan*, pp. xi + 260 (Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign); (2) *Daftar-i-Diwan-o-mal-o mulki Sarkar-i-Ala*, pp. 281 (Political and Revenue Documents of the Exalted Government). The volume No. I offers the printed text of the documents written in Shikasta in the original, along with a brief outline of their contents in English, while the volume No. II

points the facsimile of many original letters, e.g., of Shah Jahan's and Aurangzeb's times of the age of Asaf Jah, Nizam Ali and Mahbub Ali Khan Bahadur, along with the printed texts of *akhbars* of Delhi, of Lakhwaji Dada, of the schedule of prices current in the Hyderabad city, 1210 A.H. and miscellaneous other papers. This volume does neither contain any English summary of the documents, nor any preface in English which is written in Urdu in a style (at the middle) that may not be easily intelligible.

Nevertheless, the importance of these documents for the study of the Mughal and the Deccan history cannot be overestimated. They exemplify and bear out how the Mughal government was a *Kaghz-i-Raj*, to quote Sir Jadunath's words, that is to say, how the administration was run by a huge secretariat staff, by means of a mass of registers, ledgers and voluminous correspondence. These records disclose how the Central Government was privy to the details of administration and how it disciplined the high servants of the State by tightly reining them in. For instance, the least default in the keeping of records in the proper order was punished, (L. No. 119). Submission of daily accounts by officers entrusted with the purchase of commodities for the State, e.g., of salt-petre was insisted upon (L. No. 112), instruction was dictated on such small matters as the grant of daily allowance of 8 and 4 annas respectively to the heir of a deceased Qazi, and a widow, Ayesha *bibi* (Ls. Nos. 87 and 90). Thus a picture, if not in full outline, is obtained here, for the first time, of the astonishing thoroughness and efficiency with which the Mughal government was carried on.

The accounts of Mughal administration written by historians like Sir Jadunath, Ibn Hasan, Professor Sri-ram Sharma and others, being based mostly on manuals, such as *Hedayet-ul-Qawaid* and digests of administrative regulations, such as, *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri*, *Divan Pasand* and *Mirat-ul-Istilah*, present a study mainly of its theoretical aspects. The documents published in the two volumes cited above, on the other hand, present glimpses into the actual working of the administration. Hence, they complement the many *tomes* on Mughal administration. A still more clear view of the importance of these documents might be obtained, if a few typical illustrations of the various kinds of documents printed herein are given. It was the practice of the Mughal emperors to cause themselves to be weighed on their birthday anniversaries. The ruling princes followed this fashion which is set forth in a *Siyaha huzur*, dated 9th Rajab, 1047 A.H. (17th November, 1637). This was the 20th anniver-

sary of Aurangzeb's birth and the document inventories not merely the presents tendered by the *Mansabdars* but records also the prince's weight which was two maunds and seventeen seers. In the Mughal empire, the property of the deceased servants was escheated to the State which is again described in *Siyaha amuals*. One such (No. 46) puts it on record that 478 rubies and 140 pearls which were the effects of certain deceased persons were estimated by Ranji, the jeweller, at Rs. 2211 and deposited in the Government treasury. Care is taken to note the weight of the respective jewels, perhaps as a safeguard against tampering and their rates of valuation. An *Yaddasht* and an *Arz-o-Chihara* may be cited as specimen illustration of the thoroughness with which minute facts were set down. It is well-known, the Mughal forts served as garrison and depot of military stores. At the end of April, 1642, Daulatabad fort was inspected and the articles found there were classified under different heads and various items noted down under each.

It is interesting to note that not only all articles, such as armour, steel plates and cash coin were listed but *kcknar*, *bhang* and even *supuri* (betel-nut) were recorded, with exact quantities of each in stock. *Arz-o-Chihara* had been in vogue ever since the time of Sultan Alaaddin Khilji but the excellence with which the descriptive roll was made is indicated in L. No. 72. A matchlock-man Gangaram is thus described:

"Son of Khanna (who is) son of Mahesh (the word is wrongly printed); Chauhan Rajput, inhabitant of Buxar, wheat-complexioned, with wide forehead, joined eye-brows, sheep-eyed with high nose, shaved beard, black moustachios, slightly auburn, a pimple below the corner of the eye-brow, a scar on both sides of the eye-brow, two moles below the main artery of the throat, one mole underneath the right ear, a thin scar below the left eye, face pock-marked, ears bored, full stature, aged about 35 years."

Could a better registration of the identity marks be made in our times?

The State archive has a rich store of original Persian documents. In the preface, written in Urdu to Vol. II, it is stated that all the parchments of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb's reign, lying sealed up in the Imperial Castle at Aurangabad were also transferred to *Daftar-i-Diwan* which already was the vast store-house of papers of the rulers of the Asaf Jahi dynasty down to the last Nizam, Osman Ali Khan Bahadur. Aspects of the history of the Deccan and of the Mughal rule might be illuminated, if these heaps of records are gradually brought to light under the direction of their present keepers, Raja Trimbak Raj Bahadur and R. M. Joshi.



REMOVING THE BARRIERS TO PEACE

By VERNON BARTLETT*

I was at the party given in honour of Mr. Nehru in the London garden of the High Commissioner for India, and I noticed that almost every guest congratulated the Indian Prime Minister. Why? For the part he has been able to play in bringing us towards peace in Korea.

Mr. Nehru has become one of the most valued and influential statesmen in the British Commonwealth. He has become its leading spokesman on behalf of the poorer and less-developed peoples of the world. And in the case of Korea, he has done much to influence the Chinese Communists in favour of an armistice.

But Mr. Nehru could not have hoped to have as much moderating effect if he spoke only as Prime Minister of his own country. It is because his State is a member of the Commonwealth that he has been able to act as peace-maker.

In the same way, Britain alone or even Britain and France, would not be able to argue very effectively with President Eisenhower that the time has now come to talk with the Russians. But, as a result of the Prime Ministers' Conference in London, Sir Winston Churchill will be able to speak at the projected Three-Power Conference on behalf of the Commonwealth as a whole. Just because the peoples of the Commonwealth are so different, and live in every one of the five continents, their views are likely to be in favour of moderation, of peace.

POLITICAL RAINS

This is going to be extremely important within the next few months, for the hard, dry pattern of world politics is breaking up. The political rains have begun, and there are signs that they may even wash away the barrier with which the Russians have cut themselves off from the non-Communist world ever since the end of the war.

I have been quite exceptionally fortunate, since I am one of the very few Englishmen who have been able to visit Russia during the war and four of the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe after the war had ended. In all of these countries I found the same attempt by the Government to prevent the ordinary decent people from hearing anything about the outside world. They were told the most fantastic stories about life in Britain or America or, for that matter, Britain's colonies.

And suddenly that barrier seems to be crumbling. President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill have often said that, if the Russians were really anxious to live on friendly terms with the rest of the world, they would

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do three things. One, they would persuade China to agree to a settlement in Korea. Two, they would sign an Austrian peace treaty, so that the occupying troops could go home and leave Austria free. Three, they would agree to the holding of free elections for the whole of Germany, so that Germany could be united again under one government. Within the last few weeks the Russians have made promising gestures in all these three countries—gestures which are astonishing just because they are so unusual.

Despite earlier uncertainties, efforts towards a settlement in Korea are proceeding. In Austria it is now nearly as easy to cross the border of the Russian-occupied zone as it has been for several years to cross the borders between the British, American and French zones of occupation. This is not the same thing as signing a peace treaty with Austria which would allow all foreign troops there to go home, but it is a step in the right direction.

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA

And in Germany the Russians have also changed their policy. A few weeks ago I was in Berlin, which is divided into Russian, American, British and French sectors. Germans were coming across from the Russian sector at the rate of several thousands a week, and they were for the most part young people—either farmers who had to sell to the Government at absurdly low prices nearly all the food they could grow, or skilled workers from the towns who could not stand conditions under Communism any longer. I talked to dozens of them, and they were clearly the sort of people no country could afford to lose.

But the East German Communist Government, which is entirely under the orders of Moscow, has recently cancelled the heavy taxes and other measures which were driving all these people from their homes. It is even doing all it can to persuade them to go back to Eastern Germany by promising that their land and their jobs will be returned to them.

What all this means, I do not pretend to know. We dare not forget that, while Britain has agreed to the independence of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, to the West Indian Federation, and to so large a degree of self-government in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, Russia has swallowed up three countries that used to be independent—Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia—and has forced its own system of government on six more—Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania.

We dare not forget these things, for the Russian change of policy may be no more than an attempt to catch us off our guard, and to divide Britain from America. But it might also mean that the Russians have at last come to the conclusion that neither they nor anybody else could go on indefinitely spending so much

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money on the preparation for war—money which we in Britain would wish to spend on developing the under-developed and poorer parts of the Commonwealth. Clearly the combined wisdom of men so unlike each other as Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Nehru will be badly needed in the next few months.

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YOGA Philosophy and Science

By Dr. S. M. S. CHARI

YOGA represents one of the ancient cultures of India. It is an art discovered a long time ago by our ancient seers for the physical, mental and spiritual development of an individual. It is also a science in so far as its investigations are based on profound introspection and observation on every phase of experience.

realisation of the Self. Indian philosophy recognises three fundamental principles: Matter, Mind and Spirit. Of these, matter and mind are perishable, while spirit or Self is imperishable and eternal. The realisation of the Self is, therefore, considered to be the ultimate goal.

How to realise the Self? The Upanishads teach us that the Self resides in our own body in the inner recesses of our heart. The Self by itself cannot realise or know of itself. It must be known through the help of some other organ. It is only through mind, which is the internal sense organ that the Self is to be realised. Mind

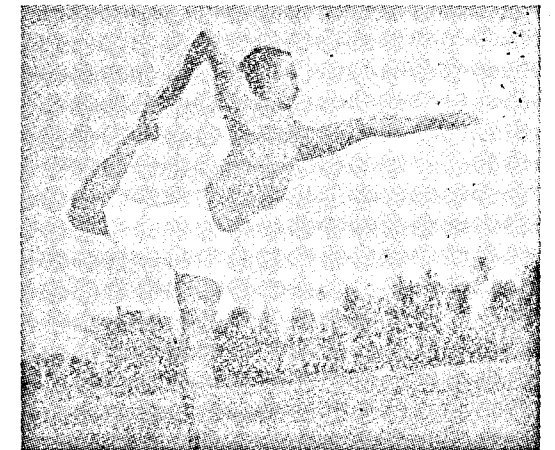


Pranayam, the Yoga method of breath-control

The term Yoga primarily and essentially means a psycho-physical discipline through which the spiritual goal or the supreme value in life is realised. It also refers to a system of philosophy which is taken up with the former and which gives it a philosophic basis.

Technically the term Yoga means control of the mind. Thus Patanjali who is the chief exponent of Yoga system defines it as the inhibition of the functions of the mind. It is a particular state of the mind in which all the outward flow of the mental energy is arrested.

Why should the mind be controlled? The explanation consists in the ultimate goal in view, namely, the

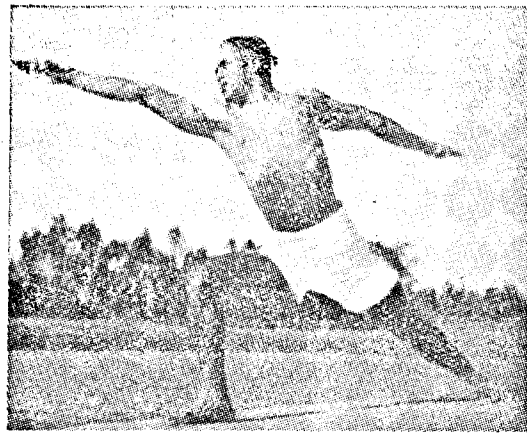


Natarajasan, after the dance of Siva

by its very nature is unsteady. It is like the spirited horse uncontrollable. Unless it is brought under control by arresting all its functions, spiritual realisation is well-nigh impossible.

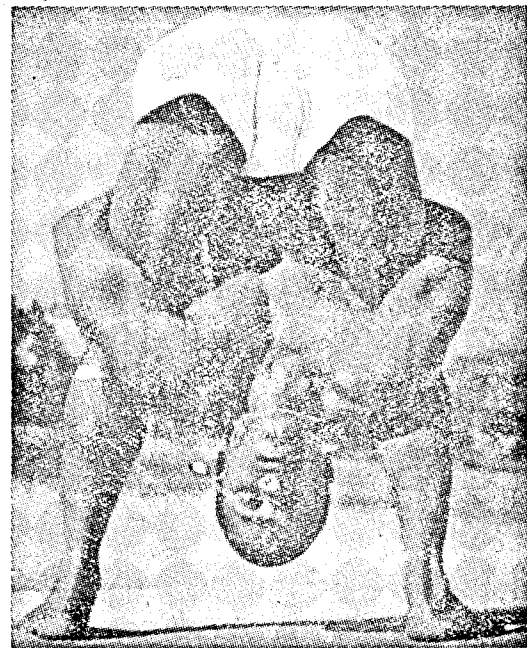
How to control the mind is the chief problem of Yoga. Various methods have been suggested for this purpose. The most important of these methods is the eight-fold psycho-physical discipline known as Yogangas to which the term Yoga rightly applies. These are (1) certain restraints, such as abstaining from malice towards all living creatures, speaking of the truth, abstaining from stealing, practice of celibacy and disowning of things belonging to others; (2) development of certain positive

virtues, such as cleanliness of the body and mind, self-contentment, practice of certain austerities, study of the sacred works and devotion to God; (3) practice of certain neuro-muscular or bodily postures (Yogasanas);



Veerabhadrasana, after the Hindu war-god, Veerabhadra

(4) controlling of breath according to definitely laid down ways (Pranayam); (5) withdrawal of the senses from the objects of the external world; (6) concentration of



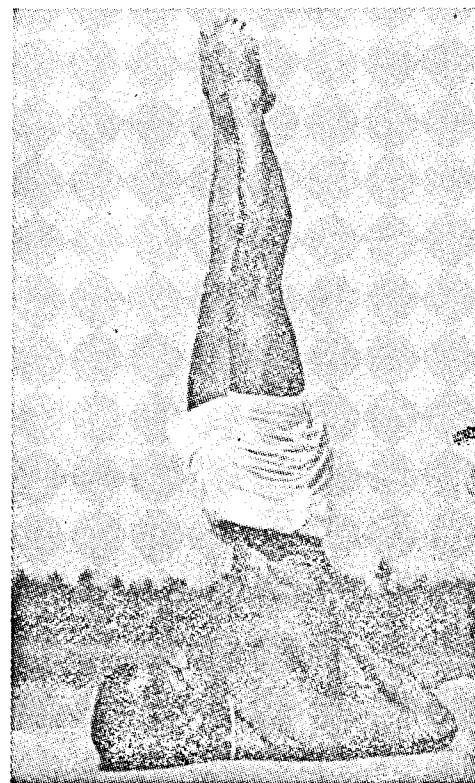
Tittibhasana, another interesting posture mind with a view to shutting out external stimuli; (7) steadfast contemplation; and lastly (8) intimate withdrawal of the Self into itself which is the culmination of the Yoga practice.

It may be observed that Yogasanas with which we are mainly concerned here form only a part of the Yoga practice. It constitutes the physical aspect of the Yoga, while the rest of the schedule is mainly intended for the



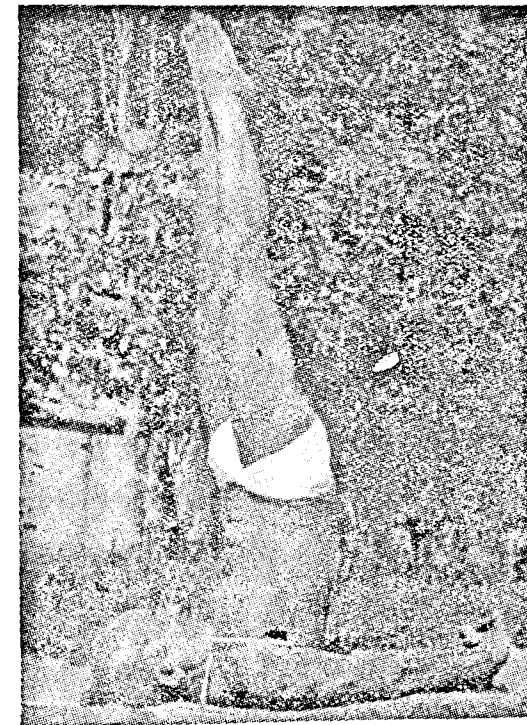
A posture for the development of the muscles of the back

mental and spiritual development. Nevertheless *asanas* occupy an important place in the Yoga practice. Mind and body are so interrelated that without the perfection of the latter, the development of the former cannot take



Sarvangasana, beneficial to all parts of the body place. In other words, the purification of the body is an essential requisite for the mental development. The body should be kept free from all diseases. It is for this purpose that the postures are prescribed.

Any pose which is steady and comfortable is called an *asana*. These are countless in number. Every posture is an imitation of the pose of a living being, an animal or bird or even a plant. Since such objects are countless in number, *asanas* are also many. While some works on Yoga mention that there are 84 lakhs of *Asanas*, others recognise that only 84 are important.

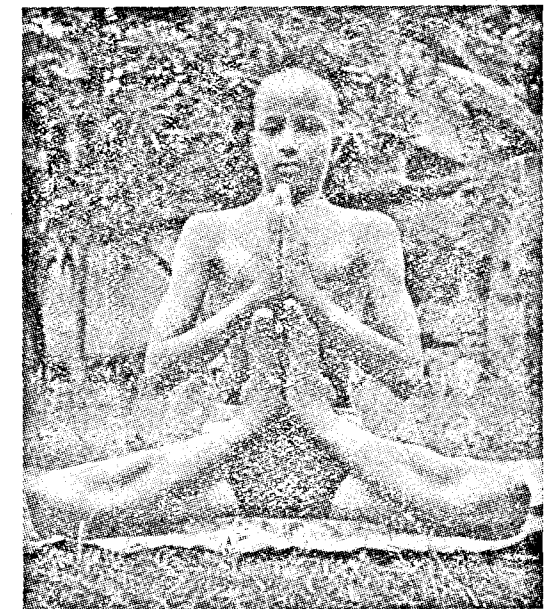


Another variation of Sarvangasana

According to Yogic anatomy, the human body consists of numerous astral nerves which are known as *nadis*, the various sheaths known as *koshas* and plexuses. Only *asanas* can exercise these different aspects of the body and keep them in order. It is claimed by Yogis that diseases which cannot be cured by medicine can be cured by Yogasanas. Modern researchers have also proved the therapeutic value of the *asanas*. The postures make the spine supple and the abdominal muscles strong. They give a good internal massage to the digestive organs and make them regain their normal rhythm. They purify the blood and burn out unnecessary and superfluous fat, making the body slim. They keep the nervous system in proper order. Above all they ensure the proper function of the endocrinal glands on which depends

the efficient working of the human body and mind. Yogic *asanas* practised properly will also help to retain eternal youth and enable people to live beyond the usual span of life.

Asanas are not merely physical exercises like gymnastics intended to build up the muscles and the bones of the human body. They have much deeper significance. They have been invented with the object of exercising the mind as well. If the *asanas* are practised properly with the observance of some of the ethical principles com-



A posture for prayer, extremely difficult to learn

combined with the *pranayam* they yield surpassing mental and spiritual powers. It is believed by Yogis that in the centre known as *Muladhara* (one of the Plexuses located in the lower part of the spinal column) lies a spiritual power known as Kundalini. It is an energy which lies dormant and when this is awakened it gives extraordinary spiritual powers. Certain *asanas* practised properly with the aid of *pranayams* and a few observances are believed to rouse this sleeping power.

Whatever may be the value of Yoga as a means for spiritual development, its usefulness as a system of physical and mental culture is unquestionable. Regular and methodical practice of the *yogasanas* combined with the *pranayam* system of breathing can always keep the system extremely fit.



caught in its folds ashore.

Chinese fishing nets are also used by some of the fishermen who inhabit the coastal regions near Quilon and Ernakulam. They use this picturesque type of net for fishing in the wide back-waters especially in the Ashtamudi and Vembanad lakes, magnificent stretches of saltish water. The Chinese who carried on a brisk trade with Quilon between 618-913 A.D. have left their impress on the fishing industry of Travancore. The Chinese fishing nets are unique. A platform is usually fixed up on the shore in a quiet corner, and the net is thrown therefrom. The fish are attracted into the net with the aid of rows of lights under water. These giant cradle nets worked by a counterpoised weight are still popular.

PUTTING OUT TO SEA

Loaded with nets and ropes and manned by experienced, weather-beaten and dexterous fishermen well versed in the lore of the sea, catamarans and boats are launched into the ocean an hour or two before sunset. It is a thrilling sight to watch the boats rising and falling as they move away over the heaving ocean. With every whirl in the water made by the quick-plying oars there is a flash of silvery light. With but a loin cloth securely tied round the waist and a small umbrella-like headgear made of cadjan, the fisherfolk remain all night in the sea tossed by the waves, and beaten by the winds. Knowing no fear, fatigue, sleep or rest, they continue their fishing operations all through the night impervious to the inclemencies of the weather. They are proof against the cruelties of nature and nothing in the deep blue ocean frightens them. They return to the shore at break of day with their catch.

HAULING THE CATCH

A picturesque sight it is to watch these deep-sea fishers returning with the tide to the shore and with consummate skill and quickness hauling in the catch. The relatives, friends and co-workers of those who have ventured into the sea gather on the shore to help. The nets are dropped in the sea 400 to 600 yards from the shore. Pandemonium starts when the nets full of live fish are dragged ashore. With amazing quickness this is achieved. While hauling the catch ashore the fisherfolk sing loudly. The leader recites the song line by line and the party joins in loud chorus. Two or three hours of continuous labour is required for hauling the catch ashore, and if the sea is rough and the catch particularly heavy double the time will be required. Sightseers also are welcome to participate in this tough work. For this service they are presented with choice

fish from the catch. Flocks of black crows call vociferously announcing the return of the fishers. Bending forward with fluttering wings and depressed tails, their inflated throats and wide open beaks proclaiming the intensity of their feelings, the crows hover over and over the nets and as often as possible swoop down to steal fish. It is astonishing what volume of sound proceeds from so small a body. The chatter of many human voices and the angry growls of pariah dogs add to the din.

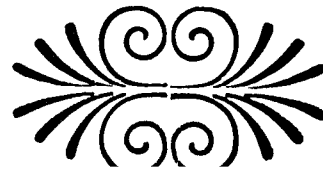
Watch one of those sturdy fishermen who has returned after the day's catch, how he cleans his net and hangs it up to dry. What imperturbability, what self-contentment speaks in every action of his, in his guileless smile, in his rare word! The Travancore-Cochin fishers who inhabit the sea-coast seem to have stepped out of a picture of old times. Their eyes twinkle like the light of sunny days on the waves.

The catch is sorted by the women-folk, who also take the fish to market. A familiar sight on the roads in the coastal towns and villages of Travancore-Cochin is large groups of fisherwomen hurrying to the markets with baskets full of fish cleverly balanced on their heads.

A portion of the catch is cured by drying it in the sun or by salting. During the summer the fish is dried for use in the rainy season. The dried fish is in great demand during the monsoon months when there is almost a complete cessation of deep sea fishing. A large quantity of dried fish is exported to Ceylon, Burma and India where it finds a ready market. The fisheries of Travancore-Cochin are of considerable importance and there is a steadily growing trade in fish and fish products. Travancore-Cochin produces nearly one-fifth of the total quantity of fish caught in the whole of India.

During the monsoon the fisherfolk attend to the repair of their outfit. They seldom employ the services of carpenters or ropemakers, for they do all the work themselves. Their boys are taught to mend the nets and make ropes even from an early age. They are accomplished swimmers and it is thrilling to watch these boys diving into the rolling waters to seize tiny coins thrown into the sea by the visitors.

Fishing is still a primitive cottage industry in Travancore-Cochin. The local fishermen have remained unchanged notwithstanding changes in civilization and they continue the same old methods of fishing practised by their ancestors. All that can be said is that they have reached the climax of efficiency achievable with their present equipment.



TUNGABHADRA PROJECT MAKES HEADWAY

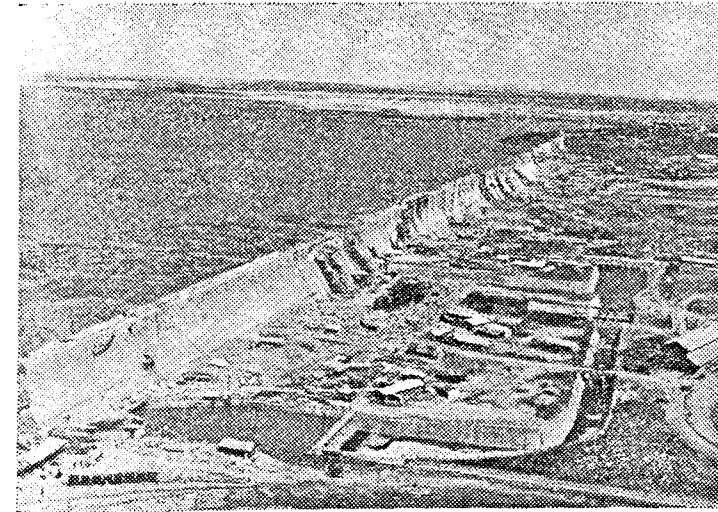
New Power Development Project at Hyderabad

THE first flow of water from the Tungabhadra Dam, one of the major river valley projects in the South is expected to commence on July 1, 1953. Simultaneously, on that day, water will be let out through the two main

Madras Government is Rs. 27.64 crores and that of Hyderabad Rs. 23.54 crores.

The project is being constructed by the Governments of Hyderabad and Madras, each State carrying out the works lying in its own territory. The two Governments have agreed upon a common design for the dam and also on a line of demarcation. A unique feature of the construction of the dam is that it is being built entirely by Indians without any foreign assistance, either technical or financial.

The Hyderabad part of the Tungabhadra project was inaugurated in 1945 but work actually started in 1948. Within about 3½ years, the dam has almost been completed. An important feature of the work on the Hyderabad side, is the concrete lining of the canals which will reduce maintenance cost and eliminate weeds. Most of the main canal and part of the distributary system have been constructed, but full completion will take some more time. At present, a long 3,600 ft. tunnel through which the main canal



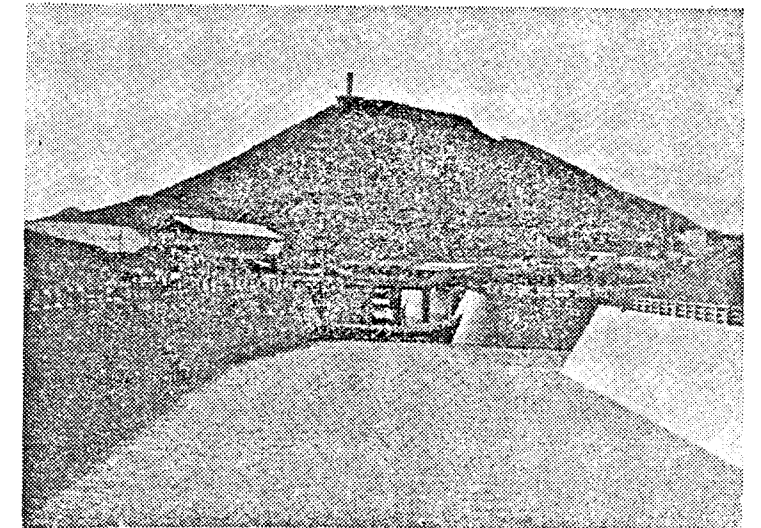
A view of the Tungabhadra Dam from the Madras side of the Project

canals of the Project, one on the Madras and the other on the Hyderabad side.

The Tungabhadra Project is a joint venture of the Government of Madras and Hyderabad and will serve the famine areas of Rayalaseema in Madras and the adjoining areas of Hyderabad. The masonry dam, across

the river Tungabhadra which is a major tributary of the Kistna, is almost nearing completion. The reservoir created by the dam will spread over an area of 133 sq. miles and will have a gross storage capacity of 2.6 million acre-feet. There will be two canals on each side of the river. The right bank canal on the Madras side will be 225 miles long, while the left bank canal on the Hyderabad side will be 127 miles long. Power is proposed to be developed at suitable sites along the canals. The canal system commands an area of a 2 million acres, of which 7 lakh acres are proposed to be brought under irrigation in the first stage.

The joint cost of stage I of the project is estimated at Rs. 51.18 crores, of which the share of the



Sluice Gates of the Tungabhadra Dam

will pass is under construction. Already 2,700 feet have been dug. The tunnel will be 62 feet in width.

STEEL SPANS

Steel spans required for the Dam are being manufactured at a factory specially set up for the purpose

on the Madras side of the Project. The factory which was inaugurated by the Prime Minister in September 1952, has already produced 33 spans each of 60' length, and an equivalent number is expected to be produced within the next year or so. One unique feature of manufacture of spans in this factory is that no bolts, screws and rivets are used, but the joints are welded. The first weld was operated by the Prime Minister on the Inaugural Day. In order to ensure that the joints have been properly welded, they have to be X-ray-tested. The new process is 25 per cent cheaper than the ordinary process of rivetting joints and it is twice as fast as in the case of nuts and screws.

POWER DEVELOPMENT

Elsewhere in the Hyderabad State, in the Nizam Sagar area, a Hydro-electric Power Station which will

generate 15,000 kw. of power is under construction below the head sluices of the Dam. The new Station constitutes the first phase of power development on the Manjira River, a tributary of the river Godavari and will, when completed, convert the Nizam Sagar Dam into a multi-purpose project. Till now, the Dam has been an irrigation project, the largest so far in Hyderabad and the second largest in India, covering 50 sq. miles and capable of irrigating 270,000 acres. It was built at a cost of Rs. 4.26 crores in 1929 and has a storage capacity of 29,700 million cubic feet.

The work on the Hydro-electric Power Station started at the end of 1951 and considerable progress has so far been made. The project will cost Rs. 1.60 crores. The power generated will be transmitted to the Thermal Station at Hyderabad and will be utilised mainly for that city.—*PIB*

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THE MIRROR OF THE AGES

Deeds of Selling Oneself

By JOGENDRANATH GUPTA

IN the various provinces in India slave-trade was regularly carried on. It is really interesting to trace its origin from very ancient times. In the Vedas, Samhitas and in the Jataks, there are several stories relating to slaves; there are directions about how to behave with them, how to treat them, and how to punish them for offences committed by them. I am not going to relate here in detail the history of slave trade and the selling of oneself for reasons of poverty. The subject is, however, briefly discussed below.

During the first quarter of the sixteenth century "the Portuguese first drank of the waters of the Ganges." It was in 1517 that D. Joao de Silveria, the Portuguese commander of an expedition, came to Bengal. As to the Portuguese in Eastern Bengal in the seventeenth century no amount of strong words would be adequate enough to describe their misdeeds and cruelties. As Bernier says:

"They had reached the very acme of evil-doing and at one time even a priest named Frei Vicente acted as their leader.....With small and light half-galleys called *gelleanes* they did nothing but sweep the sea on this side; and entering all rivers, canals and arms of the Ganges, and passing between the islands of Lower Bengal—often even penetrating as far as forty or fifty leagues into the interior—they surprised and plundered the villages and harried the poor gentries and other inhabitants of this quarter at their assemblies, their markets, their festivals and weddings seizing as slaves both men and women, small and great, perpetuating strange cruelties and burning all that they lay in their path. It is owing to

this that at the present day are seen so many lovely but deserted isles at the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, but now infested only by savage beasts, principally tigers."

The practices referred to here by Bernier are correct but he ascribes them all to Feringhis while the fact is that the main offenders were Maghs. In Rennel's map of Bengal published in 1794, the note, "this part of the country has been deserted on account of ravages of the Maghs," is written across the portion of the Sundarbans, south of Backarganj. Bernier continuing says that the Feringhis sold some of their slaves in Goa, Ceylon, St. Thame and to the Portuguese of Hooghly, and some of them were converted to Christianity and were trained in theft, murder and rapine.

The Portuguese and the Maghs were responsible to some extent for slave-trade in Bengal. The Portuguese and Magh pirates destroyed many flourishing villages and towns of lower Bengal. The ruins of villages and towns are marked by De Barros and Vanden Broucke in their maps. Spread over today by thick jungles they prove the truth of it.

THE DEED OF SELLING

Now let us speak about slavery in Bengal, specially in Eastern Bengal. We find from the legal deeds of selling oneself that slavery prevailed in Bengal from olden times, although it is very difficult to ascertain the date of its origin with any accuracy. It is very interesting to note that it prevailed to a greater extent in the

Eastern and Northern districts of Bengal, a circumstance which is perhaps attributable to the frequent occurrence of destitution and distress occasioned by sudden inundations to which that part of the country was liable.

Male slaves were distinguished by the name of Bhandaree by the Hindus, and by that of Gholam among the Mussalmans, and female slaves were called Dassee by the latter, and Bhandaree by the former. Almost all the female domestics in Hindu and Mussalman families were slaves. In Mussalman houses they acted as cooks, but in the Hindu household they were never employed in that capacity, the only articles of diet they were allowed to prepare being Chera (Choorah) Kotee, etc. Male slaves were employed as agricultural labourers, and did various kinds of work about the farm, such as ploughing, weeding, reaping, fishing, cutting wood and grass, etc. They also acted as domestic servants in Hindu families, carrying water from the river, preparing hookah and *pan* and cleaning cooking utensils.

A Bhandaree or Gholam is frequently the husband of six or eight female slaves in the neighbourhood, but most of his marriages were fictitious and intended by the proprietors of the female slaves to secure them for themselves. These marriages frequently occurred among the Mussalman proprietors of the slaves. The marriage of a slave was conducted in the same way as that of a poor ryot. The expense was defrayed by the owner of the serf, but in fictitious marriages, the proprietors of the female slaves paid the costs of the ceremony, and also bestowed a small sum on the bridegroom.

HOW THE SLAVES WERE TREATED

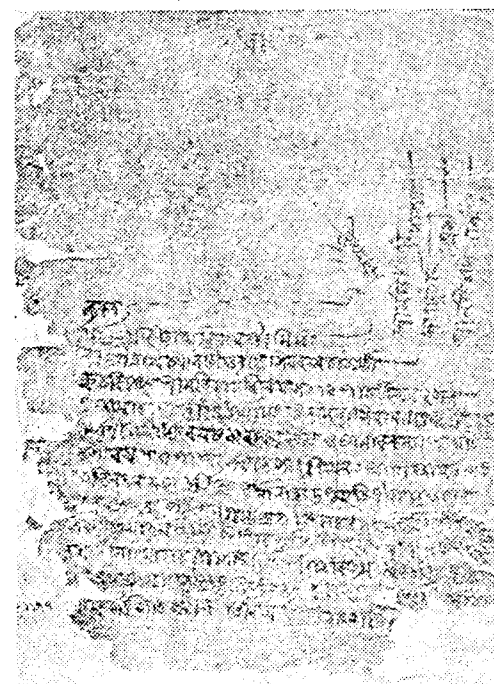
In a majority of instances, slaves were treated with kindness and leniency by their masters. The work extracted from them was seldom oppressive, and generally even less than what a hired servant would be required to perform. In most cases they partook of the diet taken by the family, and were allowed the common luxuries of betel-nut and tobacco. Many of those born in bondage in the houses of the wealthier classes were taught to read and write along with the children of the family.

The sale of persons in slavery was not so common now, it was alleged, as it had been in former times, although it was admitted, that it was still carried on to a considerable extent.

Formerly, slaves were sold along with the landed property, and the transfer was generally ratified by separate deeds of sale. The maximum price of a male slave in the middle of the nineteenth century was estimated at rupees one hundred and fifty and that of a female one, rupees 100. The latter was always sold at an early age and avowedly to attend on the daughters of the purchasers. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the slaves both male and female, even with a family consisting of four or five members, such as father, mother and children, were sold for rupees thirty or thirty-five and even for the sum of rupees ten, twelve or fifteen

only for whole life. Many of the girls, however, were infamously disposed of to prostitutes in the towns.

Most of the slaves of the Eastern part of Bengal were aware of the protection held out to them by the Government, and instances frequently occurred of individuals claiming it from the Magistrates. Many of them who had been thus liberated were scattered all over the country. In several villages in the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and in other places in Bengal they formed small communities which served as rallying points or places of refuge for those who had obtained their freedom or who chose to desert their masters.



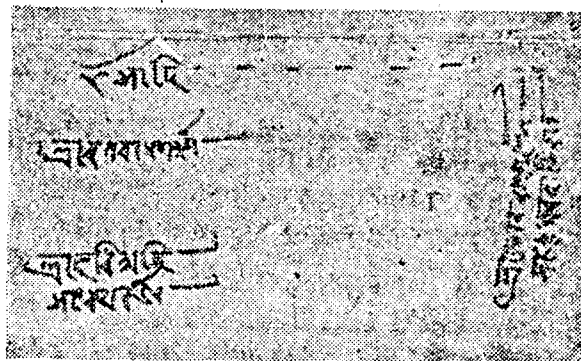
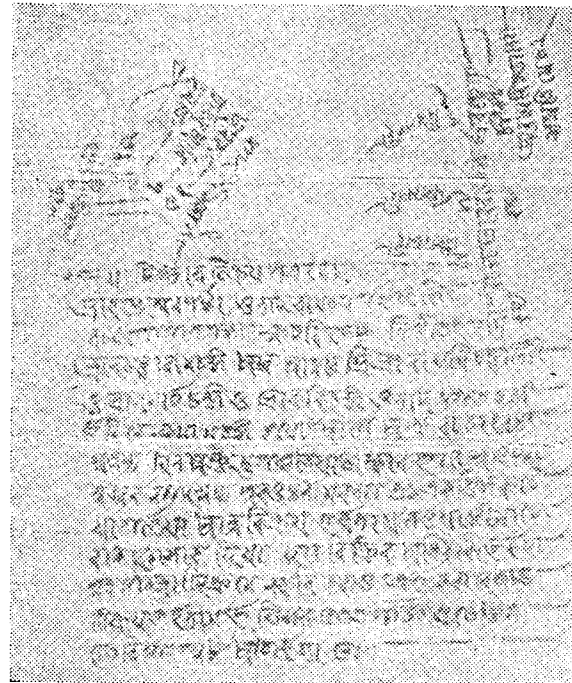
Document No. 1

Slaves in general were distinguished by the appellation of "Sing," but those who could read and write after their liberation assumed the rank of *kayets*. Many slaves of these districts of E. Bengal worked for only a certain number of months or days in the year, and were allowed wages when they worked beyond this period. It is mentioned in the records of the district for the year 1777, that the slaves of the zamindar of Toraff in Mymensingh rose in a body and murdered the whole family.

On going through the documents relating to slavery in Bengal I am of opinion that the poor people sold themselves to slavery for the following reasons:

Firstly, persons out of employment and unable to work on account of sickness or unable to maintain their family sold themselves. *Secondly*, destitute widows and children, who from physical infirmities or disease (*e.g.*, the lame, the blind and the lepers) who were incapacitated from earning their livelihood also sold themselves.

Persons thus selling themselves originally belonged chiefly to the classes of servants, boatmen and various artisans in the towns and villages. When they were sick and unable to do work, they usually borrowed money by pawning their gold and silver ornaments, articles of dress or copper and brass utensils. During the eighteenth century and in the middle of the nineteenth



Document No. 2

century persons who were engaged in the towns and villages as pawn-brokers charged the borrower at a rate of interest which varied from 2½ to 6 per cent per month. In 1770, the common rate was Rupees 5.2 per cent per month, but it afterwards fell to Rupees 3.8. The borrowers owing to such high rates of interest could not pay back the debt in due time and thus they were obliged to sell themselves into slavery.

Another class of poor persons and destitute widows and orphans earned a sort of precarious livelihood in the country, the former by spinning, weeding and reaping and the latter by tending cattle, picking safflower in the town. Widows usually found employment in the castes to which their husbands belonged. Many of them were admitted into Hindu families as cooks, while others eked out a subsistence by selling vegetables and fruits which they collected in the jungles and jheels. Among the Mussalmans, widows were employed to husk grain and grind wheat. When they were unable to get any work of such a nature as already stated, they sold themselves along with their husbands and children to some wealthy people. The poor people comprising the lame, the blind and the diseased, of whom lepers formed a large proportion, found a subsistence by begging in the markets and in the streets. During Moghul administration a provision was made from the *khabra* or corn lands, for the support of these classes of poor people, and it was continued until very lately. *Lungarkhana* is a continuation of this practice.

There were also other causes, such as seasons of plenty and seasons of scarcity. Of seasons of extraordinary plenty in Eastern Bengal there are several instances on record, and in all of them, the lowest price of grain appeared to have been 8 maunds or 640 pounds per rupee. This was the rate at which rice was sold in 1689, when Nawab Shaista Khan, in order to commemorate so remarkable an event, built up the western gate of the city of Dacca, then capital of Bengal, with an injunction that it should not be opened until rice became equally cheap, and which is said in consequence to have remained shut until the return of a plentiful harvest enabled Jesswant Ray, the deputy of Serferaz Khan, to reopen it in 1739. The years 1772, 1795, 1796, and 1797 were mentioned as having been years of great abundance.

The famines of 1769, 1770, and 1781-1787-1783 occurred in Bengal, owing to inundations which caused the destruction of crops. The number of Pergannahs and Talooks that suffered from inundations amounted to one hundred and twenty.

The distress of the inhabitants, Mr. Day remarks, "exceeds all description. Were the damage simply confined to the loss of their crops, it might in a short time be surmounted, but their cattle and property are gone and the ryots driven to the necessity of seeking shelter in different parts, so that the country is in a great measure deserted, and scarcely a cultivated spot to be seen."

Famine and inundation were the usual circumstances compelling the poor people to sell themselves and become slaves to the rich people.

I have in my collection a good number of documents relating to slavery in Bengal. I give here the translations of some documents from which the readers will be able to form a clear idea about the causes of selling oneself to the rich people.

No.1. This is a document for the sale of myself to Sri Jaganath Chakraborty *alias* Shivaram Chatterjee—along with my wife, son and daughter: Jadavi (wife) aged 35, son aged 12, and daughter aged only 5. Having been made destitute by famine in the year 1177 B.S. we sell ourselves to you in return for Rs. 51 and you will have to maintain us and you may, if you so desire, sell us or give us away.

In this document one Jadavi Dasi aged thirty five years sell herself with her son Chhitai De aged twelve years and her daughter Sreemati Jashidas. Owing to the great famine of the year 1177 B.S. (1770 A.D.) they are unable to earn a livelihood and are selling themselves to one Jaganath Chakraborty, who will provide them with food, dress and other necessities and will be by this document able to sell or to give any of them away as he desired. This deed was executed in the year of 1177 B.S. 14th day of Kartic.

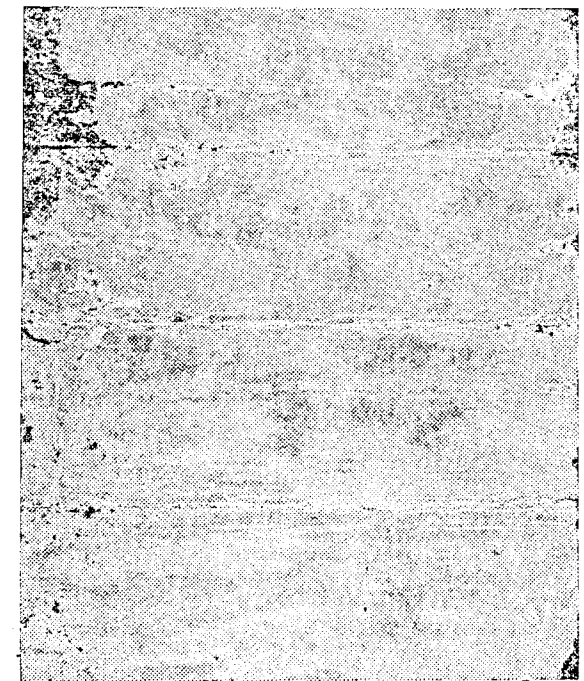
No. 2. This is a deed for sale of myself, my wife and my son and daughter in return for Rs. 31 to Bangeswar Sarma *alias* Ramchandra Sarma, etc.

This (No.2) document is also to that effect. From this document we see that one Bamcharan Changa with his wife and two sons, these four people are selling themselves to one Bangeswar Sarma, son of Ramchandra Sarma, getting thirty-one rupees in all, of which 19 were Arcot rupees.

This deed of selling was executed during the time of Nawab Alivardi who was the ruler of Bengal from April 1740 A.D. as an independent Subedar of Bengal till his death in the month of April 1756 A.D., a year before the battle of Plassey.

No. 3 executed in 1731 A.D. is a deed of self-selling document executed by one Basiram Chong who with his wife Srimati Kuari Chong sold themselves to one Govinda Prasad Sarkar for Rs. 10 only. The terms of the document were the same as in No. 1. Date of this document is 523 Portuguese san, dated 27 days of Falgoun equivalent to B.S. 1141 (1731 A.D.) during the time of Nawab Sujah Khan Subedar of Bengal. "I can buy back my freedom if I can provide 10 maunds of lead and 10 mds. of copper."

We find in the proceedings of the meetings of the twenty-eighth session of the Historical Congress, Jaipur, December, 1951, page 214:

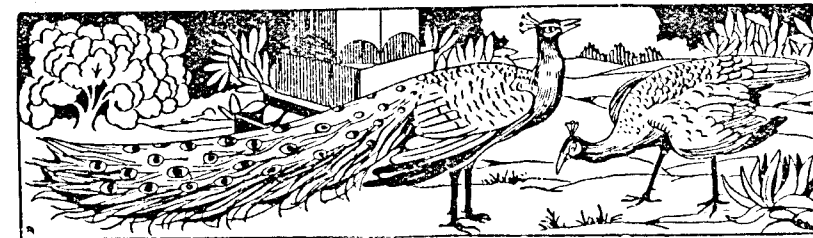


Document No. 3

"That Riza Khan pleads for the cause of the slave—

"There are draft rules framed by Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan, Naib Dewan of Bengal for the consideration of Lord Cornwallis on 15th August 1789."

It is not necessary to produce more documents here to prove the self-selling slave-trade in Bengal during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which continued till the middle of the nineteenth century.



WORDSWORTH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

By Dr. AMARESH DATTA, M.A. Ph.D.

With reference to the French Revolution, Wordsworth seems to be the most superficially understood of all the poets of the Romantic Age. General tendency is to regard him as a reactionary and a rabid one, for he is at once a child of the Revolution and a stubborn enemy to it. Those who hold this view have called him as a poet an apostle of nature and in the same breath dubbed him politically a Royalist. To call him so is to take away immediately the gift so respectfully applauded and virtually to call him an escapist,—the escape being one from life into nature. For Wordsworth as a mere poet of nature is liable to be exposed to adverse criticism and as a Royalist is in direct conflict with the ideal of the Revolution.

If Wordsworth could remain completely indifferent to the Revolution from the very beginning of his career, say like Keats, his poems would have been read differently and they would have yielded an altogether different meaning. But his typical Wordsworthian approach to this great event of his times has given his critics an opportunity to mould him Procrustes-like on their respective casts just to prove their contention about him. To those for whom Shelley and Byron in England have been the high priests of the Revolution, Wordsworth is no better than a renegade, a turncoat, a traitor :

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat.

They, the critics of this school, it may seem, judged Wordsworth according to their notions about Shelley and Byron; the more they grew enthusiastic about the younger poets, the more critical they became of the older, whence it may appear that Wordsworth to them could not be a poet of the Revolution simply because he did not write like Shelley or Byron. Yet there is no denying the fact that these professed exponents of the Revolution approached it from two different angles of vision. If the difference in their respective attitudes does not go against the either and does not make one the less revolutionary than the other, why then the Wordsworthian approach, even though it is fundamentally different, should stamp him for ever as one unresponsive to the demand of the age? I am not speaking of the natural and spontaneous reaction against the Revolution to which, when it degenerated into a reign of terror, Wordsworth along with many other early enthusiasts was a party in his later years. I am speaking of the enthusiasm of his early youth when to be young was very heaven and its later developments. In the context of the French Revolution he remained a revolutionary only with a difference. The same perhaps would have been the

case with Shelley and Byron if they had lived longer and allowed their wild enthusiasm to mellow into mature and sober judgment. Wordsworth's being a Royalist does not disqualify him as a poet of man—for to judge a poet by his political faith is more often than not misleading. Instances are many of poets becoming greater by disobeying their long-cherished and professed religious or political faith. So Wordsworth's being a Royalist, from the point of view of his poetry, is as insignificant as Dante's being a stern moralist, Spenser's a devout Puritan or Milton's a Christian of the orthodox school.

Many all over Europe saw the inauguration of a new era in the ideal of the Revolution, indeed a new sense of values and a new attitude towards life. And in their respective fields of activities all of them fought their battles against the old order with the watchwords of the Revolution as their slogans to expedite the age of, what they called, justice and equality. But even to the same ideal the approaches were different. The destructive aspects of the Revolution rather than its constructive purpose appealed more not only to the revolutionaries themselves but also to the men of imagination. Liberty, equality and fraternity—of these three, the first was the battle-cry of almost all the poet-fighters and if they preached the doctrine of equality and fraternity at all, they did it in the abstract. Thus for Shelley, unrestricted liberty to destroy everything that existed was an introduction to the new world, which for its unreality never came near any human plane. In fact, what he preached was anarchy at its best with love—and that too, vague and unjustified—as its unerring guiding light. The characters drawn by him, therefore, are always as villains, oppressors and tyrants and as heroes, impossible idealists. Evidently what he lacked as a poet was a sense of reality and judgment, but Ariel as he was, of the air airy, this ever stands as a tribute to the magic of his poetry. Byron was also all for liberty, his heroic death may even be regarded as a sacrifice for the cause of freedom, but both in his life and works, he maintained the aloofness and indifference of superiority—with much empty swagger though real gusto. What he did for Greece and what he wrote about in *Childe Harold*, was actuated by a faith in idealism which he could muster only on rare occasions. The real Byron, in his grim satirical raptures was in no way less wanton than a Danton or a Robespierre; in his poems also have been guillotined some of the innocent kings and barons and lords of his times. Instead of preaching the ideals of equality and fraternity either in the abstract or in any concrete form, he advocated in so many words the need for blatant

cynicism. Thus as a poet, he not only lacked poetic insight but also misunderstood human nature. Yet this belligerent anti-realism made him the 'beau ideal' of his age. Wordsworth brought about a healthy sense of reality—a judgment tempered with balance and equanimity; liberty for him was not another name for anarchy; equality and fraternity were ideals he strove to apply to life—and yet he was disposed of as a reactionary, a turncoat and even as an escapist. A dazzling brilliance blinded our eyes to the truth that was unadorned yet profound, simple yet deep.

Not that Wordsworth, in his first enthusiasm for the Revolution, was unlike his younger contemporaries. However grave, sober and philosophic he looked in his later years, in his boyhood and early youth he was extremely sensitive and of violent moods. His baptism to the ideal of the Revolution not only resulted in a desire to risk his life for a noble cause and a clandestine love affair in France, but it also inspired him to compose poems on the homicidal glory of the Revolution. He too was attracted by its destructive aspect and some time after his return from France he started paraphrasing the satires of Juvenal applying them to the abuses which he found in higher societies. But ere long the circumstances changed very rapidly for him. The excesses of the Revolution itself that culminated in the execution of Louis XVI, the rise of Napoleon, the war between his beloved native land and the land of his ideals, and above all the tyranny and the betrayal of the creed of universal freedom and brotherhood by the revolutionaries themselves, perplexed him, as he says in the Prelude, with 'contrarities'; yet to quote Sir Walter Raleigh, 'he faced the fact and against him the fact did not prevail.' True it is, at the outset, the disillusionment was too shocking but that also forced him only to renounce his faith in the revolutionaries, not in any sense, in the ideal of the Revolution itself; for, this great event of his times raised some moral questions that for him were some of the basic problems of human life and nature, and in his poetry he turned them round and round to suggest an answer for them. In fact, had he not been in some way or other involved in the Revolution, his poems would not perhaps have that deep human appeal which characterises them now. Evidently it is not an escape, it is a conquest over a staggering fact, not a sentimental submission to it. Nor is it a desertion of one ideal for another, it is an evaluation of the same ideal in the light of reality and human good. In fact, the Revolution had been and always remained the greatest influence on him, because pre-Revolution Wordsworth (1770-1787) was either a recluse or a solitary wanderer amidst the beauties of nature or a moony romanticism, absorbed in nursery tales, *Jack the Giant-Killer*, *Robin Hood*, *Arabian Nights* and the like. It is therefore not unreasonable to maintain that he would ultimately turn out to be a mere nature poet of description, had this early Wordsworth grown up without any attention to the Revolution. Man

also, perhaps, would not have been the protagonist in his drama of Nature.

The first poem of any consequence by Wordsworth in his early years is 'An evening walk.' Though it was composed by pre-Revolution Wordsworth between 1787-89, it was published in 1793 thoroughly revised and modified and naturally bearing some influence of the Revolution. In an earlier poem composed in 1786, addressing his friends, the poet says :

Oh! leave me to myself nor let me feel
The officious touch that makes me droop again

but now in his 'Evening Walk,' he sees a female beggar in distress and his love for nature awakes in him a conscious love of mankind, which gradually spreads from man to the animal creation. Then follows 'Guilt and Sorrow'—in which the poet is keenly alive to the misery and wrong that oppress mankind everywhere :

For want how many men and children die,
How many at Oppression's portal placed
How many by inhuman toil debased
Abject, obscure and brute, to earth incline
Unrespited, forlorn of every spark divine.
How weak the solace of such fond thoughts afford
When with untimely stroke the virtuous bleed
Say, rulers of the nations, from the sword
Can aught but murder, pain and tears proceed?
Oh, what can war but endless war still breed?

Here is passion for justice, a wide humanitarianism, a call for a new order, a change both spiritual and social. In one of the poems of this period, the poet believes that 'True knowledge leads to love,' and the pre-Revolution Wordsworth emerges a new power 'shaking his invincible locks' from his absorption in a false supernaturalism, with a new faith in human nature and in the essential goodness of man.

Hence, in all the poems of this period we find human life in some form or other asserting itself against and fitting harmoniously with the background of nature. By now the process of assimilation (of the ideal of the Revolution) has already begun and it is gradually taking the form of a love for and faith in the instinctive and untainted growth of life under the benign influence of Nature. The poet turns to his childhood and the 'Poems referring to the Period of Childhood' glow with the light of this new revelation. 'The Poems founded on the Affections' follow, and we find the poet melting in love and sympathy. 'The Forsaken,' 'The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman', 'The Affliction of Margaret,' 'Maternal Grief,' 'The Childless Father,' 'The Emigrant Mother,' 'Michael'—are some of the poems of this period which amply illustrate the growing love that was the final outcome of his experience in France. The revolutionaries in a frenzied way indulged in an orgy of murder for the establishment of a happy world for the down-trodden and the oppressed! But who except Wordsworth among the poets, unceasingly vindicated the freedom of soul of the obscure and the oppressed, the leechgatherers and the shepherds? The revolutionaries in their wild

excitement lost sight of the ultimate aim—the ideal. Wordsworth not only vindicates its cause and justifies its purpose but also suggests, as far as it is possible for a poet to do so, the way to realise it in life.

However, chronologically as we have proceeded so far, we now come upon the 'Poems of the Fancy' and 'of the Imagination' in which man and nature play their respective roles and an interpenetrative affinity is established between them. Here his love for humanity has been extended to animal and vegetable creation. The poet now sings of 'joy in widest commonalty spread' and if of sorrow, then only of

Sorrow that is not sorrow but delight
And miserable love that is not pain.

In the meantime, *The Lyrical Ballads* has been published and in its preface, the poet has not only decided "to choose incidents and situations from common life" but also to use the language really used by men. By now he has been so much inspired by his love for the common man that he does not even hesitate to represent him in his own accent and language, even though he realises the impracticability of such a theory. This may even appear to be the poet's unconscious and indirect vindication of the ideal of the revolution. Let not the poet sit in his ivory tower and hurl messages of equality and justice; let him come down to the common man, share his joys and sorrows and express them in his poems. Not this alone, let the poet also teach man how to live and be happy, how to be conscious of the glory that is man.

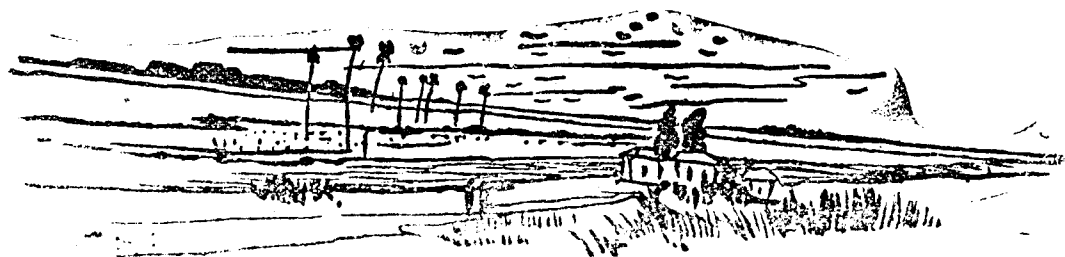
Wordsworth therefore sometimes grows didactic, not of course in any vulgar sense of the term, and he turns his guiding light in the encircling gloom. The Revolution was a class struggle, but Wordsworth would not admit the dictatorship of any kind and classlessness will not solve the problem if there is no change in our attitude towards life. This change, Wordsworth would affirm, will come through an unshaken belief in nature, and her ennobling influence on human life. And he would exhort the pilgrims of life to shun the artificiality of material progress. To the critics of a particular school it may smack of escapism, but it is, at least for Wordsworth, an acceptance of a better life, a striving after a realizable ideal and if it is an escape, who among poets worth the name is not an escapist? Again, critics holding Leftist views may contend that Wordsworth wrote for and main-

tained his belief in the capitalist system of society as may be evident from his poems dedicated to national independence and liberty, ecclesiastical sonnets and sonnets upon punishment of Death. But in objection to this, be it noted that Wordsworth wrote from a human plane, not from any class-consciousness, and tried to invoke in man 'the seer blest' who is capable of prevailing upon external circumstances. Armed with the love for humanity and belief in the soul-making power of nature, Wordsworth would say, we can steer a safe course through all the dark tangles of life. His first reaction to the plethora of emotional outbursts in the reign of terror, of course urged him in his early Godwinian enthusiasm to trust in the absolute power of Reason to inaugurate an earthly paradise, but gradually he saw and judged things for himself till at last he believed himself to be one of the

Prophets of Nature, we to them will speak
A lasting inspiration, sanctified
By reason, blest by faith; what we have loved
Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
On which he dwells, about this frame of things
(Which 'mid all revolution in the hopes
And fears of men doth still remain unchanged)
In beauty exalted, as it is itself
Of quality and fabric more divine.

A poet particularly if he is, like Wordsworth, an unequal writer and as such best appreciated in a judicious selection, is to be judged by his best. If we want the best out of him. Even though his later mysticism may be explained as a natural culmination of his thought process, and even if his unbecoming aberrations may be explained away in relation to his circumstances, the essential Wordsworth seems to be faltering in his later years when the ideal of the Revolution to him has turned into a distant and dying echo—a thought in the failing memory. But so long as he remained conscious of the ideal of the Revolution, it did not cease to inspire him.

If then we regard him as an upholder of the ideal of the Revolution, let us call him a Royalist simply because he accepted against his inclination the Poet Laureateship of England at the end of his life; an escapist, only because he strove for something better and truer and more abiding; a lost leader, merely because he stood for the sublimated and not the coarse and vulgar form of the ideal of the Revolution.



MUSIC IN EDUCATION

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

So far music has received scant attention at the average Indian school, where it is considered to be a subject of secondary importance, and as such it has been relegated to the position of an extra-curricular activity. Usually the demands of the heavy school syllabus make it hard for pupils to devote enough time and attention to the study and culture of music. A knowledge of music is looked upon as an additional qualification and accomplishment of boys and girls. They seldom find it possible to attain a high level of technical skill and perfection. Unless children are taught music in schools, their talents and aptitudes can hardly be assessed. Even when their musical tastes and talents are discovered, very often they fail to secure ample opportunities of developing them. Sometimes it is really difficult for the heads of schools to allot time as well as specialist teachers for a few pupils, who happen to have a special gift for music. The Calcutta University took a big step forward, when it accorded to music the status of a separate subject of study for the Matriculation course, and included it in the school curriculum, as an optional subject. But at the present moment there are very few teachers qualified to teach music up to the Matriculation or School Final Examination standard, even, in efficient schools. The appointment of a specialist teacher for a few pupils, who are likely to take up music at the School Final or Matriculation Examination is very often considered to be sheer waste of money. As a result of this, even such students as have special musical talents can be afforded very little facilities for specialising in the subject. Hence the need of setting-up an adequate number of music schools throughout the country. At these special schools of music, the services of music experts may be made available to the students of music with the minimum of expenditure, private tuition being very expensive and beyond the means of the average pupil. In the event of there being a sufficient number of music schools in the country, such boys and girls as have special tastes and aptitudes as well as talents may go in for a specialised course. This will open up new avenues of employment for students. It is a pity that music schools are few and far between in India at the present time.

An important place should be assigned to music in the school curriculum, too, it being an excellent medium through which the emotions and sentiments of children can find an outlet. In the present-day system of education in India, very little efforts are made to meet the social and emotional needs of pupils. The development of their personality and the 'education of the whole man' are seldom aimed at. Music constitutes an important means of self-expression, both in team and individual work, it being the vehicle of children's inmost feelings—their emotions and sentiments, which seek an outlet in some form of outward expression. Thus music makes for the development of their personality and individuality. Tagore with the deep imaginative insight and breadth of vision of a true educationist realised the enormous edu-

cational importance of music as a creative activity. Music was therefore placed at the forefront of the educational programme, chalked out by him. Thanks to the pioneer work of Tagore, the eminent educationists of the day are fully alive to the importance of music as an essential creative activity. The immense value of such creative activities as music, drama, art and handiwork needs to be borne in upon the average parent, who is keener on a good schooling for his children than on anything else, and is loth to let the latter spend enough time on music at the sacrifice of other school subjects. It is gratifying to note, however, that music occupies an important place in the scheme of education envisaged in the new junior basic curriculum, which is likely to replace the former primary curriculum in the near future in West Bengal. It is a move in the right direction. Music should form an important part of elementary education, which has been termed Primary education in India. It is a great pity that at the primary stage of education, music, instead of receiving the serious attention that it deserves, has been utterly neglected. The teaching of music as an important creative activity is essential both at the primary and pre-primary stages of education during the formative period of children's life. At the nursery and kindergarten schools, music should be regarded as a subject of primary importance. Attempts should be made to engender and inculcate a love of music among the children of impressionable age at the earliest stage of their education. During the early years of their childhood their musical ears, too, should be trained. They should be made to listen to plenty of good music, so as to create a taste for music. The absence of qualified music teachers may be partly compensated by the radio and gramophone, which may be of great help in training the musical ears of children and in creating a taste for music.

The dearth of qualified music teachers constitutes a serious handicap in introducing music in schools. So the crux of the problem is how to secure an adequate number of qualified teachers of music. But no solution of the problem can be arrived at until and unless teachers are trained in sufficient numbers for the purpose. Ampler training facilities should also be provided, so as to attract a bigger number of trainees. More training centres, too, should be opened, both in the rural and urban areas of the country in order to cope with the growing demand for such institutions. More attractive salaries should be offered to qualified teachers of music and the conditions of their service should also be much better than what they are at present. Provision should be made for a full course as well as a short-course training and refresher courses at the training centres. Some stipends should also be awarded to the trainees by way of monetary help, so that they may be able to meet part of their expenditure during the period of their training. It is high time that the question of training music teachers was taken up seriously. Music should be made one of the com-

pulsory subjects of study in the training courses to be provided for the primary school teachers. The trainees should not be awarded the certificate or diploma in teaching unless they pass in music too, at the Final Examination. In the Senior Vernacular training course, also, music may be made an optional subject that the trainees may take up at the examination. In West Bengal, a few teachers' training centres have been opened for the purpose of training music teachers. But these institutions, which owe their inception and existence to private enterprise have not been formally recognised by the Government. So far no uniformity of the standard and the courses has been achieved. A few music schools receive small subsidies from the State by way of maintenance grants, which are much too insufficient for the purpose. Attempts should be made to co-ordinate the activities of the different institutions and to affiliate them to a common body or a Central institution, like the school of Music, Lucknow, now known as Bhattachande Sangit Vidya Pith. This will help to bring about and maintain a certain uniformity of the standard. Sporadic efforts on the part of individual institutions need to be systematised and organised into a definite pattern.

The question of training music teachers naturally leads to that of the syllabus which should be a well-thought-out and well-graded one. The failure to evolve a uniform syllabus is mainly due to lack of co-ordination of the activities of different institutions, which follow their own syllabuses. The drawing up of the syllabus may well be entrusted to a board to be constituted for the purpose, with renowned musicians as well as veteran music teachers of the country. Rabindra Sangeet, which forms a class by itself, should occupy a prominent place in any music syllabus that may be drawn up for West Bengal. Tagore's invaluable contribution to Bengali music cannot be ignored by any means. Bengal can justly be proud of its vast wealth of musical literature in the shape of Rabindra Sangeet, the emotional content and appeal of which are as rich and varied as possible. Tagore's hymns and devotional songs seem to have been profoundly influenced by the teachings of the Upanishads, as well as the songs of the Baul poets, belonging to a popular mendicant religious sect of Bengal. The poems, composed by the poet on the occasion of different season-festivals and set to music, are truly indicative of the variety of his moods and the infinitely varied ways in which nature appealed to him and touched a responsive chord in his heart. The joys and sorrows of a nation, its hopes and aspirations as well as its ideals and traditions, both social and religious—are enshrined in the musical literature of the country. So the history of the music of a country is inseparably bound up with that of its culture. The composition of the national and patriotic songs of Bengal synchronises with the various phases of its national movement to which these owe their origin. These songs testify to the storm and stress of the tremendous emotional ferment and

turmoil the country was passing through at the time. The course in music should, also, include folk songs and classical music, which form a distinctive feature of Indian music.

The immense advantages derived from the musical training imparted to children are manifold. Instruction in the elements of music seems to be essential, inasmuch as it constitutes a good training-ground for their moral character also. In and through music they are trained in self-confidence, self-control and courage. The musical demonstrations call for a good deal of self-confidence and courage on the part of the pupils. Their attempts at self-expression must needs be characterised by a certain amount of spontaneity and naturalness. So the demonstrations have to be free from affectation and constraint. This renders the shaking off of nervousness, shyness and self-consciousness absolutely necessary. Through the musical exercises, children are trained in the powers of concentration too. The constant drill in the accurate reproduction of the required sets of notes involves a good deal of conscious effort on their part. Strict conformity to the rules of musical measure and time helps to foster a discipline of behaviour among the pupils. Musical training thus develops the quickness of their perception and response as well as a keen sense of pitch. They learn to perceive quickly how far they have been able to catch and reproduce the tunes correctly—how far their voices can be pitched without any detriment to the effect. By means of musical training, children are made to learn how to take praise and blame in the right spirit. A spirit of healthy and constructive criticism is thereby inculcated among them. This exercises a tremendous influence on the formation of their character. Musical training is an education in itself, and is conducive to the mental and physical health of children. The immense joy which they feel from the creation of good music, as also by listening to it, promotes the healthy development of their body and mind. A good deal of exercise of their lungs and vocal organs is also involved in singing. Dancing is a very good form of physical exercise and is a training in the rhythmic movements of the body. Music thus stimulates and trains the rhythmic sense of children. A training of the rhythmic sense is essential for the proper appraisal of the aesthetic values. Children thereby learn how to appreciate the beauty of rhythm in sound, form and movement. The aesthetic training provided by music is of immense help in developing their aesthetic sense and tastes. The impressionable minds of children cannot be impervious to the beauty of harmony and melody—the charm of rhythm in sound, form and movement. The effects of the stimulus may differ in the case of individual children. But the effects are sure and certain. Children can thus be taught the need of perfect harmony and concord in human relationships also. The cultural value of music as a fine art should not be underestimated. "Art for art's sake." From that point of view also, music has an enormous importance of its own. This alone

justifies the study and culture of music. Good music serves to elevate our mind and spirit. The national songs of Bengal played a very important role in the national and political upheaval of the country. "Bande Mataram" became the watchword of her struggle for freedom. Innumerable heroes of the time braved death and untold sufferings with those words on their lips, which acted as an incantation or a magic spell, so to say. The national songs of Bengal were a fountain-head of eternal inspiration to the martyrs of the country, who sacrificed their lives at the altar of their motherland. The troops, bound for the battlefield, are made to march to the strains of martial music. Their minds, obsessed by the fear of imminent danger and peril, are thus diverted from the horrors of death and destruction, by means of music, which inspires them with courage and confidence. Numerous martial songs were composed in every country for the purpose. Religious training can also be imparted to children by means of music. If they are constantly made to listen to and sing devotional songs, they are sure to imbibe their spirit. Bengali music abounds in spiritual songs like Kirtan, Bhajan, Shyama Sangeet of Ramprasad, and the hymns composed by Tagore. The singing of devotional songs is likely to beget a spirit of reverence for the Deity or the Divine Being. The object of religious instruction can be achieved far better by means of religious songs than by the actual preaching of the moral precepts, readings from the scriptures, saying prayers and performing religious rites. Thus a musical training should form the basis and corner-stone of children's future education as well as character-building.

Now that India's long-cherished dream of freedom has been realised, its cultural level should, also, be raised, by all means. No nation can be really great unless its cultural and intellectual advancement is

brought about. Its intellectual and cultural achievements are a true measure of its greatness and civilization. The development of its arts, sciences and letters should, therefore, be commensurate with its economic progress. We pride ourselves upon the glorious heritage of our past. But we seem to be too much enamoured of the past to think of new ventures to be undertaken in future. Our cultural life will tend to be static and stagnant, if we cease to strive for greater achievements in every sphere of life and activities, from day to day. So the spirit of intellectual adventure should always be cultivated by the educationists of the country, who should embark upon new ventures and experiments in the field of education and culture. They should keep abreast of all the latest developments and experiments in education. In India the study and culture of music has not yet received the impetus that it should be given. The attention of the educated public should be focussed on the study and teaching of music. With this end in view music festivals may be organised from time to time on an All-India and international basis, so that a free and friendly exchange of thoughts and ideas may take place among the musicians of different countries. Such functions will, also, act as a forum for the discussion of problems relating to musical education as well as for the appreciation and interpretation of different schools of music. Children's general interest in music needs to be stimulated too, so as to make them music-conscious. The immense educational value of music should, also, be brought home to their parents and guardians. Inter-class, inter-house, inter-school and inter-provincial competitions in music should be arranged from time to time, with a view to rousing a healthy spirit of group competition among the school children.

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THE LATE SRI N. GOPALASWAMY IYENGAR A Tribute

By P. RAJESWARA RAO

THE passing away of Sri N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar after completing the Biblical age of three scores and ten marks the end of an epoch of successful administrators with ability and integrity who turned out to be top-ranking statesmen at the fag end of their career. Contrary to common experience, Mr. Iyengar did not lose his individuality or initiative in service. He was ever fresh and vigorous. As the nephew of Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and the brother of Rangaswamy Iyengar—the former the proprietor and latter the editor of the *Hindu*, the excellently edited daily from Madras—he inherited a tradition of sincere convictions, sustained service and sound patriotism.

When Mr. Iyengar was appointed as the Prime Minister of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1937 after his retirement as the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue in Madras, most of us thought that it was the fitting end to his long and successful official career.

But few realised that it was the beginning of a distinguished career on a larger plane. The Kashmir Durbar was advised to introduce certain reforms by the Glancy Commission which was appointed as a result of a long-drawn-out struggle. Sri Gopalaswamy quickly came to grips with the various problems and proved himself to be the man of the hour. Necessary reforms were introduced. He faced every crisis with tact and grit and his administrative skill stood him in good stead. He proved himself to be a man of few words and all action. At the same time he was not indifferent to progressive movements in British India. When Mahatma Gandhi enunciated the Basic Education Scheme, Kashmir was the first Indian State to participate in it wholeheartedly, by deputing its Director of Public Instruction to work on the Basic Education Committee which was presided over by Dr. Zakir Hussain.

During his tenure as the Premier of Kashmir he was unassuming and direct in his dealings. When Mr. Sheik Abdullah, the present Chief Minister of the State, was announced before him as the lion of Kashmir he was reputed to have replied that his proper place was in the wilderness. After his retirement from the Kashmir State service, he thought of entering public life. Slowly but surely he made his voice heard in the counsels of the country. His work on the Sapru Committee which tried to solve the deadlock during the Second World War is well-known and appreciated. His entry into the Council of the State as an elected member provided him a forum to express his views from time to time on the pressing problems of the day. His exposition was marked by dignity, clarity and forcefulness. His elucidation of paramountcy under the new dispensation (i.e., in the light of the Cabinet delegation's proposals) surprised our constitutional Pandits. In spite of his evading publicity, his calibre and capacity were widely recognised. His appointment as chairman of the Committee set up to recommend ways and means to expedite Indianisation of the army was a clear recognition of his ability. Though he kept aloof from local politics and controversies, on important issues he did not hesitate to give his opinions clearly and categorically. His criticism of the Textile policy pursued by the Prakasam Ministry in Madras was regarded as thorough and convincing.

In the fitness of things he was called upon to serve as a member of the Experts Committee set up by the Congress Working Committee for the purpose of preparing material for the Constituent Assembly. The Congress High Command did the right thing in getting him elected to the Constituent Assembly. He justified the choice. He supported the resolution relating to the declaration of the objectives of the Constituent Assembly, moved by Pandit Nehru in terms that were definite and convincing. His explanation regarding the derivation of the sovereignty from the people proved to be useful and interesting. He ably supported his thesis with the observations contained in the reports submitted by the Reforms Enquiry Committees in premier States like Hyderabad and Mysore. He stormed the citadel of the princely order and their advisers. Even a shrewd tactician like Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer failed to dislodge him from his position. As a member of the Drafting Committee he was responsible for evolving the Indian Constitution in its present form.

Since he enjoyed the confidence of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, his services were in constant demand after the dawn of freedom. His first appointment was as Minister without portfolio in September 1947. Those were the days when the ruthless raiders from Pakistan entered into Kashmir and ravished that beautiful State. Naturally Mr. Iyengar was entrusted with the Kashmir problem soon after it acceded to India. He was made the Leader of the Indian Delegation to the Security

Council in 1948 when the Kashmir dispute came up for discussion. Though he politely bored many by his manuscript eloquence at Lake Success, he must have impressed the few that cared for facts and figures. Sir Md. Zafrulla Khan, the spokesman for Pakistan, stole many marches over him by sensational eloquence, and earnest advocacy. Thinking public felt that a Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee or Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer could have presented India's case in a better form designed to yield quicker and desirable results. But the powers-that-be were in no mood to select the proper person for the job. Mr. Iyengar steadily tackled the Kashmir issue during the successive stages up to the end of the mutual discussions at Geneva in August 1952, under the auspices of Dr. Frank Graham, the mediator appointed by the UNO. The final judgment on his efforts to tackle this thorny tangle must be left to history and the coming generation.

The Railway portfolio was entrusted to him in 1948 and he acquitted himself reasonably well in that capacity. He was responsible for the present regrouping of the various Railway zones. The benefits of this reorganisation remain to be seen. When Sardar Patel passed away in 1950 the Department of States automatically came under his care. After the General Elections in 1952, he became the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party and the Minister for Defence. His role as the Leader of the House in the Council of States quite suited him. His appointment as the Defence Minister, a position which was hitherto held by a qualified General or a member of the martial race was a glaring departure. The entrusting of this portfolio to a vegetarian timid Brahmin from Tamilnad was a shock and a surprise to those that thought on old lines. But it was befitting when the main opposition in the shape of Communism came from the South of Vindhya. We are now free to experiment with the men and material at our disposal in any manner we think fit and proper.

He stuck to his post though he was ailing and badly needed rest, as his repeated requests to be relieved of the responsibilities of the high office were turned down by Prime Minister Nehru. He was thoroughly loyal to his chief till the end. He identified himself so completely with the policy and the programme of the Cabinet that there was no occasion for him to differ at all. It is not for me to say whether he played the role of a colleague or a courtier in the Cabinet. It was apparent that he was never a competitor for power and was quite content to play the second fiddle. But all are agreed that he was every inch a gentleman of ability and character who could be depended upon under all circumstances. He died in harness full of years and honours. His life and work will be a model to those that seek an even and an honourable career beneficial to themselves and the country.

CASTE AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

By LALIT SEN

VIOLENT conflicts between organized human groups with the aim of altering the status quo are a phenomenon as old as man himself. History of man is the history of endless series of revolutions and *coups d'etat*. Never a century passed which did not have a major revolution, profoundly affecting the character and type of contemporary civilization. Thinkers from time immemorial have tried to explain the fundamental factors underlying this phenomenon called 'revolution.'

According to the Marxist school, history is nothing but a process of inevitable class-struggles motivated by the purely material aspiration of capturing the means of production and the state which is the mechanism for class-domination. Class-struggles between the feudal order and the commercial bourgeoisie, between the commercial bourgeoisie and the proletariat are events in a systematic process heading towards a 'classless society.' Revolutions are bound to occur whenever these class-movements take place.

It is a truism that wherever there is a group of human beings, there is stratification. Stratification of society into different social orders is inherent in human psychology. Social mobility in the form of ceaseless class-movements is the fundamental fact behind the dynamic processes of society. These movements have a definite direction of their own. It is a fact that the upper classes have a tendency to degenerate, decay and disappear. The void is filled up by new elements emerging from the people. Thus the direction of class-movements is always upwards. These movements take place through the gradual processes of acculturation and miscegenation, i.e., culture-fusions and blood-mixtures.

It is evident therefore that class-movements need not necessarily take the form of revolutions, as supposed by the Marxists. But revolutions do occur at times. When the social distance between the classes is so wide and rigid that the slow and gradual processes of acculturation and miscegenation become impossibilities, class-movements take place with a violent shock and there is revolution. In other words, when the classes tend to crystallize into castes, revolution may break out any moment.

At this point one very pertinent question arises. How was the Indian caste system successful in preserving its entity for ages without bringing violent revolutions in its wake? It is true that before the rapid infiltration of Western socio-economic patterns, the caste system had tremendous force in India and no such revolution had threatened its existence. Although Marxian thinkers are at pains to prove that India had enough of revolutions which tried to abolish caste barriers, one remains unconvinced. Even stalwarts like Sri Bhupendranath Datta cite individual phenomena, e.g., the advent of Chandragupta Maurya, to prove this theory. It is true, there were many such individual events in the history of India but one must not accept these as group phenomena. Revolution involves group-movements, not the seizure of

power by any individual. The emergence of Buddhism as a classless, sectless order, however, can be cited as a revolutionary movement, but even this ultimately degenerated and the whole social structure again relapsed into the old Brahmanistic order. Moreover, the caste system based on the division of hereditary occupation groups was never non-existent during the Buddhist movement. In Bengal, the large number of converts among the lower castes to Islam, is cited as a revolutionary movement which was motivated by the attraction of Islam as a casteless, sectless order. But this also seems apocryphal, because it was calculated that there are at least fifty groups based on occupations among the Mohammedans of Bengal, and these have very nearly the character of caste. But the main fact behind all these events is that neither of these movements were violent in nature.

Much has been written to explain this case. Foreign thinkers like Prof. R. M. MacIver see the origin of the Indian caste system in conquest. Aryan conquerors absorbed the vanquished original inhabitants into their social system yet maintained distance from them. They were clever people and they gave a cover of anaesthesia in the form of religion over the whole system. In those old days, men were god-fearing and they accepted their lot as the verdict of God against which no hands must be raised. Max Weber is of the same opinion. According to him, caste signifies the enhancement and transformation of social distance into a religious or, more strictly, a magical principle. In other words, according to these thinkers, religion tried to stop the fundamental process of social mobility by giving the social distance between castes a religious or magical sanctity.

It is true that religion was mainly responsible for the absence of revolutions in India, but not in the sense that foreign thinkers like MacIver or Max Weber take it to be. It served as an outlet for social mobility. It acted as a safety valve, so to say. Whenever the social structure was threatened by revolutions due to the rigidity of the caste system which barred social mobility, religion came to her rescue. Religious preachers like Buddha, Jina, Nanak, Kabir preached equality of men irrespective of caste, creed or class in the sense that birth alone does not confer any special distinction on any one. These movements gathered tremendous force and influenced social and political forces for a long time. And then the whole social system again relapsed into the old pattern which was always in the background. Thus religious movements in India did not try to stop social mobility. On the other hand, they helped social mobility acting as safety valves in critical times when there was every chance of revolutions breaking out.

It is a fact that the caste system was never abolished. Whatever great force religious movements might have gathered, caste system based on hereditary occupation groups was always in the background. Realistic thinkers like Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose find the explanation in the

stability and permanency of the economic structure which is the steel-frame of the total caste-pattern.¹

Ancient Hindu thinkers divided every system, physical or social, into four orders based on these three qualities: *Sattwah, Tamah, Rajah*. Every aspect of the Universe was distinctly divided into these four orders. Yet there was co-operation and co-ordination among them. Without this co-operation the whole Universe would have collapsed in a moment. Hindu Sociologists applied this doctrine, logically enough, to human society. Human society, according to them, everywhere on earth, is based on these four orders, viz., Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. They divided the population into different occupation groups, irrespective of their racial origins, and according to the quality of the occupation, these occupation groups were placed in any one of the four broad orders. In order to make the system stable and permanent it was necessary to keep the occupations hereditary. The whole system was bound by an indivisible thread of economic co-operation. This was absolutely necessary in the decentralised village economy of ancient India.

That this economic system brought wealth and prosperity to India is proved by the records left by foreign travellers and the glorious sea-adventures of Indian ships carrying merchandise to all parts of the world. The major portion of the wealth went to the *Sresthis* or businessmen but others also had enough to live on. Slowly and gradually, those who were outside this system, i.e., the aborigines, who used to live in jungles embraced this caste system which gave them assurance of security and stability. In India political power changed hands in almost kaleidoscopic rapidity. Foreigners came and were dissolved into the vast human sea. Yet the social structure remained intact by absorbing into the caste system all who came and placing them into different orders according to their occupations. Foreigners could not bring any better system suited to the decentralised village economy as a substitute. Instead, they accepted the Indian caste system as the most secure and permanent economic system which brings prosperity and assures security of life.

Some recent scientific observations have discovered certain startling facts. Though the rigid caste system barred all inter-marriages and culture-contacts, social mobility in fact was never stopped. It took the same course of acculturation and miscegenation, through which those who belonged to the lower castes gradually and slowly came up to the higher strata, the legal caste structure remaining unhindered.

If we analyse the rituals, observances and various customs of the upper castes, we find some strange things. Marriage customs among the upper caste Hindus consist of two parts. One is the strict following of the rules as laid down in the Vedas. The other part is non-Vedic. In Bengal, this part is known as *Sree Achar*. The

observances of this part have strange similarity with the marriage customs of the lower castes and even of the aborigines. The Vedic part is the same all over India. But the other part varies with places and is similar to the marriage customs of the aborigines and the lower castes of those respective places. It is not very probable that the higher castes picked up these customs from those who were in the lower strata of society. What seems nearer to the truth is that the lower castes gradually rose to the upper levels as the upward movement of social mobility progressed. Through the process of acculturation they absorbed all the customs of the upper castes but some social fossils, in the form of old customs, still lingered.

Caste mobility takes the following stages. Firstly, the lower castes adopt social practices of the higher castes. Secondly, they adopt new-fangled names which are reminiscent of noble descent. In the third stage, the rising caste endeavours to narrow the gulf with superior orders and widen the barrier against the lower castes. The formation of innumerable sub-castes is the result of this stage.²

Apart from acculturation, caste mobility takes its form also through miscegenation or blood-mixtures. After the Aryan conquest the vanquished inhabitants were generally absorbed into the lowest order, i.e., they were labelled as Sudras, because, it was thought that *Tamah* in them was predominant. As days passed by, aborigines, who were outside the system, also embraced it and were placed in the lowest order. It is evident therefore, that if a somatic analysis of the various castes is made, there will be wide differences. But scientific observations go to prove the contrary.

Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, Sri B. S. Guha, Sri Bhupendranath Datta, Dr. M. N. Basu and many others took somatic measurements of the various castes in different parts of Bengal. Their surveys point out that somatic measurements are no criteria for caste distinction. These observations reveal that some of the so-called lower castes, e.g., Namasudras show striking resemblance with the so-called upper castes. This shows how ceaseless social mobility had had its way through miscegenation.

Thus one must take note of the fact that social mobility in India was never stopped by the rigid caste system of four Varnas. The economic co-operation underlying the whole system marks its difference from the caste system of other countries. In other countries, caste systems are based on antagonism, and not co-operation. Above all, whenever rigid social distance between castes threatened to stop social mobility, and revolutions were in the offing, religion acted as the safety valve. Numerous religious movements which grew on the soil of India served as outlets for social mobility and thus banished revolutions from India and its caste-ridden society.

SHAW—THE SUCCESSOR TO SHAKESPEARE

By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B., R.J.S.

STALIN meant steel, straight and firm, so Shaw meant satire, twisted into delicate springs and winding screws. He, with his melodious intonation and athletic articulation, possessed an unrivalled degree of gift of being unpleasant. That is probably the reason why one of his zealous admirers is our Prime Minister.

He enjoyed giving pain to others, for he knew that it would do good to them! He employed the weapon of chastening moral with ridicule, so that this world may become more felicitous. He would operate upon the people with a sharp razor of scientific serenity. His jokes tore to pieces the cloaks of shams. He never used words which would make him loved; he rather loved to be feared. He never hated men, but was filled with scorn for men's follies. He was the tonic of his age, very bitter to the taste, but stimulating, clearing the mind of cants, and the atmosphere of fog. Unexpectedly we were rather dazzled by the brilliance of his wit and exhilarated by the drive of his thoughts.

Scores of men have tried to portray Shaw, and they all admitted their failure and concluded that let Shaw speak for himself. Once he was asked as to what opinion he formed for himself. His proximate answer was, "G.B.S. is a humbug." There is a considerable amount of this or that sort of talk scattered up and down his plays, his essays, and his speeches. A few illustrations will reveal how he started free from all convictions, and how he saw an immense unexploited field. His appeal was the appeal from might to right, from expediency to eternal justice, and from the defeat of truth of today to its sure victory of tomorrow.

"What can we look for," he asked a fashionable audience in London, "from a society based on such loathsome habits except the muddle we are in; waste and disorder everywhere; religion an organised hypocrisy; justice based on revenge which we call punishment; science based on vivisection, empire based on violence."

"I haven't a penny in the world," said a beggar to him one night. "Neither have I," retorted the delightful Shaw with cheerful comradeship. "I am not ashamed, I boast of it. I did not throw myself into the struggle for life. I threw my mother into it."

Everybody believed in everything what Shaw said, even if he said the Sun went round the earth. He once made some startling statements.

"Greatness," he stated, "is only one of the sensations of littleness." "Every man over 40," he propounded, "is a scoundrel." "A woman invented man for the sole purpose of impregnating her." "When

astronomers tell me," he asserted, "that a star is so far-off that its light takes a thousand years to reach us the magnitude of the lie seems to be inartistic."

Shaw wrote in one of his letters:

"Has any ape ever torn the glands from a living man to graft them upon another ape? Vaccination and anti-toxin inoculation have given to men neither the virtues of the cow, nor the qualities of the horse." "Man remains," he further adds, "what he has always been, the cruellest of all the animals, and the most elaborately and fiendishly selfish."

"He is a fool," to a big gathering he talks, "that marries, but greater that does not marry a fool." "The only way to get rid of a temptation," he points out, "is to yield to it." "We live in an age when unnecessary things are our only necessities." He reveals that "Home is the girl's prison, and the woman's workhouse, and that the vilest abortionist is he who attempts to mould a child's character."

For democracy his idea was that

"A political career is open to any adventurer, and that an adult suffrage is finally so destructive that it ends in a re-action into a despotic idolatry. The mobs are responsible for the election of the futile parliamentary talking shops; the wider the suffrage, the greater the confusion."

He wrote in one of his articles for *The World*:

"The secret of being miserable is to have leisure to bother about whether you are happy or not. The best definition of hell is a perpetual holiday. Whilst I am dressing or undressing, I do all my reading; the book lies open on the table, for I want to be thoroughly used up when I die, as harder I work, the more I live."

No man has punctured so currently the accepted beliefs and discredited more popular ideals than Shaw. In one of his celebrated essays, "A Sunday on the Surrey Hills," one of the funniest in the English language, he alleges:

"A country walk means a walk and a talk. God is there for me as the life-force at its highest level of expression." "Never believe," he goes on discussing, "in a God that you cannot improve upon."

He says that he is an atheist, but believes in the life-force and the evolution appetite.

He had such an enthusiasm for humanity that he would put the poor in jail, because of their poverty and misery.

"The crying need of the nation," Shaw depicts at one place, "is not for better morals, cheaper bread, temperance, liberty, culture, redemption of fallen

1. "Caste in India" by Nirmal Kumar Bose, published in *Man in India*, Vol. 31, Nos. 3 and 4.

2. *Social Ecology* by Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee.

sisters and erring brothers; nor the grace, love, and fellowship of trinity, but simply for enough money. Money destroys base people as certainly as it fortifies and dignifies noble people." "Money represents," he goes on with his theme, "health, strength, honour, generosity, and beauty, as undeniably as the want of it represents illness, weakness, disgrace, meanness, and ugliness."

"Flee from sin," says the preacher. "Flee from poverty," says G.B.S.

No political writing goes more ruthlessly to the naked realities. Take for example his treatment of the Irish Question.

"Home Rule means Rome Rule," cried the Nonconformist. "England in Ireland is the Pope's Policeman," cried Shaw, stating the Irish case once and for all.

As he would leap to his feet, straight and lithe with that bleak smile, you would feel that there was a man who saw through all your cherished hypocrisy. He

would spray you with acid as if you were an insect, and you would curl up. He would exaggerate, so that you might know the truth. He would shock you, so that you might be shocked at yourself. He denounced love as his asceticism revolted from the sensuality. It would be unfair to call him rustic, simply because he had received no academic qualifications. He vituperated law, because of his passion for justice. The world was a lively place to live in, as somewhere in a remote villa, there lived the powerful, the majestic character. Thomas Hardy was heart-wrung by its agonies. To Meredith, Nature was the joyous companion. Bernard Shaw was the mind looking out with quick and thrilling interest upon the play of life. As we think of him, he looms before us as in statues like some tall tower by the sea.

Alwar

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SHIVA-SHAKTI WORSHIP IN KASHMIR

By JALALI

KASHMIR is regarded as the land which is the home of Saivism, which gave birth to and nourished Saivism in its pristine purity. Did Kashmiris profess Saivism from the beginning or it was a later development? We possess an "immense" store of literature on Saivism and the labours of the Government Research Department are embodied in the Saiva-Series, which on the abolition of the Department the present Government distributed free of cost, and several applicants were lucky enough to secure copies of it, though now on the revival of the said Department free supply has been stopped. I am not concerned here with the ingredients of Saivism or Shakta cult nor intend discussing Saiva philosophy as propounded in the valuable repositories thereof. My purpose simply is to show that Saivism is not the first or original religious philosophy adopted by the Kashmiri Brahmins but it took root and flourished in the first thousand years after Christ and with political decadence underwent the same ebb and flow as the cultural existence of its followers.

The annals of Kashmir speak of the birth of the Paradise on Earth as the gift of the Great Consort of Lord Siva, *Mata Sati* (Goddess Parvati). The *Nilamatpurana* and *Sharika Mahatmyam* relate the desiccation of *Satisaras*, by the Devi dropping a pebble on Demon Jalodbhava and killing him. The Hariparbat Hill, the "swelled-pebble" enshrined the image of the Devi, which is still worshipped by the Kashmiris as *Chakreshwar*. When you go up the stone staircase of over 100 steps and enter the sanctum of

Sri Sharika Bhagavati, you behold a rocky image painted with red-lead; and as you seat yourself in front of the sacred Murti the contour of the *Sri-Chakra* and constituent lines are seen under the thick coat of paint and votaries' garlands of red, pink and yellow, and the loose petals and rice grains of the unfailing worshipper of the Mother. Has this *Chakra* been chiselled on the face of the rock, or as is honestly believed by the devout it is "divine-born," impressed on the very pebble when it fell from Sharika Devi's beak (in the form of *shari*, Kashmiri *haar*, *maina*), and formed itself into the hill with the Devi's image (as secreted in the *Sri-Chakra*)? Whatever it be, and there is no occasion to doubt the divine sanctity, it confirms the belief that the aborigines of Kashmir worshipped the Mother's image; and if the Nagas and Pishachas with their ritualism: appeased their deities, *Devi-puja* must have been the principal form of worship. And when the Nagas and Pishachas consented to Man's inhabiting it (Man being more advanced than these two races), the new-comer into the Fairy Land entered into a pact with these original inhabitants and while agreeing to observe certain *tithis*, rituals, offerings, adopted Mother-worship or *Devi-puja* as the main form of worship. With Chandradeva's masterly manœuvre to have the system of half-yearly exodus stopped and permanent habitation of Man accepted by Nila Nag and the leader of the Pishachas—King Virodaya and his councillors evolved a code of worship for all the constituent

members of the new race. From the different days of *puja* observed then and transmitted to us—though not religiously followed now in detail—it is obvious that Devi or Mother-worship was the most prominent.

The observance of *Gauri Trateya*, *Vethatruah*, *Navrah*, *Hara Navami*, *Jetha Ashtami*, *Khriv Chodah*, *Tripura Chorum*, *Poh Ashtami*, etc., is an indisputable testimony to the fact that apart from ritualistic performances, *Devi-puja* was the only *puja* for the worshipper. He worshipped the Mother as Sharika (at Hariparbat, Srinagar), as Rajnya (or Khirbhawani at Tulmulla Spring, 16 miles from Srinagar), as Jwala (at Khrew village on the top of a hill 14 miles to the east of Srinagar) or as Tripura, Chandi, Shitala, Rupa Bhawani, Hari Kali, Lakshmi, and so on, as evidenced by the several images abounding the Hariparbat Hill or *tirthas* and springs, shrines and abodes, scattered throughout the Valley of Kashmir. And even up to this day, notwithstanding modernism, secularism, and nationalism, hundreds of votaries are seen daily going round the said Sacred Hill, or frequenting the *Khirbhawani* spring on every 8th day of the bright fortnight. The one popular, mystic, esoteric book of hymns, the *Panchastavi*, with its five cantos of Mother-worship is still read and recited and of late it has begun to claim closer attention of the public and reverence of the devotees. It is when Sri Sankaracharyaji reached Kashmir during his campaign of Revival of Vedantism better known as Brahmanism or Hinduism, he had to surrender his 'Adwaita' to the Great Shakti and when he submitted, there flowed from his learned lips the famous *Sundar-Lahri* in praise of the Great Mother, "whose servants and palanquin-bearers, the leaders of the gods, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, together with Parama-Shiva, are lucky to be."

In Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* we read of temples and images of Siva-swamin and Vishnu-swamin or Madhav-swamin, of Viharas and Buddha-temples, which speak of the influx of Buddhism, Saivism and Vaishnavism due to different rulers of Kashmir, who professed a given faith. Some of the kings advocated two faiths and built in the name of both Siva and Vishnu. Some dismantled these Viharas and temples. But we do not come across a single king who did any act desecrating a Devi-abode or Shrine. Did Mother-worship disappear in the interval? No! Outsiders had their own faiths, and the kings who worshipped a certain god-built temples in the name of the said god and propagated his faith. But this did not affect the main faith in the country. With the association of Shiva with Shakhti, as in the well known *sloka** of Sri Sankaracharya, which commences the *Sundar-Lahri*, the Shiva-Shakhti cult began to take root and assume a place of prominence in course of time, and *Shiva Ratri* (which is the 13th day of Dark Falguna and not the 14th day as observed by Hindus in India) celebrates the union of the Positive and Negative Forces of Life, the force of Shakti predominating. Now-a-days our daily *puja*, performed in the Thakurdwara, comprehends the *Panchayatna puja*, and at the time of *yajnas* and *havanas*, offerings are made to the *Panchayatna* deities invariably. This does not in any case mean that *Devi-puja* or Mother-worship has abated. On the other hand, it is gaining more force and is becoming very popular. Public *havanas* in the name of Sri Chandi, Sharika, Rajnya Jwala, are usually performed. Notwithstanding inroads of Vedantism, or advocacy of Siva *puja* and other *pujas*, (for women as well), Mother-worship in one form or another is holding its own and Shiva-Shakti worship is a specialized form thereof.

* शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो . . .

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Devapala and the Pandyas of the South

By K. R. VENKATA RAMAN

I offer some brief remarks on the Velvikudi and the larger Sinnamanur plates discussed in an article on 'Devapala and the Pandyas of the South' by Asoke Chatterjee published in the March number of *The Modern Review*.

Maravarman Rajasimha I Pandya (730-765)² crossed the Kaveri and subjugated Malakongam, which comprised parts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts to the east and south of the hills that separate Trichinopoly

from the adjoining districts of Salem and Coimbatore, and then defeated the Vallabha at Vembai. The Vallabha here is the Western Chalukya King Kirtivarman II, who, on coming to the throne in 744-45, was faced with open rebellion everywhere. His Rashtrakuta feudatory, Dantidurga, who had already taken possession of the country round Ellora, marched south, subjugated the Cholas of Srisailam (Kurnool district) and sweeping on Kanchi forced a treaty of alliance upon Nandivarman II

Pallavamalla, to whom he gave his daughter Reva in marriage. The alliance between the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga and Pallavamalla is the background against which lines 126-133 of the Tamil portion of the Velvikudi grant should be studied. These lines describe the military exploits of Marangari, the Pandya general, who was later exalted to the dignity of the Pandya's *Uttaramantri*. The Pandyan allies, the 'eastern chiefs' (*Purvarajar*²) who possessed 'clamorous battalions' rose up (*elundu*) and put to a disastrous flight (*alindola*) the Vallabha, who attacked at the head of an army of archers. It is well-known that on the side of the Vallabha was his Ganga feudatory, Sri Purusha. It is obvious that the 'eastern chiefs,' who helped the Pandya general were the Pallava and his Rashtrakuta allies and their vassals. The Pallava was waiting for an opportunity to wreak vengeance on Kirtivarman, who as Yuvaraja in the time of his father Virkramaditya II, had raided Kanchi and carried away a large booty of elephants, gold and jewellery, and now he got what he had been waiting for, and the alliance with the Rashtrakuta and the Pandya gave him additional strength.

Rajasimha's successor was Jatila Parantaka, also called Varaguna I (765-815). In his time the Pandya-Pallava *entente* broke up, and when the Pallava forces advanced beyond Kanchi, Varaguna met them at Pennagadam and turned them back. The Pallava then formed a confederacy with the fugitive chief of Kongu⁴ Kerala and the Adigaiman Chief of Tagadur.⁵ Varaguna attacked the Adigaiman and put him to flight and annexed Kongu. The frontiers of the Pandyan Kingdom were pushed beyond the Kaveri far into Salem and Coimbatore, and Dantivarman Pallava (795-845), the successor of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, had to reconcile himself to the loss of the southern districts. The next Pallava king Nandivarman III (841-866) partly retrieved Pallava prestige by defeating his Pandya contemporary Srimara Sri Vallabha (815-862) at Tellaru and other battles and following up his success by marching into the heart of the Pandya country. One of these battles was fought at Palayarai (C 845) where Deva, a son of the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarasha I, led the combined Pallava and Rashtrakuta forces to victory.⁶ Undaunted by these

reverses, Srimara rallied his forces and gave battle to the enemy at Kudamukkil (the Tamil form of Kumbakonam, an important city in Tanjore district). The army that suffered defeat at Kumbakonam is mentioned in the Sinnamanur Plates as having comprised the forces of the Ganga,—Pallava, Chola, Kalinga, Magadha and others (*Gangapallava chola kalinga-maghadhadigal*).

By Kalinga is evidently meant the ruler of Vengi, since at that time much of what is known as Kalinga formed part of the Kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas. Gunaga Vikramaditya of Vengi, had by this time overthrown the Boyas of Nellore and extended his territory as far as the Pulicat lake (within thirty miles north of Madras).

Who then was the Magadha? It will be obvious to any student of History in South India that Magadha (Magara or Magadhai) was a small territory to the south-east of modern Mysore State, made up of parts of South Arcot, Salem and probably North Arcot also. Its strategic situation to the west of Tondaimandalam (the home province of the Pallavas), to the north of the Chola country and to the east of Kongu helped it to play a not inconsiderable part in the politics of the South. A branch of the Banas later settled in Magadhai, and their chiefs assumed such titles as *Viramagathan*, *Magadhaiperumal* and *Magadhai Nadalvan*.

It is a far cry indeed from the Pandyas and Kumbakonam on the Kaveri to the Palas and Magadha in the north.

Exaggerated claims of the extent of kingdoms were indulged in by royal panegyrists all over India. If they claimed for kings in the north that their conquests led them to Setubandha (Ramesvaram), equally fantastic was the claim on the other side that the whole country as far as the Himalayas were brought under the sway of the Tamil King.

One point I have left untouched: Who was the *Dravidanatha* of the Balal pillar inscription? I have my own tentative view on the matter, but forbear from expressing it in print for the excellent reason that I cannot claim as much acquaintance with inscriptional and literary evidences pertaining to the kingdoms of the north as I can for the south.*

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7. Magadha was conquered by Hoytala Narasimha II early in the thirteenth century.

* I have not thought it necessary to give reference in this brief note, but shall be glad to help any scholar, who may care to write to me, to find them out.

1. Pages 212-16.
2. Pandyan Chronology has been fixed by Prof. Nilkanta Sastri in his book *The Pandyan Kingdom*, Luzac & Co., London, 1929.
3. Notice the plural.
4. Kongu comprised parts of Madurai, Trichinopoly and Salem districts and the bulk of Coimbatore district.
5. Dharmapuri in Salem.
6. E. C. X Cd. 76.



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

RAMALINGA REDDY SASTYABDAPURTI (Commemoration Volume), Part II: *Humanities*. Published by the Andhra University, Waltair. Pp. 356. Price not mentioned.

This is a Festschrift presented to the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University by his friends and admirers on the occasion of the completion of his 60th birthday. At the request of the veteran educationist which does honour to his understanding the editors of this volume have given in the Preface a bare sketch of his brilliant career both as a student and in public life. The papers range over a wide variety of topics—Indian history and culture, Indian art and literature, Indian university education, Islamic history, Economics and Politics, Religion and Philosophy. For lack of space it is not possible to notice here any articles other than those coming under the first three heads. Under the first head Dr. R. C. Majumdar combats on good grounds the view of another Indian scholar (Dr. D. C. Ganguli) about the early life of Sasanka, king of Gauda and his alleged crime in assassinating the contemporary king of Thaneswar. In another paper, Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri rejects the proposed identifications of Lanka of the Ramayana with Central India, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, but his own view is anything but conclusive, for he thinks that the origin of Lanka was legendary, this legend being the source of the same and similar geographical names found in later times. As regards the history of the Deccan and South India, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya reconstructs in the light of contemporary Telugu works as well as the inscriptions of Vijayanagar and the Muslim chronicles the incidents of one of the numerous wars between the Hindu kingdom and the Bahamani Sultanate. In a more important paper, Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar analyses the causes of the collapse of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Quoting the opinions of the foreign observers from the 14th to the 16th centuries he notices two striking features of this kingdom, namely, its "urban concentration" and "the astronomical size of its armies." The former led to the neglect of the country-side, while the latter involved (as the author shows by means of plausible calculations) the withdrawal from economic occupations of one-fifth of its man-power and "the economic sterilization of the entire physically efficient elements of its population." The financial policy of the rulers had the result that half the land-revenue demand was assigned to the nobles for the provision of their levies and their maintenance, only the remaining half going to the State treasury. These rulers, again, forgetting the lesson of the Muslim conquest of Northern India, failed to rise above "the employment of a handful of Europeans to

manage a cumbersome and inefficient artillery arm and of much less dependable Musulman mercenaries." Again, "the accumulation of vast royal hoards, and the conversion of the savings of the nation into gold and jewellery, acted as a permanent incitement to the invader who hungered for loot." "The bulk of the population," according to an acute foreign observer, "lived perilously near the margin, and possessed no capacity to withstand personal or political vicissitudes." Coming to the subject of Indian literature Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai draws an interesting parallel between the services rendered to Tamil literature by the ancient Jaina monks and the modern Christian missionaries. In the branch of Indian art Prof. Euniti Kumar Chatterjee presents a short, but stimulating survey of Andhra art in all its phases and of its influence upon the art of Northern India and he concludes with a vigorous plea for its systematic study under the auspices of the Government Archaeological Surveys as well as the Andhra University. Of interest to Indian educationists is a short paper in which the late Dr. Ganganath Jha condemns the teaching of law in most of our universities as 'a farce,' and he suggests that the universities should confine themselves wholly and exclusively to the training of the scholarly lawyer, while the training of the practical lawyer should be left to the Bar Councils of the High Courts. A more thorough-going reform of Indian university education is suggested by Sardar K. M. Panikkar in a highly thought-provoking paper. Here he shows how the two causes, namely, the contempt for Indian classics dominating Indian universities down to the early years of the First World War under European missionary influence and the cheapness of the degree courses meant originally to fill the junior ranks of the Indian administrative machinery, led to the absence of humanistic interest in the prescribed subjects of study. "The bastard origin of the Indian universities—the result of an irregular and unhappy union between the passionate desire of the missionaries to bring Christ to India through the schools and the indifferent calculation of the administrators for a steady supply of young men not too well educated but with a sufficient knowledge of English for carrying on the work of government, is still writ large on its mis-shapen product." The remedy, the author thinks, lies in the combination of a high standard of intellectual training with a wide study of humanities both Indian and European, resembling with some differences the Greats course at Oxford. The author illustrates his meaning by drawing up a very interesting course of study for three years divided into two public examinations. This only, the author thinks, would produce a real synthesis of culture which is the great desideratum in modern Indian education.

U. N. GHOSHAL

EVERYMAN'S UNITED NATIONS (Third Edition, 1952): Published by the United Nations, Department of Public Information, New York. Pp. 388. Price \$1.50.

The United Nations Organisation is about to complete the eighth year of its existence. Time has not yet come to pass any judgment on the record of its activities,—a mixed one of light and shade, of hopes and fears, of achievements and failures. Whether the Organisation fulfils the expectations of its architects, there is no doubt that in one form or another it has come to stay, inasmuch as it is the concrete manifestation of a universal desire for achievement of peace and international security through international co-operation and creating an international forum for discussion and debate on questions of common interest to nations, a clearing-house of ideas and a centre for dissemination of useful information and statistical data. Two successive world wars have brought home to humanity the extreme urgency of such an international organisation and that an effective one, if human civilisation is not to be destroyed by the monster of its own creation. The nations have also come to realise that in the present age it is simply not possible for any nation to live in isolation. If men of the past generation thought nationally those of the present generation have come to think internationally. The United Nations is simply the institutional expression of these feelings, desires and sentiments of people all over the world. There is therefore an increasing demand for authoritative information about the origin, structure, functions, activities and accomplishments of the organisation from both its admirers and critics. For making a proper assessment of its work also it is essential that it must be based on authoritative information. The editors of the Volume under review, the U. N. Department of Public Information have, therefore, done a great service in meeting that demand, by producing this handbook containing full and up-to-date information about the Organisation to serve as a useful reference guide not only for students of international affairs, diplomats and statesmen, but to all intelligent citizens throughout the world. Much of the pessimistic feeling about the future of the Organisation evident in certain quarters is due to lack of full information about the activities of the Organisation in different fields. The publication will go a great way towards disarming misinformed criticism and will enable people to form a correct estimate of its work on the basis of which attempts may be made for removing its defects. The book should have a very wide circulation if it is to serve its purpose.

A. K. GHOSAL

THE TASK OF PEACE-MAKING: Published by the Visva-Bharati Publishing Department, 6/3 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta 7. Price Rs. 5.

This volume of 181 pages contains reports of meetings held at Santiniketan and Sevagram in December 1949 and January 1950, of the World Pacificist Organization. In the Foreword and in the Introduction, Doctor Rajendraprasad, India's Rashtrapati and Mr. Horace Alexander have both described the genesis of the idea of holding the meeting in India. The summaries of the reports do not tell the readers anything new, except the hopes of a new world where the war-drum would throb no longer. As we write these lines, the makers of wars have been sharpening their wits and swords for a fresh course of blood-letting. This development demonstrates that human nature is

unteachable. Still the value of books like these is undeniable. These sow seeds of doubts in human mind of the validity of the ruling ideas, and after years sprout into decent human conduct. In pp. 89-92, we are given by an unnamed person a resume of the Soviet-American relations, Indo-Pakistan relations, Palestine, South Africa are topics that are but meekly touched. And we miss here the contribution made by cross-examination of speakers by men who have specialized in the philosophy and practice of what has come to be known as Gandhism. The book and the full reports of speeches and the papers should be rendered into the languages of the West which needs most the Pacifist remedy. The get-up of the book is all that is hoped for.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS: By Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d. net.

In the short foreword, Mahatma Gandhi writes: "Charlie Andrews was simple like a child, upright as a die and shy to a degree. For the biographers the work has been a work of love. A life such as Andrews' needs no introduction. It is its own introduction."

Andrews' was a household name in India for more than thirty years. He endeared himself to the people of all ranks—the rich as well as the poor, and particularly the poor by his truly 'Christian' activities. The perusal of this narrative running up to more than three hundred pages brings home to the reader at once the secret of his popularity amongst the Indians. Andrews has shown by his life that a true Christian cannot but be a real lover of humanity—a friend of the poor, the oppressed and the depressed. An Englishman to the core, he adopted India as the country of his choice to live in and to work for. Since his arrival in the country in 1904 up till his death in 1940, Charlie Andrews lived, thought and worked for the good of the Indians, here and abroad, not as a member of the ruling race but as one of us Indians, and that was the reason why he was accepted by the populace as one of their kith and kin and not as a foreigner.

The authors have divided the narrative of the eventful life of Charlie Andrews (1871–1940) into five parts under the following appropriate captions: (1) The Englishman; (2) The Twice-born; (3) The Pioneer; (4) The Friend of the Poor; and (5) The Bridge-BUILDER. These captions are very significant. Andrews has been presented before the reader as such, and as we proceed with the book we feel his presence in our midst in those capacities even today. As a student at Cambridge, as a Professor at St. Stephen's College at Delhi, an inmate in the Santiniketan Asram and as a worker for the cause of his fellow men in India and abroad, the life-activities of Charles Freer Andrews have been dealt with in a lucid and elegant style and with sufficient quotations from his writings including letters. Andrews' services for the amelioration of the condition of Indians abroad, who are in most cases labourers, have also been delineated in different chapters in considerable detail.

Some new facts have also been revealed in these chapters. Andrews had no mean share in convincing Lord Hardinge of the justness of the South African cause for which Mahatma Gandhi was struggling so hard. The Government of Lord Hardinge gave its whole weight of support to the Indians there. The Gandhi-Smuts' Agreement of 1914 was possible for this timely support. The abolition of Indentured labour abroad on January 1, 1920 by order of the India

Government was mainly due to continued and arduous endeavours of Charlie for long years behind the screen. He had also a hand in some of the later decisions of the Indian and the British Governments. Andrews had travelled far and wide. Wherever the Indians were in distress—whether in South Africa, East Africa, the Fiji Islands or the British Guiana or in India itself, Andrews found himself there to help and serve them. Each and every moment of his life was devoted to their cause. Labour was his special forte, and it was no wonder that he was closely associated with the All-India Trade Union Congress and guided its deliberations as President in its earlier days. Andrews was a man of considerable merit—and was a poet too. He was not only physically active, but his mind and spirit was solely devoted to our cause. And the result was so many books on Indian questions.

The history of our Freedom movement is going to be written, and such books as this one will supply enough material for the treatment of the struggle of the Indians abroad for national self-respect and political consciousness. In this sphere the activities of Charlie Andrews will remain unsurpassed for years to come. Everybody engaged in the work of the welfare of the Indian people will do well to read the book. The noble example of Andrews will readily quicken the spirit of service and sacrifice, the two things most needed at this hour. We commend this important book to our readers for repeated perusal.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

MEMOIRS OF MY WORKING LIFE: By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Published by the author, Bangalore, 1951. Pp. 162. Price Rs. 6.

This is a record of the amazing working life of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the distinguished irrigation engineer and an internationally-known authority in his special field. A mere listing of the achievements that stand to the credit of this great engineer would fill space that cannot be spared to us. Sir Visvesvaraya has been associated with almost every irrigation and sanitary project of any note that was carried out in Southern or Western India during the sixty-seven years of his active life. The block system of irrigation and the automatic sluice gates were first introduced by him in this country. Among outstanding monuments to Sir Visvesvaraya's industry and engineering talent are the Sukkur waterworks, the Krishnarajasagara reservoir on the Kaveri, the Aden drainage and waterworks and the Mysore Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravati. In the wider national field, his services have been requisitioned by various technical commissions and bodies. His recent work in connection with the Ganga barrage and bridge scheme will be remembered. As Dewan of his native Mysore, his administration, to quote from a tribute paid to him by the Government, "resulted in important and far-reaching developments . . . and has laid the foundations for a prosperous and progressive future for the State. . . ."

Sir Visvesvaraya winds up his excellent work by giving us, in three brief chapters, his considered views on various problems facing the nation.

RAMESH K. GHOSAL

THE MIRACULOUS AND MYSTERIOUS IN VEDIC LITERATURE: By Dr. B. A. Parab, M.A., Ph.D. With a foreword by Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A., Joint Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Published by Popular Book Depot, 319 Lamington Road, Bombay 7. Pp. 195. Price Rs. 6-12.

This book divided into twenty short chapters,

besides a bibliography and an index, was originally the author's thesis presented and approved for the Ph.D. degree in Sanskrit of the Bombay University. The learned author shows in this book under review that the supernatural events and the miracles wrought by them described in the hymns of the Rig-Veda and Samhitas are mysterious and miraculous; but not magical. It is evident that the author clearly distinguishes a *mantra* from magic. Oldenberg, Schrader, Macdonell, Keith and other European orientalists discover magic formula instead of *mantra* in the Rig-Veda and wrongly concoct a theory that Vedic religion rises from magic or spell. Dr. P. A. Deshmukh refutes this false theory of the Western scholars passing in his learned work *Religion in the Vedic Literature*. Dr. Parab, the present author, who has entirely devoted the whole book to the refutation of the charge after a thorough study of the Rig-Veda, Atharva Veda and Satapatha Brahmana, as well as a careful examination of all the Rig-Vedic hymns in the light of Sayana's commentary, has undertaken the strenuous task of scrutinising even the various meanings of Vedic words to prove his theory beyond a shade of doubt. As the result of protracted and profound research he has come to the conclusion that a *mantra* originally meant a hymn or a part of a hymn in the Vedic literature; but later it came to mean incantation or magical formula in modern Indian languages and that Rig-Vedic hymns are called *mantras* in the original sense.

The learned author also analyses the Vedic legends of Sasarpari, Chyabana' Ribhu, Kaksivat, Kutsa and a host of others who wrought miracles through the power of prayer or *mantra-sakti*. In passing, he mentions that the science of rejuvenation, successfully practised by Dr. Vornoff of Austria and his followers by the substitution of monkey glands, was well known to the Vedic Aryans. Sage Chyabana after whom a famous Ayurvedic medicine is named was made young again by Aswins, the divine healers who were twins. The story of Chyabana is narrated not only in the Rig-Veda but also in the Satapatha Brahmana, Kali, Ghosa, Kaksivat and many others were rejuvenated by Aswins and cured of incurable diseases.

All these go to show that the Vedic civilisation was anything but primitive as supposed by some biased scholars of Europe. Dr. Parab refutes their wrong charges by facts and figures in this small book which is a veritable mine of valuable information and a masterpiece of research work. A beauty of this book is that though it deals with a very technical subject it is readable throughout. Hence, both the learned scholars and the general readers will find it equally interesting. Vedic references would have been more forceful with original quotations, instead of figures only. The price of the book seems to be a bit exorbitant considering its size.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

GANGA-LAHARI: By K. V. N. Appa Rao, M.A., Principal S.V.J.V. Sanskrit College Kavuru, West Godavari District (S. India).

SAHITYA-SUDHAKARA: By Pandit K. S. Paramesvara Sastry Sahitya-siromani, Irinjalakuda. Price Re. 1.

We have here two modern works in Sanskrit. The first one is a Sanskrit poem in 100 beautiful verses describing the journey of the Ganges from the Hima-

layas down to the Ocean. It is stated that the great river came down on the plain with the sole object of doing good to the land and its people.

The second work which is introduced as an 'easy treatise on Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody' deals in brief with the fundamentals of the subject. Apparently it aims at obviating the difficulties of beginners in starting forthwith with standard works and equipping them with basic principles of the subject-matter. But this does not constitute a new venture. Other attempts on identical lines are known to have been made in more or less recent times. We ourselves had our first lessons in the subject from a very helpful work called the *Kavyadipika* (Calcutta, 1870) compiled by Kanti-chandra Vandyopadhyaya. It is a pity that this work is not in use and is scarcely known in these days. It is a matter of regret that Sanskrit works, a fairly good number indeed, produced in these days on various subjects and published from time to time in different parts of the country, attract little notice of the people, nay, even of the scholars. There may be doubts as regards the possibility of making these works popular now even by way of prescribing them along with old classics as text-books in examinations as is being done in some quarters. But still we must keep a record of these works as far as possible as an indication of the live force of Sanskrit with its unbroken continuity in the face of all obstacles. We must also assess their value and give proper recognition and encouragement to their authors.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

ART-O-AHITAGNI (Second Edition): By Jamini Kanta Sen. Preface by Dr. Kalyan Kumar Gangopadhyay. Published by Gurudas Chattopadhyaya and Sons, 203/1/1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 1359 B.S. (1953). Four colour plates. Twenty half-tone blocks. Pp. 224. Rs. 12.

Originally published 31 years ago, this treatise in eleven chapters occupies a unique place in Bengali literature. Though there are various treatises on Poetics and Rhetorics—in Sanskrit and Hindi—there is a lamentable dearth of literature in the Indian language expounding the principles of Plastic Arts. Germany was the first to analyse the canons of Visual Arts and to expound the Philosophy of the Fine Arts, on the footsteps of which France, Italy, and England have followed in putting forth treatises on aesthetics—the Science of Beauty, as demonstrated in painting, sculpture and architecture. Apart from the enigmatic title of the book, Jamini Kanta Sen's treatise "Art and the Altar of Fire," is the first systematic attempt to expound the principles of beauty, after the famous essay of the great Bengali novelist on "Saundaryya-tattva" (1878?), in any Indian Language. Since Mr. Sen's publication (1922) a number of books have appeared in Bengali of which the outstanding contribution was by the late Dr. Abanindranath Tagore in his *Bagiswari Essays* now in course of translation. Though one or two chapters have been devoted to the exposition of the principles of Indian art, Mr. Sen's volume is not confined to the narrow limits of Indian artistic creation but takes a wide sweep bringing under survey the various phases of European art, frequently citing the fundamentals of Far Eastern Art. He was principally inspired to make the survey by various English and French aestheticians, whom he interprets with liberal quotations from their works. As an

'intelligent summary of the views of European critics of art the book is a valuable guide to Indian students of Arts to, whom the majority of the European treatises are inaccessible.

But it is something more than a mere presentation of the views of others, it is a serious attempt in any Indian language to build up a Philosophy of Art on an extensive foundation in which the Art principles of the East and the West are happily ad-jured with a view to discover universal principles. The scope of the work can be easily gleaned from the significant titles of the chapters: 'Beauty and the Beautiful,' 'The Fare of Emotions,' 'The Sequence of Ideals in the Realm of Vision,' 'The Environment of Art,' 'The Socialistic Centre of Flavour,' 'The Autonomy of the Visual Arts,' 'The Extraordinary Expressions of Super-Forms,' 'The Garland of Visual Forms and Metaphors,' 'Ascribed and Transcendental Forms' and 'The Touch of Eternity.' If the study of the Fine Arts is to be pursued on rational basis, books such as these liberally expounding the basic principles are indispensable for the future growth of Art in India. That there is no similar work in any other Indian language is the challenging position of the language of Rabindranath Tagore which the *rashtira-bhasa* is seeking to oust in a sorry game of narrow-minded politics. Dr. K. Gangopadhyay's Introduction is lucid and illuminating and adds distinctly to the value of the book.

O. C. G.

HINDI

HAMARA DESH: By Bhaskar Rao Vidwans and Rasiklal Parekh. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers, Ltd., Bombay 2. Pp. 68. Price Rs. 4.

An excellent school-project, pertaining to the people, produce, products, minerals, etc., of our country, executed in the shape of eloquent charts which convey pertinent information easily and effectively to the literate child as well as to the illiterate adult. These charts, enlarged to the size of wall-posters, should be displayed on every railway platform, at every street corner, in every village and on the walls of every school, if the sentiment of patriotism is to be strengthened with knowledge of facts and figures. The authors deserve unstinted praise for their work.

G. M.

MARATHI

KABUTAREN: By Gangadhar Gadgil. Published by Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Pp. 182. Price Rs. 8.

The recent tendency among story-writers to delve deeply into the psychology of characters and give a minor place to plot has penetrated into Marathi literature also. This publication, which is a collection of 12 short stories, is an example. Shri Gadgil, who is a writer of distinction, specialises in this new style. Some of his stories illustrate the extreme of this trend, where his psychological analysis appears to be too clever to be true. But his literary skill is of a high order. The hidden motives of his characters are better revealed, not through the author's interpretative comments, but through their own reveries, dialogues and actions. The author covers a wide field of middle class life, its everyday trials and its occasional romance. On the whole, the stories are entertaining and delightful and display high literary art. The book is attractively printed.

P. J. JAGIRDAH

GUJARATI

PRAHLAD NATAK AND SAHANVIRNAN GITO: By Jagatram Dave of Vedachhi Ashram. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 78. Price ten annas

This is the second edition of a play written twenty years ago and staged by the pupils of the Ashram. It had Gandhiji's approval, as a matter of course, as Prahlad was the first and one of the strongest satyagrahis of ancient India. The play is well-written and the twelve songs inspiring the faculty of suffering are so simply written as to appeal to all.

HIND BRITAIN NO NANA VYAVAHAR: By Manibhai B. Desai. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 46. Price ten annas.

This is Prof. J. C. Kumarappa's book *Clive to Keynes* translated into Gujarati. Prof. Kumarappa's reputation as an expert of high finance needs no introduction. He has shown clearly how India has been treated economically and its monetary resources drained away during the British regime. Some knowledge of this state of things was required for Gujarati readers and Mr. Manibhai's translation has done so.

YANTROSAME BALAVO: By Chandrashankar Pranshankar Sukla. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 62. Price ten annas.

Prof. L. P. Jacks delivered Hibbert Lectures in 1933 in different places in England. They have been published in book-form, called *The Revolt against Mechanism*. They have been translated here by one who is an adept at it. What is meant to be conveyed

is that we must see that machines remain our servants and do not become our masters. If they do, then they restrict our development.

(1) **KHEDUT POTHI**: By Vithaldas M. Kothari and Naginbhai Shamabhai Sheth. Thick card-board. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 2-9.

(2) **LOKASHABI**: Translated by Pandurang Ganesh Deshpande. Thick card-board. Pp. 232. Price Rs. 2.

Both books published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948.

Encouragement to agriculturists and land-tillers is the keynote of the policy of the present administrators of India and therefore anything which helps towards attaining that object is welcome. *Khedut Pothi* is one such hand-book, in four sections, headed, (1) Agriculture—Pure and Simple, (2) Laws and Rules, (3) Cattle-breeding, and (4) Home Industries, such as, manufacture of molasses from palmyra trees, food, hygiene, drugs, cure of diseases without drugs, in fact everything that is useful to a village as a self-sufficient unit is collected here and wherever required experts and village-officers have been consulted. It is a comprehensive *vade mecum*. Acharya Javdekar's book in Marathi on Democracy is translated into Gujarati by Mr. Deshpande who had done so also in respect of a former work of the Acharya on *Present-Day Bharat Democracy*. Its significance, origin and propaganda together with other related matters like Individualism, Nationalism, Socialism, are explained here, together with the administration of State and Self (*Atma Rajya*). A full Index is also provided to add to the usefulness of the book.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Kanheri Caves

Anthony Elenjittam writes in the Vaisakha Number of *The Maha Bodhi* :

On Sundays and holidays many Bombayites, tourists and visitors go to the Krishnagiri Park—now renamed as "National Park"—hardly a mile from Borivli Station, a Bombay suburb in Salsette Island. The round monument, recently built by Bombay Government and dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, is situated on a picturesque hillock of about three hundred feet high. From there one can see the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean in the West and a gracefully undulating chain of hills with valleys and lakes in the East. From the National park with the naked eye one can get a glimpse of the Kanheri Caves which lie at a distance of five miles South-East from Borivli station.

Construction of motorable road from Borivli station up to the Kanheri Caves is also envisaged by the Bombay Government in their scheme for the development of the National Park. But up till now visitors to the Kanheri caves must walk the distance of five miles to and five miles back, and five miles visiting the caves, as an act of pilgrimage, except for the fashionable holidayers who might dare to drive through the rugged and rough pathway and reach almost at the foot of the hills on which are spread out over one hundred caves. For an explorer, student, savant, poet, religious mind, archaeologist, historian and lover of Nature, all the five-mile road is enchanting. He feels refreshed—instead of getting tired—as he begins to get first sights of the majestic, tall caves of the Krishnagiri Park where every cell, every cave, every carving, every pillar, every inscription, every piece of art means a new chapter in the annals of early Buddhism.

As the ruins of Nalanda, Vikramasila, Taxila, Sarnath, Ujjain and other Buddhist centres of learning bespeak of the glory that was Buddhist Hind in the north, as Kanchi, Vallabhi and other centres proclaim the spirit and letter of early Buddhism in South India, so stand out the ruins of the Ajanta and Ellora, Elephanta Caves and Kanheri caves to herald the proud heritage of Buddhist India in the west for all generations to come, a heritage still clothed in rocks and stones, in art and literature, breathed not only for India and Greater India in Asia, but also for Mankind at large.

There are over one hundred caves of various sizes scattered in three hillocks. Cave No. 3 is the largest and it is a huge, long, massive, high-roofed hall with a large stupa at the end, with rock-carved two colossal images of Buddha at the entrance and masterly executed pillars and decorated walls. This hall, in the general architecture, grandeur and religious psychology, is very much like the Chaitya Hall in the Ellora group of caves. Kanheri caves are the remnants of a huge Buddhist monastery in western India that trained Bhikkhus for the consolidation and spreading of Buddha Dharma and culture.

The art of Kanheri caves reveals all the essential traits of the early Buddhist monastic organisation.

Archaeologists have traced the history of the Kanheri caves right back to the first century A.D. The caves are all dug out from solid rock, each cave supplied with water in deep cistern, anti-chamber, cell, raised platform for sitting and sleeping and rock edges for keeping the slender personal belongings of the monks such as books, begging bowl and monastic attire. Each cave is a hermitage of its own. There are common alleys, staircases and pathways leading monks from one cave to the other, from caves to the common halls.

At the top of the hills there are tanks dug out where water is preserved for bathing and washing purposes. Pure, clean drinking water is preserved almost at every other cave throughout. Even today visitors drink fresh, cool water from these cisterns. The eremetic life of the monks was perfect in every respect. Each Bhikkhu had his own individual life in his cave. But he was not an individualist. He formed part and parcel of the larger community. The Bhikkhu was part and parcel of the Sangha. Eremetic life of the Bhikkhu in the cave, forest and hills was harmoniously blended with congregational or community living. The isolated life in the cave was not an end in itself; it was but the preparatory ground, the place for charging the spiritual dynamo of the Bhikkhu so that he may be enabled to dispense moral power and spiritual attainment during his ministry in the world outside.

The fine artistic and architectural revelations of the caves show how powerfully organised was Buddhism in early 1st century A.D. It is obvious there might have been very powerful patrons from among the wealthy classes who, after being converted to Buddhism, made all arrangements for the Bhikkhus to work and spread their message. These mansions inside the mountain rocks cannot have been dug by monks themselves. Lay people and rich people did it for the non-possessing Bhikkhus. How sincere and powerful might have been the moral fragrance and missionary zeal given out by the Bhikkhus of those times! Internal evidence goes to prove that the Bhikkhus who used to live and work in Kanheri Caves were the Theravada monks, although immediately during and after emperor Kanishka a great impetus was given for the spread of Mahayana Buddhism.

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES

The relics of those monumental Buddhist institutions that have come down to us in different parts of India still strike us with awe and wonder. The ruins of Kanheri Caves bespeak of a huge monastic institution which could accommodate over a thousand Bhikkhus. Even during the life-time of Buddha the beginnings of Buddhist institutions were laid, though much against the will of Buddha himself. In Vinaya Pitaka II, p. 147 we read of how Buddha gave his assent to a merchant of Rajagriha who beseeched the Lord to accept sixty monastic compartment of *viharas* which the merchant built for acquiring merit in lives after death. From Buddhist scriptures it is also clear how Buddha permitted Veluvana as a dwelling for his Bhikkhus for purposes of silent study and preparation, or for use when they

repaired there during the monsoon rains after prolonged months of itinerant ministry. Once the Bhikkhus were permitted to dwell under some roof, leading a collective life, Buddhist devotees and patrons began building monasteries for them, usually in hills, forests and places removed from the ordinary din and bustle of the town or village life. In fact, it is the growth of monastic institutions, even during the life-time of Lord Buddha that compelled him to frame strict rules of conduct for monks—*Patimokkha rules*—lest they grow indolent and revert to a life of luxury and worldliness.

The strict and stringent rules enjoined on the monks enable them to use the munificent gifts of their patrons without having the least trace of attachment to them.

The monasteries and belongings were owned by the Sangha, not by any individual monk, however supereminent in virtue and wisdom he might be. Even Buddha did not consider himself the leader of the Sangha, nor indispensable. Only Dharma is indispensable. Only Dharma is the inextinguishable light. The main bulk of the *Vinaya Pitaka* is devoted for the formation, discipline and culture of monks. It is from such strict discipline that Buddhist monasteries produced such scholars as Nagarjuna, Asanga, Aryadeva and Vasubandhu, dialecticians like Dharmakirti and Dinnaga, missionaries like Bodhidharma and Atisa, writers like Aswaghosa, Kamalasila, Kasyapa Matanga, translators like Jinamitra and Kumarajiva and an innumerable number of Buddhist savants, missionaries, social reformers and servants of suffering humanity. They were all nurtured in such monastic institutions, inside rock caves and behind the forest shades, in those revered and historical spots like Nalanda, Ajanta and Ellora, Vikramasila and Kanheri Caves where the ruins still continue to bespeak of the glory that was Hind when Buddhism was the source of light and life to the people of not only this subcontinent, but spread far and wide, into Burma, Ceylon, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, China, Japan, Tibet, Indonesia, Malaya and other places through the missionary zeal and tireless works of those humble, non-possessing, celibate, studious, meditative monks, trained, disciplined, nurtured and sent from the Sangha of Lord Buddha, from the Buddhist monasteries variously called as *avasas*, *sangharamas*, *viharas* and *parivenas*.

Even today the Kanheri caves stand out as rock records of the history, culture, spirit and civilization of the Buddhist era in this country. The majestic halls, airy caves, carved parapets and open air rock seats, rock-cut staircases, deep cisterns with limpid pure water, rock-excavated baths, well-planned parks and solitary cells, thousands of statues of Buddha in various postures or *mudras* varying in size from three inches to thirty feet, the rock inscriptions and writings, the scenic beauty and the eternal Voice of Silence experienced at the Kanheri caves are matters for pride and spiritual inspiration for all, notably for the children of Indian soil, the birthplace of Buddhism. It is a matter of great regret that while even foreign visitors, savants and religious-minded people from India and abroad stand enthralled at the greatness of the civilization revealed by the Kanheri caves, most of the Indian visitors go there only for holidaying, making noise, cooking inside the caves and throwing dirt and filth around the sacred and historical monuments. Both the Government and the people have a duty to preserve and enhance such priceless treasures of Indian history and the best pearl of Indian civilization.

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W. Somerset Maugham

Surendra Kumar Jain writes in *Careers and Courses* :

W. Somerset Maugham is undisputedly the most popular author living at the present time. A dean among novelists, it is a real joy to read his exceedingly fascinating and absorbing books. His masterly handling of the plot and his lucid and simple language are the main factors which go to make his works so popular. Somerset Maugham has always managed to use his personal experiences in his writings, and his works are nothing but the exposition of his observations on human nature.

EARLY LIFE

Son of a lawyer, Somerset Maugham was born in Paris in 1874. He suffered the deepest wound of his life at the tender age of eight when his mother died; his father died when he was ten. This bereavement took him to his uncle who lived at Whit Stable. He was a clergyman. There he studied at the King's School for three years but he was never happy in this school.

After his schooling at the King's School Somerset Maugham decided that he should learn German language and consequently he went to Germany. There, in Heidelberg, he lived with a family for many years. During his stay in Heidelberg he visited many places of importance in Germany and went to Switzerland. He had varied experiences here but the most important event was his attending the lectures of a philosopher named Kuno Fischer. These lectures stimulated his interest in philosophy which miraculously influenced his later life.

At the age of 18, Maugham returned from Germany. Many professions were before him, and he felt confronted with the problem of selecting one. His uncle, who was a clergyman, wanted him to join the Church, but his stammering was a great drawback. Then he was asked to take the job of a civil servant but left it on the advice of a friend of his uncle. Finally, it was decided that he should become a doctor, and in the autumn of 1892 he joined St. Thomas' Hospital.

The course at St. Thomas' Hospital did not interest him. After completing his two years, he became a clerk in the Out-Patient's Department and began to take a keen interest in the work. The course provided for the attendance at certain number of confinements before one could get a certificate. This meant his going to the slums of Lambeth, and here Maugham met what he most wanted, life in the raw. This experience has been most beneficial to him as a writer. Maugham says: "Here I witnessed pretty well every emotion of which man is capable. It appealed to my dramatic instinct and excited the novelist in me."

AS A WRITER—PLAYWRIGHT AND NOVELIST

Somerset Maugham had joined medicine on the insistence of his uncle, but he had not practised up to this day. The ambition to write always dominated his life. He found ample material in the slums of Lambeth, and in 1897, at the age of twenty-three, published his first novel called *Liza of Lambeth*. It was accepted by the first publisher to whom he sent it. It was a careful study of the life in the slums of Lambeth. *Liza of Lambeth* sold very quickly and its second edition was brought out after one month of its publication. This was the beginning of his life as a writer.

Somerset Maugham had little schooling and his English was never very good. He always felt himself at ease while writing dialogues, but whenever there was a chance to describe a scene he found himself in a quandary. His vocabulary was very poor, and due to this defect he took to play-writing. After publishing his *Liza of Lambeth*, Somerset Maugham turned out plays after plays, but it

was not till 1907 that his first play *Lady Frederick* was accepted. It was staged with great success and paved the way for his future success as a dramatist. He has written many plays, the famous among them being: *The Circle*, *The Constant Wife*, *Our Betters*, *Loaves and Fishes*, *Jack Straw*, *Penelope*, *Mrs. Dot*, etc.

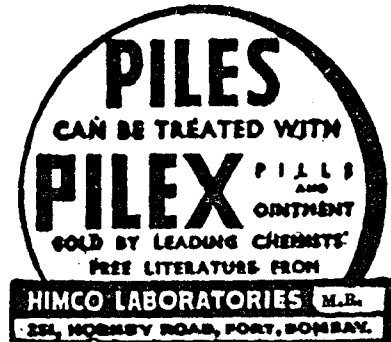
After his *Liza of Lambeth*, Somerset Maugham published in 1915 his classic autobiographical novel *Of Human Bondage* which had been four years in preparation. This novel shows his childhood, early life, and his life at Heidelberg. "Though all the incidents as shown in the novel did not happen with me," says Maugham, "but the emotions are my own." This beautiful novel ranks as one of the three major novels of Somerset Maugham. In 1919 he published another novel *The Moon and The Six Pence*, based on the life of Paul Gauguin, a French artist. After this he published many novels, the famous among them being *The Painted Veil*, *Ashenden*, based on his experiences as a secret service agent in World War I, *Cakes and Ale*, *Theatre*, *Up at the Villa*, etc. In 1944, his most famous novel *The Razor's Edge* was published, later on screened with great success.

Besides these novels and plays, he published his collection of short stories, two autobiographical books and some travel books. *First Person Singular* and *Trembling of a Leaf* contain his famous short stories. His two autobiographical books are *The Summing Up* and *A Writer's Note Book*. *The Summing Up* is a good book containing his views on various subjects.

SUCCESS BY CHANCE

It was sheer chance that brought world-wide success to Somerset Maugham. Though he has written numerous plays and novels, it was his short stories which made him world-famous. The story runs like this. Maugham wrote a short story called *Sadie Thompson* and editor after editor refused it. He put it in his desk. One day his friend John Colton was staying with him. He wanted something to read and he gave him *Sadie Thompson*. It stormed Colton's mind and he recognised its value. He asked Maugham to make a play out of it but Maugham did not think it worth while to bother about it. At last the story was staged under the title *Rain* and proved to be a great success. *Rain* is a powerful story describing the efforts of a missionary to show the right path to a young girl considered as a sinner by him, but finally surrendering to the call of flesh. It is a tempestuous drama of sex and religion.

Its importance can be estimated by the decision of the leading dramatic critics of New York who voted it as one of the ten best dramas of the world. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was decided best, and the second best of the world was not *Macbeth* nor *King Lear* but *Rain*.



VORACIOUS READER

Somerset Maugham is never at ease while conversing with people and it is largely due to his stammering. He says, "When I was young and stammered, to talk for long singularly exhausted me, and even now that I have to some extent cured myself, is a strain. It is a relief to me when I can get away and read a book." He is a voracious reader. He reads novels for pleasure and not for instruction, and other things for delight. His voracity in reading can be estimated, from his two months' reading, at the age of 18, which comes to three of Shakespeare's plays, two volumes of Mommsen's *History of Rome*, a large part of Lanson's *Litterature Francaise*, two or three novels, some of the French Classics, a couple of scientific works and a play of Ibsen's. At St. Thomas' Hospital also he went systematically through English, French, Italian and Latin literature. At eighteen he knew all these languages sufficiently well.

He has been the greatest enthusiast of travelling. He never hesitated to do any action due to risk. He visited several important places in Germany and went to Switzerland while he was at Heidelberg, and visited Italy at the age of twenty. He has been nearly all over the world and the country he most likes is Spain. To China he went, to see its old culture. The result of all this travel has been a vast experience to him and two travel books: *On a Chinese Screen* and *My South Sea Islands*.

HIS INTEREST IN PHILOSOPHY

Somerset Maugham was introduced to Philosophy by the lectures of Kuno Fischer. Since then he has read nearly every important author on philosophy. Philosophy to him is the most interesting subject to read. He always

smokes his pipe and reads philosophy for an hour before he starts to write. In spite of the influence of his uncle, who wanted him to believe in God, his studies in philosophy has given him two convictions, directly opposing the principles of Christianity—belief in the transmigration of soul and non-existence of God.

When he was sixteen years old, Maugham read a great deal of Maupassant and was considerably influenced by him. But he has attained the art of prose-writing with arduous labour. He says: "This art does not come by instinct but by arduous study." He studied many prose-writers to improve his style but could get no special benefit from them. He is a great admirer of Voltaire but he has never copied any of the authors he read. He has assigned his own qualities to the art of prose-writing which he describes as Lucidity, Simplicity and Euphony in order of their importance. These three qualities coupled with a masterly handling of plot characterise all his writings.

Maugham has been a keen observer of human nature. He took to writing because of his natural inclination for it, and his observations on human nature. "I have taken an absorbing interest in human nature," he says, "and it has seemed to me that I could best communicate my observations on it by telling tales." He has found 'lack of consistency' to be the most striking element of human nature. He asserts that selfishness and kindness, idealism and sensuality, shyness, disinterestedness, courage, laziness, nervousness, obstinacy, and diffidence, can all exist in a single person and form a plausible harmony. His famous short story *A Friend In Need* is a fascinating one describing the self-contradictory nature of human beings.

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Goa : Fantastic Claims*Asian Opinion* writes editorially :

The claim of the Portuguese Government that their colonies have become an integral part of Portugal through long occupation is fantastic to say the least. Israel did not change her status in two thousand years. Brazil, once a part of the Portuguese empire, and colonized during the same period as Goa is independent today. The Dutch who occupied Indonesia in the same century emphasised their occupation but avoided such absurd claims. England too made her exit from India without claiming any rights from occupation. France and Portugal have decided to stick to their colonies with the tenacity that is sapping their own strength. They do not see the writing on the wall and await the fate that overtook Babylon.

Goa, Daman and Diu were occupied by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. As early as 1575, a Bijapur chronicler complained of cruelty in Goa, particularly against the policy of educating the Hindu and Muslim orphans as Christians. From the very beginning the Portuguese emigrants were almost all male. In 1524, three women who had come from Portugal clandestinely, were publicly whipped. Therefore, the Portuguese in Goa are a generation of mixed marriages, that have continued throughout the last four hundred years. The process has been one of Indianization rather than Europeanization. The claim to Goa as a part of Portugal is neither based on facts nor on the traditions of history.

Portugal herself has not been an independent power in the last four hundred years. She became a part of Spain early in the seventeenth century. Napoleon conquered Portugal early in the nineteenth century. The

British Government of India occupied Goa in 1809. Therefore, even if Portugal claims Goa on the basis of her old association, she must take into account the fact of restoration of Goa by the Government of India (1809).

It is absurd and idle to invoke the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, seven hundred years old, for the defence of Goa. The British occupied Salsette and Bassein which had once belonged to Portugal. Such a statement must have been issued by the Portuguese without consulting Great Britain who has no say in the matter. To threaten to seek the help of Great Britain in the unjust occupation of Indian territory is ludicrous.

Now that the Portuguese Government have come with their pretensions and have even refused to discuss the question of evacuation, it will not be advisable for the Government of India to put this issue in cold storage. By dashing the hopes of compromise, Portugal has given a new importance to this issue. The closing of our Legation in Lisbon is not an answer to her unreasonable attitude. It must be a prelude to further steps to force Portugal to give up her claims to territories in India. No Government in India can treat this question of foreign pockets lightly and with contradictory statements.

Every time there has been trouble in India or strained relations with her neighbours, Goa has been in the news. Before the Police action in Hyderabad, it was reported time and again that arms and supplies were passing to the State with Goa as the base. When there were strained relations between India and Pakistan, it was rumoured again that Pakistan might use Goa as a base to revictual her ships. It might not have been possible. However, the threat from Goa persists in one form or another.

With the uncompromising attitude of the Portuguese Government India will have to take the matter in her own hands and to act unilaterally. The announcement that we will not permit the foreign pockets, and at the same time, will not take concrete steps to force evacuation, verges on contradiction and self-denial. This policy pursued so far, has failed with ignominious results. It has encouraged the occupying powers to ignore the fundamental principles involved. Since, we have declared ourselves that we seek a solution through peaceful means, they have taken it as a mark of indecision on our part. We may prefer a peaceful solution but we should adopt a definite policy, making it certain to Portugal and France that if they will not leave their possessions in India of their own free will, they will have to leave these territories under threat of force.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS**Hayim Greenberg**

We publish the following obituary news of Hayim Greenberg, one of the most outstanding personalities of the State of Israel, as appeared in the H. Greenberg Memorial Issue of the *Jewish Frontier*, May 1953 :

After months of pain, death has taken Hayim Greenberg from us.

His going is an irreparable loss. Of few men can it be said that no one can fill their place. But of him it is clearly and sharply true. For he was a unique and inimitable combination of deep and brilliant qualities : clear, sharp mind ; passionate love of justice ; balanced judgment and insight ; close acquaintance with European, American, Israel and world history and problems ; a wide learning in Jewish lore ; a deep knowledge of the philosophic and religious literature of the world. All these things were not mere pigeon-holes in a mind ; they were coalesced into an admirable and lovable character. Our friend was admired and loved, not only throughout the American Jewish community and in Israel, but wherever Jews live.

He was especially dear to us for his many years of comradeship and leadership in Labor Zionism. For thirty-five years he served in a host of capacities, too many to list here. It was primarily his voice and his pen that made *The Jewish Frontier* and the *Yiddisher Kemfer* intellectually distinguished and Jewishly rich and creative.

We mourn his going and send our heartfelt sympathy to his wife and son.

We shall miss him in our councils. But his spirit, and the cause he loved, will go on among us.

David Reblsky gives short biographical notes of Hayim Greenberg :

In the second decade of this century Odessa was the centre of Jewish cultural life in Russia. It was the home of Bialik, Mendele Mocher Seferim, Ravnitzki, Ussishkin and many others. Prominent literary lights living outside Odessa made regular pilgrimages there. The disturbed early years of the Russian revolution brought to Odessa an additional influx of talents from other cities. Here Hayim Greenberg came in 1915 as a young man. Despite his youth he already possessed much scholarship and general knowledge and had achieved a remarkable synthesis of secular education and Judaic wisdom. Very soon he became a center of intellectual attraction for many who were his seniors in years. Whether a dispute involved Maimonides or Ibsen, Strindberg or Gide, Greenberg was sought as an arbiter.

His main ambitions at that time were along academic lines. Before coming to Odessa he had already served with distinction as instructor at the Kiev Institute of Jewish Science. He was engaged in a scientific study of Sombart's ideas on race, a work which was later published in a prominent Russian periodical. Russian and Hebrew were his chief media of expression at that time ; the prominence of Yiddish came later.

At the turn of the decade, when the Bolshevik regime became entrenched, most Jewish political and cultural leaders fled the country. Greenberg, too, departed from Russia. The road of escape to the free world then led across the Dniester River, which separated Soviet Russia from Bessarabia, then a part of Romania. Large masses of Jewish refugees streamed toward Kaminka, a town along the Dniester which served as the main point of crossing the river. The first major stop on the other side was Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia, which almost overnight became a Jewish cultural center. Hebrew schools mushroomed, an important *Chalutz* center was established, a Yiddish newspaper was set up.

Hayim Greenberg spent some time in Kishinev. Though he remained apart from the turmoil of organizational activity, his presence in the community was sensed, as one is aware of a lighthouse. His public activity at this time consisted of lecturing, and it was during this period that he perfected his Yiddish into an artistic instrument with which he later enchanted audiences throughout America. But my most powerful remembrances are of his Hebrew lectures when his audiences sat spellbound, thirsting for ever more, unwilling to believe that it was over when the lecture ended.

Two problems concerned him deeply during his residence in Kishinev—the fate of Russian Jewry caught in the turmoil of revolution and what would happen to Hebrew culture which had blossomed out almost unexpectedly during the war years when scores of thousands of refugees streamed from war-torn Poland and Lithuania into the Ukraine and Great Russia.

His friends were therefore delighted when Greenberg was called to Berlin to edit the periodical *Haolam*, organ of the World Zionist Movement, and to assume the leadership of the Hebrew cultural movement *Tarbut*. The latter aimed to become the world center of Hebrew culture. Berlin was fast becoming a Jewish cultural center with the arrival of the outstanding leaders from Russia. A number of wealthy patrons also came to this city and generously contributed to the work. Germany seemed on the way to become a true democracy and there was great optimism among the newly arrived cultural leaders. Greenberg was intrigued by the challenge which the situation presented.

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At this time he met one of the rising luminaries in Zionism, the young Chaim Arlosoroff, who lent his youthful energies to the ambitious projects of *Tarbut*. There were plans to organize instructors, establish schools, provide text-books, establish a publishing house, organize teachers' seminars and Institutes for kindergarten teachers.

Much money was needed for these projects, but Germany was then in the midst of a runaway inflation and nothing could be accomplished with German Marks. It was then proposed that *Tarbut* send a mission to America. The reasoning behind this plan was simple: It is inconceivable that American Jewry should not understand the importance of establishing a world center for Hebrew culture which had been driven out of Russia and must set up its temporary home in Berlin. In America there are Jewish scholars, Zionists, Hebraists. They would certainly not withhold the few thousand dollars required for this project.

The mission of America consisted of three: Rabbi Joshua Thon, Hayim Greenberg and the writer. The composition of this delegation was motivated by the desire to have different countries represented in order to demonstrate to American Jews that it was not the aim of *Tarbut* to cater to the needs of German Jewry alone, but that a truly world-wide center was being planned. Joshua Thon thus represented Poland, the writer represented the new greater Romania, and Hayim Greenberg embodied the idea as a whole.

Joshua Thon went first. Greenberg and I delayed our journey because of passport complications. Finally we left Hamburg on the *Mauretania* and arrived in New York on November 10, 1924.

We saw Joshua Thon shortly after we landed in New York and the very first meeting gave us a painful impression of what lay ahead. Thon was angry with American Jews and felt insulted by the treatment he had received. His visits to various cities brought no results. The Hebraists in the country were recent arrivals, still without roots and only with great difficulty and at the cost of great sacrifice could they support the Hebrew weekly *Hadoar*. The Hebrew movement in America itself needed help. Some unfortunate incidents convinced Joshua Thon that American Jewry was still raw and unformed, a "desert generation."

Throughout this report Greenberg was silent. I could see his color changing and an ashen pallor cover his face. He seemed to sense a certain basic truth in what Joshua Thon said. Without much conviction he tried to persuade Joshua Thon to remain a few weeks

longer, to make a last attempt to get something for *Tarbut* in Berlin. But the latter was determined to return to Cracow without delay. A few more meetings were held in New York, Greenberg addressed some audience in other cities, and the *Tarbut* mission ended its work without accomplishing anything.

Hayim Greenberg was then confronted with the choice: to remain in America or to return to Berlin. If he was to remain in America how would he earn his livelihood? How would he preserve the integrity of his individuality? How pursue his main aspirations? On the other hand, there was not much point in returning to Berlin empty-handed. Besides, bad news was coming from Germany. The inflation raged unabated. The future Nazis were becoming arrogant and had already threatened the life of the German Prime Minister, Stresemann, if he, the "Jew" and "traitor to the German nation" were to continue his conciliatory policies. Many well-to-do

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German Jews who were sensitive to the political winds went to Paris. Chaim Arlosoroff and other members of *Hapoel Hatzair* went to Israel. Hitler was released from prison and resumed his agitation. German soil was no longer secure for Jews.

Greenberg decided to stay in America. He began to observe the American Jewish community and it appeared strange to him. He then lived on East Fourth Street with relatives. This neighborhood was at that time a veritable Jewish ghetto. Neighboring Second Avenue was crowded with Jewish restaurants and theaters. But the restaurants were "Jewish Style" only and the theaters were being swamped with vaudeville. Four Yiddish dailies were still in existence but Greenberg would raise his eyebrows in amazement when he read them. "Rebelsky," he would say, "you read this please, and tell me what it says. It appears to be Yiddish, yet it is so barbarous. I can't grasp it."

Little by little his observations led him to understand

the depths of the soul of American Jewry. But meantime his material situation deteriorated greatly. Together with his wife, her mother and his son he lived with relatives. But the more considerate his hosts were, the greater was his sense of desperation.

In such a state of mind he suppressed his pride and sense of dignity and made the rounds of the various Zionist offices, hoping that they would take into consideration his stature within the World Zionist movement as former editor of *Haolam* and *Atidenu* and offer him some employment. But American Zionist leaders knew little about him and finally offered him some document to translate from German into Yiddish.

The small and young Zeire Zion organization came to his rescue. Greenberg had never been a party man or party theoretician. All party "programs" were suspect in his eyes. He viewed them as procrustean beds for the ethical needs of his generation. He had the greatest affinity for the Zeire Zion organization because of its affiliation with the *Hapoel Hatzair* movement. Thus it involved no compromise for him to become editor of the Zeire Zion weekly *Kar'n Folk*.

A short time later his great talents as lecturer won him wide audiences. His first addresses were delivered before Zeire Zion groups. Soon outsiders began to attend and the fame of his name spread rapidly. Greenberg did not give single lectures, only groups. Thus he delivered six lectures on Tolstoy, three on Romain Rolland, three on Gandhi, two on Franz Werfel, three on Hassidism, three on the era of the Second Temple, two on A.D. Gordon, etc. A mere listing of the subjects of his lectures gives an insight into his character and way in life.

But not even the combination of editing *Kar'n Folk* and delivering numerous lectures could then provide the small budget required for the sustenance of his family. Yet it was essential to free him from worries about rent and food if his creative abilities were not to be hampered. The Zeire Zion then undertook to organize an annual "Greenberg Evening." The themes of those occasions and the prominence of the participants soon made them a regular institution.

I particularly remember this occasion in 1926 which once and for all established him as a celebrity. The theme of the symposium was "Jewish Culture in America," and the subtitle on the printed programs read "Whither American Jewry?" Hayim Greenberg was the main speaker. The other participants in the symposium were Chaim Nachman Bialik, Shmarya Levin and Henrietta Szold. The hall which seated more than two thousand people, was filled to capacity and some hundred others patiently stood along the walls for more than three hours. Greenberg was at his best. The years of obscurity in America were behind him.

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A Seminar on Contribution of Modern Language Teaching Toward Education for Living in a World Community will be held by Unesco in Ceylon this summer :

The purpose of education for living in a world community is to develop in every individual the feeling that he belongs to one great human family, without making him lose touch with his own social environment. It is part of the task of Unesco to clarify and help solve the problems presented by such education.

To this end, the Organization held international seminars in 1950 at Macdonald College near Montreal, Canada, and at Brussels. The first was on the teaching of geography, the second on history textbooks. In 1951 a third seminar, on the teaching of history, was held at Sevres near Paris, attended by 62 participants from 31 countries.

Unesco is now preparing a fourth seminar, on the teaching of modern languages in primary and secondary schools and on the role of such teaching in the universities, as a contribution to general training in the humanities. It will be held at Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, from 2 to 28 August 1953, attended by about 70 experts designated by Unesco's Member States. Professor Theodore Andersson of Yale University will be the Chairman.

It is obvious that children through learning foreign languages become better able to understand peoples other than their own. Nevertheless teaching methods all too often constitute a stumbling block. They cause teachers and pupils to run the risk of losing sight of the final goal: this is to become imbued with the spirit of a foreign language in order to understand the culture and form of thinking which it reflects.

While teaching with the use of active and living materials, the instructor of modern languages has many opportunities to maintain the interest of the child, to stimulate his desire to know and understand. He finds valuable aids in films, filmstrips, gramophone recordings and radio broadcasts.

In addition, international correspondence between pupils in schools guided by teachers, also has its usefulness. It shows the pupil the practical value of learning modern languages. Moreover, mutual correction helps both of the letter-writers. Thus, the exchange of letters tends to become a means of effective cultural exchange. Postcards, excerpts from newspapers and magazines, samples of local artisanry, and documents of all kinds help the letter-writers, whose curiosity is stimulated, to understand the problems of the peoples whose languages they are learning. A teacher, who arranges for correspondence by his pupils with persons in a variety of different regions, is also able to carry out interesting enquiries.

These few comments show both the range of the possible experiments which can be based on the direct method and the multiplicity of the means on which it

rests. If only from the point of view of improvement of teaching, the seminar at Nuwara Eliya will give the participating experts an opportunity for fruitful discussions and profitable exchanges of views.

The psychological aspects of language teaching must not be overlooked either. It would be useful, for instance, to clarify the question of the optimum age for beginning language instruction and to examine what scientific basis there is for beginning the teaching of a second language at a relatively early age in the primary school. Also of interest in this general field are questions of language ability, of tests and measurements and of the effects on the pupil of attempting to learn two or more languages simultaneously. As problems of this kind have often to be dealt with in teacher training establishments, discussions of the psychological aspects of language teaching are likely to be closely linked to the question of the proper selection and training of language teachers.

But the scope of the seminar will be broader than this field of enquiry. It is to be expected that the participants from various Unesco Member States will have the time and opportunity to raise special problems peculiar to their own Member States or whole groups of Member States. Participants from the countries of South Asia and of the Middle East may wish, for instance, to examine the difficulties created by the setting up of new national or regional languages which must be mastered by their citizens together with one or more of the more widely used modern languages considered necessary for retaining contact with the rest of the civilized world and for participation in international affairs. Another series of problems exists in the case of countries which have more than one official national language.

Let us consider the case of India where the regions are so different from one another that they give the impression at times of being separate political, linguistic and cultural entities. Indeed, the population within some of the provinces is not linguistically homogeneous. For the great majority of the Indian people English always remained a foreign language. But persons in the more educated circles usually speak and write English from the age of 11 or 12. Moreover, English remains an official language; throughout the country, administrative documents are written in English. Thus, Indians who lack an adequate knowledge of English have little chance to become civil servants. Nevertheless, the Government has decided gradually to replace English by Hindi as the federal language of the Republic. And it is to be expected that greater use of Hindi in the schools will bit by bit lead to a lessened use of English.

The problem is more serious in the Indian States of which the regional language is not Hindi. In these States, there are two obligatory languages in addition to English, and necessarily the burden on school programmes is greater. It is easy to imagine the difficulties which Indian educators must face during the transitional period,

with English an optional language in the schools for pupils between the ages of 10 and 14, but still a required language in the secondary schools and universities. Nor is India alone among the countries facing such a scholastic dilemma. Many such problems will be discussed at the seminar in Ceylon.

It is also possible that the discussions on the teaching of modern languages will be carried beyond the classroom, to include those mass methods of instruction, suitable for adults as well as children, which have been perfected by modern science. Films and filmstrips, wire-and tape-recorders, recordings and radio programmes will probably be considered not only as audio-visual aids in the schools but also as means of bringing language instruction to whole communities. The knowledge of such techniques may prove particularly useful in countries which have to deal with a large influx of migrants.

Other fields of enquiry, which those participating in the seminar in Ceylon will wish to explore, are more directly connected with the link between modern language teaching and international understanding. In the recent past great improvements have been achieved in some countries in the teaching about other lands, their peoples and civilizations, using the foreign language itself as the medium of instruction. This special branch, sometimes described as the field of "area studies," undoubtedly falls within the scope of the seminar.

The spread of direct and precise knowledge of modern languages, providing more accurate and objective information about the lives of peoples in other countries, certainly helps the mutual understanding of peoples. Can it be said that the improvement in teaching is a cause of the economic and spiritual evolution of the world toward more active international exchanges? Or can it be considered a result? It seems that there is concomitance, parallelism and reciprocal action between, on the one hand, the need and desire to know and understand foreigners better, and on the other hand, the use of a living and synthetic method of teaching. There is no doubt that the growing internationalization of economics, politics, science and art has led both teachers and students to replace the formalism of analytic pedagogy by active and direct contact with foreign realities. But it is also true that the spread of modern languages through a method that reveals the life of countries and the spirit of peoples has aroused new curiosity and provoked fruitful exchanges of all kinds.

The two contemporary facts—the renovation of methods and the extension and progress of international relations—are both aspects of an evolution which tends to create international interdependence and co-operation in all fields of activity. It is in this spirit that Unesco has organized the seminar in Ceylon this summer.—*Unesco News.*

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Biography of Swami Vivekananda Wins Acclaim

New York : A new biography of Swami Vivekananda, philosopher, teacher, disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, and precursor of Mahatma Gandhi, has been published here. The author is Swami Nikhilananda, head of the Ramakrishna Mission in New York and author of several important volumes dealing with the philosophies of the East.

Writing in the book review section of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Joseph Campbell, professor of English at Sarah Lawrence College, calls Vivekananda a "prelude to the modern moment."

Vivekananda's vivid appearance at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, September 11, 1893 (writes Prof. Campbell), marked an epoch in the opening of the modern mind to humanity as a unique species with a single destiny. For this brilliant young yogi, of heroic stature, had come not only to teach but to learn.

"The end of all religions," he taught, "is the realizing of God in the soul."

What he learned and saw in America filled his heart with a great will to rescue the starving masses of India through practical action. He returned to teach service to the poor as a form of worship—and this teaching became, within 30 years, the inspiration of Gandhi.

"Do you love your fellow man?" Vivekananda asked. "Where should you go to seek for God? Are not all the poor, the miserable, the weak, gods? . . . It is our privilege to be allowed to be charitable, for only so can we grow."

"The poor man suffers that we may be helped. Let the giver kneel down and give thanks; let the receiver stand up and permit."

Swami Nikhilananda, whose splendid *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* is already well known to all who are interested in religion (not merely Christianity) in the modern world, and whose recent translations with commentary of the *Bhagavad-Gita* and *Upanishads* have rendered these fundamental Oriental texts available to the Western lay reader, has completed in the present biography of Vivekananda his presentation to America of the principal teachings and prophets of that new India whose soul and mind we must come to know (and fast).

With lucid prose, and with considerable feeling for dramatic and narrative values of the tale, and having had access to a great number of hitherto unpublished letters he has presented in his pages a valuable picture of America in its awkward age, as experienced intensely by an extraordinarily sensitive, intelligent, and completely fresh visitor.

Vivekananda had been one of the young, searching spirits in the circle of India's great teacher of the harmony of religions and universality of the presence of God, Sri Ramakrishna. The rumour reached India of a great parliament of religions to be held in Chicago at the time of the World's Fair. Vivekananda attended, alone and with insufficient funds. He returned to his people a hero, and perhaps the first full citizen of the cosmopolis.

The dialogue of East and West was carried on in full force in his life and within his heart. His biography was a prelude, therefore, to the modern moment. And its theme is that which must be learned: "The seeing of many is the great sin of the world. See all as thyself and love all; let the idea of separateness go." —*American Reporter*.

Problems of China's Industrialisation Outlined by Li Fu-Chun

Problems of China's Industrialisation were outlined on July 1, to the youth leaders of the country by Li Fu-chun, Vice-Director of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs:

Describing the solid basis on which the planned economic construction is being conducted, he said, "Compared with 1949, the total value of industrial and agricultural output last year increased by some 70 per cent and within this total increase, the output of modern industry rose by 177 per cent."

He explained that the basic task in the period of planned construction is to "concentrate on heavy industry, laying the foundations of industrialisation, achieving the modernisation of our national defences and ensuring a steady expansion in the Socialist sector in our national economy."

"Keeping this goal in view," he went on, "we shall at the same time develop our agriculture and light industry, systematically promote the co-operative movement in agriculture and handicrafts, stimulate privately-owned industry and commerce, and individual agricultural economy and handicrafts to play their correct role, and on the basis of developed production raise the living and cultural standards of the people."

Li Fu-chun stressed that "only by building up heavy industry, namely, the metallurgical, fuel, electricity and machinery industries, can we establish a mighty economic force and ensure the economic independence of our country, a broad future for light industry and the material and technical pre-requisites for the transformation of our agriculture, the steady development of our national economy and the raising of the living standards of the people."

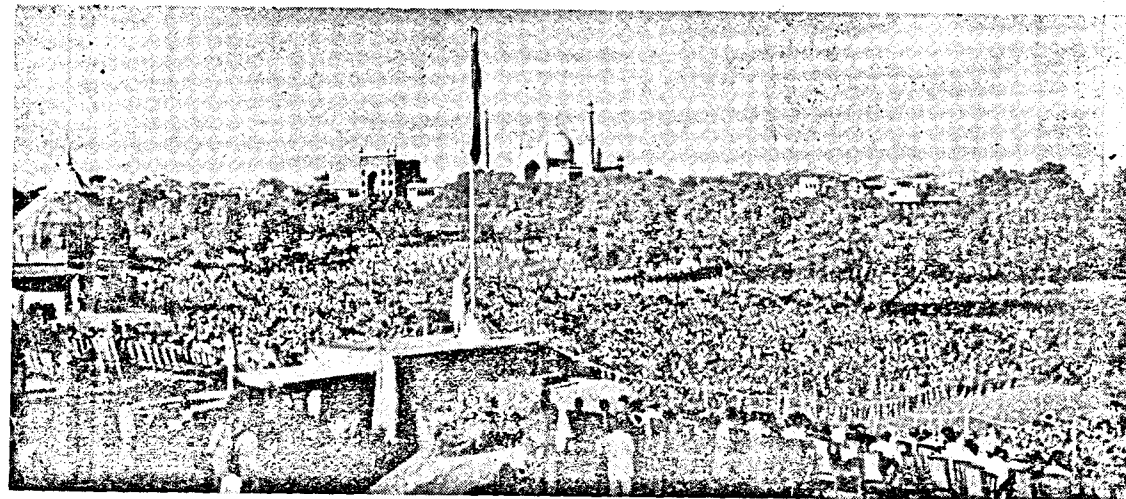
"In the course of our economic development," he emphasised, "we must constantly extend the Socialist sector of our economy. This is basic to our economic development and only thus can we consolidate and develop the people's democratic system and ensure the final victory of Socialism in our country."

Li Fu-chun laid great stress on the importance of consolidating further the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. "This must be the starting point in all our planning and policy. In the long run, it is this that will bring about the gradual industrialisation of our country and the collectivisation of agriculture, and in our immediate programme, it is this that will result in the expansion of our industry and agriculture, the growing circulation of commodities and the strengthening of the economic ties between city and countryside."

It follows from this, he went on, that in the next five years, great attention must be paid to developing agriculture, especially increasing grain output and ensuring sufficient supplies of industrial raw materials.

"And our industry," he added, "must satisfy the needs of the peasants for means of production and consumers goods." After showing the important role of state-owned commercial enterprises and the consumers co-operatives in ensuring price stability and effective supplies of goods, Li Fu-chun listed, among other state-owned enterprises to be developed, the expansion of modern transport and communications—first railways, then highway and water transport.

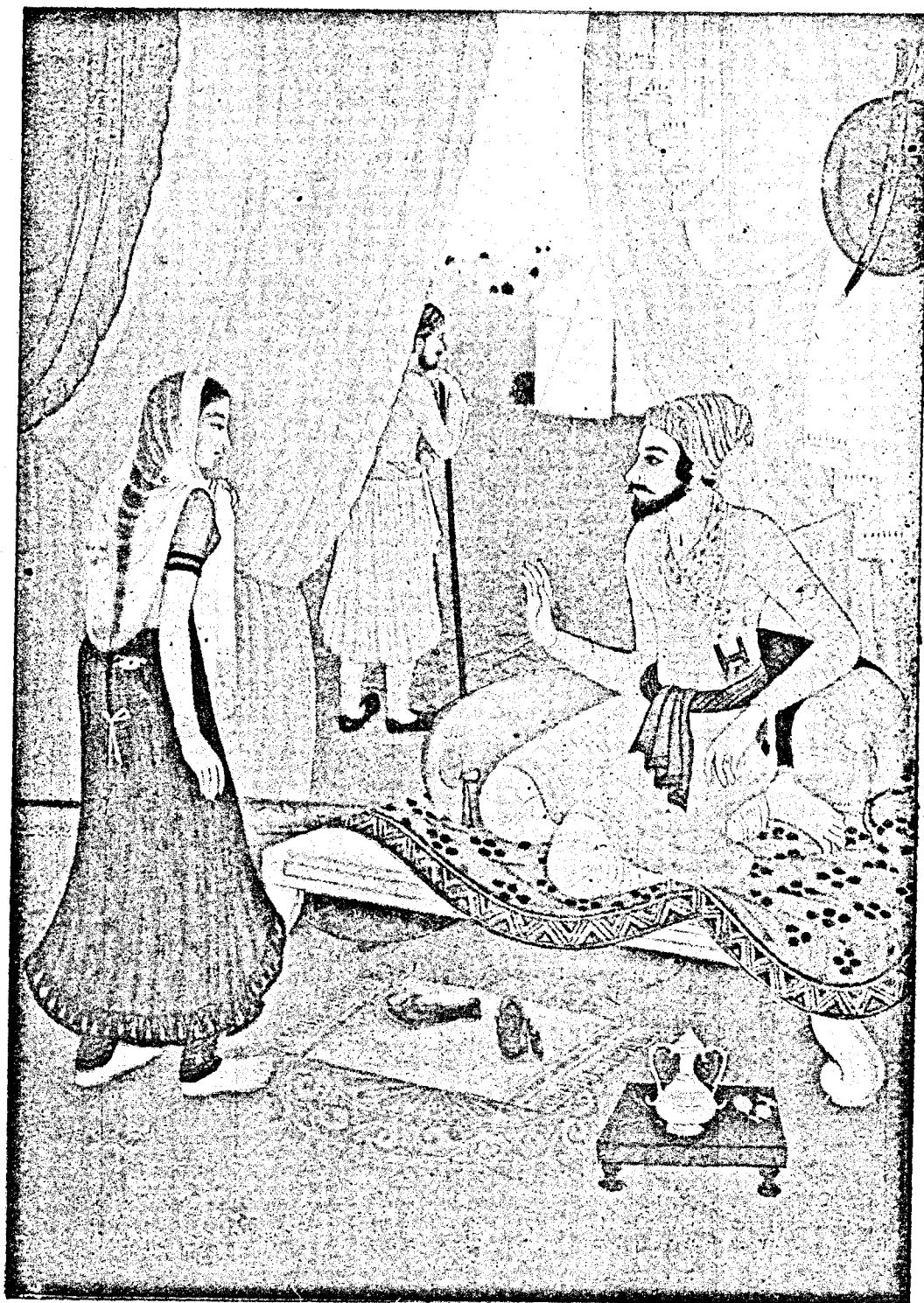
The aim in all this constructive work, he stressed, is the improvement in the material and cultural life of the working people.—*Hsinhua News*.



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a huge gathering at the Red Fort, Delhi, on August 15, in celebration of the sixth anniversary of India's Independence



In the Exhibition of Indian handicrafts and art objects recently organised by the Indian Embassy in Ankara (Turkey), Mrs. Menderes, wife of the Turkish Prime Minister, is seen with Mrs. Jha, wife of the Indian Ambassador to Turkey



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CAPTIVE LADY
By Tilak Banerji

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Independence Day

Another Independence Day has come and gone. There have been speeches galore, together with flag-hoisting, official receptions and all such paraphernalia of State and political organisations, speeches by the spokesmen of all parties and political organisations in which all shades of opinion have been reflected.

We have neither the desire nor the space to reproduce those utterances. The reason being the uniform lack of any fresh approach in either direction. The mouthpieces of the party in power have repeated the same lifeless and toneless exhortations to emulate the Father of the Nation *et seq* and the opposition—which is a motley crowd today—have fulminated forth with the same diatribes which they ejaculate on all similar occasions, in season and out of season. In short, Independence Day has become a monotonous formality for all, devoid of all inspiration or of any inducement for a renewal of old pledges in the service of the nation or the country.

While this state of affairs might be regarded as satisfactory for those who are actively engaged in the work of disruption, we find no reason in it for complacency for those who aspire for the progress and well-being of the nationals of our fatherland. On the contrary, there is serious cause for uneasiness.

Amongst the masses the idea that this freedom is false—*Yeh Azadi Jhuti hai*—is slowly gaining ground, whatever might be the reasons for or against such a conclusion. On the streets and the fields, in clubs, schools, colleges and tea-rooms, one finds groups of vociferous disgruntled persons, young and old, male and female, loudly airing their opinions to that effect. This is not a desirable state of affairs, either for the nation or for the country. But curiously enough our heads of State seem to be blissfully unaware of all this.

Let us state here and now, that we do not share this opinion, nor do we believe that any lover of freedom, with fully developed brains, could possibly subscribe to such views. The history of our nation is replete with

instances where men have refused to surrender their inner freedom, even though their body was in fetters, undergoing untold tortures. Maharaja Nandakumar went to the gallows in this very city of Calcutta, near the Square named after the despicable Lord Dalhousie, free in spirit and in mind. And that is why his firm steps and unwavering eye, while mounting the gallows, startled the minions of the infamous East India Company, which had falsely and treacherously condemned him to death. After him there are the instances of tens of thousands of the martyrs to the cause of freedom of the fatherland, who made the supreme sacrifice, staunch of heart and of faith. Their faith was justified, for freedom has come. If we lose this freedom, through ignorance or through want of faith, it would not falsify the *Freedom*. It would merely prove our unworthiness.

It is argued that this freedom, which obtains today throughout this distressed land, is not that freedom for which our martyrs shed their blood while facing desperate odds. May be that that argument is justified. But what then? Those who made the supreme sacrifice paid their dues in full—and perhaps a good deal more—but does that mean that the rest, that is, you and we and they, are to enjoy the untold riches that we imagine freedom should bring forth, as residuary legatees, without giving toil or tears, blood or treasure or making any effort whatsoever to pay the price of liberty?

Seven hundred years of freedom, preserved through ceaseless and tireless efforts at payment, have taught the British that "*Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty.*" And this vigilance does not mean just a continuous watch on the other man's work and gains, it means a conscious and vigorous personal contribution, to the fullest degree, towards progress and national security, through war and peace. How do we stand in comparison?

There is no need to expand this argument any further. This Freedom is false only to him really, in whose inner being the hereditary slave cries out for a new master, in place of the old one, to take off all responsibilities from his shoulder and to give him a sheltered life as a beast of burden or a pet.

Slave Mentality

During the latter days of the British regime, the phrase "slave mentality" was used a great deal as a term of accusation by our politicians to describe any conservative point of view, in opposition to their own. Today we have a term of accusation, similar in meaning though differing in terminology, widely used by the disruptionist, the frustrated and the disgruntled, unthinking, arm-chair politician. Today if any one speaks or writes against the current trends in mob psychology, by which is meant going against the dictates of the demagogues, one is openly accused of having been purchased by X or Y or Z, that is, whoever is supposed to have the purchasing power or motive. The accusation is made in order to lower the man's reputation, and it becomes effective with the millions of thoughtless and feckless beings who relish to have another man's good-name besmirched.

Writing in the Urdu daily *Milap* of 24th August, Sri Ranbir deals forcefully with this variety of calumny, which has become a favourite method of blackmail by the venomous anti-national disruptionists of today, who are working solely for either their own gain, or for the gain of their chosen masters, under whose hegemony they would like to bring the whole nation. Needless to say, their principles—or the lack thereof—and allegiance being purchasable commodities, they are only too eager to prove that those who oppose them are equally degraded specimens of humanity.

Sri Ranbir has recently returned from a wide tour, during the course of which he visited many countries including the U.S.A., the British Isles and Western and Central Europe. This was not a mere pleasure trip, but it was more of a one-man mission for the factual realisation of what constitutes political methods, democratic and otherwise, in the West, and the place of politics in the life, progress and security of a nation. He saw for himself that in the democracies no party, however bitter in opposition, would even think of either retarding the progress of a nation's economy or far less try to destroy the assets of the nation, in an attempt to embarrass the party in power. The reason being that they were too conscious of the consequences to indulge in such criminal lunacy. In totalitarian countries, of course, such procedure would mean suicide. Having a fully trained capacity for observation and having his reasoning capacity completely developed, and having seen the great democracies of the West in action, he had decided that the democratic way was the best.

On his return he had occasion to criticize certain methods adopted by certain political parties and had further refused to make his paper the *Milap* into the party organ of any political group. Because of this frank criticism and firm refusal to become a partisan of any group he received a number of letters openly accusing him of having been purchased, either by the U.S.A., or by the British, or, worst of all, by the Congress Government.

Sri Ranbir has completely refuted all these base

accusations and fully vindicated his stand in the editorial referred to. No right thinking man can have any quarrel with him after reading that. Indeed few would fail to endorse his viewpoint, excepting those that are confirmed disruptionists or are of the venomous tribe of self-seekers to whom neither the nation nor its freedom count for anything in their lust for power or personal gain.

But who is to convince the thoughtless or those with immature brains? There can be no doubt that active subversion and corruption of minds is in progress amongst that section of our youth which is now in the educational institutions. Their inexperience and impulsiveness has made it very easy for the disruptionist and the demagogue to lead them astray. Who is there to counteract these evil influences and to convince these poor boys and girls that by thus acting as pawns for these anti-national forces, they are not only retarding the progress of the nation, but are condemning themselves to a life of frustration and failure. News like the following is dismal reading for all who have hopes for our future:

"Lucknow, Aug. 29.—The Lucknow University has been closed indefinitely by the University authorities here tonight following the students' agitation.

Nine students of the Lucknow University including former President and the Secretary of the Lucknow University Students' Union have been expelled from the University by the authorities here today on charges of gross indiscipline.

The students after an emergency meeting this afternoon took out a procession through the University campus terminating in front of the residence of the Vice Chancellor Acharya Jugal Kishore.

Three students today joined their four companions who have been on hunger strike for the last four days."

Peace, it seems, is in the offing. Even in Indo-China there are chances for the cessation of war, if the following informed bit of comment is worth anything:

"The War in Indo-China may not, as so long feared, be stepped up after a Korean truce. On the contrary, diplomatic circles all over the world are buzzing with talk of an impending peace settlement, because the Kremlin on one side, and the French on the other, seem increasingly ready for a negotiated end of the conflict. Robert Schuman is only one in a series of French political leaders to call for a negotiated peace. Schuman, an astute politician, would never have spoken so bluntly had he not been convinced that the time, and French opinion, were ripe. It is hard to see how a negotiated settlement could be worked out, for the Indo-China situation is, if anything, more complex than that of Korea. But no crisis is ever too hard to solve if there is a strong enough will. That will is taking on more and more momentum."

If, indeed, there be a lull in the storms that assail the world, then there should be time to rectify all these evils. Those that are in power may slumber in their ivory towers, but the course of duty—and security and safety—is clearly indicated to the rest of us.

Happenings in Kashmir

The Kashmir problem has come to the fore as the most involved and crucial of all problems facing India at present. As is usual, enemies and pseudo-friends of India have lost no time in attempting to fish in troubled waters.

It is necessary, therefore, to put on record the sequence of events and the actions and reactions involved therein. We have had to provide considerable space in the editorial for that.

The sensational developments in Kashmir reached their climax with the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, on the night of August 8 and his arrest the following morning. Mirza Afzal Beg, chief supporter of Sheikh Abdullah in the dismissed Cabinet, and thirty others were also arrested under the Public Security Act. The dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah was ordered by the Sadar-i-Riyasat, Karan Singh.

For the last few months there were reports of serious differences existing between Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues *vis-a-vis* united accession to India. Matters came to a head when the Sheikh demanded the resignation of one of his colleagues, Mr. Shamlal Sharaf from the Cabinet and Mr. Sharaf refused to comply. Observers were speculating about the future steps Abdullah would take when the news of his dismissal and arrest startled them.

The Sadar-i-Riyasat's letter to Sheikh Abdullah dismissing his Cabinet recalled the serious differences in the Cabinet and his (Abdullah's) failure to resolve them. It said that the situation had reached an unprecedented crisis with the effect that three of Abdullah's Cabinet colleagues in a memorandum to him had expressed their dissatisfaction at the Prime Minister's actions and policies. That document clearly indicated that the divergence within the Cabinet headed by Abdullah had reached proportions "in which the unity, prosperity and stability of the State are gravely jeopardized." Abdullah had evaded an invitation of the Sadar-i-Riyasat for an emergency meeting of the Cabinet to resolve the differences.

"Under the circumstances," the letter continued, "I, as head of the State, have been forced to the conclusion that the present Cabinet cannot continue in office any longer and, hence, I regret to inform you that I have dismissed the Council of Ministers headed by you. A copy of my Order in this connection is attached herewith."

Earlier on August 7, three of Sheikh Abdullah's Cabinet colleagues—Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Mr. Girdharilal Dogra and Shamlal Sharaf—in a memorandum to him, charged him with having consistently refused to acknowledge his responsibilities as Prime Minister by not following the declared policies that formed the basis of the Government.

The memorandum accused Abdullah of having "frequently adopted certain arbitrary measures in complete denial of the right of expression of opinion" of even of his own colleagues in the handling both of external and internal affairs of the State. Abdullah had disregarded well-established Parliamentary practices and had not only disregarded the wishes of his colleagues but had "acted in the Legislative Assembly in a manner which denied the right of freely exercising their opinions to the representatives of the people in regard to the basic policies pursued by the Government." Though differing from Abdullah, his colleagues had refrained from bringing matters to a head and made concessions to his views in the interests of securing harmony and concord in the functioning of the Government. Unfortunately, however, he had misconstrued that spirit of accommodation and had adopted an attitude which was far from democratic and indicated a tendency towards making arbitrary use of his power and position.

The memorandum referred to the "factional tendency" in the Cabinet which led to administrative deterioration resulting in non-implementation of various ameliorative measures suggested by the members of the Cabinet. It said: "Above all there has been a singular failure to exercise vigilance and supervision in the day-to-day functioning of the administration, which has produced corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and wanton wastage of public resources in most spheres of Government activity. All those acts of omission and commission have inevitably created large-scale discontent in various parts of the State."

All along the Government had lacked a sense of uniformity and direction in its plans and programme. The Prime Minister had not only disregarded the opinions of his colleagues regarding the urgent necessity of ameliorating the distress of the people but had even ignored the recommendations of the Wazir Committee, which had been set up by the Government to enquire into a number of grievances of the people.

The memorandum further charged him of having not only deliberately delayed implementation of the Delhi Agreement, of which he himself was the chief architect on behalf of Kashmir, but also having purposefully and openly denounced that in public.

Mr. Afzal Beg, it continued, had persistently been following policies of narrow sectarianism and communalism which had seriously undermined the oneness of the State. These reactionary and harmful policies were being supported by Abdullah. "The result is that," the memorandum said, "unity and the secular character, the two fundamental aspects of our State, stand threatened today."

The Sheikh had rejected all offers for a united effort to restore the morale of the people. Therefore the Ministers had come to the conclusion that the

Cabinet had lost the confidence of the people in its ability to give them a clean, efficient and healthy administration, the memorandum concluded.

Immediately upon dismissing the Abdullah Cabinet the Sadar-i-Riyasat asked Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, who had been Abdullah's Deputy Premier, to form a Cabinet. The Sadar-i-Riyasat's letter inviting Mr. Ghulam Mohammed added that the continuance of the office of the new Cabinet would depend upon its securing a vote of confidence from the Legislative Assembly during its coming session. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed accepted the invitation and assumed the responsibilities of the Prime Minister. In a broadcast on August 9, the new Prime Minister declared: "The compelling necessity of averting a national disaster has impelled me and my colleagues to accept, in a spirit of humility and duty, the responsibility of Government from our erstwhile colleagues with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder for the freedom and honour of the country." The Prime Minister said that the community of ideals and principles had kept them together in the course of their joint struggle. Of late, it became apparent that some of their former colleagues were not only repudiating those vital principles which formed the bed-rock of the democratic movement in the State, but "were attempting to destroy all vestiges of democratic functioning in all spheres of administration and organisation." It was very painful to part ways with former colleagues, continued the Prime Minister; but recent developments had made it clear that a betrayal of Kashmir's interests and traditions had been in the offing which would inevitably have led to grave consequences. The tragedy of 1947 when the raiders from Pakistan had invaded the country was going to be repeated. It was not possible to remain complacent in those circumstances and therefore they had decided to avert the explosive situation at the risk of personal relations.

Bakshi Sahab said: "Certain recent developments have made it possible for disruptive forces to make desperate attempts at the disintegration of the State. The activities and utterances of some of our erstwhile colleagues make it clear that they have been thinking in terms of carving out a portion of the State from the wreckage as an 'independent State.' These moves have naturally the connivance and support of interested foreign powers who have all along been resisting the exercise of the right of the people of the State to freedom and self-determination."

"The present situation threatens to open up explosive possibilities for the future of the people of Jammu and Kashmir unless the designs of these forces and their foreign supporters are foiled in time."

Some elements were working for the merger of Kashmir with India or Pakistan. Other opportunists were dangling the alluring picture of an independent

State. But none of those three alternatives was going to be helpful to the Kashmiris. A merger with Pakistan would result in the dissolution of Kashmir as an entity and the idea of an independent position carried with it the implications of political and economic dependence on foreign charity. The Prime Minister declared: "The slogan of 'independence' is highly misleading and there should be no doubt as to the motive for sponsoring such an idea in the context of international developments in Asia and other parts of the world."

"An 'independent Kashmir' under the influence of an imperialist power will be grave threat to the freedom and independence of the Indian or Pakistani people. In view of the geographical position of the State, such independence is bound to involve us in a bitter and violent international controversy and another Korea may be staged here, as a result of armed conflict between interested powers."

It was in the best interest of Kashmir to remain with India, he said: "We have transferred only foreign affairs, defence and communications to the Union of India and the limit of the ancillary and implied powers has been defined in the Delhi Agreement." The interests and honour of Kashmir were quite safe in association with foreign policy of India to which many countries were looking as the way out of the prevailing strife and tension in the world. The defence of Kashmir could not be in safer hands than those of India. It would be difficult to arrange for her proper defence for a small State like Kashmir with her limited resources and complex geographical situation. Moreover, the Indian army did not interfere in the autonomous administration of the State. The "economic help, exemplary conduct and humanitarian work" of the Indian Army "have been appreciated by all sections of our people." In the field of communications also, Kashmir gained from her association with India as technological and financial implications of such services put them beyond the means and capacity of administration by local and State authorities.

The Delhi Agreement sought to establish common citizenship between India and Kashmir, governed by a common system of fundamental rights, but subject to the concessions to the State that she might make special provisions in respect of her agrarian and economic reforms. It enabled Kashmiris to "secure an autonomy in our economic policy which is unknown in any other federal State and yet we get all the benefits of the common Indian citizenship," he said. The Agreement did not impose any financial integration on Kashmir.

The democratic movement in Kashmir had indissoluble links with the democratic Government of India. The reactionary communal forces in India were instigated by the same imperialist influences which sought to create the illusion of an 'independent

Kashmir.' Clearly the communal forces in India were now weaker than in 1947.

During the last six years the Government of India had generously aided Kashmir with financial help. They had provided the Government of Kashmir with loans to balance their budgets. Under the Five-Year Plan, thirteen crores of rupees had been allocated for the plans in Kashmir. The Premier said, "We cannot honestly grudge the demand that our system of financial procedures, audit and accounts, must ensure that the available funds are well spent and that checks and balances are introduced to prevent wasteful expenditure."

The Prime Minister said that any communal retrogression in Kashmir would inflict a great blow to the democratic movements in India as well as in Pakistan. "Our aim," he said, "is to unite the people of India and Pakistan under democratic auspices, which can be assured only by the existing relationship of Kashmir with India." Creation of an 'independent Kashmir' would not bring India and Pakistan nearer but would "perpetuate their animosities and give a fillip to the reactionary and communal forces in the entire sub-continent."

The key to the present crisis, however, lay in the deep-rooted economic discontent of the masses of Kashmir. This crisis could not be overcome by the termination of the State's association. Nor could it be avoided by an alignment with a foreign power. Serious shortcomings in the handling of the economy of the State during the past five years had led to some violent dislocations in a number of trades and professions resulting in unemployment and under-employment and heavy fall in the standard of living of the people. The standard of efficiency and ethics of the administration had also deteriorated. People's faith in the Government had become shaken. The new Prime Minister called upon all to unite and support the Government in the economic reconstruction of the State.

"The main foundations of our policy," he said, "has to be built on our solemn resolution to give ourselves a progressive and enlightened constitution as the beacon-light of a democratic government." All sections of the population of the State should be given equal rights. The genuine grievances of people would have to be met and satisfied and greater opportunities of cultural development made available. "Such an approach alone can check-mate designs of reactionary and communal forces who have succeeded in exploiting the genuine grievances of the people for the purpose of dividing up their essential unity," the Premier concluded.

The new Government in Kashmir would seek a vote of confidence from the State's Constituent Assembly which was to meet in the first week of October and after that the Government would immediately move for ratification of Jammu and Kashmir's

accession to India, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed told the special correspondent of the *Leader*. They would then proceed to complete the task of framing the Constitution of Kashmir which would include implementation of the Delhi Agreement.

India's Stand over Kashmir

In a statement on the developments in Kashmir in the House of the People on August 10, the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru recounted the events leading to the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah and said: "We were informed of them, but our advice was neither sought, nor given." He said that the Indian Army personnel had not been involved in any way. The situation had been dealt with by the Jammu and Kashmir police and militia.

In this connection it has to be mentioned that a mischievous and false piece of news was published in the British Press to the effect that the Indian army had taken a part. This message was traced to *Reuter* and *Reuter* stated that the mistake occurred because of a misreading of their cables at the other end! Anyhow the mischief was done.

He emphasized the fact that the Government of India considered the recent developments in Kashmir as an internal matter and did not wish to interfere. The Government of India was interested in having a peaceful and progressive Government in Kashmir backed by the people. Defining India's attitude he said: "On the larger issues, our policy remains what it was and we shall stand by the assurances we have given."

He appealed to all for restraint and forbearance and said: "We must send our full sympathy to the young Sadar-i-Riyasat, to the Government and the people of that State who are facing this crisis, and assure them of all the help that we can give them to bring stability and a progressive administration which will serve the cause of the people of that State."

The Prime Minister said: "The State of Jammu and Kashmir has been to us not merely a piece of territory which acceded to India five and three quarters years ago, but a symbol representing certain ideals and principles for which our national movement always stood and which have been enshrined in our Constitution . . . The association of the State with India . . . had a deeper significance than even the constitutional link that was built up."

The Government of India had all along stood for a policy of a special position of the Kashmir State in the Indian Union. Those who talked of merger or a weaker association of Kashmir with India were opposed to that policy. Recently an unfortunate agitation had sought to undermine this basic position and had created not only confusion but powerful reactions more especially in the valley of Kashmir. Some persons in Kashmir were so much affected by

that agitation that they forgot the community of ideals that had brought Kashmir and India together. Unfortunately Sheikh Abdullah was in turn greatly influenced by the wrong advice given by those people. Certain utterances of Abdullah had reflected that advice and reactionary elements had taken advantage of the resulting confusion and attempted to disrupt the State.

The Government of India, though greatly concerned at these developments, "did not wish to interfere, except with advice, in the internal structure and administration of the State. Advice was frequently given, but unfortunately it did not succeed in bringing about that unity which had been shaken in the course of the past few months."

Some two weeks earlier two Ministers of the Kashmir Cabinet, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and Mirza Afzal Beg had visited New Delhi and had held prolonged consultations with the Indian Government when it had been made clear to them that the Government of India had no desire to interfere in any way in internal matters which should be decided by the Government of the State.

The Government of India, having been informed of the intensification of the differences within the Kashmir Cabinet, had urged that some way should be found for the working of the Cabinet as a team on agreed principles and policies. After that events moved with great rapidity eventually leading to Abdullah's dismissal, the Prime Minister added.

Indian Reactions

PTI reported from New Delhi on August 9: "The news of the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah last night took political circles here by surprise although a shake-up in the Kashmir Government was regarded as inevitable."

The Communist Party of India in a statement said that the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah and the formation of a new Government in Kashmir "was the culmination of recent developments in Kashmir since Mr. Adlai Stevenson's visit there." The statement said: "Sheikh Abdullah fell in line with American intrigues and came out for an independent Kashmir to be guaranteed by the U.N., i.e., the Americans."

The Praja-Socialist Leader, Acharya Kripalani, expressed the hope that the action of the Sadar-i-Riyasat "will clear the atmosphere and will guarantee to Kashmir an honest, efficient and progressive administration."

Mr. N. C. Chatterji, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a telegram to Premnath Dogra President of the Jammu Praja Parishad, said: "Shyamaprasad's supreme sacrifice, your efforts and our humble contribution today stand justified." In a statement he said that this was the "first right step in the right direction."

"The best news in several years," commented Dr. Lankasundaram. He referred to American influence in Kashmir and said: "We must withdraw the Kashmir question from the U.N." Any suggestion for the trifurcation of Kashmir would have to be resisted, he added.

In the official circles in New Delhi, the news of Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal came as a great relief, reports the *Statesman*.

Foreign Hand in Kashmir Quandary

The hand of a foreign power is clearly visible in the recent developments in Kashmir. Of course, the whole history of the Kashmir problem is a series of manoeuvres to convert that beautiful country into a base of military operations by foreign powers. The fate of India's appeal to the U.N. for a peaceful solution then did not keep anybody in doubt about that. Giving reasons for this unusual interest to a relatively obscure part of the world an acute American observer, Mr. Lawrence K. Rosinger, writes: "The interest of the United States presumably arose in part from Kashmir's strategic location, close to the U.S.S.R. and bordering Afghanistan, Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), Tibet, India and Pakistan." This gives the clue to the slogan of an 'independent Kashmir.' The new Prime Minister of Kashmir has also referred to this aspect of the situation. It was intended to make an Asian Switzerland of Kashmir.

A short resume of the recent developments will help to clear that point. A considerable section of the Indian press ascribes the change-over of Sheikh Abdullah to his long confabulations with Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. Democratic leader, in the beginning of May. On July 5, the *New York Times* published a map of the proposed 'independent State of Kashmir' adding that the Secretary of State Dulles approved of it. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed told the *Leader's* special correspondent at Srinagar that too many of the foreigners "especially in the diplomatic field, had been dining into Sheikh Abdullah's ears the advantages first of joining Pakistan and when that idea did not sell, of making him stand for independence. There was a constant stream of officials and even missionaries who acted as agents. U.N. observers were seen more often in and around Srinagar than at their posts of duty." (*Leader*, 13th August, 1953).

As to the responsibility of the foreigners in the immediate disorder it was officially stated in Srinagar that U.N. observers had been paying money to some malcontents and agitators in order to incite them against the State. Their activities had assumed such serious proportions that the Kashmir Government had given "instructions to seize U.N. jeeps if they were found in quarters where they had no business to be

and apprehend the occupants. The spokesman said that it had come to the knowledge of the Government that 18 observers held a meeting yesterday and later they went round the city." (*PTI*). The Government had warned that diplomatic immunity granted to U.N. observers would be withdrawn if they continued to take undue interest in the internal affairs of the State.

The *People* of August 15 reports: "It is reported that the American Ambassador and a high official of the British High Commissioner's office in New Delhi, who were due to visit Srinagar, have cancelled their programme in view of the present developments there."

Continuing the report said: "The American Ambassador, unduly energetic, has visited Kashmir twice during the past two months. From Delhi come vague reports of an American dollar loan offered to Kashmir over the head of the Government of India."

The *Leader*, in an editorial on August 11, writes: "In fairness to Sheikh Abdullah it may be stated that he is not solely to blame for his abandonment of the principles of the National Conference. It is significant that the Communists' denunciation of U.S. interference in Kashmir remains unanswered. Evidently Sheikh Abdullah has been misled by people who have their own axes to grind."

The U. S. Ambassador, Mr. George V. Allen, and Maj.-Gen. B. L. De Ridder, Acting U.N. Chief Military observer in Kashmir, have come out with denials of any interference on their respective part. It is to be seen from further developments as to whether their respective personnel are really as innocent as they make out.

Indo-Pakistan Parleys

On August 10 the Pakistani Premier telegraphed to Mr. Nehru requesting an immediate meeting between the two Premiers. Mr. Nehru agreeing, Mr. Mohammed Ali came to New Delhi on August 16 where he was accorded an unprecedented welcome by the residents of Delhi. After prolonged and intense deliberations between the two Prime Ministers a joint communique was issued on August 20 indicating the measure of agreement reached between the two.

The communique said that the two Prime Ministers had discussed the Kashmir question at some length and agreed that the most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of Kashmir was by fair and impartial plebiscite and decided that a Plebiscite Administrator be appointed before the end of April, 1954. So far no progress had been possible because of lack of agreement in regard to preliminary issues which would henceforward be considered by them directly in order to arrive at agreements in regard to those before April, 1954. The Plebiscite Administrator, on his formal appointment and induction into office by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, would examine the situation and report upon

it and set out proposals for preparations to be made for holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite in the State.

The Premiers also discussed evacuee property issue and noted the progress made. "It was hoped that a meeting of the representatives of the two Governments would be held within a month for a further consideration of these problems," the communique said.

In accordance with the agreement reached between the two Prime Ministers at Karachi regarding the exchange of Cooch-Bihar enclaves in East Pakistan with East Bengal enclaves in Cooch Behar, it was decided that a conference of the representatives of East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam and the two Central Governments, should be held in Calcutta very soon to work out the necessary details. "The Conference should also consider travel and trade facilities and other issues, especially relating to East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam."

"The Prime Ministers deprecated any propaganda or attacks on any country by others in the Press, by radio, or by speeches and statements made by responsible men and women of either country."

Welcoming the communique, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed the Kashmir Premier said that it had their "unqualified support." He was glad that Pakistan had "shown its willingness to abandon the old methods of coercion and intimidation." He was happy that the two Governments had sought to solve the Kashmir dispute without reference to any foreign power. It was heartening that the Prime Ministers had finally dispelled the grave misgivings regarding dismemberment of the State which had been disturbing many Kashmiris.

Addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi the Pakistani Premier stated that his mission had been a 'partial success' and he was returning to Karachi with his "minimum hopes fulfilled." He said the Kashmir dispute would not be withdrawn from the UNO.

It is understood that India did not favour the idea of appointing a Briton or American as a Plebiscite Administrator.

The Pakistan Government informed India later that it considers the recommendations of the Security Council as the basis on which to negotiate on Kashmir, informed sources said in Karachi on August 28. These sources added that this suggestion was made in the memorandum which had been communicated to the Indian Government.

The other points made out in the memorandum were as follows:

(a) Appointment of the United States Adm. Chester Nimitz by the United Nations to act as Administrator of the Plebiscite remained valid and there was no question of naming the representative of a South-East Asian country unless the United Nations first withdrew Nimitz's appointment.

(b) Moslems from Kashmir and Jammu who had migrated to Pakistan should have the right to vote.

(c) The plebiscite should be arranged and carried out under the control of the United Nations.

The Pakistan High Commissioner in India, Mr. Gaznafar Ali Khan, saw Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to present the memorandum containing the Pakistan Government's view on the preliminary issues relating to the proposed plebiscite in Kashmir.

It is believed the Pakistan Government has *inter alia* demanded that right from now there should be complete freedom of the people of Kashmir to express their views in favour of accession to Pakistan, and there should be no "partisan administration" exercising power and control in any part of the State during the period of plebiscite, nor any armed forces, either of India or of Pakistan, in the plebiscite.

Pakistani Reaction to Kashmir Developments

"A Challenge to Pakistan" was the comment of Karachi's *Dawn*.

A *hartal* was declared in Karachi in protest against the action of the Sadar-i-Riyasat dismissing Abdullah. The Pakistani independence day celebrations were cancelled and August 16 was declared "Kashmir day." Karachi's cotton and other markets, cinema houses and the majority of the shops were closed on August 11 in the afternoon after a lot of agitation by demonstrators. In the afternoon on that day a mass public meeting in Karachi presided over by Miss Fatima Jinnah had demanded *jehad* against India and 'police action' by the Pakistan Government in Kashmir. Mr. Khalilur Rahman, former Minister of State for Defence, said that he did not bother about the dismissal of Abdullah but moaned about the "butchery of Muslims in Kashmir." After that meeting a procession went to the residence of the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, who met the crowd waving a Pakistani flag and "gave a pledge that he would do everything possible to liberate the people of Kashmir and secure for them the right of self-determination." (P.T.I.)

In his independence day broadcast from Karachi Mr. Mohammed Ali referred to "ties of religion, culture, tradition, economy and geography" between Kashmir and Pakistan and expressed "deepest sympathy to the people of Kashmir in their hour of trial." He said: "We are pledged to secure for the people of Kashmir their inalienable rights of self-determination. We stand by that pledge."

The Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, said that the "recent developments and happenings in Indian-occupied Kashmir have come as a rude shock to the people of Pakistan . . ." and they "appear to indicate that India is determined to prevent rather than to promote conditions that would ensure the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite through which the people of Jammu and Kashmir must signify their will to accede to Pakistan or to India."

The Press in Karachi is doing its best to nullify all agreements as the following news indicate :

Karachi, Aug. 28.—So the Ali-Nehru talks and the consequent agreement may be "dead as dodo." That is the impression one forms after going through the fulminations against India—"India's felony" and "Pandit's perfidy"—in Karachi Press.

Karachi is also humming with baseless rumours that under pressure of the old guards who were waiting for a chance to see Ali's mission fail, the Prime Minister had resigned last night.

However, the tone and temper of the Press indicates that some decision has been taken as per last morning's reports about political reactions to the Delhi Agreement.

While the *Times of Karachi* has spared no words to accuse the Pakistan Government of falling into the 'Pandit's trap,' of coming to an agreement which implicitly recognises the Bakshi Government, the *Morning News* blames Mr. Mohammed Ali of complacency and allowing his heart to run away with his head after getting a warm welcome at Delhi. The *Times of Karachi* has summarised the position under the caption "As You Were," maintaining that Pakistan has failed to cash in on the opportunity of marshalling world opinion in her favour when India had not committed anything. It said a great opportunity presented itself in the dismissal of Abdullah, showing that Hindus and Muslims were two nations. In a two column editorial it chastised the Government for its defence forces and called upon policy of retrenchment in the Government to strengthen its defences.

Restoration of Pak-Sylhet Areas to India

A number of distinguished people of Cachar, representatives of Hindus and Muslims, including seven M.L.A.s, Presidents and Secretaries of Congress bodies, had submitted on July 15 a memorandum to Prime Minister Nehru on the eve of his departure for talks with the Pak Premier at Karachi, drawing his attention to the wrong inclusion in Pakistan of a portion of Sylhet district adjacent to the north of the State of Tripura and having a non-Muslim majority. The memorandum had urged the Premier to examine the matter and to "see that the portion of the territory rightly belonging to India is restored as early as possible," reports the *Chronicle* on August 7.

Welcoming the move in an editorial, the paper writes that India would lose by the exchange of border areas reported to be about to take place. "To make good that loss some areas on East Bengal and Assam-Tripura border should be claimed and possession taken over by India from Pakistan. Now in addition to the areas to be restored to India under Radcliffe Award, more portions in Sylhet district need be claimed by India for compensation of the losses she sustains elsewhere." The editorial added that this should be effected quite peacefully and in a friendly manner.

Unrest in Ceylon

Strikes and demonstrations were reported all over Ceylon in protest against the increase in the price of rice and in railway, electricity and postal charges. The situation assumed such grave proportions that the Government of Ceylon had to declare a state of emergency on August 12. Thirteen persons were reported to have been killed in the police firing on that day.

The *Hindu's* correspondent in Colombo reported on August 13 that there was considerable panic among Indians as leaflets had been widely distributed in the Pettar area asking the mob to kill Indians and loot their property. Anti-Indian elements had thus taken the opportunity to turn the disturbances against the Indian community. (*Hindu*, August 15).

Lysenko Falls

The *Indian Rationalist* of August writes: "We have good news from inside the iron curtain. The *New Statesman and Nation* reports that Lysenko has been liquidated. The man responsible for the disgrace and the untold miseries of distinguished Russian geneticists like Vavilov has at last met the fate to which he condemned his many victims." The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences had now condemned Lysenko for "failing to make theoretical contributions of practical value."

Sri S. N. Guha's Gift

In the presence of a large and distinguished gathering, Sri S. N. Guha, a retired District and Sessions Judge and ex-Chief Judge of Cooch Behar State handed over through the West Bengal Governor Dr. H. C. Mookerjee a sum of Rs. 25,000 for public charity at a pleasant function at Marble Hall, Raj Bhavan, on August 28. Those present included Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy.

Sri Guha handed over a cheque of Rs. 16,000 to the Principal of R. G. Kar Medical College to be spent for expansion of the college, a cheque of Rs. 5,000 to the representative of Ramakrishna Mission Sishumangal Pratishthan, a cheque of Rs. 1000 to Bharat Sevasram Sangha and a cheque of Rs. 3,000 to the Governor Dr. Mookerjee for the Governor's Deshabandhu Memorial Fund.

Chief Guest of the function Dr. Roy thanked Sri Guha for his charity and hoped that his example would be emulated by many others. To make charity for a noble cause was a great virtue and one who did so derived genuine pleasure. Sri Guha by making public charity had undoubtedly a satisfaction of mind which nothing else could give.

Governor Dr. Mookerjee also paid his compliments to Sri Guha for his noble gesture. In this connection he asked the people to remember that merely asking for rights in a free country was not enough. Side by side with that they would have to discharge their responsibilities and obligations to the society and that could be done by showing a spirit of charity. It was a happy augury that a spirit of charity was fast coming over to the people.

We add our felicitations to the donor, and hope that his example will be followed by all who have the means to serve the nationals of our country similarly.

Census Analyses

New Delhi, Aug. 29.—The latest Census paper puts the population of Scheduled Castes in India at 513 lakhs, Scheduled Tribes 191 lakhs and Anglo-Indians over a lakh and eleven thousand. The total population of India as shown by the 1951 Census in 3,567 lakhs, excluding 1.35 lakhs for whom enumeration records were destroyed by fire in the Census tabulation office at Jullundur.

The paper gives a mass of figures showing the distribution and occupation of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and adds that a manuscript register called the National Register of Citizens has been prepared and is preserved separately for every village and every ward of each town. Should it be necessary to secure specific additional information regarding particular localities, it can be extracted from the register.

The figure for Anglo-Indians shows that there are more women in that community than men.

Out of every 1,000 persons in India, there are 144 persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and 54 to the Scheduled Tribes. Out of the total population of 3,567 lakhs, 2,948 lakhs live in rural areas and 618 lakhs in the urban areas. Scheduled Castes in rural areas total 462 lakhs and Scheduled Tribes 186 lakhs and in urban areas 51 lakhs and five lakhs respectively.

Agricultural classes total 2,491 lakhs for the whole population and 381 lakhs for Scheduled Castes and 173 for Scheduled Tribes; non-agricultural classes for the whole population total 1,076 lakhs, Scheduled Castes 132 lakhs and Scheduled Tribes 18 lakhs.

Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly owned, and their dependants total 1,674 lakhs for the whole population, 174 lakhs for the Scheduled Castes and 125 lakhs for the Scheduled Tribes.

Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants are 316 lakhs for the whole of India, 56 lakhs for the Scheduled Castes and 19 lakhs for the Scheduled Tribes.

Cultivating labourers and their dependants are 448 lakhs for the whole of India, 148 lakhs for the Scheduled Castes and 28 lakhs for the Scheduled Tribes.

Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent-receivers, and their dependants are 53 lakhs for the whole of India, three lakhs for the Scheduled Castes and one lakh for the Scheduled Tribes.

Figures for non-agricultural classes are as follows: Production other than cultivation: total 377 lakhs, Scheduled Castes 53 lakhs, Scheduled Tribes seven lakhs.

Commerce: total 213 lakhs, Scheduled Castes 9 lakhs, Scheduled Tribes one lakh.

Transport: total 56 lakhs, Scheduled Castes six lakhs, Scheduled Tribes one lakh.

Other services and miscellaneous sources: total 430 lakhs, Scheduled castes 64 lakhs and Scheduled Tribes 9 lakhs.—P.T.I.

Working of the Sindri Chemicals

At the first annual general meeting of the Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals Ltd., held recently, the Chairman of the Company stated that the achievements of Sindri have been creditworthy, as measured by the target output and economic costs of production. Since the commencement of production operations in March 1952, the factory's output totalled 230,000 tons of ammonium sulphate during the thirteen months ended March 1953. The production in the last quarter of 1952-53 was 74,176 tons, as compared with the target of 87,000 tons. There has been a steady decline in the cost of production, and the prices charged have also been reduced. Even in the initial period, the price of Rs. 350 per ton was below the cost of imported sulphate. Following an intensive campaign launched in 1953 to popularise the use of fertilisers as a positive step towards self-sufficiency in foodgrains, the price was reduced by Rs. 65 per ton, a reduction of nearly 20 per cent. It is expected that production costs will be further reduced in the near future.

The offtake however caused some concern to the authorities. In February 1953, although the stock position showed huge accumulation, the production was not curtailed and actually a high level of production of nearly 27,000 tons was attained that month. The short-fall in offtake in 1952 is attributed to droughts in some parts of the country, financial difficulties of the State Governments and unsatisfactory arrangements for distribution made by them. Had the Company decided to export its products, it could have cleared the stocks and earned large profits on that account. The Company received a large number of requests at much higher prices. The Union Government's Food and Agricultural Ministry is responsible for administering the fertiliser pool to which the entire production of Sindri is contributed at present. The Company is not satisfied with the present distribution arrangements controlled by an outside authority. It demands that it must have the responsibility for marketing its own output. A proposal is being examined for the taking over of distribution arrangements by the Company from January 1, 1954. Steps are also being taken for popularising the use of fertilisers for intensive cultivation and a scheme for the purpose is being formulated in co-operation with the Food and Agricultural Ministry.

Located at the heart of India's coal belt and within easy reach of abundant resources of cheap electrical power and water, Sindri has large potentialities of industrial development. The Company has entered into an agreement with the Associated Cement Co. Ltd., for the sale of the calcium carbonate sludge, which is a by-product of ammonium sulphate production. The A.C.C. propose to construct a cement factory at Sindri for the production of 600 tons of cement per day, utilising this by-product as the main ingredient. Another agreement has also been concluded with the German firm of Messrs Karl Still for the

supply and installation of a battery of coke ovens for the production of 600 tons of coke a day, which will make Sindri self-sufficient and will also bring about substantial economies in the production costs. Plans are also under consideration with the US Technical Co-operation Administration for the utilisation of the coke oven gases for the manufacture of urea and ammonium nitrate to provide a diversity and balance in the availability of fertilisers from indigenous sources.

Indo-US Technical Co-Operation

The last two project agreements under the Indo-US technical co-operation programme for 1952-53 were recently concluded. The first agreement undertakes to provide some equipment and supplies to increase the existing facilities for an exploratory project for lignite excavation in South India. The object of the project is to determine the economic feasibility of the recovery and processing of lignite in the South Arcot District in the State of Madras. The joint cost of this project is estimated at \$250,000 and Rs. 25 lakhs. The experimental mining operation will make possible the recovery of about 16,000 tons of lignite which will be available for test purposes and actual consumption in plants having facilities for burning the raw lignite. A study of market conditions, fuel requirements of various users and other data relating to the sale, distribution and utilization of the lignite will be conducted during the period of the experimental pit excavation. Such information will be used as a basis for planning the full-scale mining operation of the lignite deposit.

The second agreement is supplementary to the Operational Agreement No. 10. It provides for the acquisition of certain items of additional equipment for the completion of the pilot plant of the Cellulose and Paper Branch of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, which is under construction. The total estimated joint cost of the project for the fiscal year 1953-54 is \$210,000 and Rs. 320,000. The completion of the pilot plant will enable the Cellulose and Paper Branch of the Institute to conduct experimentation, demonstrations and pilot operations on the production of pulp and paper from a wide variety of indigenous raw materials. The pulp and paper plant will also be used as a regional centre for research and training for nationals from other countries. The Technical Co-operation Administration will arrange for the engineering services in connection with the erection of the plant as well as for specialists required and requested from outside India under this project.

The dollar cost for these two agreements amounting to \$460,000 will be provided from the savings under supplementary agreement No. 1 regarding the fertilizer project. The agreement in respect of the malaria control project was amended to provide 15 additional malaria control units, thereby increasing the number of units from 75 to 90. About 90 million people will receive protection from malaria under the amended agreement. The amendment does not involve any additional dollar expen-

diture but the rupee cost of the project will be higher by about Rs. 29 lakhs.

Another Technical Assistance agreement was also concluded which provides for assistance in obtaining detailed proposals for expanding the Sindri Fertiliser plant for the production of urea and ammonium nitrate, and the productive utilisation of the coke oven gas of the plant. The USA Government will provide a sum not exceeding \$50,000 for this purpose.

Changes in Exchange Restrictions

Article XIV, section 4 of the Articles of the Agreement of the International Monetary Fund lays down that, not later than three years after the date on which the Fund begins operations and in each year thereafter, the Fund should report on exchange restrictions still in force under section 2 of the same Article. In pursuance of this provision, the Fund has submitted its Fourth Annual Report this year. The report indicates broadly the nature of the changes which had taken place during 1952 and early 1953 and thus assists an understanding of the general character of recent developments in exchange restrictions. Generally speaking, the period was one of consolidation for some countries and their changes in the exchange control were in the nature of technical simplification in the operation of their exchange systems. As regards the other countries, it was essentially a period of watching world development to see what would take place elsewhere before taking any decisive measures to lessen their own exchange restrictions.

The volume of world trade was smaller in 1952 than in the preceding year. But the Fund cannot say definitely to what extent this reduction is due to intensification of international trade or exchange restrictions, which began in the second half of 1951, as contrasted with other causes. There was no significant relaxation in exchange restrictions during the last year. While some countries lessened their exchange restrictions, others intensified theirs. Though some countries simplified their multiple exchange rate structures, others made them more complicated.

The slowing down of the scramble for raw materials in 1951 resulted in a decline in their prices in 1952 approximately to the level of June 1950. Although the decline in prices of raw materials undoubtedly helped the more industrialised countries, it tended to produce in the primary producing countries a more cautious and restrictive attitude towards the granting of exchange and the lessening of exchange restrictions. Thus in several leading countries there was a reduction in the amount of exchange made available for imports directly arising out of a recognition of adverse balance of payments positions and a desire to correct them. The general use of discrimination in the application of restrictions continued during 1952, so that payments in hard currencies were reduced to a larger extent than were payments in soft currencies.

No additional currencies became convertible during

the years 1951 and 1952. In more than half the number of member countries surveyed by the Fund, multiple currency practices continued to operate. A few of them slightly simplified their multiple exchange rate systems by reducing only the arithmetical number of rates employed, but six member countries expanded their multiple exchange rate systems. Among the latter, two countries introduced additional fluctuating exchange rates by the use of negotiable certificates. These certificates entitle the holder to obtain exchange in payment for imports not otherwise permissible. Another country introduced an "auction system" by which it allocated limited quantities of available exchange. This means of exchange distribution was not in use for some years past.

The report throws much interest on retention quota arrangements and similar practices. These arrangements are usually applied to dollar export receipts and confer special privileges on those obtaining such means of payment. Thus, during 1952, such arrangements were either introduced or expanded in three countries, but were discontinued in three others. Two of the member countries introduced "free" exchange markets in which certain segments of their international trade and payments were to be handled. Three members introduced exchange taxes or increased the existing taxes. Liberalisation of trade between countries which are members of the European Payments Union was in general maintained.

Jute Marketing Practices

A Commission has been appointed by the Government of India to institute an enquiry into the marketing practices in the raw jute and jute goods trade and the extent to which they are influenced by speculators and to recommend measures for ensuring a fair price not only to the grower of jute but also to the jute mills. Mr. K. R. P. Aiyangar, Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Finance, has been appointed as the Chairman of the Commission. The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows:

(a) To examine and enquire into the operations of the tiers in the jute industry and trade from the grower of raw jute to the seller of jute goods; (b) to examine and enquire into the factors which determine the return to the grower of raw jute for his product and the part played in it by the cost and the adequacy or otherwise of transport, the lack of contact between the grower of raw jute and its consumer, the absence of market information to the growers of raw jute and all matters relating thereto; (c) to examine and enquire into the nature and the content of speculations both in raw jute trade and the jute goods trade, the extent to which market prices are affected by the operation of mill owners, jute dealers and the speculative operators in the market and to consider in relation to the circumstances which rendered the closing of the *fatka* market in Calcutta in December 1952, the malpractices indulged in by the various units that operated in the *fatka* market resulting in undue depression of prices of raw jute as well as jute goods;

and (d) after such examination, enquiry and consideration to make recommendations to the Central Government on the measures necessary: (i) to secure for the grower as well as the industry a fair price for raw jute and jute goods, (ii) to put down the malpractices engaged in by certain sectors of the jute industry in order to rig up or depress prices for their own ends, and (iii) to ensure that the jute export trade is not affected by frequent manipulation of the market by interested persons.

Plainly speaking, the democratic system of Government based on bureaucracy suffers from slow movement and red-tapism. Quickness goes at a discount with democracy. Since the days of the British rulers, committees and commissions have become essential adjuncts of the Indian administrative system and our independence has not brought any change in that respect, on the contrary they have become much too frequent. The appointment of the Commission on jute marketing is not only unwarranted, it is redundant too. That shows that the Government does not care to examine the reports of the previous commission on the same subject. The appointment of the Commission is just an evasion of the responsibility for some time to come. There already exists voluminous literature on the subject of jute marketing, viz., the report of the Central Jute Committee on the marketing of jute and jute products. Although it was published in 1941, it was almost brought up to date in the revised edition published last year. There is also the report of the Export Trade Promotion Committee (Chairman: Mr. A. D. Gorwala) which deals extensively with the practices of *fatka* and other futures markets. It may be recalled that a memorandum on the futures markets subscribed to by all sections of the jute trade and industry was submitted to Sir John Anderson, when he was the Governor of Bengal. It is regarded as a highly useful document. On the same subjects there are two excellent reports of Prof. Todd. If any action is really intended by the Government, all that it has to do is to make a thorough perusal of these reports and decide on the lines on which excessive speculation can be effectively checked. Moreover, the Forward Markets Commission is going to be appointed soon. It can be asked to tackle this problem of *fatka* in jute trade. It is really puzzling to think what useful purpose will be served by the present enquiry commission.

The terms of enquiry of the Commission are comprehensive enough as they cover every aspect of marketing raw jute and jute manufactures. But futures trading should be the main concern of the Commission in view of the diverse opinions on its utility or otherwise to the jute grower and manufacturer. According to a section of opinion, the *fatka* market serves no other purpose than encouraging gambling orgies, while others contend that it is essential for ensuring liquidity and smooth marketing of jute and jute goods and for providing a hedge against future uncertainties. They argue that the hectic heights and the sharp falls in prices are due to the high sensitiveness of the market which is not

in itself a defect. Unless the futures market is sensitive, they maintain, it cannot provide a cover against future risks at economic premium rates. A futures market, if it is to serve satisfactory, must allow keen competition among the operators and in the face of keen competition, wide fluctuations in prices are bound to follow.

Whatever may be the conflicting opinions about the utility of the futures market, it is imperative that violent fluctuations in prices must be avoided. The widely fluctuating prices have become a recurring feature of the jute industry resulting in hardship not only to the grower of jute and manufacturers of jute goods but also to members of the trade. Irresponsible and excessive speculation brings about business failures, results in defaults and ends in crashes destroying the utility of the futures market. When speculation exceeds the bounds of moderation and reasonable risk-taking, it degenerates into gambling. This is the problem that encompasses speculation and for the prevention of which no satisfactory solution has yet been found out. A solution is required which, while preserving the futures market intact, will eliminate over-speculation. The inherent weakness of Indian businessmen is to overtrade and even to condone defaults and to compromise with the worst defaulters. And the speculator having largely intruded and obtained control in industry, thanks to war-profiteering and black-marketing, Indian industries are being adversely affected.

Indian Tea Crop

From the point of view of production, the current season (1953-54) opens on a more secure basis. The last season (1952-53) ended with a short-fall in production by 4.75 million lbs. as compared with the previous season's output. The Indian tea crop will be lower this season due to the deliberate cut in production. The latest figures of production of North Indian tea reveal that the production will be lower by about 12½ million lbs. South India is endeavouring to bring about an automatic reduction in crop by producing better quality tea, although the planters have not been able to accept any definite agreement on restriction of crop. There has been decline in the output during the first five months of the current year. One of the causes for this fall in output is attributed to the effort on the part of a large number of estates to concentrate more on quality than on quantity. In recent years there has been a pronounced deterioration in the quality of the Indian tea and in consequence India is losing her export markets to her rivals, like Ceylon, Dutch East Indies, etc. It is said that house-wives in London prefer better quality packets even at higher prices, because of the fact that quality blends ultimately turn out to be economical.

The enquiries made by the Rao Committee revealed that 60 per cent of the total Indian production of tea was medium tea, 20 to 25 per cent superior quality and the balance residual tea including "rejections." The tea estates should pay special attention to quality plucking

and destruction of waste tea, sweeping and fluff, commonly known as "rejections." In South India, what is called premium tea forms about 25 to 33 per cent of the production. Some suggested to the Rao Committee that it would help to support tea prices, if the rejections could be completely destroyed, as they are used as adulterants and were depressing the price of good quality tea.

The Tea Act 1953, confers powers on the Union Government to improve quality of tea. But there is a great demand for tea waste as consumers belonging to the low income group provide a market for them, obviously because they cannot afford to buy the high-priced quality tea. It is stated that no amount of State control will succeed in preventing production of tea waste, as there will always be loopholes for evading it. Voluntary co-operation of the industry is therefore essential.

Oil Politics in the Persian Gulf

Nearly two years ago Persia's oil ceased to flow to world markets, and in this short period the face of the rest of the Persian Gulf has been transformed. In Saudi Arabia and Kuwait there has been so great expansion of the oilfields that by the end of 1952, their joint increase in output had more than replaced Persia's production in its last year of full flow. Besides, there are rising volumes of production of new fields in neighbouring deserts. Last year two affiliates of the Internationally owned Iraq Petroleum Company, operating near Basra in Iraq and in the desolate Qatar peninsula, respectively produced 17 million barrels and 25 million barrels. In 1953 there has been a new find by the American Independent Oil Company in the Neutral Zone shared by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile the earliest field on the Arabian shore, run by Americans in Behrein, yields its steady 11 million barrels per annum. Just to the south of it a member of the Royal Dutch-Shell group has taken up a 10,000 square mile sea-bed concession of the coast of Qatar. Aramco has located, but has not yet commenced production from, another under-sea field off Saffaniya on the Saudi Arabian coast, and there are local conflicting claims over rights to the rest of the shallow floor of the gulf. The Aramco and the Iraq Petroleum Company affiliate, Petroleum Development Ltd., are meanwhile prospecting in the untried deserts to the south-east and south-west of the Qatar Peninsula.

In respect of the crude oil supply, it is said that a return of the Persian flow on to the world markets would now be an embarrassment, not a help, to everyone except the Persians; it would entail reduction of output elsewhere, and it would bedevil the relations between companies and rulers who now count on higher revenue from oil. But this is not true of refined products. The Abadan refinery with its potential output of over 500,000 barrels per day is the largest in the world. The only other two refineries of size on the Gulf—Aramco's at Ras Tanura and the Behrein Petroleum Company's plant at Behrein—can each put through about 200,000 barrels a day. Other refineries in the Middle East are small

topping plants only. Abadan's output will continue to be missed in Asia until, from 1954 onwards, the refineries now being built at Aden, in India, and in Australia come on stream. It is no longer missed in western Europe where self-sufficiency in refining capacity has been attained. The following table will make the present position clear:

Crude Oil Production (million barrels)				
	1950	1952	Management	
Persia	241.4	10.6	1950—British:	
			Anglo-Iranian	
			1952—Persian: NIOC	
Saudi Arabia	199.5	301.8	American: Aramco	
Kuwait	125.7	273.4	Half-British, half-	
			American: Kuwait	
			Oil Company	

Direct Payments By Oil Companies to the Governments of Oil Producing Countries (\$ million)

	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	Iraq	Behrein	Qatar
1950	112.0	12.4	14.8	3.3	1.0
1951	155.0	30.0	38.5	3.8	3.8
1952	170.0	139.0	110.0	6.3	9.0

With the disappearance of Persia's oil from world markets and with the rising tide of world consumption, the oil companies operating in the Persian Gulf have stepped up production to meet the rising demand. Financially, the arrangements with the rulers of the oil bearing territories along the Persian Gulf are the so-called 50:50 basis on the Venezuelan model that has now become common. Under formulas, which differ slightly from territory to territory, they are based on the principle of an equal division of profits before deduction of foreign tax, and the concessionaire pays home taxation only on his share of the proceeds, and the owner Government's share is unaffected by foreign taxation. Oil provides one-quarter of the national income of Iraq, one-half in Saudi Arabia and over three quarters in the smaller principalities, the highest proportion being that of Kuwait.

Now the rulers are becoming conscious and demanding higher rates. If there is a 50:50 agreement, why not insist that it should be made retroactive? If a concessionaire sells oil under bulk contracts at special price, the rulers are demanding that the profit should be worked out on the full price. The Sheik of Behrein is disturbed at the greater production and in consequence the greater wealth of a neighbour in Qatar who has far fewer responsibilities than he. Thus local jealousies are developing. The Saudis are inquiring whether Aramco has a right to sell its crude oil to its parent companies below market price and whether they ought not to be receiving compensation for oilfields discovered but not yet operated owing to the state of world demand. The rulers are now contemplating to push the division of profits towards 60:40.

In recent months the relations in the USA between the oil companies operating overseas and the Administration are hardly in the halcyon state. The decision to raise the Middle East crude oil prices is the outcome of a series of embarrassing pressure and counter-pressures from the American domestic oil companies and the Administration. If the cheaper oil of the Middle East were to flood into the Western hemisphere markets, who would gain? Certainly, the overseas companies operating in the Middle East would reap the higher profits. There would be a political rumpus in Washington from American domestic producers by comparison with which the 1949 criticisms of "dumping" would be insignificant. Severe repercussion would follow on Venezuelan oil output and upon Venezuela's politics. There would be a grumble along the Persian Gulf from rulers asserting that the oil companies were not crediting them with a fair price for the Middle East crude oil. The American market is prepared to take a reasonable amount of foreign crude oil "to supplement but not supplant" its own domestic supplies; and it disapproves the idea of full and free competition from the Middle East. Of last year's crude oil imports by Britain, 93 per cent came from the Middle East and less than 7 per cent from Venezuela and the USA.

Developments in Iran

Recent developments in Iran have been bewildering. The results of the referendum in Teheran early in August suggested popular support to the Mossadeq regime. The referendum was instituted to obtain popular sanction for the dissolution of the Majlis—the Lower House of the Iranian Parliament. The Upper House—the Senate—had earlier been dissolved by Dr. Mossadeq. The Majlis had been virtually ineffective as all the supporters of Dr. Mossadeq had resigned from it, thus leaving the House without a quorum. Even some Opposition members had also resigned. The Shah appeared to wield little or no power at all and apart from the economic crisis, Dr. Mossadeq apparently was master of the situation.

Then came the news of the abortive Royalist coup and the Shah's flight from Iran. Teheran Radio announced that at 11-30 p.m. on August 15, the officers of the Shah's Imperial Guards under Colonel Nasiri attempted to overthrow the Mossadeq Government by a military *coup d'état*. Dr. Hussein Fatemi, the Foreign Minister and two other Government leaders had been arrested by the insurgents. The Government successfully dealt with the revolt, put Colonel Nasiri in jail and ordered disbandment of the Royal Guards. The royalist coup was directed to instal Gen. Zahedi as the Prime Minister.

The Shah, who was holidaying with the queen at Ramsar on the Caspian coast flew out of the country to Baghdad from where he went to Rome. He said that he had appointed Major-General Zahedi to succeed Dr. Mossadeq as Prime Minister. He said that

Gen. Zahedi had not staged a *coup d'état* but had conveyed Shah's orders dismissing Dr. Mossadeq. He said that he did not contemplate abdication and would be willing to return to Iran if Dr. Mossadeq obeyed his orders appointing Gen. Zahedi as Prime Minister.

Meanwhile Persian police had been on the trail of Gen. Zahedi who was believed to be hiding in the scrub-covered hills of Northern Teheran. At a secret rendezvous there he was reported to have issued to the Press photostat copies of an imperial decree purporting to be a letter from the Shah appointing him Prime Minister. The Government announced a reward of 100,000 rials for information leading to the arrest of Gen. Zahedi, who issued a statement saying that he was the legal Prime Minister and asked the security forces to obey his orders.

Dr. Fatemi, the Foreign Minister, told Pressmen in Teheran on August 17 that Iran had no intention of proclaiming herself a republic and Dr. Mossadeq was officially reported to have been considering forming a Regency Council to act in the absence of the Shah.

For the moment the Mossadeq regime looked like surviving the shock. But it was overthrown by another royalist coup on August 19. Royalist troops overpowered the supporters of Mossadeq and seized Teheran. The Shah was cabled to come back. Dr. Fatemi, the Foreign Minister, was reported to have been 'torn to pieces' but was subsequently reported to be in hiding. Dr. Mossadeq escaped and remained in hiding and later on surrendered after it had been announced that he would not be killed.

Demonstrators supporting the Shah burned buildings in the centre of Teheran and also set fire to a Theatre used by the Communist Party and wrecked a Russian shop.

Ayatullah Kashani and Hussein Makki, former supporters of Dr. Mossadeq, came out in support of the new regime.

On receiving the news of the overthrow of the Mossadeq Government, the Shah declared from Rome that he would return when the news was confirmed. He said: "This is not an insurrection. We now have a legal Government. Gen. Zahedi is the Prime Minister I appointed." He said that with the exception of the Communists, 99 per cent of the population were for him. He said that he had left the country to avoid bloodshed. In reply to a question he said that he had no reason to go to England. Regarding relations with the U.K., he said: "Our differences with the British remain. But any nation which would recognize our supreme interest and our sovereignty, and which tries to have decent relations based upon mutual respect, would have no difficulty in establishing normal relations with our people."

The Shah returned to Teheran on August 22. In an interview prior to his arrival he declared: "The Anglo-Iranian exists no more in Iran. The oil has been

and remains, nationalized." He was contemplating radical reforms, he said, and was going to start again the distribution of his personal fortune according to a programme he had himself chalked out.

Dr. Mossadeq had been arrested on August 20 along with Dr. Moazami, former Speaker of the Majlis and member of Dr. Mossadeq's oil nationalization team; Dr. Ghulam Hussain Sadiqi, Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Sayed Ali Shayegan, another member of the oil nationalization team. They were arrested from the house of Dr. Moazami.

The new Premier, General Zahedi, presented his Cabinet to the Shah on August 23, in which he himself retained the portfolio of Minister of War and Minister of Interior. The Cabinet included a number of former Premier Ali Razmara's colleagues as well as some from Dr. Mossadeq's Cabinet.

The new Government would continue the present Soviet-Iranian talks, Gen. Zahedi said. The Government announced on August 24 that all oil contracts made by the previous Government to sell oil to Japan and Italy at reduced rates would be fulfilled.

Reuter reports: "Resumption of parliamentary activity in the country might take the form of a new Senate being formed immediately rather than the old Senate being revived. The Senate consists of 60 members, half of whom could be nominated immediately by the Shah.

"Elections for a few seats might be held to provide the requisite quorum. This would be followed by elections for the suspended constituencies of the Lower House."

It was also reported that Britain had told the U.S.A. that she would fully support an American emergency dollar grant to Iran to help the consolidation of the new regime of General Zahedi. President Eisenhower had expressed full support to the new Government.

Earlier on August 15, the *Bombay Chronicle's* Teheran correspondent wrote: "As Iran is preparing for a fresh General Election, after the dissolution of the 17th Parliament on the strength of the results of the referendum, the cold war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in this country has been fully intensified, and observers believe the present one would be a decisive round . . ."

The correspondent further wrote: "The United States seems to have changed its policy towards Iran almost completely and the increasing accusation by U.S. diplomats of the regime of Dr. Mossadeq is interpreted by informed quarters as an 'open offensive in the process of being launched against the present Government of Iran.' . . ." (*Bombay Chronicle*, August 19, 1953).

Commenting on the overthrow of Dr. Mossadeq's Government, the *Leader* wrote on August 22 that it would be regretted by progressive forces in Iran. The paper said that "intervention of the Iranian army in

politics does not augur well for the future of Iran." It characterised as "false" the allegation that Dr. Mossadeq was pro-Communist and considered it was wrong on the part of the U.S. Government to stop American economic aid because Iran had not been amenable to British wishes. Reiterating that Dr. Mossadeq had the popular backing, the paper said: "It is the army and the reactionary section of the people who have overthrown Dr. Mossadeq. If there is a fair and free election, Dr. Mossadeq will sweep the polls as he did last year."

The Foreign Policy of Indonesia

Djakarta (WP).—When Premier Wilopo returned his mandate to President Sukarno of Indonesia early in June, he had one satisfaction: for 14 months he had maintained a government, a longer time than any predecessor. But Wilopo was heading into a long series of difficulties as he and others sought to establish a successor regime.

Asia's newest republic is having its troubles. Many observers are pessimistic about the future. Dutch colonialists, of course, still hope the Indonesian people will admit their inability to govern themselves and will request the Netherlands to return. Federalists who spurn the van Mook divisions of the state (in the United States of Indonesia period) as a means of continuing Dutch control, believe the Republic must retrace its steps by granting the regions a large measure of self-rule. The central government is unable to suppress the bands in West Java which have been killing, burning and looting nightly; some of these are Islamic terrorists whose aim is to establish a theocracy by force; some are Communist-inspired; many are simply people who would rather rob than work.

There are conflicts within the army. National income does not equal necessary expenditures. The dependence of the people on selling a few products, such as rubber, tin and copra does not afford a sufficient spread to protect the nation's economy against fluctuations in world prices. There is as yet no representative parliament; politicians can only guess at the real popular will. Yet the Nationalist Party refused to back the policy of the government with respect to land distribution in Sumatra on the ground that it was against "the will of the people." The low literacy rate (some put it at only eight per cent) complicates the holding of national elections. The country's adherence to an independent foreign policy prevents it from securing adequate help from either of the two world blocs.

Yet a conviction prevails that if any land of Southeast Asia will survive, it will be Indonesia. With only a few trained leaders, the country is doing the best it can, on far too little, and that alone is ground for some encouragement. There is no whining, no "itching palm" for foreign gifts. In spite of all, the country believes in itself and generally in its future. Whoever picks up Wilopo's mandate, however, will have no easy job.

Dr. Mohammad Hatta, Vice-President of Indonesia, in an article in the *Foreign Affairs*, writes that the foreign policy of Indonesia is based on the *Panchasila*, the five postulates that constituted the basic national philosophy of Indonesia. The *Panchasila*, contained in the preamble to the constitution, carried the acknowledgement that the Indonesian Republic was based upon the belief in Divine Omnipotence, humanism, nationalism, democracy and social justice. Acknowledging the Divine Omnipotence, however, did not mean that Indonesia was a theocratic State but that the majority of the Indonesian people believed "in God, and as a corollary, acknowledge the existence of certain moral values."

In accordance with the provisions in the constitution of the Republic, the Government of Indonesia was to work for the inclusion of the Republic of Indonesia in international organizations.

The Republic was following a foreign policy designed to strengthen world peace and international co-operation and non-alignment with either of the power-blocs. The objectives in foreign policy were to defend the freedom of the people and guard the safety of the State; to obtain necessary capital and consumer goods from overseas for national reconstruction and betterment of the standard of living of the people; to strengthen principles of international law and to aid in achieving social justice on an international scale, in line with the U. N. Charter, in particular by endeavouring within the U. N. framework to help colonial people achieve freedom. The objective laid special emphasis on initiating good relations with neighbouring countries, the majority of which had in the past occupied a position similar to Indonesia.

The present world conditions of *apartheid* and cold war did not encourage ideals of world brotherhood. But the Indonesians believed in the common-sense of mankind, which desired peace, and were therefore confident that their ideals would be achieved in the long run. The desire to strengthen forces of world peace had impelled Indonesia to keep out of the power-blocs and explained "Why it is not prepared to participate in any third bloc designed to act as counterpoise of the two giant blocs."

This non-alignment did not mean that Indonesia was neutral. On the contrary, she was committed to international solidarity. As a member of the United Nations, Indonesia could not adopt an attitude of neutrality. But because international solidarity had not yet been achieved and the world was cracked into two pieces, under present conditions, Indonesia would remain neutral, in case, a war broke out. "Indonesia plays no favourites between the two opposed blocs and follows its own path through the various international problems. It terms this policy 'independent,' and further characterizes it by describing it as 'independent' and 'active.' By active is meant the effort to work energetically for the pre-

servation of peace and the relaxation of tension generated by the two blocs, through endeavours supported, if possible, by the majority of the members of the United Nations." This independent policy kept her from enmity with either party, preserved her from taking sides, and permitted her to be friends with all nations on a basis of mutual respect.

Dr. Hatta writes that the foundation of that policy had been laid by the Indonesian Government in 1948, while it had been still engaged in a struggle against the Netherlands. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Wilopo, had redefined the Government's policy and had declared that "the Republic of Indonesia has decided to adopt an independent attitude in the sense that

- (a) It does not permanently take sides by pledging itself to either of the two blocs which are in controversy with each other;
- (b) It does not pledge itself permanently to keep aloof or to remain neutral in every incident which may arise out of controversy between the two blocs."

This "independent attitude" was of a positive nature in the sense that in the event of a problem arising out of the controversy of the two contending camps "the Republic of Indonesia will continue to base its attitude on its independence of action taking into consideration

- (a) Its own conception of its aim and purpose as a sincere, loyal and serious member of the United Nations, and

- (b) Its belief in the importance of this State and nation as a factor of great influence in the immediate as well as remote future."

Indonesia's military strength was insufficient for her self-defence. Therefore, her foreign policy aimed to prevent the country from being attacked. "Indonesians believe," writes Dr. Hatta, "that this possibility of attack will be minimized so long as the country adheres to its independent policy and actively tries to prevent the outbreak of World War III."

Her internal objective situation also had tended to lead Indonesia to adopt this line of foreign policy. The primary task facing the Government was internal consideration after so many years of wars and disorganization. "A foreign policy that aligned the country with either bloc of Great Powers would render this internal task infinitely more difficult." She needed to keep on friendly with all nations for economic reasons also.

East and West Germany

What is the situation like, now, after the riots in East Germany? How will things shape now the Soviets have got their zone under control? The *Worldover Press* reports are as follows, as made on July 10:

Time alone will tell whether the Russians, now ruling sternly under martial law, will go back to a harsh

policy or eventually relax and resume their peace tactics. There is widespread expectation that the latter course will be followed. History indicates that once a dictatorship begins to abandon its toughness, the lid is off, and there must be further concessions. Two days before the riots, High Commissioner Semeonov had begun a program of greater co-operation; passports were freely granted, and those who had left farms in the East were told they could have them back, unmolested. Notwithstanding severe Russian controls, there have been numerous concessions to the East Germans, and it is widely believed that the harsh discipline now invoked by the Russians is directed as much against the inept Grotewohl East German regime as against pro-Westerners. If there are the usual purges and a new set-up is worked out, a regimen of moderation is anticipated, with the emphasis again on German unification.

CAN GERMAN UNITY BE ACHIEVED?

Suppose the best and most incredible thing should happen, asks German affairs expert Joachim Joesten, reporting to *Worldover Press*, and the Kremlin pulled its troops out of East Germany and permitted free elections? The outcome is certain—an *Anschluss* of the Soviet Zone to the Federal Republic. What then?

Western Germany has retained its traditional form of federal government and is composed of nine *laender* or states. Eastern Germany, which also started out as a federal republic, wiped out the traditional state lines in August, 1952, and is now divided into 14 *bezirke* or districts, named after their chief cities. If East Germany were added to West Germany, it would by itself make too big a state, arousing fears of its predominance; yet each of the 14 districts would be too small to constitute a state.

The new electoral law adopted by West Germany would reduce the Communist vote in East Germany still further. And in the economic field the task of finding a common denominator is appalling. The drastic land reform of 1945 has radically changed the face of Eastern Germany; former large estates have been cut up into small farmsteads grouped in co-operatives. Tens of thousands of "big peasants" have fled to the West and if the country is reunited they will clamor for the return of their properties, while the new settlers will fight to stay. East Germany's mines and factories have been expropriated; how can they be turned back? Perhaps a capitalist and a Communist society can co-exist, but can they be welded together into an integral whole?

When and if unification takes place, another formidable problem looms. A hint of it may be found in a pamphlet just issued by the Bonn "Ministry for All-German Affairs." It is wrong, this publication suggests, to refer to the Soviet Zone of occupation as "Eastern Germany." Rather, it should be called "Central Germany," for to the east of it are other provinces, now under Polish administration, that once belonged to the Reich, and will, perhaps, again.

Korean Political Conference

The four-nation proposal recommending India's participation in the coming political conference on Korea was passed by the U.N. Political Committee by 27 votes to 21 with 11 abstentions. Those voting against the proposal included Pakistan, the USA and Latin American countries. The margin, in favour of India's participation, if maintained in the General Assembly, would not be enough for a two-third majority. It was mainly due to strong U.S. opposition to the proposal that it failed to secure two-thirds majority in the Political Committee.

The proposal to invite Soviet Russia to participate in the Political Conference was adopted by 55 to 2, with two abstentions.

The main Allied resolution setting up the Korean peace Conference was approved in full by the U.N. Committee by 42 to five, with 12 abstentions.

The Soviet proposal for a 15-nation Conference was rejected.

There had been much wrangling inside the Political Committee as well as behind the scenes over the scope and composition of the Conference. The United States delegate put forward the point of view that the Conference should be limited to the powers contributing armed forces in Korea. This view was challenged by the British delegate and many others. They said that the U.N. was the party and the U.N. should participate in the talks. Then there was the stubborn opposition of the U.S. delegate to the proposal inviting India's participation in the Conference. In it her main supporter was the delegate from South Korea, who indulged in a diatribe against India in which India was charged with complicity with the Communists and scheming behind the backs of U.N. Mr. Pyun Yung Tao, the South Korean Foreign Minister, in a speech before the Committee on August 24, stated that South Korea found it impossible to collaborate with India on the same side. He accused India of being in 'mortal fear' of Communist China. India had appeased Communism and had not sent a single soldier to Korea. But she had now willingly dispatched thousands of troops to guard "the Kremlin" created in Korea, where defenceless anti-Communist prisoners "will be indoctrinated or brain-washed into Communism for many long months."

India was assiduously "laying schemes" to enhance the prestige of the Chinese Communists by inviting them into the U.N. and "handing Formosa" over to them. "With or without collusion with the enemy India masterminded an arrangement for the exchange of prisoners of war which was calculated to carry out the forced detention and forced repatriation of all anti-Communist prisoners to which so much ostentatious and hypocritical aversion was displayed," Mr. Pyun said.

"This is treachery of the first magnitude to be shown to a well-meaning neighbouring people," he declared.

"From the knowledge of how India has been behaving in Kashmir, my delegation gravely doubts whether

India would live up to the high moral standard it seems to expect the Republic of Korea to practise," he said.

The South Korean delegate was stopped and reproved, and not allowed to continue with his idiotic statements.

Sir Gladwin Jebb, the British delegate, said on August 26, "We think that India should participate in the Political Conference since she is not only a great Asian State, but it is also in a particularly good position to play a constructive role. After all, if it had not been for the efforts which the Indian Government made to persuade the Peking Government to accept what the majority of members of the Assembly thought was an honourable solution of the prisoners of war difficulty, we might well not at this moment be reaching back our prisoners of war."

The whole controversy was terminated by India's withdrawal as reported in the news below:

New York, Aug. 28.—India to-day dramatically withdrew her name from consideration as a member of the Korean Peace Conference.

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian delegate, asked the United Nations General Assembly not to press the resolution recommending a seat for India at the conference. His request came just before the Assembly was due to vote on the issue.

Mr. Menon said he hoped that the Assembly would not force the resolution concerning India to an issue.

The Assembly's Political Committee yesterday approved a recommendation that India should take part by a vote of 27 to 21 with 11 abstentions. This would not have been enough to have given India the necessary two-thirds vote in the Assembly.

As Mr. Menon left the rostrum the Assembly delegates warmly applauded him.

Mr. Menon told the Assembly that India's action was motivated by the consideration of creating the proper atmosphere for what he described as the "post-armistice period."

The recommendation that India should go to the conference was made by Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and had been strongly opposed by the United States.

Britain and the United States split in the vote in the Political Committee yesterday. India's withdrawal today obliterated another Anglo-American division in the Assembly.

Mr. Menon declared that India had not been subjected to any pressure by Britain or any of the sponsors of the resolution.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, the United States delegate, immediately paid a tribute to Mr. Menon for a "generous and statesmanlike" attitude.

Mr. Lodge said, Mr. Menon's statement that the purposes of peace would best be served by not forcing the resolution on Indian participation to a vote in the Assembly is generous and it is statesmanlike.

"His desire in his own words not to add to the heat of battle has come from a man whom we consider to be

a great representative of a great leader of a great nation," said Mr. Lodge.

"It is the kind of spirit which gives us hope for the future. Our position on this question was not directed at India as such. On the contrary we feel deeply that at any later discussions or conferences on Far Eastern matters, India must play a central and constructive role."

Mr. Leslie Munro of New Zealand, one of the sponsors of the recommendation for Indian participation, announced on behalf of the sponsors that in view of Mr. Menon's statement he would ask the Assembly President not to put the matter to a vote.

Mr. Munro said that India had not sought a place at the conference. If India had been given a place she could have given valuable service.

"We desired India to play her part and profoundly regret she is unable to do so," Mr. Munro said.

The representatives of the 16-member nation listened attentively as Mr. Menon began by saying that the main resolution on the setting up of the conference sponsored by 15 of the 16 countries which sent troops to Korea "contains the possibilities of bringing about the desirable results which should flow from the armistice, given goodwill on all sides and if the extensive possibilities are fully explored."

This was not the time to enter into controversies, Mr. Menon said.

India's approach to the matter he said was that "we are in a post-armistice period; we are marching towards peace rather than merely stopping the war."

India's own understanding was that the Chinese peoples and North Korean governments would approach the problem "in a mood of reasonableness and a desire to bring about a peaceful settlement."

For all these reasons Mr. Menon said India had not participated in the vote in the committee on the setting up of the conference.

That was not because India did not have any views or concern or was indifferent.

"But there are times when even silence is service," said Mr. Menon. "This is one of those occasions when even those who 'stand and wait' perform a service."

He asked that in the record of the proceedings of the committee the position of India would be recorded as not having participated in the vote. It would appear in the present report, said Mr. Menon, as though India had been absent.

The Situation in Indonesia

Giving the background of the protracted Cabinet crisis in Indonesia, S. Kenglov writes that Indonesia was facing an economic crisis. Agricultural production was declining. Unemployment was on the increase as a result of closing down of many plants unable to bear foreign competition. The foreign trade deficit was on the increase and reached the figure of 1,636 million rupees in 1952.

Mr. Kenglov ascribes this state of affairs to the fact that "Indonesia's economy is still controlled by foreign capital, which is interested solely in extracting the highest profit. The chief exploiter of the Indonesian people is Dutch capital, it controls some 80 per cent of all the foreign investments in the Republic and in 1951 netted a profit of 518 million guilders."

The Republic's economy was keenly feeling the adverse effects of the Washington-imposed Ban on trade with China. Rubber was Indonesia's key product. In a good year, the Republic produced 700,000 tons of rubber, over 8 million people depended for their livelihood on the rubber industry, which also brought in 51 per cent of all the foreign exchange.

Referring to the recent Cabinet crisis in Indonesia he writes that the Wilopo Cabinet had resigned because its Masjumi members had tried to return the Sumatra plantations, taken over by the peasants, to the Dutch planters, and restore the rights of Bataafsche Petroleum to the Sumatra oil fields. Masjumi had also resisted the popular demand for measures against the communal Dar-ul-Islam bands.

Four-Power Conference

The Governments of the U.S.A., U.K. and France, following decisions taken at the Washington Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three countries, had invited the Soviet Union at a Four-Power Conference at the end of September to discuss "organization of free elections in the Federal Republic, the Eastern zone of Germany and in Berlin;" and "conditions for the establishment of a free all-German Government, with freedom of action in national and international affairs." The notes, delivered on July 15, said that those were essential steps which must precede the opening of discussions with the Soviet Government for a German peace treaty. It was also stated that at the first meeting agreement should finally be reached on the Austrian treaty.

In a reply, delivered to the Western Powers on August 5, the Soviet Union declared her readiness to join a Four-Power Conference, but stated, she considered the participation of the Chinese Peoples' Republic as essential. The Soviet Union insisted that the agenda of the discussion must be widened and should include both Europe and Asia, and a discussion of measures for easing international tension including reduction of armaments and the prohibition of military bases on the territory of foreign States. The note said that with the "cessation of the war in Korea and conclusion of an armistice, favourable conditions have been created of securing relaxation of international tension." The primary responsibility for maintaining peace and international security rested—the U.N. Charter provided for it—with the five Powers, the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Soviet Union and Peoples' Republic of China.

The reply said that the notes of the Western Powers avoided the fundamental question of the "national unification of Germany and conclusion of a peace treaty." The suggestion for an all-German election, the proposal to appoint an impartial commission of representatives of foreign States for investigation with a view to creating the conditions necessary for the holding of such elections would "not only fail to assist the unification of Germany, the foundation of an all-German democratic government and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, but would have Germany divided into a Western and an Eastern part and would continue to delay the conclusion of a peace treaty. The reply also pointed to the dangers of remilitarization of Western Germany."

However, the Soviet Government attached "great importance to joint discussion by the Powers of the German question and hopes that such discussion will enable comprehensive examination of pertinent problems relating to the re-establishment of German unity and together with the solution of the question of a peace treaty with Germany, will conduce to the consolidation of peace in Europe."

The reaction of the British Foreign Office was that the Soviet reply was not a rejection of the proposals for a conference of Foreign Ministers. To that extent it was welcomed.

The *Times* reports that unofficial U.S. sources had expressed disappointment that the Russians had made no reference to the question of timing of the proposed talks. The *Times'* Washington correspondent says that it was noted with concern "that the Russians seem to be proposing a conference which is not only very much broader in scope than that envisaged in the Western invitation but which would seem also to depend on certain conditions, including agreement to discuss the question of 'banning of foreign military bases on territories of alien countries'—in other words, to discuss the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance which the U.S.A. is determined to avoid." (*Statesman*, August 8).

Commenting on the suggestion contained in the Soviet reply to the Western note, the *London Economist* writes: "But on such general matters the Allies would do best to say again they see no point in talking about each and every cause of international tension until they have tested possibility of negotiation and agreement about the main one, Germany. They cannot contemplate for a moment, Sir Winston Churchill least of all, another Yalta in which the great Powers attempt global bargaining—what the Russian Note calls 'a free discussion of the ripe international problems.'"

"Nothing would divide the Allies more quickly than any such conference; and it must remain the prime object of the Russian Government, however