

bronze bust of Sri Sarada Devi, wife of Sri Ramakrishna and the
Holy Mother of India, made by Malvina Hoffman

The bronze bust of Sri Sarada Devi has been made by Malvina Hoffman
for the chapel of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York

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Editor : KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

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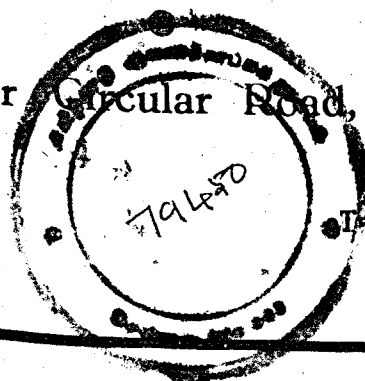
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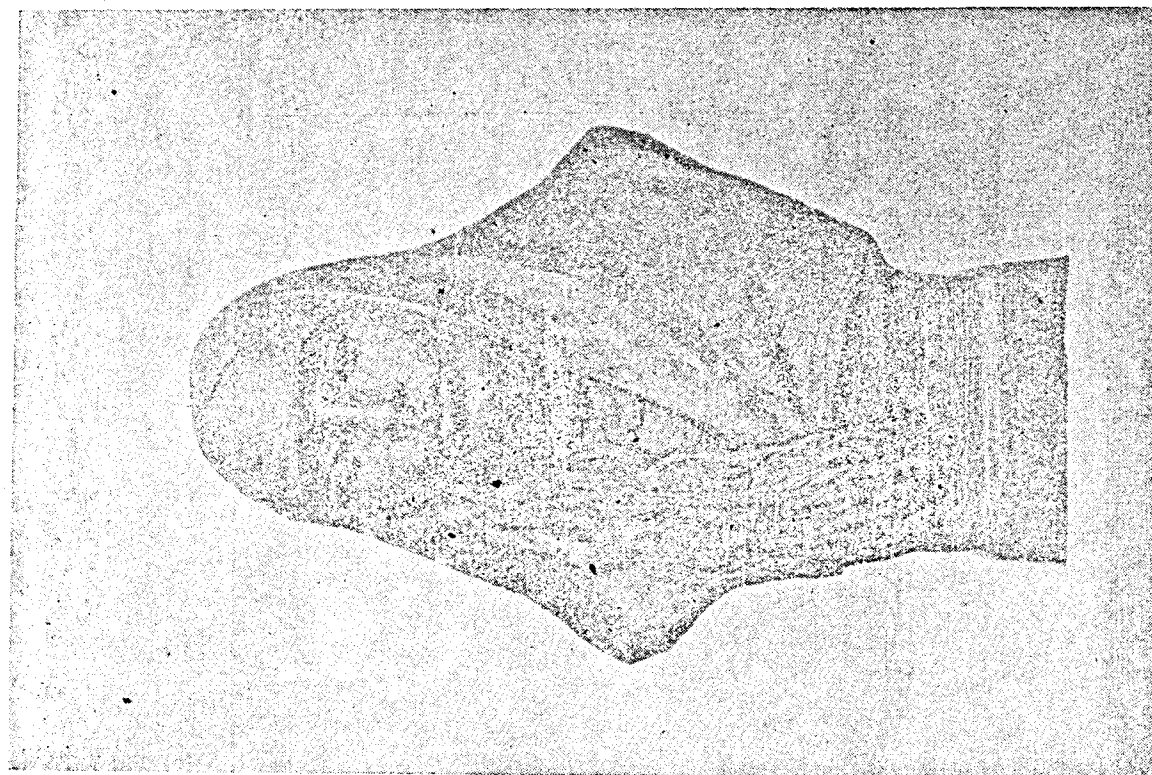
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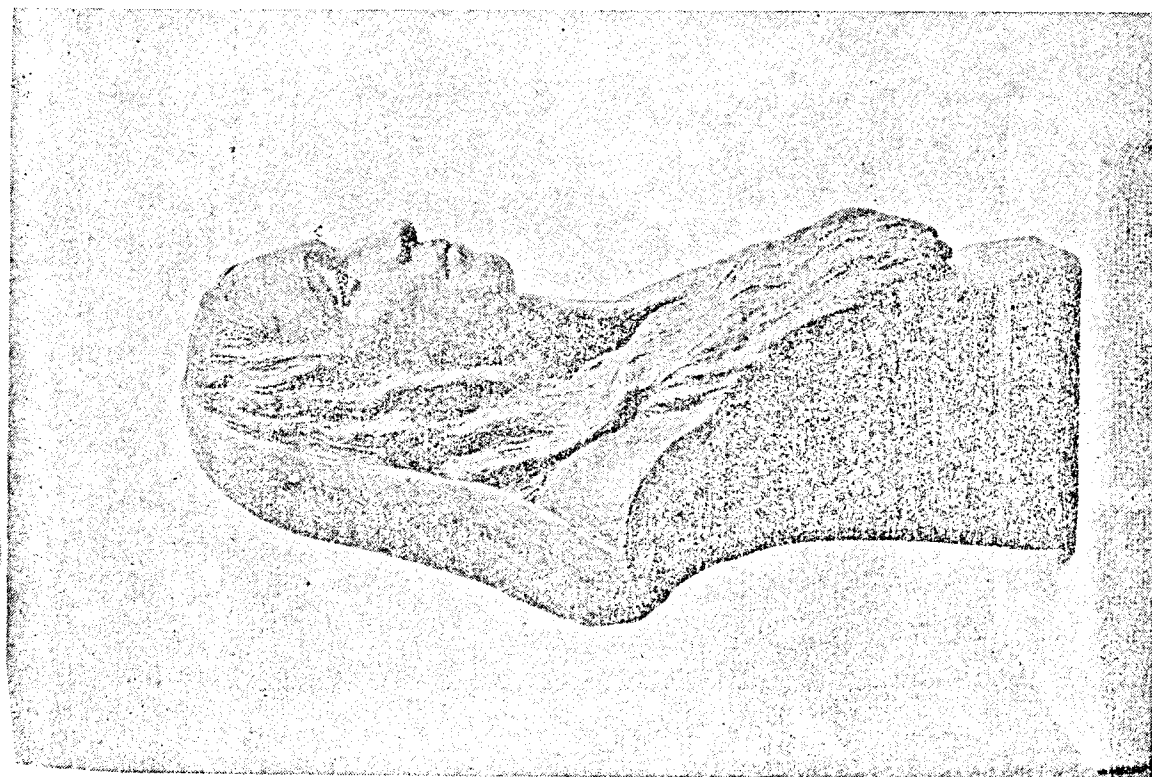
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THE 'MODERN REVIEW

JULY



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NOTES

The World in Travail

The month of June was full of events of world significance. The heads of four great nations, two of the West and two of the East met, at Washington and New Delhi respectively, to discuss matters that carry grave possibilities for the future of the world. At Geneva, where the latest attempt is being made to reduce the rising tide of belligerency by means of direct negotiation between the warring camps, the whole trend of pourparlers took unexpected turns. In Indo-China, the French command decided to fling all questions of "saving-face" to the winds, in order to face realities of a ruthless war of attrition, much to the surprise of its principal backer. Nearer home the events in East Pakistan, and the break-down of the talks over the Canal Waters of the Indus Basin, further aggravated the existing differences between India and Pakistan, which had steeply mounted up, thanks to the U.S.-Pakistan arms-aid Pact.

A minor flare-up in a tiny Central-American country, Guatemala, is the latest addition to the "Shooting-War" eruptions, there being a lull in Korea and a pause in Indo-China.

World-tension having mounted to almost the breaking-point, major partisans of both the opposing camps are now forced to face the grim realities of World War III. Serious differences of opinion have arisen, as a consequence, within the several camps of the allied nations, in both the Blocs, and the leaders of the nations-in-arms have been placed in difficulties in trying to assuage the uneasiness and discontent of their own followers. This is particularly true of France, and, to a lesser extent, of the British Commonwealth. It may be assumed that a somewhat similar situation has developed in the Soviets dominated Bloc, though the manifestations are not so clearly visible, due to the rigid controls of the Communist regimes.

All these events having crowded together within the short space of a month, a puzzled world is unable

to analyse the portents thereof with any semblance of lucidity or accuracy. The comments, given by the Pundits of the West, seem to read like the fable of the seven blind men who described an elephant, each assumption being limited to the particulars of the part of elephantine anatomy felt by the speaker.

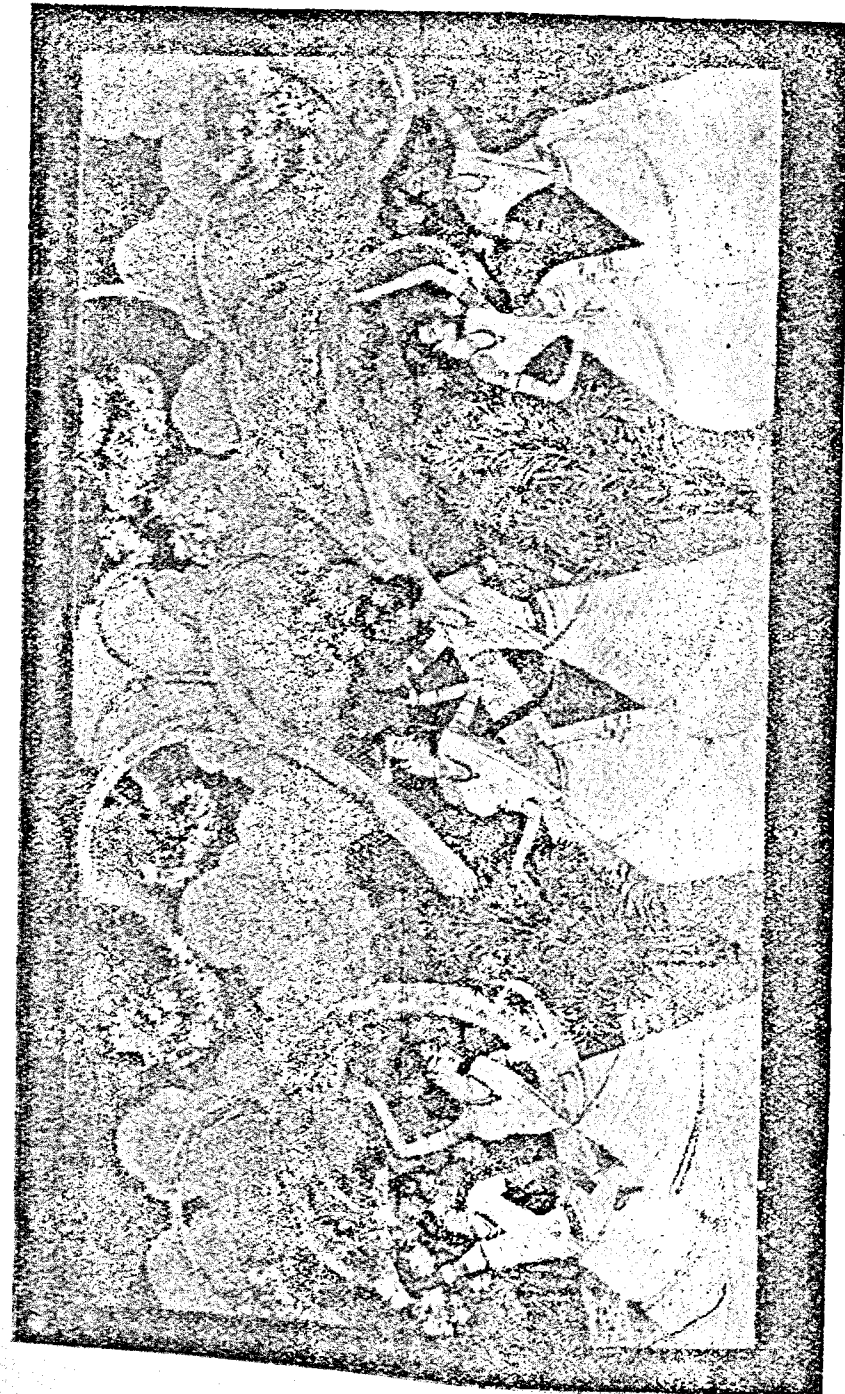
We are far too near the events, we feel, to be able to grasp the full import of the events, separately and collectively. Nothing much, therefore, can be attempted, in the way of an analytical and logical commentary, beyond putting on record each event, with as much of its background material as possible. This is what we have attempted to do in this month's editorials.

In so far as the events that have taken place within our own sub-continent, it needs some comments, we feel, over and above what we give, with the record, elsewhere.

The chief event in India has been the visit of the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. The visit was an unexpected pleasure, for not even Pandit Nehru was aware of it prior to the acceptance of a long previous invitation by the Chinese Premier. The suddenness of the decision of a visit to India, on the way back to China, took the world by surprise, and a flood of speculation followed as to the main objective of the meeting.

There has been a tendency to write it down as a counterblast to the Eisenhower-Churchill meeting, and much shadowy deliberation has followed on these conjectural premises. Here, in India, we are babes in arms in the world of diplomacy, and the best plan for us would be to take things at their face value. Instead of which we find that there is a tendency to jump to conclusions, some of which seem to be totally unwarranted at this early stage. Foreign opinion and comments should be deeply studied, undoubtedly, for they not only reflect considered opinion on future implications, but also their attitude towards India and her chief executives.

We would, therefore, like to take the Nehru-Chou En-lai joint statement and the public statements of the



INVOKING THE RAINY SEASON
By Bireschandra Ganguly

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Chinese Premier at their face value, and wait for further elucidations in due course.

In the context of world events, this visit—and the happenings in Pakistan likewise—connotes a minor setback for the American diplomatic campaign, as it is shaped in this part of the world of today. It is a logical corollary to the panicky moves of the Foreign office of the U.S.A. in Asia, with its uninformed and hasty actions, in search of camp-followers in South-East Asia and the Asiatic "Near East."

No other country, with a vestige of sanity, would have taken such strong and significant steps as the U.S. has taken, without calm and considerate assay of all cogent facts, gathered after an expert and intensive search for information on all points. The steps taken are significant, in as much they plainly signify a virtual betrayal of all friendly and democratic forces in our little comity of nations, that stood in favour of the country that followed the ideals and traditions of Abraham Lincoln, up to the last Presidential election.

The Peoples Government of China, being wedded to realism of the most concrete type, has quite properly taken advantage of the time and the opportunity. With the fiery deluge of World War III approaching, it behoves all responsible governments to strengthen ancient bonds of friendship and to remove all barriers that stand in the way, rather than renounce old friends and look for new satellites. For the present, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we see nothing against assuming this as the main motive behind the Chou En-lai visit.

There are forces in the U.S.A., that are yet fighting in the cause of the Four Freedoms and Peace. But as yet their voices cannot be heard above the din created by power-drunk *Weltmacht* maniacs and Inquistadors of the McCarthy witch-hunt. It is about time the people of the United States understood that if all Communists in Asia and Europe were totally destroyed by H bombs without the soil or the people of the Americas being hit, there would be hardly any chance of humanity surviving in the New World. Ocean currents and atmospheric currents being saturated with radiation over all Asia and all Europe, it would be only a matter of a few years, if that, before the American continents are rendered barren of all living organisms.

Nehru-Chou En-lai Statement

The world was agog to learn the secret that lay behind the sudden decision of the Prime Minister of China to pay a visit to India. After a series of talks, held in strict privacy, a statement was released.

The following is the full text of the joint statement of Prime Ministers of India and China on their talks issued on Monday, June 28th:

His Excellency Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, came to Delhi at the invitation of His Excellency Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Republic of India. He stayed here for three days.

During this period the two Prime Ministers discussed many matters of common concern to India and China. In particular, they discussed the prospects of peace in South East Asia and the developments that had taken place in the Geneva Conference in regard to Indo-China. The situation in Indo-China was of vital importance to the peace of Asia and the world and the Prime Ministers were anxious that the efforts that were being made at Geneva should succeed. They noted with satisfaction that some progress had been made in the talks at Geneva in regard to an armistice. They earnestly hoped that these efforts will meet with success in the near future and that they would result in a political settlement of the problems of that area.

2. The talks between the Prime Ministers aimed at helping, in such ways as were possible, the efforts at peaceful settlement that were being made in Geneva and elsewhere. Their main purpose was to arrive at a clearer understanding of each other's point of view in order to help in the maintenance of peace, both in co-operation with each other and with other countries.

3. Recently India and China have come to an agreement in which they have laid down certain principles which should guide the relations between the two countries. These principles are:

- (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (2) Non-aggression;
- (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit; and
- (5) Peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed these principles and felt that they should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world. If these principles are applied, not only between various countries but also in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security and the fears and apprehensions that exist today would give place to a feeling of confidence.

4. The Prime Ministers recognised that different social and political systems exist in various parts of Asia and the world. If, however, the above-mentioned principles are accepted and acted upon and there is no interference by any one country with another, these differences should not come in the way of peace or create conflicts. With the assurance of territorial integrity and sovereignty of each country and of non-aggression, there would be peaceful co-existence and friendly relations between the countries concerned. This would lessen the tensions that exist in the world today and help in creating a climate of peace.

5. In particular, the Prime Ministers hoped that these principles would be applied to the solution of the problems in Indo-China where the political settlement should aim at the creation of free, democratic, unified and independent States, which should not be used for aggressive purposes or be subjected to foreign intervention.

This will lead to a growth of self-confidence in these countries as well as to friendly relations between them and their neighbours. The adoption of the principles referred to above will also help in creating an area of peace which as circumstances permit, can be enlarged, thus lessening the chances of war and strengthening the cause of peace all over the world.

6. The Prime Ministers expressed their confidence in the friendship between India and China which would help the cause of world peace and the peaceful development of their respective countries as well as other countries of Asia.

7. These conversations were held with a view to help in bringing about a greater understanding of the problems of Asia and to further a peaceful and co-operative effort, in common with other countries of the world, in solving these and like problems.

8. The Prime Ministers agreed that their respective countries should maintain close contacts so that there should continue to be full understanding between them. They appreciated greatly the present opportunity of meeting together and having a full exchange of ideas leading to a clearer understanding and co-operation in the cause of peace.

Reactions to Nehru-Chou Meeting

It is impossible to gauge as yet the repercussions of the Nehru-Chou En-lai meeting on the West. We give the following extracts as straws-in-the-wind:

June 29.—Coping with one communique of the kind usually issued after international conferences is difficult enough, but two on the same day put an almost intolerable strain on interpreters, and London's interpreters have solved the problem by concentrating on the Washington announcement.

There is another reason for this priority—it is obvious, but nevertheless deserves emphasis in Asia: the problem of British security is largely a European one and alliance with the U.S.A. is ultimately the key to British survival should the worse come to the worst.

But the official mind scanning farther horizons attaches equal importance to the outcome of the Nehru-Chou meeting and the foremost impression derived from the Delhi announcement is that India's Prime Minister has shown no deviation from his determination to pursue a policy of non-involvement.

Satisfaction over this has been increased here by the suspicion that Mr. Chou sought something more positive than he has obtained. The reference to the Tibet treaty has not been well received in London for India's revulsion to Chinese use of force is remembered and it is thought that Indian gains by the treaty were slight compared with what she surrendered.

Nevertheless, extension of the "five principles for peace" to other Asian areas is fully endorsed. A fuller appraisal of the implications of the Delhi talks

waits on fuller information from the Indian capital.

New York, June 28.—American comment on the Chou-Nehru talks in New Delhi generally centres on the theme that China had emerged on to the world diplomatic stage and the question was posed whether Mr. Chou En-lai would help to draw Mr. Nehru towards Moscow or Mr. Nehru would draw Mr. Chou En-lai away from Moscow.

Some papers viewed the results of the talks from their possible impact on U.K.-U.S.A. policies as formulated by Mr. Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill, and their effect on Indo-American relations.

The *Christian Science Monitor* finds that "Americans today have little idea of the extent to which their Government and nation are becoming isolated from nearly all other free Governments and nations. They would find it hard to understand the anxiety other free peoples feel as they try to follow American leadership.

"Most of America's allies—like Britain—also see the sense in Mr. Nehru's meeting with Mr. Chou. For the meeting provides Mr. Chou with an important non-Communist contact which could prove useful to his dealings with Moscow."

The *New York Times* calls Mr. Chou's visit a "masterpiece in timing and staging. It has added enormously to the prestige of Communist China, and Mr. Nehru became apparently a willing instrument in building up the position of the still unpurged Korean aggressor. The appeal to the largely mythical 2,000 years' friendship between India and China and the astonishing tongue-in-the-check reference to a happy agreement over Tibet may reach a high level of mendacity and presumption, but they obviously were accepted at face value by millions who are unwary."

The *New York Post* said: "The Delhi meeting underlined the growing alienation between Washington and Delhi. It reflected Mr. Nehru's view—which is also the British views—that the door of escape from the Cominform should be left open for Chinese Communists, and that our total commitment to Chiang has served only to consolidate the Moscow-Peking axis.

"The gap between America and India has steadily widened. Has the Eisenhower Administration written off India? Will Mr. Dulles now refuse to speak to Mr. Nehru because Mr. Nehru is speaking to Mr. Chou? Is Mr. Nixon's new absorption with the history of China designed to mask the Eisenhower Administration's present debacle in India?"

The Hague, June 29.—The Liberal newspaper, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, said today the talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai in New Delhi and those in Washington between Sir Winston Churchill and

President Eisenhower "supplement each other as they mainly concerned Indo-China."

If Mr. Eden "moderates the Americans and Mr. Nehru the Chinese, with the aim of arriving at a truce in Indo-China, one can indeed speak of teamwork," the paper said.

India was naturally greatly interested in a Communist Chinese promise to refrain from intervention in South-East Asia and it could be assumed that Mr. Nehru pressed for this, it said. But India felt too weak to assume big military commitments.

Perhaps at a later stage, when she felt stronger, India would be prepared to give guarantees for South-East Asian security. But at present, Mr. Nehru is acting exclusively as a mediator and we hope his efforts will be successful.

Hongkong, June 29.—*The Tientsin Ta-Kung-Pao* today described Mr. Chou En-lai's visit to India as an indication of the "common desire of these two peoples to safeguard peace and security in Asia."

The New China News Agency quoted the newspaper's editorial as saying: "Asian countries should consult among themselves in the interests of peace and security in Asia. Asian countries must have their say in Asian affairs. Asian questions can never be settled without the participation of Asian countries."

London, June 28.—Moscow Radio said tonight that Mr. Chou En-lai's visit to India "is convincing proof" that the growing friendship and co-operation between China and India "is an important factor in the defence of peace in Asia and throughout the world."

China and Soviet Russia

Where stands China? Attempts are being made continuously to solve the riddle. We append below attempts made in the *Worldover Press* for May 21 and May 28:

Palais Des Nations, Geneva.—One of the perplexing questions continually asked in the corridors at the Geneva Conference is to what extent China is bound to her ally, Soviet Russia. A connected mystery is the state of the relations behind the scenes, among all the members of the Communist bloc.

Outward signs would indicate uniform aims, with an identical, and familiar, line of attack. The Communists apparently stand together on a series of points: removal of foreign troops from Korea; Asia for the Asians; anti-colonialism; labelling the Western powers as the invariable aggressors; discrediting the United Nations as a belligerent, a tool of U.S. aggression, and thus disqualified to supervise elections; breaking up the Western alliance to isolate the U.S. from its allies and the rest of the world.

The smaller Communist countries, North Korea and Vietminh, however, appear to be closer to, and more dependent on, Russia than China. Nam Il's speeches proposing "unification" for Korea indicate that

they may have been written in Russian and translated into Korean. Also, when closely compared with the Soviet proposals for a united Germany made at Berlin, the language parallels are striking.

It is worth noting also, that Nam Il has closely confined himself to the North Korean picture not mentioning the question of Asia as a whole.

A later assessment is as follows:

Palais Des Nations, Geneva.—Is Communist China deciding its own policies? Is it, in any considerable degree, independent of Russia?

It is true that there are some reasons for speculation. Both the Chinese and the Russians take full notes on each other's speeches. Chou En-lai stresses a few subjects of individual interest to China which Molotov does not always mention, such as: Formosa; the 1950 treaty with Russia for the defense of China, originally intended as a pact against Japanese attack; Asia for Asians. More important was Molotov's agreement to international supervision of an Indo-China truce, which the Chinese had opposed.

One of China's foremost interests, however, seems to be its economic program—its dream of the great revolution from agricultural to an industrial economy. It is perhaps true that some conflict is taking place, but Russia at the moment holds the reins.

Startling information has recently been made available in a report from Hong Kong, compiled by the British Chamber of Commerce in that key observation post. It has attracted widespread attention in Europe, and has been circulated at Geneva. The report was made up from material furnished by British firms doing business with Chinese interests, or with nationalized Chinese enterprises, and also from information on Chinese banks operating in Hong Kong.

The report shows that any hopes the Chinese may have had for success of their five-year plan must have vanished. Outside of one or two unusually spectacular projects, the plan has failed. The report reveals that in the municipal centers of Shanghai and Tientsin the manufacture of consumer goods has dragged. The agrarian plan, in spite of all that has been said about it, has never progressed beyond a trial and error stage, and in none of the provinces has the nationalization of production succeeded. It seems clear that the Chinese Communist economy, rather than establishing itself, is gradually dwindling.

The consequence of this state of affairs is an increased influence wielded by the Soviets, as the Chinese need more and more assistance. According to the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce, Russian investments are eventually used less in Manchuria for the original Chinese five-year plan than for the enlarging of Russian interests in that vital area.

Manchuria is said to produce one to three million tons of steel a year, and twenty to forty million tons of oil, of which a large share goes to Russia. Russian investments have also built for their own account 144 factories, hydraulic plants, aluminum and synthetic

rubber plants. The Soviets, according to the report, have furnished everything for this industrialization, even the skilled workmen, the engineers, and the executives. In the loan contracts it is stipulated that the loans are to be used on projects directed by Russian personnel. Moscow, it appears, has established a firm and lasting foothold in Manchuria.

According to the German newspaper, *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, which has quoted the whole of this illuminating document from Hong Kong, the Russian economic hold on China's Communist regime has even enabled the Soviets to wrest party control in many regions from the Chinese, who, in South-East Asia, have been forming the liaison between the Communist and Nationalist organizations of these countries.

U.S. and Indo-China

In view of the way events are shaping, this forecast, given in the mid-monthly issue of the *World* magazine of New York, seems to be extremely interesting. We give extracts in order to provide a background to present-day events:

"The chances are that the US, before the end of 1954, will be engaged in a shooting war in Indo-China."

"That is the real meaning of Secretary Dulles' statement that Communist China is 'coming awful close' to the open intervention which, he had warned previously, would lead to 'grave consequences.' Ominously, while he repeated his call for 'united action,' he refused to rule out action by the US alone."

Even if, as is highly likely, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and the free Asian nations co-operate in the struggle, the economic and political facts of life will, just as in Korea, impose the major share of the burden, in both men and material, on the people of the US.

There are only two alternatives to open US entry into the war: abandon the area to communism without further struggle, or, at the forthcoming Geneva conference, make concessions that will induce Communist China to end its support of the Viet Minh forces.

The first, in the light of Secretary Dulles' call for "united action," can be ruled out entirely. The second is highly unlikely, despite pressure from our allies, in view of the Eisenhower administration's adamant opposition to either recognition of the Peking regime or its admission to the UN.

Reports reaching *World* from inside Red China state that Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues are equally determined not to back down. A huge Chinese "volunteer" army, some of whose red-starred uniforms were pillored in Hong Kong, is poised on the frontier, ready to enter the conflict the moment there is direct US intervention.

Secret Allied intelligence reports state that some regular Communist Chinese units have already arrived in Indo-China but so far have confined their activities to rear areas.

The Communist Chinese press and radio is preparing the population for new developments by painting the US as an "aggressor" planning to turn Indo-China into "another Korea." The stories and broadcasts add that Red China is "ready," and that 3,750 officers of field grade and above, including 50 division commanders, have completed special training at Moscow's "Far East Military Training School" and are "prepared to meet future possibilities."

Throughout the Far East the belief is growing that US air and naval units, at least, will be participating openly in the Indo-China conflict by October, when the summer monsoon rains come to an end, and that, if this takes place, ground forces sooner or later will move in.

A high official of a friendly Asian nation warned *World* that even active US intervention would not be sufficient, by itself, to save Indo-China permanently from communism. He said:

"The US must be absolutely realistic. Besides committing its armed forces, it must take the following steps in order to win:

"1. It must disown Viet-Nameese Chief of State Bao Dai.

"2. It must bluntly tell France to renounce any hopes of remaining in Indo-China.

"Only thus can the bulk of the Viet Minh troops, who are nationalists and basically anti-Communist and anti-Chinese, be won over."

Dulles the Wizard

In the May 14 issue of the *Worldover Press*, Devere Allen interpreted Mr. Dulles' idea of diplomacy in a caustic vein. We quote without any comments, beyond remarking that there are hopes for democracy yet, since an American can review the actions of a V.I.P. of his own land thus as yet:

Who was it—the historian Sir John Seeley, I think—that said the British Empire was created in fits of absence of mind. One might say the same thing of Secretary Dulles' foreign policy. He put forward a New Look that lasted less than Dior's. He has moved from massive retaliation to massive recantation through massive vacillation.

Like a magician practising the art of levitation, he is now going to raise up an Asian *Nato*. Or, as the usual follow-up said, investigate that "possibility." Anthony Eden, burning ever since the Anzus Treaty froze out Britain, cheered, for this was one he could be in on. The great Asian *Nato*, however, is to be made up of the U.S., Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines, France, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. As a kindly afterthought, Burma and India were told they could, if they wanted to, come in. Without Japan, India, Pakistan, the "Asian" pact will look to real Asians like one more combine of nations that want Asia to do what outsiders would

prefer. The idea overlooks, too, vast differences and hostilities among the lands involved.

All along the line just now, Mr. Dulles, together with the Washington Administration, is playing a dangerous game of loose ideas and loose talk. The dramatic siege of Dien Bien Phu was built up as if it were a key to the whole Indo-China conflict, though it has been in French hands less than six months. With a clairvoyance no one else possessed, Mr. Dulles and the President took it for granted that the loss of Indo-China to Communism would inevitably mean the loss of all South-East Asia. May be so, more likely not so at all. Besides, if it did go Communist, it would plainly be because the people on the whole would rather have it that way than to fall under their Western protectors. A real French move for independence will help but it will take time for another French pledge to be believed.

No difficulty seems as great as for simple-minded Westerners to understand what is in Asian minds. To the West it is clear—and the West is right—that for Communism to take another country would be tragic. But the Asians have their own memories and outlook. To them, it is hard to see why the Chinese Communists are any more aggressors for aiding their side in Indo-China than are the Americans for helping the French cause; the Chinese are next door, the Americans 9,000 miles off. As for aggressive invasion, Thailand, about which we are worried was really invaded a number of times and minor territories taken—but by the French, from Indo-China!

To the glib westerner, Ho Chi Minh is not only a Communist, but as such a thoroughly bad egg. The Asians, however, remember that during the war with Japan, Ho was admired and backed by Chiang Kai Shek, and was promised post-war help (even against the French) by certain O.S.S. agents from the United States. Asians don't forget that greedy Frenchmen in 1945 overvalued the Indo-Chinese piastre, for speedy profits, and that because of this, Ho Chi Minh was able to stretch his slender funds to acquire more arms for his struggle than he had ever dreamed possible. Asians recall that when Ho was invited to Paris to negotiate a settlement, in 1946, he had scarcely left when the French High Commissioner, Admiral d'Argenlieu, broke the agreed status quo and created three "independent" puppet states. Thus when Mr. Dulles takes the line that we can't trust Communist pledges, Asians admit it is probably true, but they tend to lack trust in anybody. Thus no mere military threat or action will win the Asian mind.

Anglo-U.S. Relations

It is no secret that the current talks between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Churchill was conceived for bridging the widening gulf between the American and British foreign policies. For a quite considerable time before the recent talks were

announced press reports spoke of those differences. The visit of Mr. Dulles to the European capitals just before the opening of the Geneva Conference was also designed to the same objective and it appeared as if the points of difference had been settled for the time being with their agreement to hold consultation on a Security Pact for S.-E. Asia. But it was not long before the differences came to the level and in the Geneva Conference itself it was unmistakable. The *Statesman* reported from London on May 21 that it could no longer be disguised that Anglo-US relations were at the lowest ebb since the end of the war.

According to *Reuter* the differences covered several issues:

"(1) Whether there should be immediate action to set up a South-East Asia defence Pact, as America wishes, or whether this should wait until the outcome of the Geneva Conference, as Britain wishes.

"(2) Whether projected five-nation staff-talks on South-East Asia's future security from a military point of view should or should not be connected with the proposed South-East Asia treaty organization. America wants a link between the two sets of talks. Britain wishes to avoid this.

"(3) The question of actual military intervention in the field, which Britain refused and which is again being discussed directly between France and USA." (May 20).

On June 15, Prime Minister Churchill announced in the British Parliament that he had accepted the invitation of the American President to visit Washington on June 25. Political circles considered that though the invitation had been sent earlier the fixing of the date was a snap decision brought about by the trend of international events.

In a dispatch on June 18, the Washington correspondent of the *London Times* writes that the Anglo-American differences were definitely much deeper than anyone liked to admit in public and extended "well below such superficial divergencies as that over the timing of the conference to consider united action in South-East Asia." The correspondent reports of strong attitude on the part of the US Government on matters that had been the object of desultory discussion not so long ago and writes that as attitudes on policies that had long been flabby have suddenly hardened and were being tempered to resist the onslaught of Sir Winston Churchill's arguments.

"Indeed," the correspondent writes, "except in Europe, the differences are thought in Washington to be more important than the areas of agreement and many of them will not be easy to resolve." (*Statesman*, June 19).

In another despatch on June 25, the correspondent writes that during his talks Mr. Churchill would come up against problems "different in kind as well as degree from those faced by any British visitor

before the war." The USA was reportedly of the opinion that the Anglo-US alliance was "to close" and needed re-examination and a redefinition. The US Secretary of the State was of the view that where British and US views coincided a formal alliance should be negotiated. The correspondent writes: "Mr. James Reston reports in the *New York Times* that about 10 days ago Mr. Dulles wrote out a list of differences between the two countries which must be discussed in the next few days. It ran to three foolscap pages and included everything, from the recognition of Communist China and the possibility of a top-level meeting with the Soviet Union to the exchange of atomic information and, of course, there were innumerable references to countries in those areas where the Administration thinks it is losing ground because of its support of British and French colonialism—Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and nearly every other Middle Eastern country."

"Since Mr. Dulles made the list, he has had no occasion to crowd out any items. Instead, he has probably made a number of additions, many of them as a result of Mr. Eden's speech in the House of Commons on Wednesday (June 23). One phrase in particular seems to have caused misgivings in Washington—his reference to the South-East Asian pact being 'a future safeguard' rather than a 'present panacea'."

Eisenhower-Churchill Communique

Following is the 400-word communique which President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill issued at the end of their reviews of international problems on June 28th:

"In these few days of friendly and fruitful conversations we have considered various subjects of mutual and world interest.

"We are agreed that the German Federal Republic should take its place as an equal partner in the community of Western nations, where it can make its proper contribution to the defence of the free world. We are determined to achieve this goal convinced that the Bonn and Paris treaties provide the best way. We welcome the recent statement of the French Prime Minister that an end must be put to the present uncertainties.

"The European Defence Community Treaty has been ratified by four of the six signatory nations after exhaustive dates over a period of more than two years. Naturally these nations are unwilling to disregard their previous legislative approvals or to reopen these complex questions.

"In connection with these treaties the United States and the United Kingdom have given important assurances, including the disposition of their armed forces in Europe, in order to demonstrate their confidence in the North Atlantic Community and in the E.D.C. and the Bonn treaties.

"It is our conviction that further delay in the entry into force of the E.D.C. and Bonn Treaties would damage the solidarity of the Atlantic nations.

"We wish to reaffirm that the programme for European unity inspired by France of which the E.D.C. is only one element, so promising to peace and prosperity in Europe, continues to have our firm support.

"We discussed South-East Asia and, in particular, examined the situation which would arise from the conclusion of an agreement of Indo-China. We also considered the situation which would follow from failure to reach such an agreement.

"We will press forward with plans for Collective Defence to meet either eventuality.

"We are both convinced that if at Geneva the French Government is confronted with demands which prevent an acceptable agreement regarding Indo-China, the international situation will be seriously aggravated.

"We also discussed technical co-operation on Atomic Energy.

"We agreed that both our countries would benefit from such co-operation to the fullest extent allowed by U.S. legislation.

"In addition to these specific matters, we discussed the basic principles underlying the policy of our two countries. An agreed declaration setting forth certain of these will be made available tomorrow."

"Let's Thank McCarthy"

The McCarthy witch-hunt is a product of a rabid "complex" that is affecting the U.S.A. administration, both internally and externally. Fortunately some people in the U.S. are now awake to the dangers of such a situation.

This article, which appeared in the *Worldover Press* for April 16, from which we append extracts, is by Mr. Barrett the former Under-Secretary of State for Information, U.S., author of *Truth Is Our Weapon*, and now the head of an organization for expert advice on publication problems. His article is adapted from a speech made in New York at a dinner celebrating the 20th anniversary of *Worldover Press*.

"We can be thankful that we had him at this particular time in our history. Experience has taught and is teaching us lessons that a young and buoyant people had to learn sooner or later. They have been terribly costly lessons, but the learning of such lessons might have been infinitely, more costly, indeed disastrous, if it had come at a different time and under different circumstances.

"For example, we can shudder at the thought of Americans having their first full experience with an equally crafty and forceful character at, say, the depths of a great depression or in other times of great stress. And let us suppose that at such a time the individual involved bore at least the superficial hallmarks of truthfulness. The result might not have been just costly, it could have been altogether tragic.

"Now as this brazen and curious character, in my opinion, nears or passes his zenith, we can be thankful that the shabby spectacle of important Americans fawning before him has produced an arrogance that is helping to undo him.

"Advisedly I use the words 'nears or passes his zenith.' For at long last we have seen in recent days on all sides of us disconsolate headshaking by some of the very same Americans who not so long ago were thoughtlessly mounting the comment, 'I don't like his methods,' but. . . . This head-shaking, happily, has been seen increasingly on the editorial pages of our best conservative journals, and, miracle of miracles, it has begun to show up occasionally in our worst conservative journals.

"We may yet be thankful, I suspect, that some distinguished members of our Congress are beginning to shake their heads and wonder about the wisdom of yielding to political blackmail. Ours is a young and not altogether mature nation; we have to learn such lessons. We probably have to learn them the hard way. Thank heaven we did not have to learn them from a more plausible character in even more critical days. Under those circumstances the freedoms we cherish might never have survived."

Mrs. Roosevelt on Freedom

Mrs. Roosevelt's article is adapted from a speech made at a dinner on "Freedom and Responsibility of the Press," celebrating *Worldover Press's* 20th anniversary. We give some excerpts below, to show how a sane elder stateswoman views her own country:

New York.—"When we think of all the efforts made in the United Nations to write a covenant on freedom of information, we realize it is very difficult to get a meeting of minds on what you really mean by freedom of information and on what you really want to achieve.

There is censorship in many parts of the world, and there are different kinds of censorship. We have censorship, too, in this country. It is not a government censorship, but censorship we certainly do have.

Perhaps what we need to do is to examine ourselves as citizens and ask whether today we are doing our job, in every area, of trying to keep freedom and justice. Always before, the people of this country have held to freedom as one of our main objectives. But not long ago I was reading the history of 25 years' work by the American Civil Liberties Union, and it brought home to me something I had almost forgotten. It made me stop and realize that civil rights, freedom, justice, have to be fought for all the time.

We talk as if we had these rights from the very beginning. As a matter of fact we have fought for them every step of the way. Only, we tend to forget how much we had to fight, how slowly we made gains, and how easily they can be lost. The minute things seem simple and quiet, we are delighted to fold our hands and close our minds and say everything's all

right in the best of possible worlds and we don't have to do anything.

It is in reading the history of what has actually happened in this country through 25 years of fighting for civil liberties that one is reminded of the fact that we are not in any different situation today from what we have been in, many times before. The chief difference is that for some strange reason it seems to take a little more to arouse us, and leaders seem a little more difficult to find.

Nowadays, people are called "traitors," you are told that something is "treason," and that's all—it stops right there and nobody pays any attention. You just accept it as so many words, which don't mean anything any more. You find the head of a Judiciary Committee in the Senate actually bringing out charges against the head of the Supreme Court, charges which, when looked at with reason are so utterly foolish and picayune and ridiculous you wonder whether, if they were brought against some small individual in a little local election, would they be believed, would anybody pay attention to them? And yet they are brought forth by the head of a responsible committee about a Chief Justice of the United States.

Now I hope that at last the people of the country have been awakened to the fact that there comes a time when they must take individual responsibility for making their voices heard. There are times when the voice of the people is essential, to convince those in legislative and administrative posts of what the people want. And this is one of the cases when our newspapers, it seems to me, at least those I have been reading, are actually seeking out the facts and revealing what a great many of our people think.

I do not like Communism. I have had contacts with people who had to act under Communist governments, and I have frequently wondered how they could stand facing themselves. What you come to recognize and what you fear under Communism is a slavery of the body and of the mind. It is not the difference of systems alone that matters; we can have different systems in the world, and try to resolve those differences in normal ways. But free minds cannot live with, and tolerate, a slavery which obliges you to say things you know are lies. I have seen intelligent, educated men having to do that, and I think this kind of slavery is what we are most afraid of.

But not to understand what you are afraid of is not going to help you fight it. As I have been around this country, I have had some people say to me: "Senator McCarthy is a wonderful person—he showed us the dangers of Communism." I have said, "Just what is Communism?" Not one in twenty would even try to tell me what they think Communism is. Blindly they have accepted, many of them, the fact that here is something you must fight. But until you know what it is, you aren't going to get anywhere. Or until we have some positive idea that the way to fight it is to

believe in freedom and justice and fight for that faith.

In Japan I met a professor who remarked to me: Oh, we think the things you say democracy means are wonderful! But in what we read and in what we see, we are not always quite sure you live the things you say. Such a comment is a bit difficult to answer, especially with what is happening to us at the present time."

The H Bomb

Revealing comments on the real nature of the H bombs and the helpless position of all humanity—inclusive of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—are given in the May 28 issue of the *Worldover Press*. We give extracts below, to show how helpless the world is:

A Little Girl named Sumie Yukuhiro died a few weeks ago of radiation injuries which no one suspected until 1953, but which were suffered when Sumie was only four and happened to be a mile and half from the Hiroshima A-Bomb blast of August, 1945. Sumie never knew it, but the tragic fate caught up, as by a symbol, a lot of problems that are bound to beset the West in forming a *Nato* pact for South-East Asia and in trying to build united defenses among the Pacific nations.

When Native Leaders in the Marshall Islands entered a protest at the United Nations against the Pacific hydrogen bomb tests conducted by the United States, they received a kindly, sympathetic—and almost meaningless—reply from Henry Cabot Lodge. Lodge said the U.S. would give injured islanders the same medical care afforded to Americans hurt in the tests. That was meaningless because, according to the testimony of frank medical experts, doctors just don't know what to do with radiation injuries. Many of the best ones have been so quoted. And when Lodge explained that the current series of bomb experiments were now ended, that too was meaningless, because radiation may continue for incredible periods near the center of the explosions.

From the Japanese point of view, the people's livelihood is often at stake. A *Worldover Press* correspondent in Tokyo reports that many of the large fish brought to Japanese ports were not at first contaminated but had become so after swallowing smaller fish which had been. A vast region is considered so unsafe for fishing that Japanese scientists themselves, now trusting no one, are starting to make elaborate and detailed tests of waters totalling thousands of square miles. The fishermen injured by proximity to the Marshall Islands are not recovering as glib Americans said they would. Popular opinion in Japan—on which the U.S. wishes to lean for a stronghold-defense against Communism—is said to be at the lowest ebb in years.

The Philippines had also been selected by Washington as a great defense bastion, through the military and naval bases it said it owned there. Attorney-General Herbert Brownell gave a legal opinion to the effect that

these bases were genuine U.S. property. Friendly as are the leading Filipinos to Uncle Sam, they are dissenting vigorously. Their own legal experts say that when the bases pact was negotiated in 1947, the U.S. declared it should not have to pay rent. You don't even consider paying rent for your own property, so say Philip-pines spokesmen. Nothing is said on the record about the H-Bomb, but more and more the Pacific peoples are showing an anxiety not to have them stored or used from their soil. Being given "protection" of this sort is like a kiss of death.

The American people, on their own home grounds, are showing no interest whatsoever in the appeals made by civil defence authorities. And no wonder, for the "experts" themselves are confused and contradictory, and anything but frank. After at last coming around to an admission that underground shelters are worse than useless—which this column pointed out last October—they are saving the only hope for cities is their speedy evacuation. There are 70 critical cities, with a total population of 30,000,000. Only an utter fool could think these cities could be evacuated safely or usefully inside of a week, yet we are told that by another year and a half we may have six hours' warning. Where are the people to go, without possessions, without any preparations to be received properly—something which, again, would require years?

Admittedly it is hypocritical for the Russians, with their own tests, to complain. But Gordon Dean, former atomic energy chief, is no Communist. He has said: "It does no good to reach the point where we would be able to wipe out an enemy 20 times over, if he reaches the point where he can wipe us out just once."

Events in Guatemala

Guatemala is a small State in Central America adjoining Mexico, Honduras, San Salvador and the Pacific. The country with an area of about 45,452 square miles has a population of 3,706,205. Agriculture being the main avocation of the majority of the people. The chief products are coffee, sugar, tobacco, etc. Since 1950 a leftist Government under President Jacobo Arbenz has been in power. This leftist Government was not looked upon with favour, to put it mildly, by its powerful neighbour in the north.

Recently Guatemala was reported to have been purchasing arms from Communist countries of Europe. The Government of the USA, in order to stop the import of arms, requested the European maritime powers to allow their ships to be searched on the high seas.

Reuter reports from New York on June 19 that an anti-Communist "army of liberation" had seized about one-third of the territory of Guatemala within 24 hours of a powerful attack by land and sea. The rebel forces led by the exiled Colonel Castillo Armas were reportedly operating from the territory of Honduras. The invaders' airforce, consisting of

about 16 planes, carried out strikes against Guatemala city, San Josi and Puerto Barrios.

Official Guatemalan sources said that the invaders were using arms recently sent by the USA to Honduras and Nicaragua. The Guatemalan Charge d'Affaires in Washington, Senor Alferdo Chocano said: "Where did 10 P-47 (Thunderbolt) and other planes of US manufacture come from? These are the planes which have been bombing and strafing various places in Guatemala."

Senor Guillermo Toriello, Foreign Minister of Guatemala, said in a Press Conference that the Government of Nicaragua was directly involved in the interventionist move against his country. He accused the USA of an "absurd and criminal campaign" against Guatemala. The invasion was described as the culmination of a well laid out plan.

The Government of Guatemala immediately requested for a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council to "put a stop to the aggression now in progress." The Security Council was asked to send an observation commission to investigate her charges of aggression by Honduras and Nicaragua, which had been instigated by certain monopolies.

In a speech before the Security Council, the delegate from Guatemala, Dr. Eduardo Castillo Arriola declared: "The battle of Guatemala has started. The battle that has been looming for so long has now started. Guatemala is being invaded by international forces under the treacherous guise of exiles." The invading army was "part of an illegitimate international organization," he said.

"We have been unjustly accused of being a threat to the other countries of the continent," Dr. Ariolla said.

The Security Council unanimously approved a French resolution calling "for the immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed" and requesting "all members of the UN to abstain in the spirit of the charter, from giving assistance to any such action."

An earlier Brazilian-Colombian resolution to pass the question to the organization of American States was voted down by the USSR.

The attitude of the US Government was that the present chaos in Guatemala was due to an internal uprising against the present regime in the country. The US Government was not at all willing to have the issue dealt with by the Security Council. They wanted it to be tackled by the organisation of American States—an American prototype of NATO.

In an editorial article on June 21, the *Statesman* writes: "A fortnight ago, after arrests in the capital, Guatemala's Minister of the Interior spoke of the unearthing of a plot and said that those arrested were 'the vanguard of forces based on foreign soil.' If the Government had still earlier information about

the contemplated invasion, as seems likely, it is not surprising that it sought arms wherever it could."

The latest news, at the time of our going to press runs as follows:

Guatemala City, June 29.—Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz, who took over the Guatemalan Presidency three days ago, has been arrested following the formation of a new Government.

The new governing junta is: Senors Jose Luiz Cruz, Elfego H. Monzon and Mauricio Dubois.

Orders have been given for the arrest of all known Communists. There will be a general amnesty for all prisoners jailed for political offences by previous regimes.

New York Radio stations quoting a broadcast by the Guatemalan Government Radio announced today that the Military junta headed by Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz had resigned.

Rebel "Rodia Liberation" reported tonight that two columns of troops were marching on Guatemala City after a bombing raid by bombers.

The bombings were reported by the Guatemalan Government Radio. The Radio was left on during the raid and the explosions could be heard here.

The Rebel Radio said that the fighting would go on despite the fact that the President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman has left the Government and was flying to Argentina.

The insurgents claimed that President Arbenz had not acted within the Constitution and should have handed the Government over to the President of the Congress or in his absence to the President of the Supreme Court instead of Col Diaz.

Agriculture in the U.S.S.R.

The *Worldover Press* presents this contrast in May 21 issue:

No greater contrast could be found between the United States and the Soviet Union than in agricultural management and production. All over the vast Soviet-controlled areas, efforts are going forward to placate the peasants, and one scheme after another is tried, in order to get government officials off the hook. For many years, until last fall, Russian and satellite farmers, at harvest time, were compelled to thresh their grain, then first deliver to the state, following which seed grain had to be stored, and finally the residue was distributed to the farmers themselves. Seed storage, some months ago, was put first.

The most revolutionary change was inaugurated when government prices were increased to farmers, while consumers' prices were kept at the same level—and, later, actually reduced. In short, the farm output had failed so badly that fundamentals of Soviet economic theory had to be shifted. Until very lately, every emphasis was being placed on an increase of cattle;

but in the last few weeks even this has had to be somewhat modified, simply because there was insufficient grain in sight to feed growing stock.

In the United States, however, what a difference! True, farmers are sometimes in revolt against government ideas, but because of a very contrary situation. American food production has piled up surpluses so tremendous that they stagger the imagination. The National Council of Churches, which has been working on plans for expanding if possible its distribution of food to the world's needy, points out that if U.S. food reserves were loaded in 50-ton railway cars in a single train running through the United States, the engine would be in Europe and the caboose in China. It would take 7,000 shiploads of 200 carloads each to move these reserves. Stocks now owned by the Commodity Credit Corporation or under loan, are closed to the value of seven billion dollars.

You can look at this in two ways. One would be to gloat over the obvious failure of the dictatorial system, compared to the freer system by which American agriculture works. Certainly, the weakness of dictatorship is apparent, but we cannot yet be certain that farmers in the U.S. can remain prosperous without strong government intervention.

There are sore spots, for that matter, in our handling of farm output. The dust bowl amounts to a perpetual disgrace. Floods are still allowed to go on the rampage, year after year, in many areas of the country, with no provisions for speedy control.

Indo-Pakistan Canal Waters

New Delhi, June 26.—Indo-Pakistani talks on canal waters under the auspices of the World Bank, deadlocked for many weeks, have broken down.

Having accepted the World Bank proposal in its entirety, although it conferred only 20% of the water of the Indus Basin on this country, India enjoys the moral gain.

India now feels free to use the waters of the three Indian rivers in accordance with the agreement of 1948 which, in India's opinion, still prevails although Pakistan has repudiated it. India is also free from the standstill promise given to Pakistan under the terms of the World Bank letter of March 13, 1948, which initiated the talks.

All the same, it is stated that solely for humanitarian reasons and the interests of the common man in Pakistan India does not propose to withdraw more water than can be replaced by the Balloki-Sulaimanki link. This is called a self-imposed sacrifice by India which seeks neither reward nor recognition by Pakistan.

Diversion of waters now flowing into Pakistan from the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi, whose use is exclusively awarded to India by the World Bank, will take about five years to complete. During this period, in the World Bank's view, Pakistan, if it desires and

tries, can create alternative irrigation resources. This time-limit has also been accepted by India.

The World Bank proposal had included a transitional arrangement for about five years. A proper time-table had to be drawn up for withdrawal of waters by India.

Although no works were proposed for joint construction by the two countries, some link canals in Pakistan were needed to replace supplies from India. India was to bear the cost of such works to the extent she benefited from them. This amount was variously estimated. It was a large sum amounting to about Rs. 60 crores, according to one estimate. India had agreed to pay this amount. Now there will be no question of doing so following the breakdown of the talks.

Ceylon Indians and U.S. "Aid"

The recent press reports of a proposed US-Ceylon Pact have significantly coincided with a stiffening of the attitude of the Government of Ceylon in their relations with the Government of India over the fate of Ceylonese citizens of Indian origin. The New Delhi agreement between Sir John Kotelawala and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, while weighting very much in favour of Ceylon, was nevertheless welcomed as a mark of desire on the part of both Governments to reach an agreement. Many, including this paper, were sceptical about how the pact would turn out to be implemented. The recent events have unfortunately confirmed those misgivings.

The Government of Ceylon proposed to deprive "stateless" citizens from their employment, ration-books and their places of abode. The "stateless" persons were those whom the Ceylon Government had refused to accept as citizens.

The Nehru-Kotelawala agreement was based on the fundamental thesis that no one would be forced out of Ceylon though legitimate facilities would be provided by the Ceylon Government to those Ceylon Indians who would like to become Indian citizens. But it would hardly be conceded by any reasonable man that deprivation of employment and food were friendly and legitimate inducements.

The Government of Ceylon, however, did not stop there. They introduced in the Ceylon Parliament a new piece of legislation which curtailed the rights of registered citizens. The bill proposed to segregate the registered citizens to a particular area and introduced the vicious system of communal representation. The Ceylon citizens of Indian origin could elect and be elected only from the areas specified for registered citizens. They could not take part in the political activities in other parts of the country.

Naturally enough there was much opposition to this move of the Government. The *Ceylon Tribune* vehemently criticizes the measures as "segregation on racial lines with a vengeance" and protests against the infringement of rights of the registered citizens.

Explaining the implications of the proposed legislation in another editorial article on June 19, the newspaper writes that it was the thin end of the wedge to crush all opposition to the ruling United National Party. The citizens of Indian origin were being pigeon-holed because they had opposed the UNP in 1947 elections. In this connection the paper recalls the statement of the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala in the Ceylon Parliament in which he had openly threatened to punish Opposition Constituencies until they returned Government candidates.

The paper writes: "Under the garb of solving some of other problems that arise from Indian immigrant labour being brought to Ceylon by British planters, the Government now seeks in the best style and manner of the great Malan to isolate and segregate a community that has contributed a great deal to the development of this Island so that it would be politically ineffective."

The newspaper warns the people of Ceylon that if they agreed to that piece of legislation being passed they would thereby help the fascization of the Island, because by curtailing the rights of registered citizens the Government was "opening the door to similar disenfranchisement and political crippling of other sections of this country whose politics do not meet with the approval of the bigwigs of the UNP."

"Already the Premier has threatened that he would 'denationalize' and 'de-citizenise' all citizens of this country whose politics appear to him to be un-Ceylonese . . ."

It refers to press reports which stated that the Ceylon Premier, Sir John Kotelawala, was contemplating the formation of pseudo-fascist military units in the police and the public services as well as the setting up of screening committees in the MacCarthy tradition. There were also attempts to introduce legislation to penalise all those whose politics differed from those of the party in power.

In conclusion the paper writes that if those neo-fascist tendencies went unchallenged Ceylon would soon be overwhelmed by fascism and totalitarianism and would lose all her liberties.

That the recent anti-Indian moves were inspired by foreign imperialist powers was best illustrated by an article in the *UNP-Journal*, official organ of the ruling United National Party of Ceylon of which Sir John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister, was the chosen leader.

The article written by a British national, Stanley Morrison, columnist of *UNP-Journal*, pointedly attacked the Ceylon Indians and their leaders and said: "It is now time that all loyal citizens began to organize their own resistance movement against the treacherous tactics of these Indians, who claim Ceylon citizenship while perpetually appealing to India for support. If India is justified in making things hot for foreign enclaves in India, has Ceylon not got the

elementary right to protest against the infiltration of Indians, who make no secret of their ambition ultimately to swamp this country and thus make it a part of India? Has Ceylon at last attained independence in order to surrender to Indian imperialism?" Morrison stated, Ceylon was conscious enough not to become a second Kashmir.

According to the Colombo correspondent of the *Hindu*, from whose report the above has been quoted, "To save Lanka's independence Morrison has suggested the following course of action: (1) The Government should take steps to deprive Mr. Thondamon and other members of the Ceylon Democratic Congress (formerly known as the Ceylon Indian Congress.—Ed., M. R.), 'who are Indians first and last,' of their citizenship rights; (2) freeze all their funds in banks; (3) close down all Indian banks in the island for the duration of the Indian campaign of coercion and terrorism; (4) permit all Ceylonese organizations to organize in the island a boycott movement for the boycott of Indian trading establishments, big or small; (5) immediately pass a law compelling firms and individual employers as well as local bodies to dismiss Indian employees, who participate in strikes organized by the Congress; and (6) if the strikes on estates continued for over a week, the Government should compel estate-owners to stop the issue of rice to the workers."

U.S. Intrigues in Nepal

The hostile demonstration against the Indian Parliamentary Delegation in Kathmandu highlighted the American intrigues in Nepal. The Delegation went there on a goodwill mission, invited by the Government of Nepal. But on reaching Kathmandu they were faced with abuse, brickbats and black flag demonstrations organised by the Gorkha Parishad—a party of the feudal Ranas of Nepal.

The US ambassador in India, Mr. George Venable Allen, promptly denied that there was any American intervention in the internal affairs of Nepal. But as if to "prove" the worth of the ambassador's statement only two days later, the Nepalese police intercepted a parcel of four sets of the latest model American military wireless receivers and transmitters addressed to a pro-American leader of the reactionary Gorkha Parishad, General Mrigendra.

Referring to the American role in Nepal, the *People* comments as follows: "The main duty, there of every American, official and non-official, diplomat or technician, appears to be to foment trouble between Nepal and India, and to promote civil faction." Dismissing the American ambassador's denial the paper asks why then had those wireless sets been sent.

"In particular American diplomats are anxious to create as much trouble as they can for India in

the bordering areas of Pakistan, Ceylon, Nepal and in the land of the Nagas," the paper writes.

The New Delhi correspondent of the *Ceylon Tribune*, Sri Sibdas Banerji, writes in the June 12 issue of the paper: "Three years ago when the feudal Rana regime was being overthrown in Nepal, I happened to be there. Strange things happened then before my eyes but stranger things are happening now. The discredited Ranas have been, it seems so clearly, picked up by Dulles for a game south of Tibet. Ceylon will remember that her Mr. Philip K. Crowe (of the USFBI) accompanied by two top US diplomats in New Delhi paid a surprise visit to Nepal sometime ago."

India and Events in East Pakistan

Referring to the reported official comment in New Delhi that the events in East Bengal were the internal affairs of Pakistan and India had no concern with what was happening there, the diplomatic correspondent of the *People* wondered what it actually meant "unless it be the merest of poses." That attitude was rather strange once it was admitted that foreign influences were at work in the dismissal of the Huq Ministry and there were high international policy?"—*People*, 12.6.54.

The correspondent writes: "Questions that bear heavily on India are: If Pakistan is to be converted into an American base in connection with the scheme of collective security for South-East Asia, will not India be squeezed in between the two Pakistans, very well armed and equipped by America?

"Are not troop concentrations taking place on the borders?

"Will it not be, in effect, an attempt to hold India in fear and make her change her present policy?" *People*,

We consider these comments as being curious examples of undiplomatic and uninformed wishful thinking. We should like to know whether the *People* still has the same semi-official status as it had some time back.

The U.S.A. and East Pakistan

The *Hitavada* writes that while the events in East Bengal were a domestic affair of Pakistan, the larger issues raised by those developments could not be passed over. In the light of press reports of great American pressure on the Pakistan Central Government for the dismissal of the Huq Ministry the newspaper thought it was significant that the main promoter of Turco-Pakistan and Pak-U.S. military pacts was made the Governor of East Bengal, where the people had clearly signified their disapproval of those pacts by voting the United Front to power. The USA claimed that they were the supporters of democracy and they upheld all their policies with this claim. But was there democracy in Pakistan? Pakistan was still

being ruled by the undemocratic Government of India Act, 1935 with some adaptations. Under that Act, the Governor-General could dismiss any Ministry. Under the British rule, that power was exercised only once. But after the formation of Pakistan the dismissal of popular ministries, which were inconvenient to the ruling clique at Karachi, became a common occurrence. The Khan Sahib Ministry of North-West Frontier Province, the Mamdot Ministry of West Punjab, the Khuro Ministry of Sind, the Nazimuddin Ministry at the Centre and now the Huq Ministry in Eastern Pakistan had all been dismissed by the Pakistan Governor-General. "Do all these show that democracy is functioning in Pakistan? By allying with Pakistan, are not the Americans assisting in the burial of democracy while professing to be great upholders of democratic rights?"

The *Hindu* in an editorial article on the deposition of the Huq Ministry writes that the full story of the real causes behind the recent events in East Pakistan would, perhaps, never be known. Analysing the Pakistan official contention that the steps taken were intended to prevent Communist subversion, the paper is unconvinced about calling up the mass arrests a round-up of Communists. The newspaper has two explanations to offer. One was that the Pakistan Government saw in the present crisis "an opportunity to show, by action, to the United States how much they can be depended upon to pursue actively the anti-Communist line." The second was that it was the first sign of the emergence of a kind of MacCarthyism in Pakistan. Neither of those could be construed to have any relation to any genuine effort for bridging the misunderstanding between people of the two parts of the country, the paper concludes.

Deposition of Huq Ministry

The Central Government of Pakistan dismissed the East Bengal Ministry, formed under the leadership of Mr. Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq. After Muslim League Party had received a crushing defeat in the recent elections from the United Front, composed of the Awami League, headed by Maulana Bhashani; Krishak Shramik Party, headed by Mr. Huq and several other minor parties. The newly elected Provincial Legislature, however, was not dissolved and the decree proclaiming the dissolution of the ministry assured that with the return to normal conditions, power would be reverted to a popular ministry. Later on the Provincial Assembly was suspended, thereby stopping all monthly allowances of the members.

This decision apparently was not reached smoothly and much 'outside' pressure was reported. Even the Governor of the province, Chaudhury Khaliqzaman was reported to have been opposed to the imposition of Governor's rule. He was replaced by Major-General Iskander Mirza, until then Defence Secretary of Pakistan.

The announcement of the decision of the Pakistan

Government to overrule the East Bengal ministry was followed by a wave of mass arrests in both parts of Pakistan and according to the *Statesman's* staff correspondent in Dacca, 1051 persons including 33 M.L.A's were arrested by June 20. The arrested included two members of the dissolved ministry, doctors, journalists and public workers. Mr. Huq was interned in his own house guarded by military pickets. A warrant of arrest was issued against Maulana Bhashani who was away in Berlin to attend a conference of the World Peace Council. The Secretary of the Provincial Awami League was also put under arrest. Orders of pre-censorship were served on several Dacca dailies. Though pre-censorship was withdrawn on June 11, the newspapers could hardly come out with the truth. Military patrols were posted throughout East Bengal. Meetings were banned and Section 144 imposed. The meeting of the United Front Parliamentary Party, scheduled on the 6th June, failing Government attempts at disruption, was banned at the last minute in spite of the Governor's earlier assurances that no hindrances would be put in the way of the meeting being held.

General Mirza said in a Press Conference at Dacca on June 5, that his Government would ruthlessly crush any trouble. While noting that the situation in the province was peaceful he said that "most ruthless action to destroy Communists" and prevent a recurrence of labour trouble in industrial concerns in Eastern Pakistan would unhesitatingly be taken. If necessary the Government would even declare martial law. There were "more than enough troops deployed throughout the province" and there were more than 40,000 police in East Bengal, declared the Governor. The District Magistrates who were not ready to go the whole hog with the new administration in the imposition of a rule of coercion and repression of the general population were replaced by those who were more amenable to the policy of the new regime.

The Governor declared that screening boards would be appointed to screen workers and weed out "Communists" in all industrial concerns employing over 5000 workers which would be declared protected areas. Workers would be allowed entry on production of passports containing their photographs. In smaller undertakings the managers should see that no Communists were taken in on their staff. A screening committee was set up at the highest level for the purpose. Others were to follow. The Screening Committees would cover a total of about 200,000 workers.

Most of the Colleges were closed for the summer vacation when the ministry was superseded. But in some cases, fearing student movement, the authorities ordered for a prolongation of the vacation beyond the usual date. In Dacca, students stayed away from their classes and examinations when the colleges re-opened after the vacation. Arrests and threats of expulsion seemed to have been of little avail in convincing the students to join their classes and examinations. Barring

this, the situation throughout the province was apparently very quiet. Nonetheless Section 144, banning assembly of more than 5 persons, was re-imposed on Dacca.

The Governor in his press interview on June 5 had stated that they would revoke the order suspending the realization of the jute license fee passed by the United Front Government. This was done in a Press Note issued on June 15. The Government also announced its decision for compulsory destruction of jute sown in excess of the quantity required to produce 4,200,000 bales of jute this year.

Fantastic charges were made against India. The following comment of the *Star*, a weekly from Lahore, was typical. "Adamjee Tata Mills, Dacca, which is the biggest jute mill in whole of Asia has had to close down . . . indefinitely due to the Communist sponsored recent Narayanganj riots. The Communists, it is alleged, infiltrated into East Pakistan from Bharat." (June 14, 1954).

In this respect Mr. Mohammed Ali, the Pakistani Premier, gave the lead. Immediately after the announcement of the suppression of the East Bengal Cabinet Mr. Ali took over the Information and Broadcasting portfolio in his own hands from Mr. Shaib Qureshi. Since then the Pakistan Radio has been leading a campaign of unrelenting lies and slander against India.

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, former Minister in the dismissed Cabinet and a prominent leader of the Awami Muslim League said in a statement issued to the Press that the promulgation of Governor's rule had "brought in its wake a sense of deep frustration if not righteous indignation in the mind of every lover of democracy." The Government had let loose a reign of terror, Mr. Rahman declared, and "a large number of persons, having left their hearths and homes, are roaming about the country for fear of being arrested."

Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhasani, President of East Bengal Awami League, said in a statement issued from London on May 31 that the dissolution of the East Bengal Ministry by the Pakistan Government so soon after the general elections was an unprecedented event in the history of parliamentary democracy. He refuted the charge of the Pakistan Premier that the Communists were responsible for the riots in East Pakistan. On the contrary, he said, Mr. Mohammed Ali, the Premier and the Muslim League were themselves responsible for the tragic events. He regretted the appointment of a military man as Governor. He said that though the Communists were a party in East Pakistan they were outside the United Front.

Mr. Suhrawardy, who was reported to be gravely ill, in a statement issued through Mr. M. H. Usmani, President of Karachi Awami League, expressed his extreme regret at the action of the Pakistan Government in dismissing the Huq Ministry. In another statement published on the 5th June, he characterised it as unprecedented.

Diplomatic Relations with S. Africa

The Government of India decided in response to a request from the Government of the Union of South Africa, to close the office of the Indian High Commissioner at Capetown from July 1, 1954. Future contact between the two Governments would be maintained through their High Commissioners in London.

India had been maintaining a diplomatic establishment in Capetown since 1927. The diplomatic representative was at first designated as Agent and later on, since 1941, was known as the High Commissioner. The last High Commissioner, Sri R. M. Deshmukh was recalled to India for consultation in May, 1946, when the Union Parliament, despite strong Indian protests and suggestions for consultation, approved of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill, which prohibited the occupation and acquisition of property by Indians in Natal except in certain exempted areas. The Government of India had protested even when that bill was being introduced in the South African Parliament and had given notice of the cancellation of their trade agreement with the Government of South Africa in order to regain freedom of action. It had been pointed out to the South African Government that the Act "was more far-reaching in its effect on Union citizens of Indian origin than the Areas Reservation Bill of 1926, which the Union Government abandoned as a result of the discussions leading to the Cape Town Agreement."

The Government of the Union of South Africa had ignored all protests and requests for the postponement of the legislation. Thus the Indian Government had become convinced that no useful purpose could be served by having a High Commissioner stationed in Cape Town. They had not, however, done away with the High Commissioner's office in the hope that some day conditions might improve facilitating the High Commissioner's return. But after the *Aide Memoire* of the South African Government handed to the Indian High Commissioner in London on May 27, the Government of India had no alternative but to close down the Indian High Commissioner's office at Cape Town.

In an editorial article on the matter the *Hindu* writes that there should be no regrets at the closure of the Indian High Commissioner's office since no useful purpose was being served by India's continued diplomatic relations with South Africa whose Government was following an ideal quite opposed to India's. While India believed in liberty and equality for all mankind irrespective of race, colour and creed Malanite South Africa was wedded to a policy of white domination of the coloured peoples. India had, moreover, earned the particular wrath of Malan fascists by her very active efforts to focuss inter-

national attention upon the racial tyranny practised by the Government of South Africa.

The newspaper concludes by saying that after the severance of diplomatic relations "there should be no flagging in the efforts to compel the Malanists to change their racial policies under the pressure of all humane international opinion."

Movement of Foreign Capital

The need for development capital is now urgently felt by underdeveloped countries and the process of development in the initial stages involves a large-scale use of capital on projects which do not yield immediate visible returns. Thus roads, railways, transport, public health and education are all capital-consuming projects which yield little direct return, but which are all the more needed and desired in backward countries. And the paradox of this economic malady is that while domestic capital formation is much too inadequate, political atmosphere does not permit large-scale inflow of development capital. It would require a change in the attitude of many underdeveloped countries in order to encourage the inflow of foreign capital and at the same time to foster internal savings.

But it is a great surprise to note that most of the foreign direct investment in manufacturing industries has, in recent years, been made not in underdeveloped but in economically advanced countries. This is the main conclusion reached by a study of international movement of private capital over the period 1946-52, recently made by the UN Department of Economic Affairs. The Latin American countries are the exceptions, as large amounts of American capital have moved into those countries. The petroleum industry accounts for a large proportion of foreign direct investments in recent years. In other extractive industries, such investments have largely increased, particularly in the dependent countries of Western Europe. The U.N. study notes other main features of the international flow of private foreign capital as follows: (1) The floating in international capital markets of foreign Government bonds, once so important in international financing, is now limited to special cases of loans between countries maintaining close commercial or political relations with each other; (2) similar floating of shares and debentures of business enterprises and trade in outstanding securities have also lost importance; they are limited to transactions which are related to so-called direct investments, involving managerial control through enterprises in the investing country. Such investments, accordingly, account for the great bulk of private long-term capital flowing between countries; (3) the growth of direct investments does not result mainly from the transfer of fresh funds from the capital-exporting countries, but from the re-investment of a large proportion of the profits earned; (4) underdeveloped countries in Latin America get most of their supply of foreign capital from the United States and dependent territories from their respective metropolitan countries in Western Europe.

Relatively little capital is moving to the independent countries in South-East Asia; (5) there is no flow of private capital to countries with centrally planned economies in Eastern Europe and Asia; and (6) new private foreign investment in public utilities have been more than offset by the liquidation of such investment, particularly in railway properties. The outstanding amount of such investment has tended to decline.

In the early days of colonial expansion, and particularly in the nineteenth century it was the United Kingdom that was the main supplier of investment capital to underdeveloped countries. With the disintegration of colonies and for other reasons, the UK is no longer in a position to supply risk capital to backward areas for development purposes. It has now devolved upon the USA to continue the historic role of Britain, especially after the second world war. But another factor has also cropped up simultaneously and this the rehabilitation of the war-damaged economies of advanced industrial countries. The USA is called upon to provide capital to underdeveloped areas for their industrial development and also to war-damaged countries for rehabilitation of their industries. As a result, American aid to underdeveloped countries has been of limited extent. Nevertheless, the USA's aid during the period 1946 to 1953 was of unprecedented magnitude. The value of the United States' economic aid to foreign countries aggregated 41.7 billion dollars (nearly Rs. 20,000 crores). Of this amount, 33 billion dollars went as economic aid to advanced countries.

While the US Government aid has been less plentiful to underdeveloped countries than to industrially advanced areas, the outflow of US private capital has also followed a similar course. The private capital invested by the USA amounted to \$21 billion at the end of 1952. Countrywise, the US direct investments at the end of 1950 (in million dollars) were as follows: UK 847; Continental Europe 873; Canada 3,579; New Zealand 25; South Africa 140; Argentine 356; Brazil 644; Chile 2,540; Cuba 642; Mexico 415; Venezuela 993; Other Latin American Republics 79; India 38; Pakistan 8; the Philippines 149; Indonesia 58; Egypt 39; Israel 15; Liberia 82; UK dependencies 297; other European dependencies in Africa 43; and other countries 659.

The flow of private foreign capital to underdeveloped countries has thus been relatively much less than what it has been to advanced regions. The backward areas could not push on with their economic development programmes for lack of industrial capital. India with its well-organised capital market is seriously handicapped for lack of risk capital. According to the estimate of the Five-Year Plan, the mobilisation of domestic capital during a period of five years would amount to only Rs. 1,704 crores, taking into account deficit financing for Rs. 290 crores. The overall deficit of Rs. 365 crores was estimated to be met from external sources, or, in the absence of it, by additional

measures of internal taxation and borrowing or by further deficit financing. The expenditure under the Plan has recently been increased by Rs. 175 crores to provide additional employment. A major criticism against the Plan was that the rate of economic development contemplated by it is too slow to evoke public enthusiasm. And in the event of a recession, the raising of the estimated internal funds would be difficult. In view of this position, the Government of India is earnestly looking for the inflow of foreign capital on an increasing scale. The USA is now the only country which is in a position to supply large industrial capital to underdeveloped countries. United States aid to foreign countries reached a peak of nearly \$5,500 million (about £2,320 million sterling) in 1953, but tapered off at the end of the year. France was the biggest individual recipient and Western Europe received about 80 per cent of the total. Aid to Asia rose by half and military assistance to the Far East was doubled. Net transfers to foreign nations of goods and services for all gift or loan programmes reached \$6,400 million. The 1952 total was \$5,042 million. Despite American opposition, the US Administration has recommended economic and technical aid to India for \$104 million (Rs. 50 crores).

But such aid on Government level cannot be a permanent feature in a country's economic structure and sooner or later this type of foreign aid is bound to disappear. Eventually India will have to stand on her own legs in respect of her requirement for industrial capital. But it is a matter of conjecture when India will be self-sufficient in her own resources. Before that is achieved, this country will have to fall upon foreign aid. Assuming that the Government-to-Government economic aid will cease before long, there are two alternative ways whereby capital can flow in the country. The first is the loan raised by the Government of the country in foreign countries and the second is the voluntary investment of foreign private capital. Raising capital by loans from foreign countries is a very rigid and costly affair. The borrowing country is obliged to set apart large sums every year towards redemption and for that purpose large sums of foreign exchange have to be provided. Moreover, more capital will not be able to step up industrial development, unless foreign technical aid is available simultaneously.

Thus the prospects of economic aid on State level and loans in foreign countries being not too encouraging, what remains is the last alternative and this is the inflow of private foreign capital. In this case, the problem of finding foreign exchange for periodical remittances will not be serious and the main advantage of private foreign capital is that it will come being supported with its own technical knowledge and for that no extra cost need be incurred. At a recent speech at the Rotary Club, Mr. Turner, the US Consul-General, Bombay, has sounded a note of warning that American capital must hereafter be obtained mainly from private

sources, not from Government grants or aids. He emphasised that American capital is always eager and ready to flow into any situation where it can be secure from undue controls and interference, and where it can be reasonably assured of the right to remit a fair amount of earnings. Now that negotiations are going on for the establishment of a Development Corporation with help of the World Bank and also American private capital, the Government of India should enter into a commercial treaty with the USA so as to ensure the flow of American private capital to this country. Such a treaty is the need of the day to dispel doubts in the minds of the borrowing country that no political string attaches to the inflow of foreign private capital and also to assure the lending country that its right is assured and is placed on the same par with domestic capital.

Finance for Private Sector

Now that the eagerly awaited report of the Shroff Committee has been published, it remains to be seen how the implementation of the 66 recommendations of the Committee is effected to ensure a steady flow of capital to the private sector of the industry in the country. The Committee observes that while some progress has been registered in regard to investment in new capital, it has not been commensurate with the expectations; and, in order to reach the planned targets, annual investment in new capital will have to be raised to about double that in the period 1951-53. As regards investment in modernisation and replacement of equipment, very considerable leeway remains to be made up in the remaining years of the Plan. Finally, in respect of working capital, the problem has so far not proved acute for the large-scale industries. But medium and small-scale industries have suffered from lack of liquid funds; and further, the planned increase in working funds to sustain a higher output has yet to materialise. If present trends in savings and supply of liquid resources continue, finance would undoubtedly be a major limiting factor to industrial development in the private sector.

The Committee's main terms of reference were to examine ways and means of increasing the finance available to the private sector through sources other than those under the consideration of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, and in particular through the organised banking sector.

With a view to facilitating larger private investment in industries, the Committee has suggested that in respect of large investment in scheduled industries which take time to fructify, it should be possible for Government to give some assurance of immunity from nationalisation, at least for a reasonable period. The Committee has also stressed the need for co-ordinating the work of various licensing authorities and simplifying the procedure so as to avoid unnecessary delay and the consequent loss to entrepreneurs. The Committee considers that a major factor impeding private invest-

ment is the variety of additional obligations to compensate labour imposed by legislative measures of the Union and the State Governments and also by awards of Industrial Tribunals. Although the Committee feels that these measures may, from the welfare point of view, be good in themselves, their cumulative impact on industries is onerous.

In dealing with the factors affecting the supply of investment funds, the Committee observes that recent changes in the pattern of income distribution have been responsible for the reduced flow of savings into the organised capital market. At the same time, borrowings by Government and Government agencies have been substantial. The combined effect is the limitation of the scope for financing the programmes of expansion and rehabilitation of the private sector through new issues on the capital market.

The Committee's approach is marked by realistic outlook and their report is more practical than academic. It is of great interest to practical businessmen, bankers, insurers and brokers connected with the capital market. Critics may, however, say that the Committee has recommended too many corporations and financial institutions. A mere increase in the number of such institutions will not necessarily lead to increased flow of finance to private industries. The Committee's recommendation that a Special Development Corporation, with a capital of Rs. 5 crores and a loan of Rs. 10 crores from the Central and State Governments, be established for financing small-scale industries, may not find favour with the authorities. They may naturally doubt the need for such a corporation when almost every State will be having its financial corporation for financing small-scale industries. The Committee's recommendation, if followed, will lead to overlapping and duplication of effort in this connection.

On the question of providing long-term finance to industries, the Committee has made several suggestions. It is plainly not in favour of mixed banking, notwithstanding a strong pleading made by a section of the business community. Unrestricted mixed banking in an underdeveloped country like ours, is fraught with dangers. Banks in India, however, in a limited way have already been participating in the provision of long-term finance to industries through their investments in industrial securities and through lending on such securities. The Committee favours an extension of this indirect form of providing long-term finance to the private sector. It feels that there is no harm in making available such finance by (a) adding to their investment in the shares and debentures of the first class industrial concerns where they are satisfied about the transferability and the marketability of the scrips; (b) making larger advances to approved parties against such shares and debentures, and (c) subscribing to a greater extent to the shares and bonds of the Industrial Finance Corporations. The Committee feels that the liquidity position of the banks will not be materially

affected, if banks start long term financing of industries by subscribing to the securities of such special corporations.

Theoretically this suggestion may be alluring, but it is doubtful if much long-term finance can be made available to industries in this way. There is also considerable risk in encouraging banks to extend their commitments in industrial equities and debentures, as this may lead to misuse which may undermine the confidence of the public in the banks. The Reserve Bank's powers of inspection and control do not constitute a sufficient safeguard from preventing banks misusing their powers. Moreover, a slump on the stock exchange will lead to a run on the banks with substantial industrial investments in shares and debentures, and this in turn, may adversely affect the entire banking system.

Another specific suggestion is made by the Committee in respect of supplying long term finance. It feels that indirect participation by banks in long-term industrial finance would be considerably facilitated if the leading banks in India, in co-operation with insurance companies, could form a consortium or syndicate for underwriting or investing in new issues of shares and debentures of industrial companies wherever they are satisfied about the soundness and prospects of the projects. If banks in India would invest, say, an amount equal to 5 per cent of their deposits in shares and debentures, they could make available a further sum of over Rs. 30 crores for the long-term finance of industries in the private sector, without seriously jeopardising their liquid position. Such a consortium could appropriately function under the leadership of the largest joint-stock bank in the country, namely, the Imperial Bank of India. Under the Imperial Bank of India Act as it stands at present, however, that Bank is prohibited from investing in the shares and debentures of joint-stock companies, though it is authorised to accept fully paid-up shares as collateral security for advances, and is also empowered to make advances against the debentures of companies with limited liability. It is presumed that the present statutory restrictions are a relic of the times when the Imperial Bank functioned as a banker to the Government of India. The Committee considers that in the present-day conditions, such restrictions are out of date and the Imperial Bank of India Act may be suitably amended to enable the Bank to participate actively in providing long-term finance for industries through such investments.

This proposal is attractive and harmless. But the resources that would thus be made available towards long-term financing will reduce the provision for working capital for industries. Further, if the proposed Development Corporation sponsored by the World Bank in co-operation with the Government of India is set up, it is doubtful whether there will be any need for such a consortium.

Market for Cottage Products

The Government of India have sanctioned a scheme for setting up an External Marketing Organisation for promoting sales of handloom cloth. Four Marketing Officers have been appointed at Colombo, Baghdad, Rangoon and Singapore and these officers will act as liaison between the Indian exporters and the overseas importers and also will make propaganda for Indian handloom cloth. The following steps have been taken to promote the export of cottage industries products and handicrafts:

(1) Show-rooms for display of handicrafts by Indian Trade Mission have been organised in various countries;

(2) Cottage industries products including handloom and handicrafts have been included as an item of export trade in our Trade Agreements;

(3) A special exhibition of handicrafts was organised in London during the Queen's Coronation in 1953;

(4) Handicrafts and cottage industries products are a feature in the various exhibitions abroad in which India has participated;

(5) Government have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 83,000 to the All India Handicrafts Board for carrying out a marketing survey which would pay special attention to the production aspect in relation to export orders.

Sugar Problem

Referring to the periodic crises in the production, distribution and consumption of sugar, Sri B. C. Tandon writes in an article in the *Vigil* that attempts to solve the sugar problem had only been made superficially. Imports to augment supplies and control of consumption could at best be considered temporary palliatives. But nothing more enduring was done with the result the country was face to face with another such crisis.

A peculiar feature of the sugar industry, as Sri Tandon writes, was the fact that an increased consumption found production lagging well behind with a tendency for the gap to widen even more, in spite of the heavy sacrifices undergone by the consumers. Production of sugar in 1953-54 was a good deal less than in 1952-53. It was not expected to exceed one million tons this season as against the probable requirement of 1.7 million tons. Such a situation engendering a psychology of scarcity was bound to lead to the shooting up of prices with the consumers as the ultimate sufferers.

The Government policy announced on April 14, to meet the emergency by supplying sugar throughout the country out of their reserve of 22 per cent of the current year's production and from quantities imported from abroad, could not perhaps, even with the most efficient distribution arrangements, avoid pockets of scarcity and periods of short supply.

The writer traces this state of the sugar industry

in our country mainly to the relatively low yield of sugarcane. While the acreage under sugarcane had increased the yield of cane per acre and sucrose content had appreciably deteriorated. That was again due to the fact that the cultivation of sugarcane had largely been neglected notwithstanding the collection of large sums of money by the Government as cess on cane. India was the only country to levy such a cess. But the Government never spent the whole of the money realized from the cess on sugarcane development. Sri Tandon regards this as revealing "clearly the misappropriation of funds."

The solution of the problem called for a greater attention to the production of sugarcane. He expresses some satisfaction that the Governments of the U.P., Bihar and the Punjab were taking steps for increasing the production and yield of sugarcane.

India to Manufacture Tanks

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports on June 17 that India would soon manufacture tanks. The Government reportedly were discussing plans with Daimler-Benz, the famous German firm and Leylands, the great British concern.

According to the paper's special correspondent in New Delhi, Daimler-Benz had offered help in producing thirteen tonners which were a prototype of the French Tank, recently exhibited in New Delhi.

British Leylands had given plans for the 35-tonner "Centurion." They promised to use Indian material.

The report adds that the British offer was likely to be accepted.

The Bonn correspondent of the *London Times* writes that the reported offer of Daimler-Benz for building Tanks in India, if accepted by the Government of India, might raise a point in the application of Allied Military Security Controls in Western Germany. The Allied laws imposed restrictions on production of war materials on German soil and covered not only arms and military equipment but "drawings, specifications, designs, models, and reproductions directly relating to the production of such things." The Allied High Commission apparently could insist, if it chose, on the right to control the technical services rendered by the German firm.

The correspondent adds that Daimler-Benz was planning a joint enterprise with the Tatas. They would not become partners in the undertaking or put any capital in it. The German firm would give technical advice and services while ownership and production would remain in Indian hands. Daimler-Benz designs and patents would, however, be used in production and the plant would be constructed on German advice and wholly or largely with German machines. (*Statesman*, 22.6.54).

Two Months of Nadar Ministry

The *Bombay Chronicle's* correspondent in Madras writes that though it was about two months since Sri Kamaraja Nadar took over as the Chief Minister of the Madras State, Mr. Nadar did neither resign his seat in Parliament nor seemed to be anxious to be elected to the State legislature.

There was consequently much speculation about the future of Sri Nadar and political circles were inclined to believe that he would not continue as Chief Minister for long. According to the report, Sri Nadar "would take back the presidentship of the Tamil Nad Pradesh Congress Committee and choose to remain the formidable power behind the throne."

"It was even hinted that he would bring back Sri Kumaraswami Raja or make Sri Bhaktavatsalam the Chief Minister and assume the presidentship of TTNC."

The State Government is reported to have worked out in broad outline a plan for land reform the urgency of which was emphasised several times by Government leaders. It was hinted that no individual holding could be of more than one hundred acres. The move for land reforms naturally was confronted with hostile reactions from the land-owning classes. The landlords in Coimbatore came out in opposition to the move for limiting individual holdings.

In the Tanjore district, the rice bowl of the State, big landowners started parcelling out their holdings, settling their relatives on those lands. The correspondent reports that "sometime back a rich landowner of Tanjore invited through advertisements in Madras dailies, applications from educated young men willing to settle down as working agriculturists on a 10-acre holding to be given free."

"The landowner not only promised to give the land free, but also undertook to loan some money to start work."

About a thousand applications were received.

The Government was understood to have decided upon a scheme to open 1270 single-teacher schools in 1954-55 in villages which had no schools.

Revival of Muslim Communalism

The special correspondent of the *People* in Lucknow reports of a revival of Muslim communalism in UP which had traditionally been its fostering ground. All historic decisions concerning the Muslims were taken in Lucknow since the time of the Lucknow Pact of 1916. After the partition of the country the first All-India Muslim Conference was also held there. Again, it was in Lucknow that efforts were made to revive what was called "Muslim politics." The first session of the newly organised Muslim Jamaat was held at Aligarh, "which," the correspondent writes, "might have been chosen for historic inspiration."

According to him, two classes of leaders were exploiting the peculiar position of Aligarh and the feeling of Muslim despondency which they themselves aggravated. One class of leaders were up for personal aggrandizement after partition. The other class, looking towards Pakistan for inspiration, was busy trying to create a feeling of frustration among the Muslims and prompting them to regard Pakistan as their own State across the borders. Large sums of money were collected from credulous Muslims by those leaders, the greediness of some of whom had already been exposed.

Referring to the arrest and imprisonment of 88 Muslims in Faizabad early in June for violating the orders under Section 144 promulgated by the District Magistrate, the correspondent writes: "A people administered by rule of law have their quarrels settled by a court, and do not, like barbarians, decide them by force."

"When the Government had referred the question of Babari mosque or Janma Bhumi temple to court it was the obvious duty of law-abiding people to wait patiently for the court's decision. But when some misguided Muslim decided that they could establish their arbitrary right by force, the District Magistrate had to enforce Section 144 to maintain law and order and to enable justice to be done by the court."

The correspondent suggests that a careful scrutiny by the Government's Intelligence Department would easily reveal the evil forces at work and by weeding them out innocent Muslims might be saved from their venomous influence. He adds that honest Muslim leaders had a great responsibility to see that their co-religionists were not led astray.

Gujarat Leaders Oppose Hindi

The *Hitavada* reports that eight prominent leaders of Gujarat, among whom were Kaka Kalelkar, Chairman of the Backward Classes Commission, Sri Narahari Parikh, former Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi and Prof. R. V. Phatak, came out against the decision of the Government of Bombay to make Hindi the medium of instruction at the University stage in Government colleges from June, 1955.

In a statement issued on June 25, the Gujarat leaders said that the introduction of Hindi as medium of instruction at the University level was a "suicidal policy from the educational point of view" and would stunt the cultural and intellectual life of non-Hindi regions.

The Government decision had "unnecessarily made the medium question difficult," they said. They pleaded for the adoption of the regional

languages as the medium of instruction and supported their stand by quotations from Radhakrishnan Commission Report on University education and writings of Mahatma Gandhi.

The leaders appealed to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru as the symbol of our national unity to give his opinion on the medium of instruction without any delay in order that the situation might not worsen further.

Gandhiji on Hindi

It would be very cogent, in connection with the abovementioned protest, to quote the following remarks of Gandhiji, as cited in the *Harijan* for May 22:

Continuing Gandhiji referred next to the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee, which had been sitting for the last two days. Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of re-constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel were both present in that day's meeting. The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally as soon as they came to power, as such redistribution would be conducive to the cultural advancement of the country. But such redistribution should not militate against the organic unity of India. Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption or that hereafter provinces could go the way they chose, independent of one another and of the Centre. If each province began to look upon itself as a separate, sovereign unit, India's independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well.

The charter of India's independence as conceived by the Congress was based on village autonomy. But all the villages were to derive vitality from the Centre, as the latter in its turn derived all power and authority from the former. It would be fatal if it led to narrow provincialism, mutual bickerings and rivalries—between Tamil and Andhra for instance, Bombay and Karnataka and so on. The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani was to be the lingua franca—*Rashtra Bhasha*—of India, but it could not take the place of the provincial tongues. It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English. Its function was to make them realize their organic relationship with India. The world outside did not know them as Gujaratis, Maharashtrians, Tamilians, etc., but only as Indians. We must therefore, resolutely discourage all fissiparous tendencies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to the paramount consideration, a linguistic redistribution of provinces should give an impetus to education and trade.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

A Study in Administrative Personnel

By PROF. DR. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.P.A., D.F.A. & D.

The term "Civil Service" was used by the East India Company to describe those of its servants who carried out its trade-work. These persons were distinguished from the military, maritime and ecclesiastical servants of the Company. From an insignificant trading corporation gradually it developed into a territorial power, its servants were transformed from merchants and factors into administrative officers. To compensate them for their pay, they were allowed to carry on private trade but when it assumed alarming proportions, it was stopped.¹

In the beginning each Presidency had its separate Civil Service and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833 provided that vacancies occurring in any presidency should be filled by the Civil Servants belonging to that Presidency. But taken as a whole, it was called the "Covenanted Civil Service" as against the uncovenanted service which consisted of minor administrative posts in which Indians predominated. The Government of India were opposed to the system of filling vacancies in the administrative posts of a Presidency from among the members of the Civil Service of that Presidency and their point of view was accepted by the Secretary of State in 1878, thus leading to the establishment of an All India Service, although the new arrangement was ratified by Parliament only in 1912. The term "Indian Civil Service" was, however, for the first time used in 1861 when in that year the Indian Civil Service Act was passed. But it was really a misnomer as it had a very limited connotation and referred to the topmost class of administrative personnel. Thus it did not convey the same meaning as the terms "British Civil Service" or "American Civil Service" or even "French Civil Service," because these terms connote the whole army of Public Servants of the countries to which they belonged.

The credit for building a modern Civil Service goes to Warren Hastings and Cornwallis. The former described the administration of Bengal in the first year of his Governor-Generalship in these words:

"Will you believe that the boys of the service are the sovereigns of the country, under the unmeaning title of supervisors, collectors of revenue, administrators of justice and rulers, heavy rulers of the people?"

But on his retirement in 1785 he testified to their high moral character. Addressing the Board of Control he remarked that

1. For a detailed account of its evils read Lester Hutchinson: *The Empire of the Nabobs*; Reginald Reynolds: *The White Sahibs in India*; and Henry Dodwell: *The Nabobs of Madras*.
2. A. Mervyn Davies: *Warren Hastings, Maker of British India*, p. 76.

He was in a position of "knowing their several talents, and of viewing those qualities which form the common character of the service, which I pronounce to be eminently marked with a liberality of sentiment, a susceptibility and firmness of attachment, a disdain of sordid emolument, with a spirit of assiduity, and the consequent expertness in business, exceeding I dare venture to affirm, the habits of any community under the British Empire."²

Lord Cornwallis made further efforts to improve the morale of the Company's servants.³ But Lord Wellesley⁴ deserves credit for drawing pointed attention to the neglected condition of the educational equipment of the Civil Servants. Although his scheme of opening a College at Fort William was reduced to a farce by the Directors due to a tactical mistake committed by him, they agreed to the principle of providing education and training to the new entrants and with this object in view started Haileybury College in England in 1806.

Before 1853 recruitment was made on the basis of patronage but in that year the principle of competition was introduced for recruitment to posts in the Company's Civil Service at the instance of Lord Macaulay who argued thus:

"There never was a fact proved by a larger mass of evidence, or a more unvaried experience than this:—That men who distinguish themselves in their youth above their contemporaries, almost always keep to the end of their lives the start they have gained." He further remarked: "We believe that men who have been engaged upto one or two and twenty, in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found, in the business of every profession, superior to men who have, at the age of eighteen or nineteen, devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling."⁵

For a very long time the competitive examination was held only in England. The recruitment was made by the Civil Service Commissioners and the syllabus for the examination was the same as for the administrative

3. W. S. Seton Karr: *Selections from Calcutta Gazette*, p. 133.

4. In the words of Thompson and Garratt his efforts "were chiefly directed towards preventing further corruption and ridding India of the worst offenders. It is regrettable that so much energy, over so many decades, of men so able and noble had necessarily to be deflected from administration and put into what can only be called sanitary work."—*The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 190.

4-A. See his letter to the Directors in Sidney J. Owen: *A Selection from the Despatches, Treatises and other papers of the Marquess Wellesley*, p. 727.

5. Quoted by L. D. White: *Civil Service Abroad*, pp. 21-22.

class of the British Civil Service. This was regarded as unfair to Indian candidates and led to a demand for simultaneous examinations in India. In fact, since its inception in 1885 the Indian National Congress began to pass resolutions in its annual sessions year after year demanding this much-needed reform.⁶ As in those days the demand for self-government would have appeared as moonshine to the Indians themselves, the early Congress only demanded a reform of the councils and a share in the public services of the country, the means for which was simultaneous examination in India. In the Allahabad Congress Session of 1892 a comprehensive resolution on the public services was adopted. It was moved by Gopal Krishna Gokhale and seconded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who remarked:

"It is singularly unjust to compel the people of this country to pass an examination to qualify themselves for service in their own country. No other people labour under such an awful disadvantage. Must we alone be subjected to it because we are the subjects of a strong power like England."⁷

This demand was conceded in 1922, although the Public Service Commission was established in 1926 for making recruitment through competitive examinations in India. But the power of making rules for recruitment to the Service belonged to the Secretary of State for India who was also given disciplinary and controlling power over the Service. The system of recruitment was very expensive and was beyond the means of brilliant youths of poor families. The last examination was held in 1943 as owing to war the normal mode of recruitment was suspended. In 1945 the recruitment of war service candidates was started but it was discontinued in 1946.⁸ In October, 1946 the Premiers' Conference held at New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel decided to replace the I.C.S.⁹ by the All India Administrative Service which was later on renamed the Indian Administrative Service.

As an interim National Government had already been formed at New Delhi on September 2, 1946, the problem of winding up of the Secretary of State's Services was discussed between the representatives of the British Government and the New Government of India. The announcement by the British Prime Minister, Mr. C. R. Attlee, that Britain would finally transfer power to Indians by a date not later than June, 1948 also focussed attention on the matter of compensation to those Civil Servants who would suffer a loss of career due to the changed circumstances. Consequently a scheme of compensation for the Secretary of State's Services was announced both in England and India simultaneously by the Secretary of

State and the Governor General respectively on April 30, 1947.

Probationary training to the new entrants was first imparted in England but during the Second World War a probationary training Camp was started at Dehra Dun in India. The system could not be as useful as it should have been, because there was far too much of the mere university in it and the opportunity was not taken to weed out undesirable candidates. For practical training the young entrant to the Service was assigned to a District Officer but as the latter could spare little time from his administrative work, his training was often neglected.

The Service performed a large variety of duties. Its members worked as Administrative Officers, members of Executive Councils, Judges and even as nominated members of legislatures. It formed not only the administration but also the government of the country. In fact, just as it was very difficult to define the duties of a good wife, similarly the duties of the I.C.S. could not be adequately enumerated. But by far the most important officer of the Service was the Collector or Deputy Commissioner who was the head of a district and who was the chief proper mainstay of British rule in India.⁹ A special feature of district work was the Camping life of its officers. Moreover, although the members of the Service were recruited and controlled by the Secretary of State, they were borne on the provincial Cadre.

The members of the Service received high salaries in service and enormous pensions on retirement. They were promoted not only to the highest executive post of the province but to a large number of very high posts in the Government of India. They also enjoyed a generous measure of leave in addition to many other concessions and benefits. This was a peculiar feature of Imperial administration.

The problem of the protection of the rights and privileges of members of the Service which was practically non-existent before 1919 assumed great importance after the Government of India Act of that year made a beginning in responsible government. It was feared that when Indians assumed power, they might discriminate

9. In the words of Ramsay MacDonald, "If the Viceroy is the ceremonial symbol of the British Crown in India, it is the Collector who is the seat of authority so far as the mass of the people is concerned. He is the great Sahib whose nod is to be obeyed, who gives and withholds, who taxes and administers justice, before whom all the people of the village—bunyas and policemen, headmen and accountants bow. He is the mighty one to whom the most flowery language and ornate titles apply. In fact, in his care are the people of India. He, or those who obey him, order the life of the people, and next to the creator, and the laws of nature, he comes in the hierarchy of arbitrary powers. Those above him are too remote from the life of the people to be anything but indefinite gleams, those below him are outwardly and visibly his servants."

10. See Herman Finer: *The British Civil Service*, p. 116.

6. See the resolutions of the Indian National Congress in Annie Besant: *How India Wrought for Freedom*, pp. 13-14, 32 & 71.

7. Annie Besant: *How India Wrought for Freedom*, p. 148.

8. The India Office made an announcement to this effect on August 18, 1946.

against the European members of the Service. Therefore, both the Government of India Act, 1919 and the Act of 1935 aimed at inventing new devices to protect the interests of the Service. The problem of discipline was not of much importance in the Service as it filled the higher and more responsible posts in administration. But although the majority of its members served under the provincial governments, the latter possessed only minor disciplinary powers over them.

The problem of Indianization first appeared in the form of a demand for simultaneous examinations which has already been referred to in this article. Later on a substantial share in the public services was demanded. The same arguments which were advanced for Indianization were afterwards advanced for communal representation in the public services.¹¹ As Indianization of the Civil Service did not satisfy popular aspirations, the demand changed into an agitation for responsible self-government. Finally, complete Indianization and the stoppage of the examination in England was demanded. The Sapru Committee which thrashed out a Scheme of constitutional reforms for India before the establishment of the Interim Government recommended that

In view of the promise of establishment of self-government "no recruitment of non-Indian personnel for the I.C.S. be made by the Secretary of State, because recruits of required competence are available in this country and the recruitment of non-Indians would prejudicially affect the working of the future constitution."¹²

In India the distinction between the administration and the executive was quite unimportant before 1919 as the administrative service filled all the important posts in the executive branch. Moreover, the administration overwhelmed the legislatures and the judiciary by its power. But both the Government of India Act, 1919, and the Act of 1935 proceeded in the direction of limiting the scope of the Service to the administrative field only.

A very important reform for which the Indian National Congress agitated since its birth was the separation of the executive and judicial functions. The second Congress held at Calcutta in 1886 passed a resolution which ran thus:

"That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions...has become an urgent necessity, and that in its opinion it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should in some provinces involve some extra expenditure."¹³

But separation of powers is not an accomplished fact even today when the same Congress Party forms government, although it is contained in the Directive Principles

of State Policy of our constitution¹⁴ and attempts are also being made in that direction now in some states including U.P.

The Service was mercilessly criticized by Indian political leaders. One of them remarked that it was neither Indian nor Civil nor Service. It was also open to the charge of being bureaucratic in nature. No doubt, bureaucracy is a necessary evil in the modern democratic state. But in India the two most important reasons for this were the foreign composition of the Service and the overwhelming nature of its powers. The second fact was due to the non-sovereign character of Indian legislatures and the exercise of its powers by the Civil Service independently of the mandate of the legislature. Moreover, the relations of the Service with the people were far from cordial.

An account of the relations of the Service with Indian nationalism is very essential in this study. The Indian National Congress, the spearhead of anti-imperialist agitation in India, was founded by a British member of the Service and some other British members took a leading part in its activities. Paying a tribute of eulogy to them in the Delhi Congress of 1918, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya remarked:

"We cherish the honoured name of Allan Octavian Hume who was founder of the Indian National Congress. We revere the memory of the godly Sir William Wedderburn who devoted all his time upto the last moment of his life to the promotion of the good of India. We have the respected name of Sir Henry Cotton whose lifelong service to this country will not be easily forgotten."¹⁵

In course of time an antagonism developed between the Service and the Congress as the former represented the interests of the alien rulers and the latter represented the popular sentiments and aspirations. The relations reached a climax in the rebellion of 1942 when there was an open clash between the Congress and the Indian Civil Service. In this movement some British members of the Service earned a notoriety for their exceptionally cruel behaviour towards the people. Two such Civil Servants in U.P. were Marshsmith and Nethersole.

In the words of Lloyd George:

The service was "the steel frame of the whole structure."¹⁶

It is no small tribute to members of the Service that they were able to provide India with stable administration. Without them the administrative edifice would have fallen to pieces. The task of governing India was not an easy one chiefly because the rulers and the ruled belonged to two different races and followed different religions, customs and manners. As the long record of British rule in India is

11. See *Council of State Debates*, Vol. V, 1925, p. 407.

12. Constitutional proposals of the Sapru Committee, Appendix No. 2, p. V.

13. *The Indian National Congress* (G. A. Natesan & Co.), Pt. II, p. 8.

14. Article 50.

15. *Congress Presidential Addresses*, Second series, 1911-34, p. 407.

16. Speech in the House of Commons, dated 2-8-1922.

little more than the record of work of the Indian Civil Service, the task of estimating this work is very difficult indeed. He must be a very bold man who condemns the Service outright. The politician in the heat of the controversy or in order to catch votes might do so but the task of the impartial student is not so easy. It may, however, be pointed out that the Indian Civil Service worked under a handicap. In a democratic government the Civil Service works under a popular minister and is itself neutral in politics with the result that it escapes popular criticism which is directed against the minister.

But the criticism of the Indian Civil Service was "partly due to the fact that on the personnel of the service, which is at once the parent and the mainstay of the existing system, has fallen much of the odium which would more justly be directed against the impersonal system itself."

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the Indian Civil Service was, on the whole, a very efficient Civil Service although the criterion of efficiency was not the

17. Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (Montford), Para 326.

good of the people but the interest of the imperial power. That even after the abdication of power by the British rulers in India the members of the Indian Civil Service exercised a great stabilising influence over the administration is beyond doubt or dispute. Their contribution was recognised by no less a person than Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the first Home Minister of Independent India, who remarked in the course of a speech in the Constituent Assembly of India on 10th October, 1949 that

"Having worked with members of the Service, he could say that in point of patriotism, loyalty, sincerity, and ability it would not be possible to find substitutes for them."

He further testified to their good work in these words:

"During the last two or three years if members of the Service had not behaved patriotically and loyally the Union would have collapsed. They have worked day and night. Is there any provincial premier who is prepared to work without the Service?"

Surely, these are rich tributes from one of the foremost architects of Indian freedom and one of the bitterest enemies of the Service.

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TOWARDS A NEW TAXATION POLICY

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

OBJECTIVES

AFTER the attainment of political freedom in India, the process of Independence can be regarded as complete only if we are able to achieve economic freedom for the common man. According to the Directive Principles of State Policy, as laid down in the Indian Constitution, it is the duty of the Government to secure "an adequate means of livelihood" to all citizens and to see to it that "the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment." The State is supposed to "make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want." The Constitution also enjoins the State "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 and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities" and, in particular, to endeavour "to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas." It is obvious that these objectives can be attained by the reorientation of our existing economic system on a planned basis. The first Five-Year Plan is essentially based on the directive principles of the Constitution and recommends that the aim of planning ought to be "the reduction of economic inequalities" through a rational and equitable system of taxation.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Economic planning can be based either on totalitarian methods involving "a violent overturning of society" or on peaceful and democratic methods resulting in the good-will and co-operation of all sections of society. India has wilfully chosen the democratic method as a better way of achieving the cherished goal of a Welfare State. It is wrong to think that the democratic process is necessarily a slower process as compared to the authoritarian method. We have decided to follow the pattern of a *middle economy*—I do not like the word "mixed economy"—which avoids the two extremes of Capitalism and Communism. This is also the kind of an economic order that the Father of the Nation visualised for Free India. In order to bring about a new socio-economic order of this type it is absolutely essential to undertake suitable legislation for speeding up far-reaching reforms relating to land, agriculture, industry, administration and public finance. The importance of the work entrusted to the Taxation Enquiry Commission, therefore, cannot be over-estimated. Public finance in the modern world, is a very valuable medium of economic planning and must be utilised as such with a sense of urgency.

BURDEN OF TAXATION

It is not correct to say that the burden of taxation in India is already very heavy and that there is not much scope for further taxation. The proportion of taxation to National Income in India is only about 7 per

cent as compared with 21 per cent in Ceylon, 16 per cent in Egypt, 26 per cent in U.S.A. and 41 per cent in the United Kingdom. It is also interesting to know that whereas only 6.24 per cent of the population pay income-taxes in India, the relevant percentage is as much as 44 per cent in the United Kingdom, 37 per cent in the U.S.A., 34 per cent in Australia, and 20 per cent in Canada. There is, undoubtedly, enough scope for taxation in our country specially in view of the numerous development plans which would, in turn, raise the taxable capacity of the people. As the late R. C. Dutt wrote in his *Economic History of India*, taxation raised by a Government "is like the moisture of the earth sucked up by the Sun to be returned to the earth as fertilising rain." In fact, everything depends on the purposes for which increased taxation is spent. If the masses of India are convinced that additional taxes raised from them are going to be spent by the Government for their benefit as also for the welfare of the succeeding generations, they will not grudge the imposition of more taxes. But it is necessary that, besides the benefit principle, the principle of ability to pay is also constantly kept in mind. In an under-developed country like India, both direct and indirect taxes will have to raise the necessary revenues from all sections of the population. The poor, the middle and the upper classes will be required to share the burden in proportion to their capacity.

ECONOMIC EQUALITIES

There is, at present, a gaping gulf between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'; this gulf must be filled up quickly and systematically through a more rational and just system of taxation in the country. The poor will gladly bear the additional burden of taxation only if they honestly feel that the State is out to establish greater economic equalities by levelling down the rich. In the existing social and economic order, it must be admitted that even after the advent of political freedom there has been no reduction in the glaring inequalities in society. How can the poor masses be expected, therefore, to feel a glow or real freedom? And unless they experience this "glow," it is futile to expect from them their willing co-operation in the great and onerous task of building up a new and prosperous India. I suggest that the aim of our economic policy ought to be to secure a minimum monthly income of Rs. 100 to an average family and to try to impose a ceiling on higher incomes at 20 times the minimum, i.e., Rs. 2,000 per month. It should also be borne in mind that the ratio of 1:20 may be brought down to 1:10 within a reasonable period of time.

PROPOSALS

Let me now make a few concrete proposals for achieving the objectives mentioned above:

1. The rich people should be made to realise that if democracy has to succeed in India, they must willingly

and gracefully agree to part with their wealth through additional taxation for the welfare of the masses. It is true that there are only 1286 persons in this country whose income is above Rs. 1,50,000 a year. But it is also true that there is an amount of about Rs. 20 crores which escapes the net of tax-gatherers every year. Both, the rich sections of society as well as the Government must try their best to make available this substantial amount to the public exchequer every year. *Evasion of taxes* should be regarded as a great national sin almost bordering on treason and, if necessary, should be punished as such.

2. Rates of *income-tax* and *super-tax* should be made steeper after the annual income of Rs. 50,000. There should also be different rates for earned and unearned incomes. A system of allowances based on the size of the family may be introduced in India, more or less, on the U.K. model. It is not correct to think that such allowances will encourage larger families in the already over-populated country.

3. The *Estate Duty* rates are quite low, to begin with. They should be increased upto 75 per cent on estates above one crore. There should, however, be no undue harassment and greater facilities may be provided to the assesses to deposit estate duties in advance during their lifetime. Proceeds of Estate Duty should be earmarked for the development of rural areas.

4. Higher rates of *Sales Tax* should be imposed on luxury goods and the products of cottage and village industries should be fully exempted from such tax. Government of India should try to bring about uniformity in Sales Tax in different States as early as possible. Problems relating to Inter-State trade must be resolved without any further delay. Single-point Sales Tax should be preferred Multi-point tax. Disposal of cases should be quick and all unjustified harassment should be avoided. Rules of procedure should be rendered as simple as possible.

5. The existing system of land revenue should be replaced by a system of *agricultural income-tax*. All land holdings yielding annual incomes below a minimum, should be completely exempted from tax or revenue and higher agricultural incomes should be taxed at steep rates. Such a system will promote quicker redistribution of land on a more equitable basis.

6. Feudalism in land has been, more or less, abolished in India. It is now high time that *feudalism in industry* is also abolished. The system of Managing Agents is a relic of feudalism and must be radically overhauled. The Companies Amendment Bill introduced in the Parliament does not go far enough; it should be followed by a more comprehensive legislative measure as early as possible. In the meantime, there should be imposed a ceiling on dividends at the rate of 6 per cent and on the remuneration granted to Managing Agents at the rate 7½ per cent of net profits.

7. In order to check tax evasion and exercise a more effective control on private companies, the Govern-

ment should develop a system of audit of such companies through State Auditors and Chartered Accountants. The existing system of private audit leads to manipulation of accounts for dodging the tax-gatherer.

8. In the country, there are huge amounts lying idle in demand deposits. A tax on idle resources would increase the velocity of circulation and promote greater employment opportunities, either through forced spending or through forced investment.

9. The ultimate aim of economic policy should be to nationalise the key or mother industries and to decentralise the consumer goods industries. This objective could be gradually realised by imposing a cess on mill-made consumer goods like cloth, oil, sugar, leather, paper and match, and subsidizing the corresponding cottage and village industries. The Government have already accepted this principle by levying a cess on mill cloth for developing handloom and Khadi. The same principle should be extended to other consumer goods industries also.

10. In order to promote voluntary abdication of wealth by the rich in the form of charitable trusts and endowments, the limit of donations to charitable institutions for specified purposes may be raised from 5 per cent to 10 per cent for purposes of exemption from income-tax. The list of specified purposes should, of course, include only those items which form an integral part of the National Development Plan.

11. Admirable response of the people to the scheme of Local Works in the Five Year Plan clearly reveals that the principle of direct and visible benefit must be always borne in mind in drawing up a system of taxation. In place of direct or indirect taxes on the people for financing the National Plan in general, it will be much better to invite the willing co-operation of the general public in the form of donations in cash, kind or voluntary physical labour for the execution of local projects which directly satisfy the felt needs of the people in different areas. Provision should be made for earmarking funds for specific projects or purposes in purchasing National Savings Certificates, Treasury Savings Deposit Certificates and the National Plan Loan Bonds.

12. With a view to mopping up idle money resources in the country, special schemes should be prepared for extending banking and insurance facilities to the rural areas. Commercial Banks may be encouraged to open their branches in the villages by permitting lower grades of pay for employees working in the rural areas. The Postal Insurance scheme, which is at present confined to Government servants, may be extended to the public in general.

13. In order to earn larger Customs revenues as well as to protect indigenous small-scale and cottage industries, higher Import duties should be levied on luxury goods like cosmetics, perfumes, canned fruits, crockery, biscuits and confectionery, wines and liquors, motor cars, cigarettes, textile fabrics, cutlery, etc.

Imports of luxuries on a large scale has deadened the spirit of Swadeshi among the people and it is, surely, very desirable to revive it for quickening the pace of industrial progress in India.

14. So far, there has been a flow of tax revenues from the villages to the cities. The process must now be reversed. To begin with, 50 per cent of the direct taxes raised from a particular area should be retained in the same region for purposes of local development projects. Further, higher irrigation rates or betterment levies should be imposed only on those regions which have directly benefited as a result of better irrigational facilities. In short, the benefits of additional taxation should be clearly visible to the people.

15. No further flow of foreign capital for investment in consumer goods industries should be allowed by the Government. In order to divert the existing foreign capital into producer goods industries, higher rates of excise and sales taxes may be charged on the consumer goods of foreign concerns masquerading as (India) Ltd.

16. The system of local taxation should be rendered more scientific and systematic. In order to assist the local bodies in assessing the taxes more accurately, the State Governments should maintain separate valuation staff and the cost of these special services should be borne partly by the State government and partly by the local bodies. Special attention should be paid to unearned incomes accruing from land as a result of various development schemes. In order to curb the tendency of building palatial houses for displaying one's wealth, House taxes should be levied at higher rates by Municipalities and Corporations.

17. Excess Profits Tax, which had become a normal feature of taxation during the War, may be re-introduced in the country with necessary adjustments in order to mop up special profits in certain industries. There should be heavy tax on Speculative trading, also.

18. The people who are taxed by the State have a right to feel confident that the money raised from them is being rightly and frugally spent by the Government for their welfare. The need for economy and efficiency in administration is, therefore, of paramount importance. There should be voluntary or compulsory reduction in higher salary grades and corruption in services must be rooted out effectively. People under a democracy can tolerate many handicaps and difficulties. But they cannot and should not tolerate inefficiency and dishonesty in their administrative machinery.

19. About half of our annual revenues are today spent on the Defence services. It may not be possible to reduce this expenditure to any appreciable extent in the near future. But serious attempts should be made to use our defence forces progressively for productive and developmental purposes within the framework of our National Plan. This scheme will be helpful in lessening the need for higher taxation in the country. The armed forces should be utilised in times of

peace for constructing village roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, checking soil erosion, afforestation, shooting of wild animals that destroy agricultural crops, etc.

20. Non-tax sources of revenue could also be tapped by the State by nationalising basic industries, establishing State public utility services and introducing state trading in certain directions, specially in the sphere of foreign trade. To begin with, only a few commodities should be chosen for State trading in order to gain the requisite experience.

21. Above all, the State should try to create an

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FRENCH INDO-CHINA

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

THE Canadian Prime Minister Mr. S. L. St. Laurent sums up the impressions of his recent tour in India, Pakistan and Ceylon in the following words :

"In every part of the East the desire for national independence goes hand in hand with a new sense of the dignity of the individual and the equality of all men regardless of origin or colour."

It is one of the major tragedies of our times that this desire for freedom and the sense of dignity and of the individual equality have yet to be recognised in not a few places. The much-talked-of Atlantic Charter has remained inoperative in large areas of Asia and Africa. There is a ferment in the colonial world. A struggle is on. Its tempo has been mounting, particularly in the years following World War II. Submerged humanity is on the march. Much of the future of our planet and of our species hinges on whether the powers that be help or hinder the struggle of the colonial peoples for the recovery of their birth-right—liberty and equality.

Asia—and Africa too—has been the imperialist's paradise for many generations. Imperialism means, among others, economic exploitation, political suppression and social degradation for the millions whose protector and benefactor it (imperialism) pretends to be. It is against all these evils and iniquities and thousand others that go with them that the colonial peoples are up in arms today. Immediate success is not going to be theirs. But they are sure to win in the long run. No man can set a limit to the march of a nation.

Malaya and French Indo-China in South-East Asia have been fighting for liberty for the better part of a decade. H. G. Van Mook, a former Governor-General of Indonesia, points out :

"The facts in post-war South-East Asia no longer allow that gradual schooling for nationhood which was the promise of the last half-century of the colonial era. The fulfilment of that promise was too often postponed, the resistance of vested interests has time and again caused too much delay, the suspicion

atmosphere of austerity and hard work by setting an example from the top. The people cannot be expected to tighten their belts unless the high State dignitaries and officials begin to tightening their own. The vulgar display of riches in big cities in the form of Receptions, Dinners, Cocktail parties must cease. Prohibition of intoxicating drinks should be strictly enforced as an integral part of our national programme. The excise revenue that we will lose through Prohibition will be amply compensated by the additional money that will be available with the people for investment in productive channels.

of imperialism is too deep-seated. Sincerity of intentions (if ever there was any) no longer suffices; after having been the defenceless objective of the most grim colonial aggression, they demand the certainty of self-government."—*The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia*, p. 22.

Indo-China, consisting of Cochin China, Annam, Cambodia, Tongking and Laos is considered by France to be a unit of the French Union. The unit comprises the Associated States of Viet-Nam (Annam, Tongking and Cochin-China), Cambodia and Laos. Viet-Nam is a Republic with its headquarters at Hanoi. It has a population of 24 million concentrated mostly in the Red River Delta in the north, the Mekong Delta in the south and a thin coastal strip joining the two. The Red River Delta is overpopulated and depends for its food on rice imports from the south. The whole of Viet Nam speaks the same language and has a culture predominantly Chinese in character. The kingdom of Laos has a population of less than 2 million. The Laotians have little linguistic, religious and cultural difference from the inhabitants of the adjacent areas of north-east Thailand. The kingdom of Cambodia has a population of nearly 4 million. Buddhism is the religion of the people. Their culture is of Indian origin. King Nordom Sihanouk of Cambodia told France not very long ago that "he would accede to the Indian Union by virtue of the historical Hindu religious and cultural ties Cambodia has had with India."—*Times of India*, 30-5-54.

French rule in Indo-China dates from the latter half of the 19th Century in Cochin China from 1863, in Cambodia from the 1870's, in Tongking from 1884 and in Laos from 1893. Christian Missionaries had been active in the whole of Indo-China from the 17th Century and they have made more converts here than anywhere else in the Far East. Viet-Namese nationalism is as old as the French supremacy in Indo-China and is an offspring of the animosity and bitterness generated by the French occupation of Indo-China in the 19th Century.

Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) had a tonic effect upon Viet-Nameese nationalism. That victory, indeed, did much more. It stirred the placid waters of the colonial East as a whole.

Nguyen Ali Quoc (Ngyuen, "who loves his country") dominated Indo-China's revolutionary politics during the first 20 years of the 20th Century. He started his revolutionary career at 18 when he reached France as a stowaway. We next hear of him studying Fabian Philosophy and participating in the discussion of the socialist groups in Britain. He worked in the kitchen of a well-known London hotel to supplement his slender means. Ali Quoc came to limelight when he made his first public political gesture at the 1919 Peace Conference. In the name and on behalf of the people of Indo-China he submitted a memorandum for the consideration of the conference. A remarkable document, Ali Quoc's memorandum was characterised by a spirit of moderation. It did not call for complete independence for Indo-China; but a democratic regime as distinct from Colonial domination. Ali Quoc joined the French Communist Party in 1922. Later on, he visited Moscow and worked with Borodin in China. "The Society of Revolutionary Young Annamites" founded by him in 1925 fathered the Communist Party of Indo-China five years later in 1930. Ali Quoc helped in various ways the Indo-Chinese struggle against colonialism which reached its climax in the revolution of the Yen Bary by the Tongkingese. Ali Quoc, though in Hongkong at the time when the revolution took place, was condemned to death in absentia by the French as the real leader of the revolt. The French demanded Ali Quoc's extradition; but the British authorities arrested him. He was imprisoned in Hongkong. He died of tuberculosis in the jail hospital. Not a few hold that the story of Ali Quoc's death is a myth and that the Viet Minh leader Dr. Ho Chi Minh and Nguyen Ali Quoc are one and the same person. Some again are of opinion that the Doctor is a younger brother of the latter.

World War I (1914-18) constitutes an important land-mark in the evolution of Viet-Nameese nationalism. It accentuated Viet Nam's urge to order her life in her own way. Nationalism became an important—the most important factor in Indo-Chinese politics in the twenties. Throughout this period the Indo-Chinese nationalists were in close touch with the Kuomintang, which since its reorganisation by Dr. Sun Yat Sen in 1923 included the Communist Party of China. The Komintang-Communist Partnership, it might be noted, was short-lived and the parties came to the parting of the ways in 1927. There is very little trace of contact, far less of co-ordination and collaboration, between the Communist Parties of China and Indo-China during the years 1935-50. All that we know for certain is that a few Indo-Chinese Communists lived and worked and were sustained spiritually by the Communist head-quarters in China.

The Viet Minh (Viet-Nam) Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi (League for the Independence of Viet-Nam) was

organised in China in 1941 with the Indo-Chinese Communist Party as its core. "To fight French and Japanese fascism and imperialism" was declared to be the objective of the Viet Minh. It turned its attention, naturally enough, to organising Indo-China, which, before long, was honeycombed with Viet-Minh cells and branches. Viet Minh headquarters were shifted from China to Tongking in 1944.

In the meanwhile the Nazi-sponsored Vichy Government headed by Marshal Petain had allowed Japanese to occupy Indo-China. The direction of Civil affairs was however left in French hands even after Japanese occupation. The position, anomalous as it became, after the formation of the De Gaulle Government in liberated France, continued until the Japanese deposed Admiral De Coux, the French Governor-General of Indo-China, disarmed the French troops and interned all French civilians (March 9, 1945). Emperor Bao Dai of Annam was placed at the head of a Viet-Nameese administration independent in name (March 10, 1945). There are reasons to believe that the Japanese agents had been already plotting with the leftist revolutionaries under Dr. Ho Chi Minh, who were organising within Indo-China and without, in China and Thailand. Though they proclaimed the independent Empire of Viet Nam with Bao Dai as the Emperor, they withdrew their support from him later and staged a republican revolution by the end of the war.

The Empire of Viet Nam sponsored by the Japanese with the co-operation of the Viet Minh "was but a phantom structure. The mandarin class, which formed its administration, showed neither grit nor integrity . . . terrible conditions . . . developed in the over-populated and poor delta of the Red River in Tonkin, where the extreme mismanagement of this period caused the death of hundreds of thousands . . ."—*The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia* by H. J. Van Mook, p. 176.

A Republic of Viet Nam had been projected already by the Viet Minh by the end of 1944. The Japanese, when they saw defeat approaching, established closer contact with the Viet Minh. They acted quickly when the end was near. They withdrew their support from "the gimmerack puppet empire" on August 6, 1945. The Viet Minh ordered general insurrection just before the Japanese surrender. The Japanese made no attempts to suppress it. Hanoi soon passed into the hands of the insurgents. The Republic of Viet Nam was ushered into existence on August 20. Emperor Bao Dai was called upon to abdicate and he handed over his powers to the Republic on August 25, 1945. The Japanese handed over power to a coalition Government in Cochinchina where the Viet Minh was comparatively weak. The coalition was however soon driven out of office by the Viet Minh, which has since become the spearhead of the Indo-Chinese national struggle. The Viet Minh formed a Government for the whole of Viet Nam on August 28. Dr. Ho Chi Minh, "the grand old man" of Indo-Chinese Communism, became the first President of

the Republic of Viet Nam, Ex-Emperor Bao Dai was appointed supreme counsellor under the name of "Vinh Thuy."

It had been decided at the Potsdam Conference that the Japanese army in Indo-China north of the 16th Parallel should be disarmed by the Chinese (Kuomintang) troops. Troops from Admiral Mountbatten's South-East Asia Command were to effect the surrender of the Japanese army of invasion in Southern Indo-China. British Indian troops under General D. D. Gracey landed at Saigon on September 12, nearly a month after the capitulation of Japan. His refusal to recognise the Republican authorities nearly cost him his Command. Chinese troops poured into northern Indo-China and reached Hanoi in September, 1945. A French army under the late General Leclerc landed on October 5. Liberal Allied aid, mostly British, enabled him to have a large and very mobile force by the end of 1945. The French High Commissioner—the office of the Governor-General had been abolished—Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu arrived late in October (1945). General Gracey re-embarked his troops in the beginning of 1946.

The French were confronted with a generally hostile attitude of the people. Demonstrations in Saigon long before the arrival of French troops had resulted in the loss of French civilian lives. Pandemonium seemed to have been let loose all over Indo-China. The Japanese, who had been selling arms to the Viet Minh and whose sympathies were more for Viet Nam than for France—we doubt very much if they had any genuine sympathy for either—were actually called upon by the British authorities to maintain law and order.

The cease-fire agreement between the French and the Viet-Nameese authorities signed in October, 1945 was difficult to enforce in the chaotic situation that prevailed. The French formed a consultative Council for Cochinchina early in the next year (February, 1946). The Viet Minh were firmly entrenched in the north where it had struck deep roots—political as well as military.

The agreement of March 6, 1946, signed by Dr. Ho Chi Minh on behalf of the Viet Minh and General Leclerc and M. Sainteny on behalf of France recognised Viet Nam (including Annam and Tonking) as an autonomous unit in an Indo-Chinese Federation. Laos, Cambodia and Cochinchina were to be the other units of this Federation to be. The Ho Government signified its willingness to allow the entry of French troops into Viet Nam for a period not exceeding five years. The details of Franco-Vietnamese relations were to be discussed and decided later on. A Franco-Vietnamese conference which met at Fontainebleau in July, 1946, was however abortive and produced no result. It is important to recall that Ho Chi Minh,* who led the

* It is not clear who led the delegation. According to some, M. Pham Van Dong, leader of the Viet Minh delegation to the Conference now in session at Geneva, led the Viet Nam delegation to the Fontainebleau Conference.

Viet Nameese delegation to the Fontainebleau Conference, did not demand complete independence. His demands were just and moderate and he did not seek to leave the French Union as yet. The Conference was suspended in August. It was however agreed that discussions should re-open in January, 1947. The March, 1946 agreement was to remain in force in the meanwhile. The extreme nationalists accused the Ho Government for having betrayed the country's cause by compromising with French imperialism. The Government replied by arresting the extreme nationalists on a large scale. The Government was re-shuffled on November 3 (1946). Dr. Ho retained his presidency. He was his own Foreign Minister as well. The re-shuffling of the Government was followed by a rapid deterioration of Franco-Vietnamese relations. The Viet Minh had long doubted the bonafides of the French policy in Cochinchina. They suspected that France wanted to detach Cochinchina. The customs arrangements at Haiphong, which the Viet Minh regarded as an infringement of the March agreement, deepened their suspicion. The extreme nationalists demanded a complete break with France. There were serious incidents at Langson and Haiphong. The news that 75,000 French troops were on their way to Indo-China did not certainly contribute to Franco-Vietnamese amity. On the contrary, it convinced Indo-China that France was determined to preserve at any cost her Empire in South-East Asia. The Viet Minh Government began to evacuate Hanoi in December, 1946. The streets were barricaded. French strong points were attacked by the Viet Minh troops on December 19. Fighting broke out at Hue, Tourane and other places on the following day.

"French policy in Indo-China has shown a gradual evolution after the break with the Republic of Viet Nam. Police action, commenced under the handicaps of economic difficulties and of a necessary demobilization of the original French forces, could not prevent a continuous improvement in the organisation and equipment of Viet Minh guerillas; law and order remained in a very unsatisfactory state, with security restricted to towns and a few connecting roads. Politically some progress was made by attracting and combining a growing number of anti-Viet-Minh or anti-Communist parties and sects by converting the French-sponsored government of Cochinchina into a Government for the whole of Viet Nam . . . under the Presidency of Mr. Huu and the premiership of General Xuan."—*The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia* by H. J. Van Mook, p. 237.

The opening months of 1947 passed without any serious clash. The French slowly tightened their grip on the towns. The Viet Minh, on the other hand, was all-powerful in the rural areas. Both expected a resumption of negotiations. Dr. Ho Chi Minh broadcasted appeal after appeal to the French leaders. The appointment of M. Pignon as the High Commissioner for Indo-China was the signal for a change in French policy. Ex-emperor Bao Dai, who had withdrawn into

private life at Hongkong, was persuaded to stage a come-back as a mediator between the moderate and the extreme nationalists and as a rallying point for the former against the rising tide of Communism.

By the agreement with Bao Dai signed in Paris in March, 1949, France accepted the principle of ultimate independence for Viet Nam as an integral part of the French Union. Bao Dai assumed office in December as the Head of the French-sponsored Republic of Viet Nam.

War had not spread over the whole of Indo-China till 1948. Then conflict was still localized. The Viet Minh, at least the wing which accepted Dr. Ho as the policy-maker, still hoped for a peaceful solution. Viet Nam was proclaimed an independent nation within the framework of the French Union on September 10, 1948. The inauguration of the People's Republic of China a year later (October, 1949) opened a new chapter in Indo-China's War of Independence. The extremist wing of the Viet Minh was considerably strengthened. The guerilla warfare and the 'hit and run' tactics were abandoned. Viet Minh military plans envisaged instead decisive attacks on the Red River Delta in the winter of 1949-50. Organised Chinese help was made available to the Viet Minh after the outbreak of the Korean war in July, 1950. Training Camps for Viet Minh recruits were organised in China across the border. All the French frontier posts on the Chinese border were captured by the Viet Minh in the autumn of 1950. The loss was the most serious one sustained by the French in Indo-China so far and the necessary preliminary to further Chinese aid at the same time. The Viet Minh declared itself to be a Government in January, 1950. It promptly recognised the People's Republic of China and obtained Chinese recognition in return. The U. K. and the U.S.A. recognised the Bao Dai regime in February. Agreement was reached for American aid to France three months later in May.

The Viet Minh realised by the autumn of 1950 that the struggle against France was going to be a long and arduous one, that the hope of a decisive assault upon the Red River Delta with Chinese aid was not to materialise immediately. In November, 1950, and again in February, 1951, they held a series of political meetings with Chinese inspiration. The Communist Party of Indo-China, which had been in a state of hibernation since 1945, re-appeared on the scene as the Lao Dong Party and became the most important element in the Viet Minh movement, which was also re-organised at the same time. The Viet Minh propaganda began to talk of a long war against colonialism. Their military policy underwent a change "in accordance with the precepts laid down in Mao Tse-tung's text books on guerilla warfare."

The French position in Indo-China improved with the

arrival of General de Laitre Tassigny and with increasing American aid to the French Union forces. The advantage however was a temporary one. Fresh training and improved equipment together with a change in Viet Minh policy and, last but not least, Indo-China's urge for freedom began to tell. The Viet Minh went from strength to strength. French position in the Red River Delta has been alarmingly undermined. More than 90% of Viet Nam has passed into the hands of the Viet Minh. French hold over the rest is precarious in the extreme. The French have missed the bus in South-East Asia. They are playing a game the outcome of which is no longer in doubt. The fall of Dien Bien Phu and a perusal of the latest advices from Indo-China at any rate lead to one and only one conclusion, the French Colonialism is playing a losing game in South-East Asia.

Influential resistance movements are in existence in Laos and Cambodia as well. Both are apparently loyal to France. Things however are not what they seem. French influence and prestige are definitely on the wane in both Laos and Cambodia.

"On two sides of the World," writes the *Worldover Press* (April 9, 1954), "the rising tide of nationalism is dashing against those little outposts of colonial days which now appear as vestigial Survivals from a buccaneering past."

Unless these outposts are liquidated by their owners themselves, they will be engulfed in the rising tide of nationalism, leaving behind memories which will continue to embitter international relations for years, if not for generations, to come.

Mr. William O. Douglas, U. S. Supreme Court Judge, rightly points out that "an independent Government for Viet Nam, 'preferably this afternoon or tomorrow' is the only way to save Indo-China" (for France).

"May be that it is too late," he continues. "It is a thing that should have been done years ago. But it is the only possible thing . . . Military measures will not save the country, unless it is given its independence. For the Western powers to go behind a French Colonial Government would be disastrous." The learned Judge points out further that Ho Chi Minh is probably the most popular man in Indo-China today. "Not because he is a Communist but because he is fighting for freedom and independence . . . The Government (of Bao Dai) is a French puppet Government. People will not fight, bleed and die for a puppet Government."

Words of profound wisdom no doubt. The powers now confabulating at Geneva will do well to remember and act upon them. Will the champions of the 'Free World' remember that the 'Free World' is not so free after all?

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR ELECTORAL LAWS

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THE ELECTORATE

Our electoral machinery is governed by the Representation of Peoples' Acts 1950 and 1951 and the rules made under these Acts by the Government of India. The most important of their provisions relate to the voters. According to Article 6 of our Constitution no one who has migrated to India from Pakistan after 19.7.1948 can become a citizen of India unless he or she has been registered before the 26th January, 1950. To get registered he or she must have resided in India for six months prior to 26.1.1950. This means that he must have migrated to India before 25.7.1949. All persons who migrated to India after 25.7.1949 are aliens and cannot enjoy the right to vote. Similarly sub-section 7 of Section 20 of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1950 says that only those people who have migrated to India from Pakistan before the 25th July, 1949, will be entitled to the rights of citizenship. This Act XLIII of 1950 (Representation of Peoples' Act 1950) was passed by Parliament in April, 1950 and received the assent of the President in May, 1950. Just about that time lakhs of Hindus had been forced to leave their homes and hearths in East Bengal and had to migrate to India. Though the Nehru-Liaquat Pact signed in April, 1950 facilitated their return, yet thousands would not go back. The Parliament which passed the Representation of Peoples' Act at that time should have made some provision for the conferment of voting rights on those immigrants. But as it is, no provision has been made upto this time for lakhs of such people. Similarly several hundreds more have also immigrated to India from West Pakistan. None of them is a citizen of India under the rules. It is, therefore, imperative that the Parliament should amend the Constitution as well as the Representation of Peoples' Act 1950, so that citizenship and the consequent right of voting may be conferred on all these people and others who may in future decide to come to India because of the uncertain attitude of the rulers of Pakistan to their minorities.

MULTIPLE ELECTIONS

Section 70 of Part IV of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951 lays down that when a person is elected to more than one seat, in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the legislature of a State, then unless within the prescribed time he resigns all but one of the seats, all the seats shall become vacant.

This appears to be a very serious step for negligence to report in time. This will not only mean serious loss to the person elected but to the Government, the legislatures and the voters. Some provisions

must be made about an inquiry being made by the Election Commission of India from such a person and he should be warned of the serious penalty. He should be given a time limit of 10 days within which to reply and only then should the penalty take effect.

ELECTION EXPENSES

Section 76 of this Act (Representation of Peoples' Act 1951) says that the Return of Election Expenses of every candidate or his Election Agent must be accompanied by a declaration attested before a Magistrate. There does not appear to be any need of such a declaration. If, in spite of this declaration, a petition before an election tribunal can question the veracity of his declaration, why have this declaration.

REQUISITIONING

Sections 160-167 of the 1951 Representation of Peoples' Act deal with requisitioning of premises, vehicles, etc., for election purposes by the State. Section 164(2) says that any person who is empowered to requisition premises by the State Government may after giving to any woman not appearing in public reasonable warning and facility to withdraw, remove or open any block or bolt or break open any door of any building or do any other act necessary for effecting such eviction. This action seems to be very serious and must be changed. It does not seem necessary to force people to vacate their houses or shops when there are so many public buildings available. Quite a number of Municipal and District Board buildings could be easily acquired. Then there are all kinds of schools, Government as well as non-government, boys' as well as girls' schools, both in urban and rural areas. To requisition a house for elections will in most cases be unnecessary. If it is necessary, recourse should not be taken to such unlimited powers as are detailed in Section 164 of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951.

Section 167 of this Act says that if any person contravenes any order under Section 160 or Section 162 he is liable to be imprisoned for one year and may also be fined. In such cases such heavy punishment is quite uncalled for and it is feared that the officials at the lower rung of the ladder, will misuse these powers. Some political parties will make capital out of these actions of the government officials and will impute all kinds of motives to the party in power. So there should be no imprisonment in cases of this type.

POWER TO MAKE RULES

Section 169 of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951, reads:

"The Central Government may after consulting the Election Commission, by notification in the official gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act."

It will be desirable for the Central Government, whatever the party to which it belongs, not to take the onus of making rules on itself. That will make for more fair and free elections. This section, therefore, should read as follows:

"The Election Commission may by notification in the official gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act" or "The Central Government may with the approval of the Election Commission, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act and notify them in the official gazette."

Section 170 of this Act (Representation of Peoples' Act 1950) bars the jurisdiction of the civil courts to question the legality of any action taken or any decision given by the Returning Officer. It is suggested that one exception should be made to this all-comprehensive provision and that is with reference to Sections 160-167 which empower the Executive authorities to requisition any premises, vehicle, vessel or animal. These actions are otherwise also justiciable and the jurisdiction of the courts should not be barred in these matters.

RULES UNDER THE 1950 AND 1951 REPRESENTATION OF PEOPLES' ACTS

Rule 5, sub-rule iii, made under the Representation of Peoples' Act requires members of the Armed forces of the Union, persons holding some special posts in India and holding posts outside India under the Government of India and some other categories to apply on a specified form to the Chief Electoral Officer of the State that their names should be entered in the electoral rolls of a particular constituency. This is highly undesirable. It should be the duty of the Government to find out which of the citizens are serving in the defence services away from their homes or are holding some special posts or are serving abroad. It should not be for these persons to ask for the right to vote. The Government should require the head of every Indian diplomatic mission abroad to supply every six months information to the Election Commission and to the Chief Electoral Officer of the State regarding the personnel working abroad and the constituency where they are qualified to vote. Similarly, the Army, Navy, and Air Force authorities should send this information regarding the personnel working under them. Similarly, the Government of India should inform the Election Commission and Chief Electoral Officers about the few big persons whom the President specifies as holding some special posts.

Rule 36 of the 1951 Representation of Peoples' Act says that persons under preventive detention should apply to the Returning Officer for permission to apply. This rule should also be changed. It should

be the Returning Officer's job to send the ballot papers to them. The jail authorities should be required to supply the names of persons under detention to the Chief Electoral Officer.

Rule 11, Sub-Section (3) of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1950, requires that no person shall prefer an objection to the inclusion of a name in the electoral roll for a constituency unless his name is already included in the electoral roll for that constituency. Now it is not clear why a young married woman of 19 who is a mother also and is the mistress of a house should be denied the right to object to the inclusion of a name in an electoral roll. That she is only 19 and is not yet a voter herself should be no disqualification to report errors in the electoral roll. Similarly a young man becomes a graduate at 19 or 20 and is considered good enough for appointment under Government or a private concern. Why should he not be permitted to object to the inclusion of certain names in the electoral roll when he can prove to the satisfaction of the authorities such a fact. It is, therefore, suggested that this sub-rule (3) should be so altered as to permit all persons above the age of 18 to object to the inclusion of names in the electoral roll. The year 18 has been suggested because at this age a person is intelligent enough to be trusted.

Rule No. 5 under the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951 requires that every candidate shall specify in his nomination paper, the symbol which he has chosen as his first preference out of the list of symbols in force. He should also specify two other symbols out of that list and should also state his second and third preferences. Now it is a great pity that in our country the number of illiterate people is so great that we have to take the help of symbols. As a matter of fact, this illiteracy should have served as a challenge to the intelligentsia and they should have determined to wipe out illiteracy before the next general elections. These illiterate adults, men and women, are not expected to become literate soon and so we may have to continue the symbols for another 10 to 15 years. But why have three symbols. A Congressman will refuse and should refuse to accept any other symbol except the pair of Bullocks with a Yoke on and a Praja-Socialist will refuse and should refuse any symbol except a Hut. The parties will generally put up one candidate from every constituency and since the symbols refer to parties rather than candidates, no other candidate but the party candidate should be permitted to choose the party symbol. A Congress candidate has no business to prefer the Communist Party symbol as his second preference and the Praja-Socialist Party symbol as his third preference. So this rule requires a change. It is, therefore, suggested that in the case of party candidates which it is easy to ascertain from the State party headquarters, the Returning Officers

should allot the party symbol only. In the case of independent candidates also the Returning Officer should be required to decide by lot which particular symbol should be allotted to a particular candidate.

Rule No. 18 of the 1951 Act says:

"The Returning Officer or the Presiding Officer may appoint a woman to serve as an attendant at any polling station to assist woman electors . . ."

It is suggested that the word 'may' should be changed into 'shall' so that every polling station or polling booth should have at least one woman polling official or an assistant to help her sisters.

Rule No. 46 relates to the procedure of counting of votes. The Returning Officer is required to write on every ballot paper which he rejects the word "rejected" and to record briefly the grounds for such rejection. Now there were cases in the last elections when in the case of certain parliamentary candidates as many as 20,000 papers had to be rejected. If the Returning Officer writes the word "Rejected" and then signs his name and gives briefly the grounds of rejection, it should take one minute per ballot paper. In that case a Returning Officer will take 20,000 minutes or 330 hours or 14 days if he works 24 hours a day to do this work. In the case of the counting of votes in the Hoshiarpur Parliamentary Constituency, Shri Adhyatam Ram, the Scheduled Caste Federation candidate secured 1,23,007 votes out of which more than 20,000 were rejected. Similarly, in other constituencies there were thousands and thousands of rejected votes. It is physically impossible to achieve the feat of writing the word 'rejected' and then putting one's signature and also giving brief reasons for rejection. To expect this is to put a premium on dishonesty. It is, therefore, suggested that some other assistants may be permitted to write the word 'Rejected' and to give the brief reasons. The Returning Officer should merely be required to initial these ballot papers. This will be within the realm of possibility.

Rule 111 relates to accounts of election expenses submitted by the election agents. It reads as follows:

"The books of accounts . . . shall contain a statement of all payments made or authorized by the candidate or by his election agent or made on behalf of the candidate or in his interests by any other person with the consent of the candidate or his election agent for expenses incurred . . ."

Now this rule does not take into account the expenses incurred by the friends or beneficiaries of the candidate without his consent. Take the case of the Managing Director of a Bank or an Insurance Company or the Vice-Chancellor or Syndic or Fellow of a University. Scores of people worked for them and the law did not require any account of the expenses incurred by them. This puts a premium on wealth and influence. It is, therefore, suggested that

the rule should include the expenses incurred by the friends and beneficiaries of the candidate "without his consent" also. The calculation of this item may present some difficulties but once it is included in the rule the fear of rival candidates and their supporters challenging the return of expenses will make the candidate take more pains in calculating these expenses also.

Rule 112 relates to the return of election expenses. According to this rule, the return of election expenses should be lodged with the Returning Officer within 45 days from the date of the publication under Section 67 of the result of the election to which the expenses relate.

This rule is vague. This rule does not say whether the Return should be lodged within 45 days of the publication of the result in the official gazette or the announcement of the result of election by the Returning Officer. The Returning Officer declares the result of election immediately the count is over and it is published in the official gazette after about a week or ten days. This rule refers to Section 67 of the Representation of Peoples' Act 1951 which reads as follows:

"As soon as may be after the result of an election has been declared, the Returning Officer shall report the result to the appropriate authority and the Election Commission . . . and the appropriate authority shall cause to be published in the official gazette the declaration containing the names of the elected candidates."

This also does not make clear as to which of the declarations is to be the official declaration. Even now, some of the officers in the States are not sure whether the calculation of 45 days has to be made from the date of the declaration of the result by the Returning Officer or from the date the State and the Central Government publish it in the official gazette. It is suggested that 45 days be calculated from the date of the publication of the result in the official gazette and the language of Rule 112 should be clarified accordingly.

FORMS

Form No. 11 which relates to Rule 38(1) gives a specimen of a Ballot paper. Here there are two columns: one showing the number of candidates and the other the column for a mark. It is suggested that there should be a third column also, where the symbol and the party affiliation of the candidates also should be shown. Form 19 relating to Rule 65(2) shows the specimen of the cover sent by the Returning Officer to the voters who vote by post. It is not clear whether the cover should be sent by registered post or by ordinary post. It is suggested that the cover should be registered and the registration charges should be paid by the State. This will be an added inducement to the voters to vote for the best candidates.

VERY high hopes were entertained when recently it was announced that the French Government had invited the Government of India to discuss the vexed problem of the four French pockets, comprising the so-called French-Indian "Empire." All Indians had expected these talks to bring the French Government round to accept the proposal of the Indian Government to the *de facto* transfer of these territories to it immediately and to arrange for the formalities for the *de jure* transfer later on in due course. But, the talks have failed, and the tussle continues unsolved as before.

It must be admitted on all hands that in spite of the gravest provocations by the local French administrators in Pondicherry and other French settlements, while dealing with the recent agitation for merger with the Indian Union, in which the rights of Indian nationals were badly infringed, the Government of India has not taken any retaliatory action whatever, except making the necessary protests through the proper diplomatic channels. Although there was a great clamour by the leaders of the pro-merger movement for the Government of India assuming control over these territories, Prime Minister Nehru unequivocally stated in Parliament the other day that India had no intention of assuming unilateral control over the French Indian enclaves in which pro-merger elements had seized power, and he appealed to the French Government once again to recognise the clearly expressed wishes of the people and effect a *de facto* transfer of their settlements to India.

WHAT ARE THESE SETTLEMENTS?

But, what are these settlements after all? Their total area was only 203 square miles in 1948, when the population was 362,045. Of these, Chandernagore has already been transferred to the Indian Union, following a referendum on June 19, 1949, in which 99 per cent of the people voted for merger with India, and its *de jure* transfer to the Indian Union was approved by the French Parliament on April 11, 1952. Chandernagore had an area of 3.5 square miles and a population of 44,786. Deducting these, the French possessions in India are left with a population of 317,259 and an area of just less than 200 square miles, for the four remaining Settlements called Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanam and Mahe.

BRIEF HISTORY

These French Indian pockets have a sordid history of their own, and the sooner they disappear as foreign territories the better for all concerned.

It was in the year 1601 that a Company of the St. Malo merchants fitted out two ships in an attempt to reach East India, and the first French expedition into the Indian waters was undertaken by

private merchants at Rouen, in 1603 A.D., but the attempt was a failure. During the years between 1604 and 1609 followed similar efforts by the French King Henry IV, who following in the footsteps of the Dutch and the British, set up a French East India Company. In 1616, a French fleet sailed from St. Malo for the Moluccas, while in 1619 the two so-called "fleets of Montmorency" sailed for Malaya and Japan. Though much success was not achieved in these efforts, interest in the trade with the East was kept up by the success of the French travellers and merchants in exploring the sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope.

THE FIRST CHARTER

It was in the year 1642 that Rigault secured from Cardinal Richelieu the permission to sail to Madagascar and establish colonies and trade there. The Charter granted to him led to the formation of the *La Compagnie d'Orient*, which was granted the monopoly of trade with the East for a period of 20 years. Though this company did not meet with much success, it did succeed in establishing a port at Fort Dauphin, which was easily accessible to ships sailing to and from India.

A BIGGER COMPANY

After the accession of Louis XIV on the French throne, his minister Colbert reconstituted the Company on a much larger basis in 1664, when it was transformed into a national institution in which were united all the resources of the country. This was then called the *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*. The king himself contributed three million livres free of interest from which were to be deducted all losses incurred during the first ten years, and the royal example was emulated by other nobles. It was granted exemption from taxes as also a monopoly of the Indian trade for fifty years. In addition, the king also undertook to protect it and to escort its ships with his own man-of-war, and granted it extensive powers, including the power to fly the royal ensign, depute ambassadors, enter into treaties with and make war on Indian princes, and in order to signify the great hopes he and his minister reposed in the venture, he also granted it arms and a motto: *Floribo quocumque ferat*.

MADAGASCAR OCCUPIED

The Company made three attempts to establish itself in Madagascar. In the first two, it failed, but in its third attempt, it succeeded in occupying Madagascar and making Fort Dauphin the base of its operations. And, in 1668, it had founded its *ferat Comptoir* or factory at Surat, through the efforts of its Resident, Caron. But it was soon found that Surat was not suited for a head establishment; so, Caron seized the harbour of Trincomalee in Ceylon

from the Dutch, with the help of a squadron of ten vessels under de la Haye, which had been sent by Colbert with instructions to establish the French position firmly in India, as also to neutralise the propaganda of the Dutch against the French, by inspiring the Indian princes with a high opinion of the power as well as the justice of the French monarch.

In the course of his expedition, de la Haye secured for the French the grant of Trincomalee from the king of Kandy, but failed to engage the Dutch fleet which had securely established itself in Trincomalee Bay. The result was that no sooner had the French squadron left the Bay than the Dutch seized the handful of men who had been left behind and took possession of Trincomalee, thus ejecting the French from Ceylon. De la Haye, however, passed over to the Coromandal Coast and in 1672 he captured St. Thome, a Portuguese town adjoining Madras, which had for twelve years been in the possession of Holland. At St. Thome, the French expeditionary forces were besieged for two years, at the end of which Caron was compelled to restore it to the Dutch in 1674.

PONDICHERRY PURCHASED

The ruin of the Company then seemed impending, but one of its agents, named Francois Martin, suddenly rescued it. Rallying under him a handful of 60 Frenchmen, saved out of the wreck of its settlements at Trincomalee and St. Thome, he took up his abode at Pondicherry, a small village which he purchased in 1683 from the Raja of Gingee. He built fortifications, and trade soon began to spring up, but he was unable to hold the town against the Dutch, who wrested it from him in 1693, as they had sworn to drive out the French from Indian soil altogether. But, in 1697, by the Treaty of Ryswick, the French obtained rendition of the settlement on payment of 16,000 pagodas to the Dutch as compensation for the improvements they had effected.

CONTACTING INDIAN PRINCES

Martin continued as Governor in Pondicherry until his death in 1706, and during this period, he made friends with a number of Indian princes by adopting a very conciliatory policy towards them. He was followed by Dr. Lepoir and he too followed the peaceful attitude inaugurated by Martin.

He was succeeded by M. Dumas. He took great pains in making Pondicherry agreeable to the several Indian princes who visited it, until he succeeded in forming friendship with Dost Ali Khan, the Nawab of the Carnatic. So, when the Marathas tried to wrest the Carnatic from Dost Ali Khan and his son-in-law, Chanda Sahib, he helped the latter, with the result that the Marathas could not succeed in their attempt.

Finding that the French had come in their way, the Marathas under Raghoba attacked the French

settlement at Pondicherry, but could not succeed in defeating the foreigners, as M. Dumas had by then greatly strengthened the fortifications of Pondicherry, and raised a force of 1,200 European and about 4,000 to 5,000 Indians armed and drilled in the European style.

As the Marathas were a great terror for the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, the latter was much pleased to learn of the stand M. Dumas had taken against the Marathas, and he conferred on him the title of Nawab as also the command of 2,000 horse-men as guard. He was officially recognised by the Great Mughal as an officer of his Empire.

DUPLEIX'S DREAM OF AN EMPIRE

It was in October 1741 that M. Dumas was succeeded by M. Dupleix as the new Governor. Son of a wealthy farmer-general of France, he had been sent to India in 1715 on one of the French East India Company's vessels. He then made several voyages to America and India, and in 1720 was named a member of the superior council at Pondicherry. There, in addition to his official duties, he made large ventures on his own account and acquired a fortune. In 1730, he was made Superintendent of French affairs in Chandernagore, and then he was appointed the governor-general of all French establishments in India in 1741.

M. Dupleix was the first European who dreamed of establishing a Christian Empire in India, and decided to acquire for France vast territories in the East. So the very first thing he did on assuming office was to proclaim himself as Nawab.

In 1746, taking advantage of the War of Austrian Succession raging in Europe, in which France and England were ranged on opposite sides, M. Dupleix decided to capture Madras, which was at that time the principal seat of the commercial enterprise of the British in India, so as to crush the entire British trade in this country. He, accordingly, sent la Bourdonnais, the French governor of the Isle of Bourbon, to go and capture Madras, which the latter did without much difficulty.

This action of the French forces created great apprehensions in the mind of the Nawab of Carnatic in regard to their aggressive designs in this country. M. Dupleix, therefore, had to announce, with a view to allay these fears of the Nawab, that he was anxious to give up Madras after dismantling its installations. But, la Bourdonnais, who was on inimical terms with Dupleix, being his rival, ransomed the town to the British on receiving from them a present of £40,000, and then withdrew his fleet from the Indian shores, without consulting Dupleix in any way. Dupleix opposed the restoration of the town to the British, as agreed to by la Bourdonnais by virtue of the treaty already signed by him, but it was to no purpose. The result of this was that Madras could not be restored to the Nawab by Dupleix, in accor-

dance with his announcement. So, the Nawab attacked Madras, but Dupleix succeeded in defeating him with the help of his artillery on November 4, 1746. Being thus chagrined and defeated by Dupleix, the Nawab sought the assistance of the British to gain his ends. Dupleix then sent an expedition against Fort St. David in 1747, which was defeated on its march by the Nawab with the help of the British. But, soon afterwards, Dupleix succeeded in winning over the Nawab to his side and again attempted the capture of Fort St. David, but did not succeed. A midnight attack on Cuddalore was repulsed with great loss. In 1748, Pondicherry was attacked and besieged by a British squadron under Admiral Boscawen, but the attack was successfully repulsed by Dupleix with heavy loss to the enemy. In the course of hostilities, the French Commander Lally took Madras, which was given to pillage and rapine. He also took and demolished Fort St. David near by.

TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

To make his triumph widely known, Dupleix immediately despatched messengers to Arcot, Hyderabad and Delhi, to inform the rulers there how the British had been routed at Pondicherry by the French. He was busy receiving congratulations from all sides when news arrived of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed on October 18, 1748, according to which he was compelled to return Madras to the British, with its fortifications greatly improved and strengthened. This rudely shattered the long-cherished hope of Dupleix to expel the British from the Carnatic.

MEDDLING IN AFFAIRS OF PRINCES

Though France and England were formally at peace with one another thereafter, the British East India Company as well as the French Compagnie des Indes kept an army in the field to fight the battles of any Indian prince who required their services, not with a view to help him but to strike a deadly blow at its European rival in India. And, an opportunity soon presented itself, when the French and the British marshalled their forces to espouse the cause of rival Indian princes.

Sahuji, the Hindu Raja of Tanjore, was expelled from his principality by Chanda Sahib. Sahuji thereupon sought the help of the British to regain his lost throne, offering them a large sum of money as well as the cession of the town of Devicotta. The British were only too happy to take up the cause of Sahuji, but when they set out to the latter's assistance, Chanda Sahib had been taken prisoner by the Marathas and Tanjore was ruled by one Pratap Singh. The people of Tanjore were quite happy under Pratap Singh and did not favour the return of Sahuji. So, the British took Devicotta by storm and pensioned off Sahuji, and entered in alliance with Pratap Singh. The British were thus gaining in power every day.

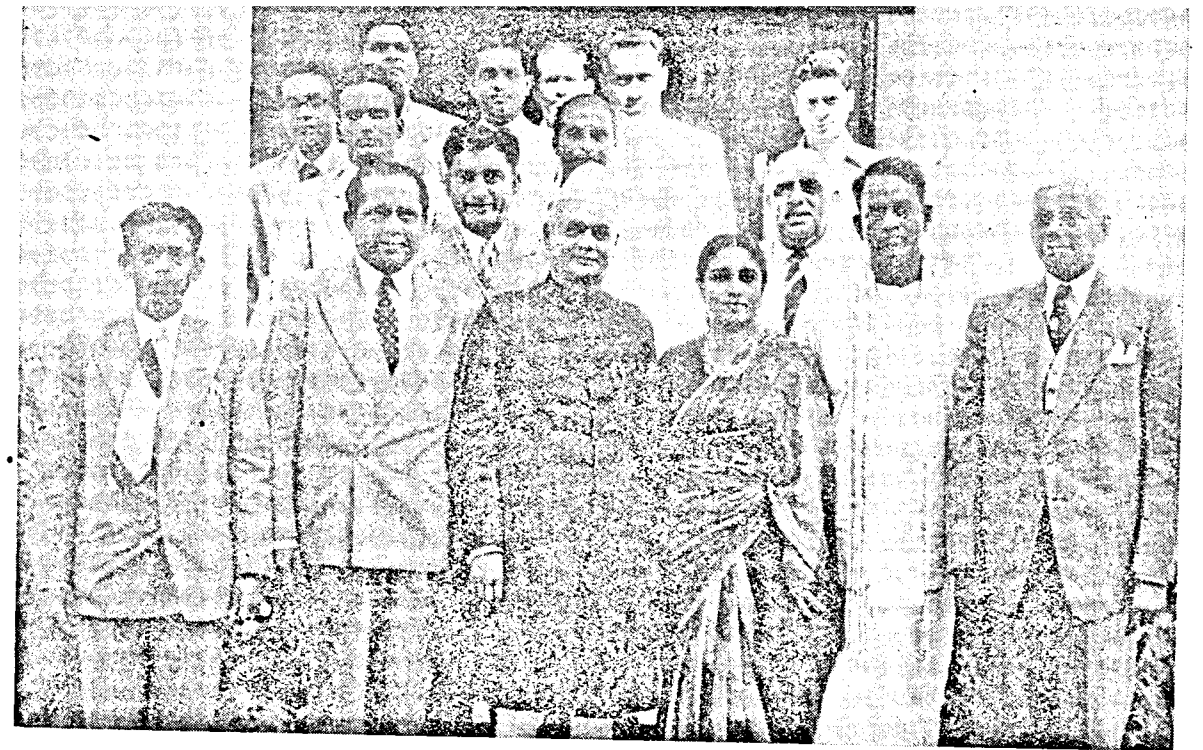
This was unbearable for Dupleix. So, he ransomed Chanda Sahib from the Marathas and tried to put him on the throne of Carnatic in place of the Nawab Anwar-ud-Din, who had succeeded Dost Ali Khan, and who had allied himself with the British. Chanda Sahib fought Anwar-ud-Din and defeated and killed him in the battle of Ambur on August 3, 1749. This success brought Dupleix another ally in the person of Muzaffar Jung, this prince had been kept as a prisoner by his uncle Nazir Jung, but he had made good his escape and joined Chanda Sahib. He then proclaimed himself as the Subedar of the Deccan, with the help of Dupleix.

Dupleix next turned his attention to Trichinopoly, which was then in the possession of Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-Din. He directed Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahib to attack Trichinopoly, but they did not carry out his instructions. Instead of attacking Trichinopoly, they attacked Tanjore, but could not capture it. They were put to flight by Nazir Jung, the uncle of Muzaffar Jung. Muzaffar Jung was then arrested and imprisoned by his uncle once again and the latter proclaimed himself as the Subedar of the Deccan. He then deposed Chanda Sahib and proclaimed Muhammad Ali, son of Anwar-ud-Din, as the Nawab of Carnatic. Dupleix, however, managed to get Nazir Jung assassinated through his secret agents, and Muzaffar Jung and Chanda Sahib were once again made the Subedar of the Deccan and Nawab of Carnatic respectively.

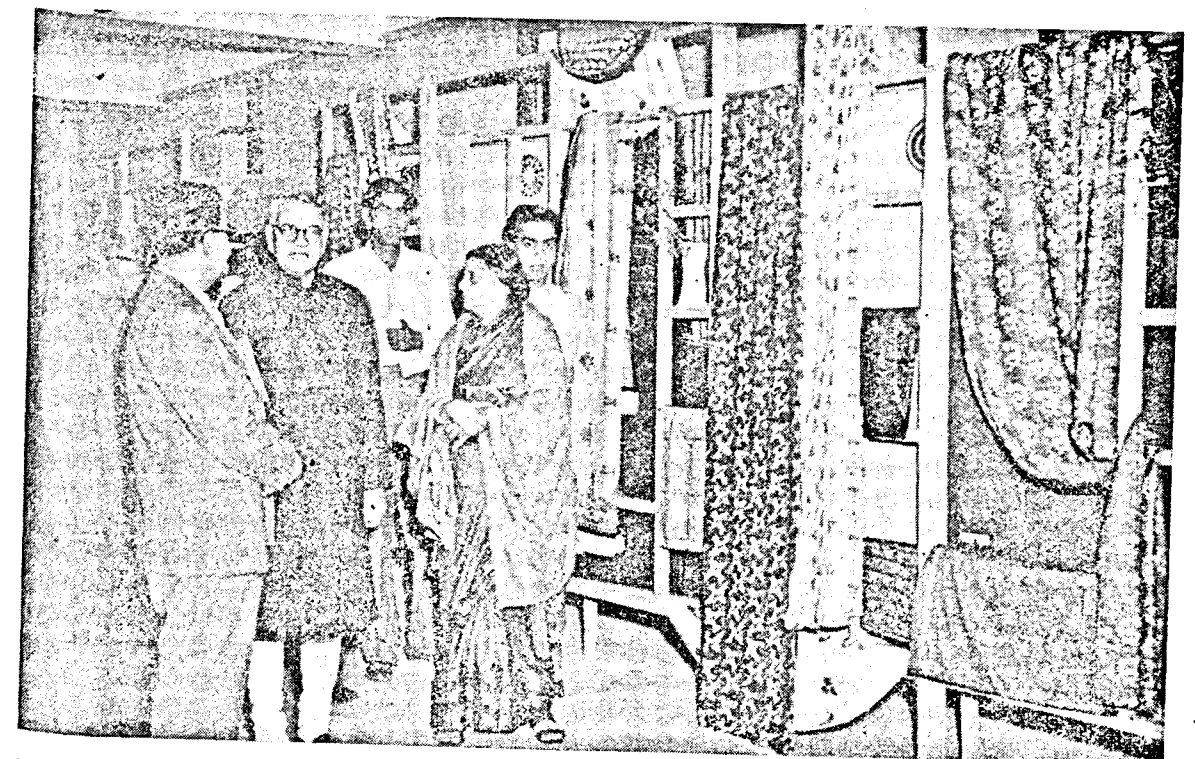
But, Trichinopoly still continued in the hands of Muhammad Ali, who was supported by the British. So, Dupleix besieged the town. He, however, could not succeed in subduing it due to the strong defence provided by Lawrence. Fate was also against him. He did not spare men or money to capture Trichinopoly. To add to his misfortunes, a reinforcement of 700 men from France perished at sea. Trichinopoly thus proved to be the rock upon which the towering ambition of Dupleix was wrecked.

DUPLEIX RECALLED

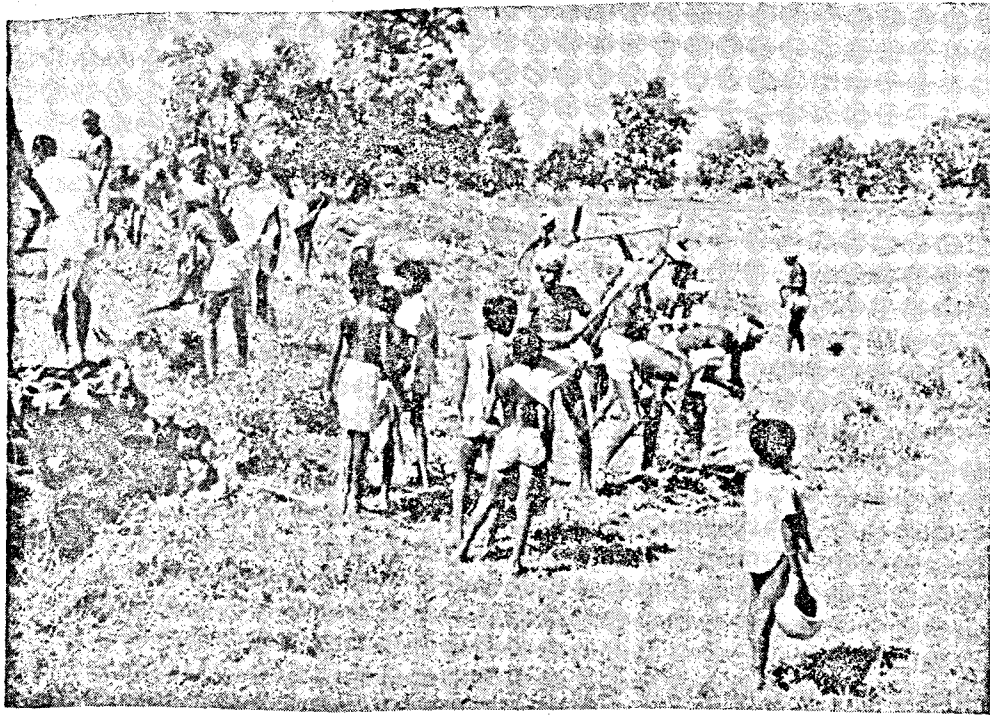
These reverses had a very adverse effect on the home government in France. As Dupleix had already revealed to the ministers at home how he planned to capture the whole of India for France by making one Indian prince fight another, the French Government came to the conclusion that there could be no peace between France and England so long as Dupleix remained in India at the helm of French affairs. The French Government, therefore, sent out to India a special commissioner named Godeheu, a director of the Compagnie des Indes, with orders to supersede Dupleix and, if necessary, to arrest him. Dupleix was thus compelled to return to France and he embarked for his home country on October 12, 1754. All his dreams of a Franco-Indian Empire thus came to an abrupt end. He had spent his private fortune in the prosecution of his public policy, and the



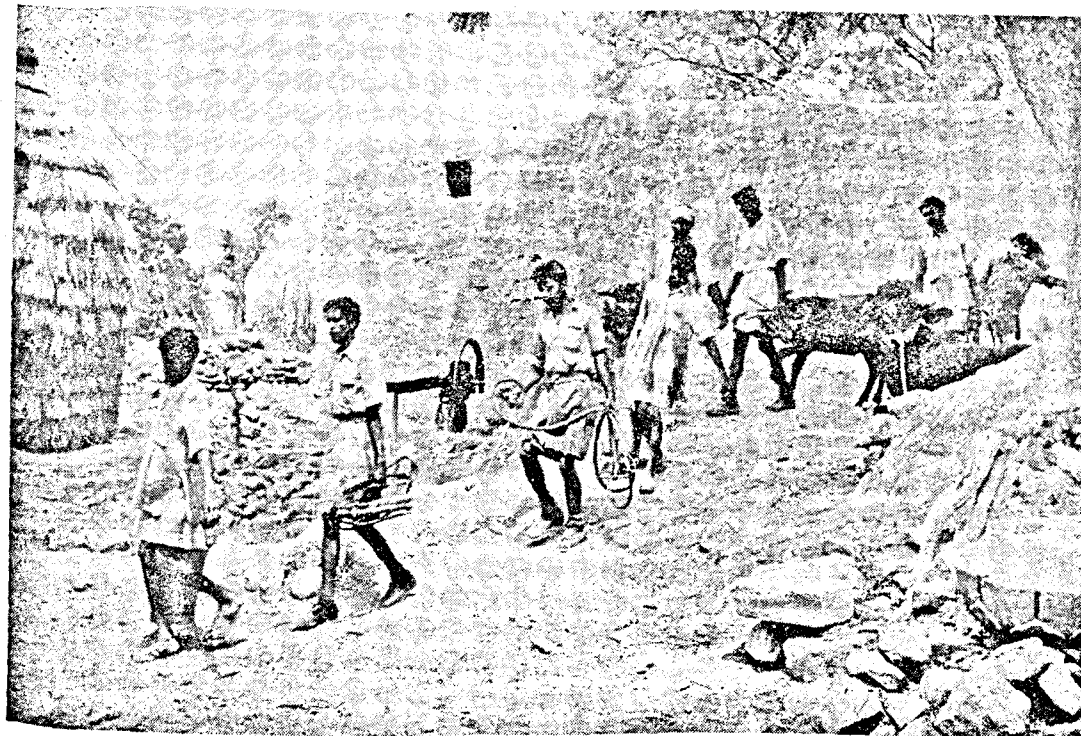
Members of the Ceylon Parliamentary delegation with Sri G. V. Mavalankar, Speaker, House of the People, when they called on him in New Delhi on March 16. Second from left is the Hon'ble Mr. Albert F. Peries, Speaker, House of Representatives (Ceylon) and leader of the Delegation



The All-India Exhibition of Hand-Printed Indian Textiles formally opened by T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister for Commerce and Industry. Seen with the Minister are Sri P. C. Chaudhuri, I.C.S. and Sm. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya



People of a Community Project village are busy in building an approach road to their village.



National Malaria Control Programme. Each malaria unit in each State is equipped with enough insecticides, spraying elements, transport and staff to protect one lakh of people in a season.

Company refused to acknowledge the obligation. Thus disgraced, he later died in comparative poverty and obscurity on November 10, 1763.

M. Godeheu then became the Governor-General in place of Dupleix. He made peace with Mr. Saunders, the then British Governor of Madras. It was stipulated that henceforth the two Companies "should never interfere in the differences that might arise among the princes of the country." France kept promise to the letter, while the British honoured it more in its breach.

But this peace between the two companies in India did not last long. Following the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756, a decisive struggle between the British and the French was waged in India in 1759, in the Carnatic. In 1760, Sir Eyre Coote leading the 84th Regiment won the decisive battle of Wandiwash on January 22. Pondichery was then besieged and captured by Monson, supported by Coote, in 1761 and the British wreaked vengeance by razing the town to the ground, with its fortifications, walls and buildings. At the same time, the French lost to the British all her possessions in India. She secured their restoration at the Peace of Paris in 1763, which settled the disputes of the Seven Years' War.

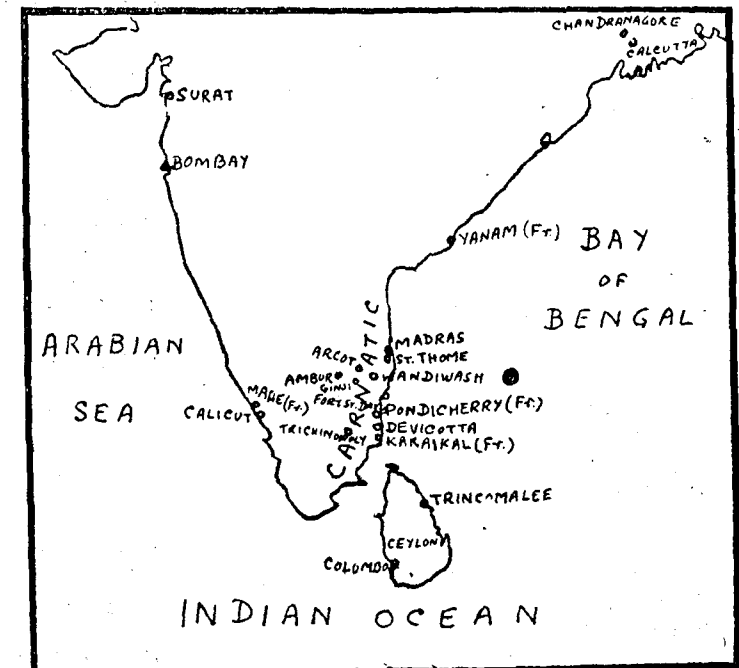
During the American War of Independence, France made common cause with the rebel colonies against England. So, her possessions in India were again seized by the British in 1778 when Pondichery was besieged and captured by Sir Hector Munro and its fortifications were demolished in 1779. But, the city was once again restored to the French in 1785 under the Treaty of Versailles of 1783.

Once again, the French Settlements in India were seized by the British in 1793 during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars under Col. Braithwaite. They were ordered to be restored to France after the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. But, with the renewal of the war in 1803, the restoration of the settlements was cancelled. They were finally restored to France for the last time in 1816-17, and she has held them since then.

Chandernagore was acquired by the French in 1688 from the Mughal Emperor at Delhi; Mahe was seized in 1725-26; Karaikal was secured in 1739 under a grant from Chanda Sahib; and Yanam was seized in 1750 and formally taken possession of two years later in 1752.

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

The continued existence of the foreign Portuguese and French pockets in Indian soil became a live issue immediately after the declaration of India as independent on August 15, 1947. As a matter of fact, the French Settlements in India did not become independent on that very day, only because of the intervention of the Indian leaders on behalf of the French at that time. There was then such a tremendous upsurge for independence and merger with India that the French administrators there seemed



helpless to do anything. The Governor of the French Settlements, Mr. C. F. Baron, had to fly to Calcutta to meet Gandhiji there, and following a long interview between the two, Gandhiji issued an appeal to the people of French India not to take the law in their own hands. This appeal alone saved the merger of these Settlements with the Indian Union.

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY

It was on January 6, 1947, that some reforms were introduced by the French Governments in these Settlements. The Representative Assembly of French India then replaced the former General Council and brought to an end the Local Council. The new Assembly consisted of 44 members elected on the basis of adult universal suffrage thus, Pondicherry 22 members, Karaikal 12, Chandernagore 5, Mahe 3 and Yanam 2, but no new taxation or legislation proposed by this Assembly could be brought into effect without the approval of the Minister for Overseas Territories in Paris.

Two decrees were then issued on August 12 and

20 in 1947, according to which the administration of French India was to be conducted by a Government Council consisting of the Governor as President and six members, at least three of whom were to be elected by the Representative Assembly and the remaining three to be nominated by the Governor at his discretion.

French India is also represented in the French Parliament thus: (1) A member of the National Assembly in Paris is elected by the voters of the French Settlements in India; (2) A member of the Council of the Republic is elected by the French India Representative Assembly; and (3) A member of the Assembly of French Union elected by the members of the Representative Assembly.

The five Settlements were divided into 17 communes, each with a Municipal Council of its own, thus eight in Pondicherry, namely, Pondicherry, Ariankuppam, Bahour, Mudaliarpot, Nettiappakkam, Oulgaret, Tirubuvana and Villianoor; six in Karaikal, namely, Karaikal, Grande Aldes, Nedungadu, Cotchery, Neravy and Tirunallar; and one each in Mahe, Yanam and Chandernagore. Each Municipal Council elects a Mayor and two or three Assistant Mayors from among the members of the Council.

AGREEMENT OF JUNE 1948

Following negotiations between the Government of India and the Government of France, an agreement was signed between the two in June 1948, according to which the future state of the French Settlements in India was to be left to the decision of the people concerned, their wishes being ascertained by means of a referendum. And, as a preliminary to this, fresh elections were to take place in all the Municipal Councils.

In accordance with this agreement, municipal elections were held in Chandernagore in August 1948, and no less than 22 of the 24 seats were captured by the Congress Karma Parishad, an organisation sponsored by Bengal Congressmen and standing openly for merger with India.

The results of these elections upset the French Government, so in the other Settlements, the French authorities took care that fair and free elections became impossible and they became almost a farce. The French Government did not agree even to have Indian observers at these elections, which were held on October 24, 1948. With the help of *goonda* elements, the so-called Socialist Party, led by Messrs. Goubert and Muthu Pillay, which was then the anti-merger party and had the support of the French Indian authorities, saw to it that nobody other than their own partymen were returned to the Councils, by fair means or foul. Every conceivable form of irregularity was committed in these elections. The result was a foregone conclusion; the pro-merger Congress was eliminated altogether.

Meetings of the Municipal Councils of Pondicherry, Karaikal, Yanam and Mahe were held in March 1949, when it was decided to hold the referendum on December 11, 1949. The Government of India immediately made representations to the French Government urging upon them the need for conducting the proposed referendum in an impartial manner free from any sort of pressure and unfair practices such as characterised the municipal elections and stressing the imperative necessity of having neutral observers to supervise all stages of the referendum and the free participation therein of all persons or groups who were then residing outside as political refugees.

The meeting of the Municipal Councils also decided to send a delegation to Paris and Delhi with a view to find out from the French and Indian Governments as to what their respective attitudes were with regard to the future of these Settlements. The delegation consisting of the so-called Socialist Party accordingly went first to France, but the authorities there would promise them nothing until after the referendum. They promised them full autonomy after that if the referendum went in favour of France. The delegation then visited Delhi in the latter half of 1949, when it was clearly told that the integration of the French Settlements in India would not in any way disturb the mode of administration or the way of life there without the previous consultation with and consent of the people concerned.

As the leaders of the so-called Socialist Party failed to secure any special advantages for themselves from either side, they decided to maintain the *status quo*. So, when the meeting of the Municipal Councillors was again held on October 17 and 18, 1949, at Pondicherry under the chairmanship of Mr. K. Muthu Pillay, the Mayor of Pondicherry, the referendum was decided to be postponed indefinitely, and it was further decided to leave the decision in regard to the Settlements to the two Governments concerned.

And, the *status quo* has continued for more than four years. Recently, following certain differences between the leaders of the so-called Socialist Party, namely Messrs. Goubert and Muthu Pillay, and the French Governor in Pondicherry, the leaders of the anti-merger Socialist Party decided to ask for the merger of the French Settlements with the Indian Union without any referendum. As all the Municipal Councils are controlled by this party, all of them passed resolutions asking for this merger, with the result that now there is no party left in the French Indian Settlements to back the continued existence of French rule there.

A widespread Satyagraha movement is now going on in French India demanding immediate merger with the Indian Union, and the French Indian police is busy resorting to every possible method of repression against this merger movement. But it cannot be suppressed for long and their freedom is at hand.

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA

Sores in Indian Body Politic

By PROF. A. B. SHORAWAL

THE following resolution was adopted at the Jaipur session of the Indian National Congress (December, 1948) making Indian position perfectly clear in regard to the French and Portuguese possessions in India:

"The chequered course of India's history during the last 200 years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period, because India herself was under alien domination. With the establishment of independence in India, the continued existence of any foreign possessions in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore, it has become necessary for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly co-operation of the Government concerned."

The Government of India has been, since then, trying hard to settle the matter of these foreign enclaves with the respective French and Portuguese Governments amicably and peacefully, keeping to her long-cherished desire and tradition of maintaining peace and friendliness with all as far as practicable, and permitted according to the response of others (nations) concerned therewith. But much to our disappointment and regret these well-intentioned efforts of the Indian Government have received little attention of the Government concerned with the dispute. It may be mentioned that although the Government of France has at least conceded to the suggestion of holding referendum to take the views of the people residing in French-India settlements, and though, France has accordingly transferred Chandernagore to the Indian Government, the Portuguese Government has so far refused to see reason. And as such, the Portuguese Government has even gone to the extent of refusing to discuss the question of transferring these Portuguese colonies to India.

Negotiations between the Government of India and Portugal however continued, till on August 14, 1950, the Portuguese Government told the Government of India that they could not discuss the future of Goa, as "it is an integral part of Portugal."

Because of this attitude of the Portuguese Government, and the deadlock in the negotiations

between the two Governments, the Government of India was compelled to withdraw the Indian diplomatic mission in Portugal on June 11, 1953, although the Portuguese legation in India continues to function still. That rendered futile all hopes of a peaceful settlement of the question. It, however, acted as a clarion call to the nationalist forces in Goa to accept the burden of freeing the State from foreign rule upon themselves.

These foreign enclaves are in fact sores in the free Indian territory, which have become a veritable home of all sorts of mischief and corruption. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru knows well that these foreign possessions are "hot-beds of intrigues and bases for smugglers, thugs and dacoits." Evidence and information filtering through, despite rigid censorship of news, show that these areas are being briskly converted into military bases to be used in the event of a third world war. It is keeping this in view that Premier Nehru administered a stern warning: "If there was war, India would not allow these foreign pockets to become bases of operation for foreign powers." During the last six years, the situation there grew from bad to worse. It was owing to this that Anantasayanam Aiyangar, India's Deputy Speaker, said recently that a police action might become necessary to liberate these foreign pockets, which "present a threat to the independence and sovereignty of India."

But French and Portuguese governments have also not been sitting idle all this time. They have adopted their own nefarious policies and they hired *goonda* elements in these enclaves and they have so far left no stone unturned to systematically suppress and root out the tremendous upsurge of pro-merger movement. Naked *goondism* and police terror were let loose on those favouring merger with India. Consistent attacks on nationalists and intimidation under the very nose of French officials and police chiefs became commonplace.

Since 1947, the working classes were in the forefront of the liberation struggle. In June 1950, repression reached its greatest height. The *goonda* elements set ablaze 150 houses of liberation leaders, 35 schools and public reading rooms and trade union offices. Martial law was clamped down on these settlements off and on to paralyse the freedom movement. Over 1600 leaders of the freedom struggle are

put behind bars on fake, trumped-up charges. About 12,000 families, afraid of fearsome reprisals, are compelled to seek safety in India.

Dr. Rajkumar, deputed by the Congress to French India, visited the areas five times. His discoveries are sensational:

"It is well known that naked rowdism is prevailing in these areas in their (French) interests and obviously tolerated by the authorities. Terrorism and intimidation is the first weapon, nationalist workers are ruthlessly dealt with. I have not witnessed such abject slavery and such demoralisation even in the worst days of British rule in India."

Not only this. The French India government has imposed new taxes on the masses which they can ill afford to pay. The French Indian budgetted income, which was Rs. 40 lakhs in 1947, is now about Rs. 90 lakhs. The additional expenses incurred are mainly to strengthen the imperialist hold on the colonies. They have increased land revenue by 100 per cent; the agricultural produce transport is taxed at Rs. 2 per bag. The incidence of new taxes is right on the impoverished peasantry. In Pondicherry, 3 textile mills closed down, throwing 9,000 workers on the scrap-heap.

Trade Union rights are everywhere ruthlessly suppressed; labour codes and collective contracts are cold-stored; work-load is increased in factories and mills. Thus human suffering is intensified. Altogether 4,500 labourers and their dependents are jobless with nothing to eat, besides the 3,000 families of handloom workers to whom the government have refused aid. In fact, most of these problems arise from the absence of an integrated economy with India.

The goods which are being imported from the dollar block with the American dollar credit to France since 1950 to the tune of Rs. 36 crores, are smuggled into India to upset our protected markets—a menace India Government has been fighting against so long. There are reasons to believe that this smuggling of goods is being conducted on a large scale through well-organised secret agencies.

The Portuguese possessions in India have also the same story to tell. There too, in Goa, a determined spirit of struggle and revolt against the tyrannical Portuguese regime that has emasculated a whole State of seven lakhs of people, and held them in utter subjection for the last 444 years—the longest period of foreign domination on the Indian mainland—is afoot.

Militant revolutionary forces there are regrouping and preparing themselves for an all-out struggle and a multipronged attack on the citadel of reaction, black-marketing and international intrigue, that hold one of the gravest menaces to India.

The 1,400 square-mile coastal beauty spot of Goa today is a veritable garrison of 30,000 European and Negro troops, an arsenal of the latest American

arms and equipment, with three modern airfields to boot.

The technical change in the constitution which was affected in 1950 when the National Assembly in Lisbon modified the Colonial Act to include the Portuguese colonies overseas (in Asia and Africa) as the overseas Provinces of Portugal, enabled Portugal to invoke the aid of the NATO powers in the eventuality of India taking military or police action in these colonies, which fear has been engendered in the minds of the Portugal rulers since India became free. This is because Portugal is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation since 1950.

As Portugal has ever feared that her possessions would soon be liquidated by the Government of India, she has time and again referred to an Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1661 under which Britain recognised territorial integrity of the Portuguese possessions in India which India Government has rejected outright on the fact that she would not recognise any treaty to which the India Government is not a party; as such treaties or agreements are not binding on India. The Prime Minister, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, said in 1949: "India is in a community of nations to which Britain belongs, and Britain is obliged by treaty to defend Portuguese territories overseas."

All through the four and a half centuries of their rule, the Portuguese government has resorted to the most despicable and deplorable means to root out the cultural, traditional, and religious ties of the people residing in these colonies with India. In its place what the Portuguese gave the Goans was a hybrid culture and a creed of aping the West in everything including manners, dress, language and even in the matter of names.

The religious customs and beliefs of the people were banned by law. The customary ceremonies of marriages, cremations and thread of Hindus were forbidden. Not only this, it became binding on every individual above the age of 15 to attend the preachings of the missionaries. As a culmination to all these the Goans were compelled on penalties not to grow the *tulsi* in their gardens or estates, not to wear the *dhoti* and the *choli* and not to call each other Hindu names or surnames.

Even under such systematic and well-planned scheme of the Portuguese rulers of denationalisation of the Goans, the flame of freedom and enfranchisement from that inglorious rule, did not die. And during these 444 years of foreign rule, there is a thrilling saga of fight for freedom and revolt against oppression and tyranny, when in 1870, even the Goan police mutinied, necessitating the importation of European and Negro troops to patrol the State.

The cruelty of suppressing this pro-merger movement, which is spontaneous and assuming an awful and solemn appearance, by the Portuguese

over-lords, saw its culmination when on 17th February, 1954, they arrested Dr. Gaitonde and deported him to Lisbon in Portugal on February 20, for publicly protesting against the continuance of Goa as a Portuguese possession and demanding its merger with the Indian mainland.

The Government of India handed over a protest note on March 15, 1954 to the Portuguese Legation in Delhi:

"The arrest of Dr. Gaitonde—an Indian by race, Portuguese by force of historical circumstances, educated in Portugal, married to a Portuguese lady—for exercising his democratic right of free expression in favour of reunion with his Motherland, is yet another indication of the existence of a powerful urge among the people of Goa for reunion with India."

This protest note further said:

"The Government of India would like to make it clear to the Portuguese Government that it cannot remain silent spectators to this form of repression on the people of Goa who are in no way distinguishable in race, language, religion or culture from the inhabitants of this country."

In conclusion it remarked:

"It hopes that the Portuguese Government will yet acknowledge the necessity of extending the normal democratic and civil liberties to the people of Goa."

But the Portuguese Government refuse to see reason; and they have rejected India Government's protest as "incompetent." At the same time in the course of a statement issued by the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, it has been maintained that activities aimed at encouraging the annexation of Goa to India were obviously illegal and that any intervention by "foreign States" was inadmissible.

The above contention on its very face seems ridiculous. For the fact is that while India of which Goa is an integral part is classed as a "foreign State," Portugal, situated thousands of miles away, is presumed to be a "Home State" for Goa—a suggestion which only innocence will admire, and worn-out politicians will worship.

The French India colonies are no exception to this kind of mischief. Only the other day, Indian territory was violated by the French police who seized two Indian nationals and the Mayor of one of the Pondicherry communes who was seeking shelter in Indian territory. There were other acts of coercion and intimidation of Indian nationals living on the border. The Government of India, in this case as well, lodged a strong protest about these incidents and demanded the immediate release and return to Indian territory of all the three persons who had been illegally seized. They also demanded the punishment of the French officials concerned and some assurances about the future. Their demands have not been met and they have been obliged to

take various precautions to prevent the recurrence of such incidents.

Among the measures which they have taken is a total ban on the passage of French police across Indian territory to any part of the French possessions.

The Government of India have no intention of assuming control unilaterally of any part of the French possessions. They cannot, however, allow the French police to use Indian territory for the purpose of suppressing a popular movement. This would have serious repercussions in India and the ban must, therefore, continue so long as the present tension prevails. As the Government of India have no wish to interfere with the normal administration of the French possessions, much as they disapprove of some of the methods that are being used, the ban which they have imposed is, therefore, restricted to the police force.

Another measure which the Government of India have been obliged to adopt is the ban on petrol supplies from India to the French possessions. Petrol and other essential supplies were being sent freely until the Government of India discovered that in the matter of sale of petrol some discrimination was practised by the local administration. Dealers had been given instructions to stop sale of petrol to the supporters of the merger movement. The Government of India cannot give facilities for export of articles to French possessions if sale or distribution is restricted to supporters of the local administration. They have stopped supplies of petrol and they propose to apply this principle in all cases.

The Government of India also gave notice to the local administration that they propose to apply the permit system to regular traffic to and from Pondicherry and Karaikal with effect from the 19th April. They had been obliged to take this step not only as a check on smuggling which has not been stopped in spite of the measures that they have taken, but also with a view to preventing undesirable elements from coming freely to India.

Conditions in the French possessions will become more and more unsettled if repressive measures are continued and lawless elements are encouraged by the local administration.

The Government of India consider it necessary, in the conditions which are now developing, to control the entry of persons from Pondicherry and Karaikal into India. Ordinarily, single-journey visas will be given for visit to India, but the Consul-General will be empowered to multi-journey visas in special cases. He will also have complete freedom to refuse visas at his discretion.

What have been the effects of the above measure taken by the Government of India? A report from Tellicherry, dated April 18, (P.T.I.) says:

"The entry of French policemen or other officials from French Mahe and adjacent enclaves into the Indian Union territory has been banned since last night.

"Policemen and officials will not be allowed to pass through Indian Union territory except under a valid visa signed by the Indian Consul-General at Pondicherry.

"Two French police officers who wanted to cross over to their Palloor enclave from Mahe last night and one policeman to carry 'taples' from Palloor to Mahe this morning were turned back by the Indian reserve police pickets on the border."

It will also be interesting to read a report from Pondicherry dated April 19, in this connection:

"Travel between India and French settlements was standstill today with the coming into operation of the Government of India's passport system.

"In Pondicherry, trains and buses from India arrived empty and left with no passengers bound for India as the report that on the Indian side of the border the passport regulations were being enforced strictly reached the town early in the day.

"Earlier reports had said that by mid-day over a thousand passengers travelling on trains, buses, cycles or on foot or either side of the Indo-Pondicherry border had stopped and turned back."

The French India Government is likely to issue identity cards to French Indian nationals.

The gravity of the situation created by this one step of Indian Government can be very well realized considering a personal letter of the French Premier which has been handed over to Shri Nehru on April 20, in this connection.

In these foreign pockets, in the last few days, the movement for merger has gained ground, in spite of the repressive measure of the local administration. The movement was launched on the 28th March, since then processions are being taken out and meetings are being held almost daily in Karaikal and parts of Pondicherry. Some supporters of the merger movement have been arrested and others have been victims of violence from the police. According to the newspaper reports even the local police has gone over to them and they have hoisted the Indian flag on public buildings and declared their wish to form part of India. They have again called upon the Government of France to take immediate measures for the integration without a referendum of the French possessions with the Union of India.

It is clear from the developments that are taking place that the demand of immediate merger with India without a referendum has general support of the people.

The movement is completely spontaneous and is led by persons who until recently were responsible members of the administration. Other political groups and leaders have also declared their support to this popular movement. Repression cannot kill a move-

ment which is based on the natural desire of the people to form part of India.

In the words of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:

"The people of the French possessions form an integral part of the Great Indian family economically, culturally and in other ways, they have the closest links with India. A political system which keeps separate from India and subject to foreign rule is wholly unacceptable to them and the Government and people of India."

The Government of India is desirous to settle this dispute peacefully by means of a friendly settlement. The foreign possessions, in any case, cannot continue much longer for the people have declared their firm intention to terminate it. The Government of India have, therefore, again requested the Government of France to consider the suggestion which they made in October 1952. They have stated the reasons which prevent them from accepting the proposal for a referendum. All important political groups have rejected this proposal on grounds of principle and also because conditions in the French possessions are such that no free referendum can be held. As the wishes of the people have been made known so clearly by the elected representatives of almost 90 per cent of the population a referendum is in any case unnecessary.

The Government of India have made it clear that the cultural and other rights of the people will be fully respected. We are not asking for the immediate transfer of the *de jure* sovereignty of France. India Government's suggestion is that a *de facto* transfer of the administration should take place immediately while French sovereignty should continue until the constitutional issue has been settled. Both India and France will have to make necessary changes in their respective constitutions. All this will take time, while the demand of the people is for immediate merger without a referendum. The Government of India are convinced that the suggestion which they have made will help to promote a settlement, which they greatly desire; and on which they will gladly enter into negotiations with the Government of France on the basis suggested.

To conclude, it is to be pointed out that in the current international entanglements, these foreign pockets, belonging to France and Portugal, constitute a great danger to India not only to her neutrality, but also to her very security. For the fact is that both—France and Portugal—have NATO links. At a time when Kashmir hangs fire, and has become a complicated issue owing to the interested great world powers who have made Kashmir a game for their own vile motives; it is very likely that in the case of these foreign pockets too global complications may arise any moment, and in that case India may find considerable difficulty. It is, therefore, the primary duty of the Government of India to take immediate

steps and to exert their utmost and try all possible means to secure the merger of these pockets. Likewise it is the duty of the Indian people to sympathise their brethren under foreign rule struggling for liberation. As in the case of French possessions in India, so in the case of Portuguese possessions, India is in no mood to tolerate her (Portugal's) impudent attitude and the farrago of nonsense her Prime Minister has trotted out in defence of her rights. If Portugal agrees to Premier Nehru's suggestion for immediate *de facto* transfer of power, to be followed by *de jure* changes, it will be graceful and decent on her part. If not—and developments point to that direction—India will be compelled to adopt measures and to take such action which tiny dreamy imperialists like

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DEFICIT FINANCING AND UNEMPLOYMENT

By PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

To cut one's coat according to one's cloth is a wise maxim for individuals but it need not be so for the government of a nation. Misgivings arise regarding the solvency of a man if he cannot meet his expenses from his income and if, consequently, he runs into debt. But at times a government can increase real wealth and bring about prosperity by running into debt. Industrially advanced nations suffer periodically from unemployment which is really caused by individuals following the wise policy of spending less. This is redressed by the government which spends more than its income. The deliberate policy of collecting less revenue and allowing its expenditure to exceed its income is known as deficit financing and this is resorted to at the time of cyclical unemployment. Both the malady and the remedy are peculiar. During the depression people suffer from poverty in the midst of plenty and the situation is remedied by the government which has to spend merrily without bothering wherefrom the money will come. It seems paradoxical; nevertheless, it is true.

It is our common experience that trade never runs evenly. Sometimes trade is good; demand is strong and sale is high. Producers increase production which means owners of labour and resources get a good income. This stimulates demand. Output and employment still increase. There is all-round prosperity which is followed by all-round depression when we experience the reverse. Demand slackens; sale is reduced; producers employ less labour and resources which means the owners of labour and resources get reduced income. This still reduces demand. Production and employment are still reduced, and the cycle goes on. In a cyclical

Portugal will more easily understand. As these dark dots on the Indian map seem to have considerable significance in the Anglo-French-American global strategy; and such big Western powers are also interested in these foreign pockets, a firm and strict Indian attitude coupled with prompt action, believing less in 'strong, stronger and strongest' protests, will alone help in prompt merger of these pockets in Indian Union, and thus in saving her from the expected complications, which may arise later on from a least hesitation on the part of India for settling the matter at the earliest. At the same time it is the bounden duty of every Indian to extend his full co-operation and sympathy to the pro-merger movements in these enclaves in every possible manner.

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unemployment there are plenty of goods but people cannot buy them and so they suffer from wants in the midst of plenty. Not that the community has produced wealth at such a rate that these cannot be consumed but that people have no income to buy them. That means effective demand is less and this is caused by a reduction of income.

Since spending by some forms income to others and the income of all is the result of the total spending by the community, a reduction of income can only take place when some people do not spend all their income. At a lower level of income people spend all they earn. They cannot save. At a higher level of income people do not increase their consumption at the same rate but save more. If all the savings are devoted to the production of capital goods, that will form income to the producers of capital goods. Savings devoted to investment is also spending, and this like Portia's mercy, is doubly beneficial. The man who saves and invests is sure of a flow of income to him and since it expands the capital base of the economy, it makes possible production of larger wealth in the future. But when income is simply hoarded it reduces the flow of income and the trouble starts. Hoarding, i.e. reduction in spending is the real villain. The remedy, obviously, is increased spending but individuals are not likely to do it. When prices fall, it means the value of money rises and nobody will spend money whose value is rising. We always want to keep that whose value will rise. Offering loans at lower rate of interest by the banking authority will also produce no effect. When prices are falling and the prospect

of sale is bad, producers will not borrow and increase production even at zero rate of interest. On such an occasion the government resorts to deficit financing. Spending an amount after collecting it as taxes is merely a transfer; it involves no net additional expenditure. New money or purchasing power has to be created and spent. A modern government has not to do it by printing more paper currency notes. It can be done by selling treasury bills. A government requires money throughout the year but its collection of revenue at some period may be less. To cover up the gap for the short period it sells treasury bills. This virtually means short term loan to the government. If this is provided by the public from savings it involves transfer and no creation of additional purchasing power. Usually these bills are bought by banks, insurance companies and other institutions who have large funds but who cannot invest them for a long period. They get the bills discounted by the Reserve Bank who does it simply by expanding credit. A deposit in the Reserve Bank is as good as cash; so the banks do not take away cash but when necessary draw on them by cheques. The Reserve Bank can increase deposit without any restriction, although it cannot print as many notes as it likes. Printing of notes and expanding deposit on which the depositors draw by cheque both come to the same thing. It is additional purchasing power and when the government spends it net additional spending takes place and effective demand is stimulated. Against the bills the government has to pay interest and the profit which the Reserve Bank earns by discounting bills goes to the government so that the government on balance has not to bear any cost. This method of deficit financing is quite cheap and convenient; most modern governments adopt this method. In a cyclical unemployment, let us suppose, the bottom is reached and at this level the total output is x . Land, labour, mills, factories, etc., remain idle. All these working at full capacity, are capable of producing more than x but as effective demand is reduced

they are not worked. The government creates one crore of rupees and spends them. Those who receive the amount will find their income increased. When they spend it, the income of others will increase and in this way the total income of the community will multiply. The initial expenditure of one crore will generate an income equal to several crores. Effective demand thus being stimulated production will increase and the total output will be several times x . Thus at times, for a nation spending beyond its means increases real wealth.

In India which is an underdeveloped country, the cyclical unemployment is not a major problem. Unemployment in India, except to a limited extent, does not mean that mills and factories, tools and machines, labour and enterprise, which were working a few days ago are today not working. These in fact do not exist at all. Resources in India exist only *potentially*. Had idle hoards been mobilised, had land been cleared of jungles and irrigation canals built, hand-labourers been trained, our resources could have been developed. Had our labourers, whose supply we have plenty, been properly trained, disciplined and organised, they could have earned a *large* income. Instead of that they are earning a smaller income. Our unemployment is not periodical. It is chronic. We have under-employment and our problem is how to increase income. Clearly, therefore, increased spending and stimulating demand will be of no use. If our government spends one crore, demand will increase but in the absence of an unemployment pool in the form of mills, factories, trained labour, etc., ready at hand, the producers cannot increase production. The supply of these factors is inelastic. Increased purchasing power without a corresponding increase in production will raise the price. This is inflation and is more harmful. Deficit financing, therefore, cannot solve our problem. What we want is long term capital with which we can develop our resources that potentially exist.



REVOLUTIONARY WOMAN IN MACEDONIAN POETRY

By R. P. SINGH

Modern Macedonian poetry with its profound, creative and revolutionary quality can be distinguished (with the very first stanza) from the poetry of other nations. It faithfully and forcefully reflects the sufferings, heroism and endurance of a whole nation which, chained for centuries, was continuously threatened with total extermination.

Insurrection against Nazi occupation brought freedom to the Macedonian people for the first time. As a sequel came songs about the heroism of fighters in the Revolution. These deeply lyrical Macedonian poems of the national liberation movement encouraged the girls and women of Macedonia to join the liberation struggle. Women of Macedonia—'slaves of the slaves'—went into battle with special enthusiasm and their enthusiasm received recognition and encouragement in numerous Macedonian poems such as *The Partisan Girl*:

Ah, how happy and glad I am
That I have become a girl Partisan,
To fight against the Fascist invader,
Freedom to win for our country,
For our homeland, our Macedonia.

It can well be understood that, seeing the great enthusiasm of the Macedonian women for the liberation struggle, the local poets and singers produced so many verses describing their selflessness and heroism, as in the following lines about Mileva Kosovarka, which portrays and inspires the woman-hero of Macedonia:

Mileva, oh my comrade,
At Raspace they wounded you,
From Raspace to the hospital
All the road was blood-spattered.

Where has my Mileva gone to?
And Orman mountain answered me—
When her spirit departed,
Mileva spoke these words to me—



A girl from Black Mountain in Macedonia



Tetovo damsels in their national attire are singing the songs of Revolution



A girl from Lazo Poly in Macedonia

"O my comrades of Kosovo,
"Do not grieve or mourn for me,
"I have given my life for liberty."

It is also with such specific poems that Macedonian lyric poetry links the revolutionary present with the militant past. There is a young Macedonian girl. She is eager to go on the Mt. Kozjak to join the partisans and to fight for liberation. She dreams of meeting Karpos, one of those legendary Macedonian heroes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, meeting with whom is a frequent theme in Macedonian poetry. In the poem *Karpos Voivoda* the girl seeks for the hero:

Janka walked through the forest green
Twirling a little pear-tree leaf
And she said to the forest green:
"Did there not, forest, pass through you
"Hristo Karpos, the young leader
"With seventy men of his Company
"And seven men of his family,
"With the Macedonian banner?"

And when in the typical cycle of Macedonian partisan poems devoted to the partisan women, the Macedonian girl expresses her ardent wish to go to the woods:

Grant me, dear mother, grant to me
That which my heart is yearning for
Let me become a Partisan.
Let me go to Kozjak mountain
To see the young leader, Karpos,
To carry with me a machine-gun
To mow down the cursed Fascists.

It is such revolutionary vigour that inspires the whole of Macedonian poetry of revolution and socialist construction.

MAHABALIPURAM

The Land of Seven Pagodas

By PROF. SATYA DAS

THE 'Land of Seven Pagodas' is the name commonly attributed to the present deserted port-town of Mahabalipuram, situated at a distance of 46 miles from the city of Madras. Journey to this historical place may be covered by bus service either from Madras or from Chingleput. Mahabalipuram or Mamallapuram as was originally known, was built as the second capital of the Pallava rulers by Narasinha Varman I (630-660 A.D.), the scion of the Pallava dynasty, their original seat of capital being Kanchipuram or Conjeeveram. With the beginning of the 7th century A.D. the Pallavas became the masters of the South by subjugating the Pandya, Chola and Chera Kings and they retained their supremacy upto the 9th century A.D., when they were eclipsed by the Chola rulers of Tanjore. The Pallavas were a great sea-faring race and credit goes to them for spreading Hindu culture and style of architecture in the far Eastern countries of Java, Sumatra and Bali. The politi-

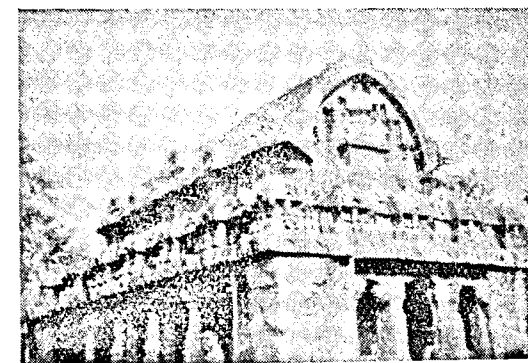
cal history of the Pallavas rose to the highest peak of glory during the reign of Narasinha Varman I, the most successful and distinguished member of this able dynasty. He not only vanquished the ruler of Ceylon and placed his own nominee on the throne of that island, but he amply avenged the defeat of his father Mahendra Varman I at the hands of the great Chalukya ruler Pulakesin II by killing him in a battle and occupying his capital of Vatapi. The superb military attainments of the Pallava King may be borne out from the fact that King Harshabardhan of Northern India had to accept Narbada as the Southern boundary of his kingdom by acknowledging defeat at the hands of Chalukya Pulakesin II. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang paid a visit to the Pallava capital Kanchipuram at this time and left an account about the general prosperity of the people of Tamil-land. Though he intended to visit Anuradhapura, the great Buddhist centre of Ceylon,

a civil war in that island-kingdom prevented him from proceeding beyond Kanchipuram, which seems to be the Southern terminus of his journey. In course of his account, the Chinese traveller says:

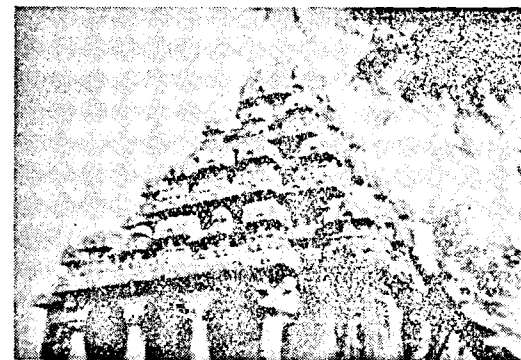
"The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth and highly esteem learning."

But the Pallavas are remembered most to-day for their creation of a number of rock-cut monolithic temples and a series of fine sculptures on rock-walls existing in good condition at Mahabalipuram which has lost the pristine days of its glory and importance and whose only present attraction is provided by these wonderful architectural specimen. According to Vincent Smith, "The history of Indian architecture and sculpture in the South begins at the close of the sixth century

pams' (rock-cut pillared halls with or without cells) which stand majestically at this deserted and forlorn site. The most important of these 'Rathas' whose originator is said to be Narasinha Varman I, is a group of five, named after the four Pandavas and their common spouse Draupadi, without any historical or mythological



Bhima Ratha, a monolithic shrine with Shikara of Sala type



Dharmaraja Ratha with three-storeyed Vimana in Dravidian style carved out by Narasinha Varman I Pallava (630-660 A.D.)

under Pallava rule" Religion, as usual, supplied a powerful impetus to the Pallava rulers for developing art and architecture. Mahendra Varman I, the father of Narasinha Varman I, who was originally a Jain, excavated a number of cave temples of Jainism, its frescoes being wonderful examples of Pallava painting. But after his conversion to Saivism by the famous saint Appa at the middle of his reign, he became intolerant of Jainism and caused destruction of some of the Jain temples and built a number of rock-cut temples dedicated to the worship of Siva throughout his empire. These temples, instead of being built with bricks and mortar, are cut out of a single big rock-boulder and they truly represent the Pallava style of Southern architecture.

Mahabalipuram, as it stands on the sea-beach, presents a magnificent and panoramic view to the visitors who are literally overwhelmed at the sight of a rich variety of 'Rathas' (monolithic temples built with stone and with rich carvings inside and outside) and 'Manda-

reasons. (Dharmaraja Ratha, Bhima Ratha, Arjuna Ratha, Sahadeva Ratha and Draupadi Ratha). Each Ratha is in a different style, Draupadi Ratha, being a fine model in stone of a thatched hut of straw. The figure of Narasinha Varman is chiselled on the Dharmaraja Ratha, which is the biggest in the group. Besides this group of Rathas, there is one Ganesh Ratha, a monolithic shrine with *Shikara of Sala* type carved out by Parameswara Varma I (665-680 A.D.). Of the 'Mandapams', Mahismardini Mandapa, Dharmaraja Mandapa, Krishna Mandapa and Varaha Mandapa



(Left) Sahadeva Ratha, a monolithic shrine in Chaitya form. (Right) Arjuna Ratha, in Dravidian style. (Behind) Draupadi Ratha, a hut-style monolithic shrine

deserve special mention. Mahismardini Mandapa, a pillared hall with three cells, carved out of stone, presents two panels in bas-relief of Mahismardini and Sheshashayee (reclining Vishnu) at its end. The figure of the awe-

inspiring Durga armed in all her eight hands and engaged in the act of killing the demon with the full-drawn bow, evokes admiration from each and every visitor. This Mandapa is locally called as 'Yamapuri.' Dharmaraja Mandapa is a rock-cut cave temple of Trinity excavated by Parameswara Varman I in Mahendra style containing some Pallava inscriptions. Krishna Mandapa presents a bas-relief scene depicting Vrindavana with Krishna as Govardhandhari and Varaha Mandapa is a rock-cut cave cell dedicated to Vishnu. It contains bas-relief of Bhubara, Trivikrama, Durga and Gajalakshmi. But of all the bas-relief scenes, the large composition depicting the scene of Arjuna's penance has earned a great celebrity. This is simply wonderful.

The Shore temple, situated just on the bank of the sea is being constantly washed by the sea waves. The story runs that formerly there were six such

masonry temples, whose combination gave this seaport the sobriquet of the city of Seven Pagodas. A small *bandh* has been constructed by the Archeological Department of the Central Government to save the present temple from erosion with which it is threatened. The temple has a large courtyard with fencings on all sides decorated with images of stone elephants. Two 'Siva lingas' and an image of Sheshashayee Vishnu lying in *Yoga Nidra* adorn the three cells of the temples. The deities are not worshipped at present but the visitors can well imagine the hectic days of this port city of Mahabalipuram when hosts of devotees used to throng the sacred precincts of the temple with respectful homages and offerings. Really, a visit to this historical site leaves a pleasant remembrance of the glorious achievements of Pallava rulers in a visitor's mind.

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FOLK-DANCES OF RAJASTHAN

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR, M.A.

FOLK-SONGS, folk-music and folk-dances are the three ways in which the human heart naturally expresses its emotional effusion and sub-conscious creative urge.



A lady displaying poses of Ghoomer dance

regular cycle of festivals, fairs, marriages and other auspicious occasions. Besides the dances presented on such occasions, there are dances to please the powers that are believed to bring famine or rich harvest. The Bhils in Udaipur division of Rajasthan perform a parti-



A pose of Jhoomer dance

Songs and dances play an important part in the village life of Rajasthan where all the year round there is a

cular type of dance which they only present when they are to appease the God of rain. At the sight of gathering clouds they run out and dance in joy till the rain

showers. Sometimes, the Bhil-girls in various groups go singing and dancing in the jungle in search of a healthy buffalo to be sacrificed to Kali who can bring an end to drought and bestow rains.

BOHRA-BOHRI

In this dance, the picture of a village merchant or Baniya is depicted in a humorous manner. One man dresses himself like a village-Bohra and the other like a Bohri and then they dance together exhibiting the activities of these village money-lenders by different movements.

SUR DAS

In this dance the character of a corrupted blind Sadhu is depicted. Most of the village ladies are frightened at the sight of the Sadhu whom some of the village ladies also like. The Surdas Sadhu in his dance displays some miracles of exercise also.

LODI-BADI

This dance depicts the story of an old man having two wives who are always making their home a battlefield of the Mahabharata. The husband tries his best to satisfy them but meets with failure. The dangerous results of more than one marriage are mainly manifested in this dance.



Another type of Jhoomer dance in which only one woman dances depicting different magnetic poses

BHAWAI DANCE

Bhawai, in Rajasthan, is a low caste which is said to originate from Jats who for their amusements created this separate section of people whose hereditary profession is to dance. The dances of Bhawais being free from any religious or superstitious ideas, reflect the real events of day-to-day life. They picturesquely depict the scenes of Baniya, Barber or the money-lenders who are considered to be in the exploiting class in villages. Being humorous in nature, people do not mind even their bitter satires depicted in their dances and enjoy their performances pleasantly. The Bhawais, out of the twelve months of the year, remain outside of their homes for eight months. During this period, they go from village to village in Rajasthan, Ajmer, Madhya Bharat and Gujarat where their 'Yajmans' are scattering over. The Bhawais have an up-to-date record of their Yajmans. It is noticeable here, that ladies never participate in these performances. The Bhawais take it against the prestige of



Dance poses of Rajasthan

DOKARI

It is the most humorous of Bhawai dances. The dresses worn by the exhibitors in this dance are very peculiar and laughter-provoking. An old lady

for the sake of money marries her daughter to a demoralised, corrupted and wicked man who is dressed like a giant. He troubles her daughter mercilessly.



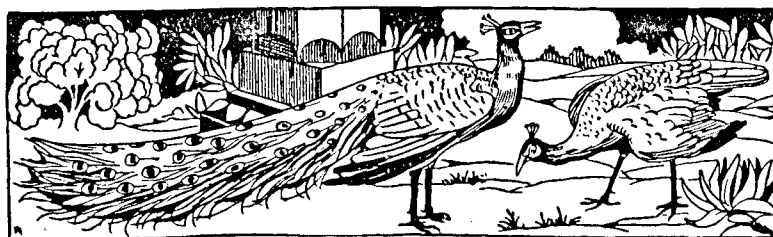
The famous dancer of Rajasthan Sri Devlal Samar in a pose of Banjara dance

SHANKARIA

From the artistic point of view, the best dance of Bhawais is Shankaria. Shankaria is a young snake-charmer who loves a *jogin*. The *jogin* loves him too but she conceals her love, outwardly displaying that she does not like him. Inwardly, she has an immense love for him. She reveals this secret very skillfully by her interesting movements. The romance of two youthful hearts is the subject of this dance.

BIKAJI

This dance displays the love of Bikaji, the founder of Bikaner, and his queen. Joys of meeting and sorrows of their separation are painted in this picturesque dance.



DHOLA MARU

Dhola-Maru is a famous romantic composition of Rajasthani literature. Dhola is a symbolic name of the husband and Maru or Maruvani of his beloved. Their intensive love for each other is depicted in this dance by various heart-captivating physical movements. Drums, songs and vocal sound-effects accompany all these dances.

In addition to these *Bhawai* dances, *Jhumer*, *Ghoomer*, *Gauri*, *Banjara*, etc., are the other folk-dances of Rajasthan which enliven the spectators with their fascinating poses and lead them to a state of forgetfulness.

GHOOMER

Ghaghra is an ancient dress of Rajasthani ladies. *Ghoomer* has been named after this cultural dress. The ladies of the South-Eastern part of Bikaner, Jalore, Pali and Shekhawati are experts of this dance. Dancing in circles, clapping with small sticks or wooden swords, its display is of course very attractive and full of charm. It is particularly presented at the *Nav-Ratra* and the *Gangaur*, the famous festivals of Rajasthani ladies.

JHUMER

It is a group-dance like *Garba* of Gujarat. *Jhumer* has been named after the *Jhumka*, an important ornament of Rajasthani ladies. Bead ornaments and flowers lend characteristic flavour to this dance. In the fairs of Jagdishji at Alwar, Teej at Jaipur, Matrikundi at Udaipur, this dance can be witnessed. There are two kinds of *Jhoomer*. In the first kind of *Jhoomer*, a man and a woman dance together whereas in the other a young lady dances alone displaying the different poses of her melodious youth.

GAURI

This famous Bhil dance depicts the life of Shiva. A Bhil takes the part of Shiva with a huge mask while two men dress themselves as Parvati and Uma. There are other dancers who are followers of Shiva. In the centre, there is a Bhopa who is said to be possessed by Shiva. The dance begins and after a short time, the devil appears on the scene. Shiva fights the devil who finally surrenders. This dance is performed in the month of September. *Banjara* dance is also a kind of Bhil dance.

Of course, these fine folk-dances of Rajasthan gladden our heart, bring us joy and give us an immense pleasure which makes one forget his worries and cares for a while.

BHASKAR ROY CHOWDHURY

By PETER CARSON

In most countries of the world, dancing has delighted their inhabitants from time immemorial, and so to the foreigner visiting India, it is most amazing to find that though Indians boast, with pride, of their ancient culture and the different styles of dancing, they neglect their own artistes whilst flocking in their thousands, paying high prices, to see second-rate indifferent foreign dancers.

senses or more beautiful than Indian classical dances executed by a master. These masters, though often poor financially, are rich in fame and bring credit and renown to their country, as did the famous dancer Pavlova, for her country Russia, at the beginning of the 20th century.

It is therefore hoped that either the Government or some Indian philanthropists will come forward and give



Surya Nrityam by Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury

The art of dancing in India is now kept alive by a comparatively small band of enthusiasts and by the self-sacrifice of the few real classical dancers and Gurus still in India.

The reason for this appears to be that although there are many Indians of both sexes attracted to the art of dancing few can afford to adopt it as a career, as without patronage no artiste can live by art alone, nor can he or she give of their best if constantly worried by the lack of financial security. Too often are promising classical dancers ruined by prostituting their art in films, or by incorporating Western ideas into Indian classical dancing, in order to obtain money.

There is nothing greater, more satisfying to all the



Kathak Dance by Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury

financial aid to all promising young artistes, so that India may retain and enhance her reputation as a great cultural country, as no country that neglects her art and culture can ever hope to become really great.

Today in South India there are a number, mainly of the female sex, who have taken up dancing, but with few exceptions, although they are technically perfect in the execution of the movements in dances like the famous Bharata-Natyam, on the stage they appear like beautiful mechanical dolls, dancing with no inner conviction or belief.

Lovers of classical dancing are however lucky, as they have in Madras, a youth who is one of the exceptions, as he is a true artiste in every sense of the word; not only is his technique perfect but it is

obvious that he is immersed in, and loves his art for art's sake and would make any sacrifice for it.

Here is no mechanical toy to be wound up and placed on the stage, but instead there is a living, pulsating, animated young man, beautiful in face and figure, who by his knowledge and inner conviction gives to his audiences a faithful representation of what classical dancing really should be and should mean.



Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury

This youth is Bhaskar Roy Chowdhury, a mere stripling, not yet twenty-four years of age, who some years ago commenced dancing under a great handicap, as he was the son of Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury, famed as an artist and sculptor, and so it is not often that two geniuses, both in different spheres of art, are produced from one family.

Bhaskar, undaunted, applied himself most assiduously to learning the art of Indian classical dancing and steeped himself in all its different meanings, aided by his Guru, the talented and wellknown Vidwan Ellappa, to whom must go the credit, helped by the brains and beauty of his pupil, for the outstanding dancer Bhaskar is today.

Not only is he able to execute classical movements with great precision but he lives the part he is acting, making it come alive and be understood by his audiences. Yes genius, like that of Bhaskar, is a rare and exotic plant, which if the flower is to fully bloom and reach perfection, must be carefully tended and cherished

so that he can re-light the flame to enable India's classical dances to regain their former popularity, and by his example encourage future aspirants who wish to become classical dancers.

On a Sunday evening, Bhaskar with his well-known generosity—how is it that the poor are always more generous than the rich?—gave a dance performance with his troupe to the Southern Indian Journalists Federation, after they had concluded their annual meeting, in the grounds of Woodlands Hotel, Madras.

Bhaskar, whose supporting troupe, though they gave of their best, are not yet worthy to perform with the maestro, gave a performance, which even though it was handicapped by the unavoidable absence of his Guru, was of outstanding merit and rightly earned the praise of this highly critical and intelligent audience.

It is impossible in a short article to give a detailed description of all the dances or even to state which deserved the highest praise, as few amongst the audience could agree about this, each having his own favourite, but all considered that the dances, as a whole, made a brilliant performance.

Who could have failed to have been deeply stirred by the exquisite movements of the hands, eyes and feet in the dance of Lord Krishna, when like the true artiste that he is, Bhaskar gave the illusion that he was completely absorbed in his role determined to get the Lord Krishna to come nearer to him.

A complete contrast was the Thala Nrityam dance when Bhaskar showed amazing control of his muscles and breathing, as almost like a circus juggler he danced and contorted his body with a brass plate, unattached, in either open palm. Again the Naga Nrityam dance which is meant to convey that even the most repulsive creature, like the venomous snake, has a sinuous beauty of its own, showed to advantage the versatility and the great stamina of the dancer.

The audience who attended this performance owe a great debt to Bhaskar, not only because he gave them such excellent examples of his art and capabilities, but also as for a short time, he lifted them out of their mundane daily worries and troubles and transported them into a dream-world of technical brilliance and beauty.

Indian classical dancing can never die whilst there are exponents like young Bhaskar to carry on the ancient traditions. It is the sincere wish of the writer that this gifted young man may soon be given, free from financial worry, the opportunity to achieve the reputation of the finest classical dancer in India, which he certainly can become, if the chance is given to him.

Let us all hope that it will never have to be said that a prophet, in this case Bhaskar, is a prophet indeed save in his own country, as if he as well he may, gets a chance to go to Europe, and India lets him go, she may never again have the opportunity of seeing in the flesh, this brilliant genius, a worthy follower in the footsteps of the great Indian Classical dancers of bygone days.

ALL-INDIA CONVENTION OF WOMEN DEVOTEES OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA AND SRI SARADAMONI DEVI

By Dr. ROMA CHAUDHURI,
Chairman, Reception Committee

ON the supremely auspicious occasion of the Birth-Centenary of Holy Mother, Sri Saradhamoni Devi, an All-India Convention of the Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Saradhamoni Devi was held in the University Institute Hall, Calcutta, from the 2nd April to the 6th April, 1954. Fifty delegates from different parts of India and outside, such as Delhi, Shillong, Madras, Patna, Nagpur, Coorg, Andhra, Trichur, Gauhati, Calcutta and Rangoon, attended the Convention. A strong Reception Committee, with enthusiastic local devotees, was formed with the present writer as Chairman and Sm. Subhadra Haksar as Secretary.

On the first day, a public meeting, open to all, was held under the very kind presidency of Srimat Swami Samkarananda Maharaj, President of Ramakrishna Math and Mission; but as he could not remain till the end of the meeting, after his departure, Swami Madhavananda, General Secretary, Ramakrishna Math and Mission, very kindly presided over the rest of the function. The huge hall was packed to suffocation, filled, every nook and corner, with devoted hearts, to pay homage to the Holy Mother. From a beautifully decorated platform, from which looked straight, calm and serene, the flower-studded portraits of this Divine Couple, upon the vast multitude of variegated humanity united with a common fraternal bond, Srimat Swamiji, in a soul-stirring Presidential address, invoked "the Daughters of the Divine Mother" to carry out Her sacred mission—primarily by moulding themselves into images of the Mother, and secondarily by rearing a nobler human race which will usher in a new age as prophesied by Swami Vivekananda. "To understand and feel this," he concluded beautifully, "to make ceaseless efforts to walk in the footsteps of the Holy Mother and inspire others to do the same, should be the real objective of every one attending the Convention." Even when he left the Meeting, his ennobling blessings rang; a long time after, through the length and breadth of the hall, and lifted every one present to a higher spiritual sphere of beatitude and blessedness:

"May you carry what you will learn from this Convention to the regions you come from, and through similar gatherings, share the same with your sisters who are not present here today. May the Holy Mother sweeten your lives with bliss and give you courage and strength to accomplish Her will!"

It was, indeed, a most inspiring experience for us all to listen to this enlivening invocation of one whose whole life was but an epitomization of the supreme ideals of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarada Devi.

On the following days, four public meetings, open to ladies only, were held at Mahabodhi Society Hall, and all largely attended. In two of these meetings, two symposia on "The Significance of the Holy Mother's Life" were held under the presidency of Sister R. S. Subhalakshmi of Madras and Srimati Bani Devi of Sri Sarada Asram, Calcutta. A large number of delegates from different parts of the country participated, and

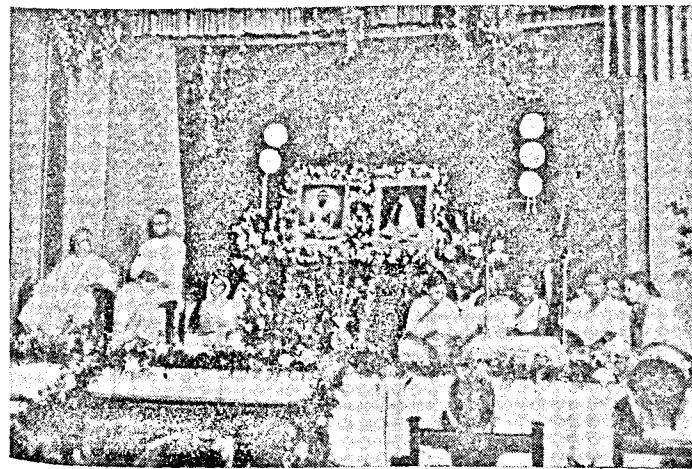


All-India Convention of Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarada Devi, Mahabodhi Society Hall, Calcutta

beautifully brought out the manifold characteristics of the Divine Mother, as wife, mother, teacher, guide and friend to all. In the remaining two meetings, also, two interesting symposia on "The Place of Indian Women in the Social Field" and "Education for Women" were held under the presidency of Sister Charushila of Ananda Asram, Calcutta, and Srimati Mrinmayi Roy of Calcutta. Many thought-provoking suggestions were put forward by the delegates in this connection.

Everyday, morning sessions were held in the Delegates' Camp for giving the delegates opportunities for a comparison of notes and an exchange of hearts. Perhaps, these small informal, private, gatherings were the most exhilarating and beneficial of all the various functions of the Convention. Sitting right at the feet of the flower-bedecked, incense-scented portraits of the Divine Couple, sisters from different parts of India and outside, so long quite unknown to one another, but now brought together by the supreme sense of being

daughters of the same Mother, gave accounts of their individual and collective efforts in spreading the Message of the Holy Mother through service of Humanity. Magnanimous, indeed were these ballads of love and self-sacrifice, coming, as they did from the very depth of devoted hearts, simple and sincere souls, doing their humble bits silently and unostentatiously. In fact, these gatherings of the devotee-delegates clearly brought out before all how the silent influence of the Holy Mother has been working all these years, with full and unabated force, through the length and breadth of the country, inspiring even common people to acts of uncommon virtues, uplifting even the lowliest to the highest level of spiritual perfection.



All-India Convention of Women Devotees, Opening Session, University Institute Hall Calcutta. Srimat Swami Samkarananda Maharaj and Swami Madhabananda are seen in the photo

The delegates were given opportunities to visit holy places, like Belur Math, Dakshineswar, Kakurgachi Ramakrishna Yogodyan, Udbodhan Office (Mother's House), Cossipur Math, etc. Every evening Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Sarada Lila-Kirtana, Nama-gana and Bhajana were sung by the delegates and some reputed local artists.

This Convention of Women Devotees of Sri Ramakrishna and Sri Saradmoni Devi was the first of its kind ever held; and it was, really, an indescribably wonderful one from every point of view. The first thing that struck all was the deepest sincerity of each and every one, connected with it, from the highest to the lowest, not excluding the menials, day-labourers and sweepers. It was more like a *pūja* than a mere Convention—everyone, through his or her allotted duty seemed to offer "Anjali" to the Divine Mother, rather than do an ordinary work. The immortal spirit of our

Mother appeared to infuse the whole gathering with an indescribable sweetness and serenity that still linger in the memory of us all. Further, this Convention also served a double purpose, as pointed out by the Chairman of the Reception Committee in her inaugural address, for which it was called. Thus, secondly, it served as a means of self-examination to the delegates as to how far really they had been able, all these years, to mould their own lives according to the ideals of the Holy Mother. Thirdly, this Convention also brought together, for the first time, on a common platform, devoted hearts, dedicated to the same supreme ideals, and built up an unbreakable bond of love and fraternity amongst them all. Last, but not least, this superb

Convention held forth before us all the lamp of new hope and new inspiration, and sent us back to our old lives and ordinary vocations with a better understanding and a renewed vigour, with refreshed minds and solaced hearts.

These five short days, in fact, had been one of the happiest periods of our lives, when for a time being, we seemed to have been elevated to a higher spiritual level, far beyond the reaches of the claims of our every day existence. The ever-green memory of these tranquil days of meditation and devotion will always remain with us to give us energy and inspiration, whenever necessary.

What this Convention and other allied meetings and functions have proved beyond doubt is that the machine-minded and science-proud, but war-weary and unhappy world

of ours is seeking solace in something other than mere material prosperity and mundane achievements. That these alone cannot lead mankind to real peace and bliss have been amply demonstrated by the present turmoils and tribulations all over the world. That is why, people, in their thousands are flocking to all the Holy Mother's Birth-Centenary functions, with eager hearts, expecting to find a new path from her Divine life. We have no doubt that many did find such a path and returned to their homes with a more optimistic outlook on life and a greater faith in the future of mankind. This alone amply justifies the numerous meetings and other functions that are being held throughout the country on this superbly blessed occasion of the Birth-Centenary of the Holy Mother.

May the blessings of the Holy Mother be on us always to guide aright in the difficult and tortuous path of life!

MUNICH UNIVERSITY HONORS DR. TARAKNATH DAS

ON May 24th, 1954, an Honorary Doctorate was conferred on Dr. Taraknath Das, Professor at the Columbia University and the New York University, New York, by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich. Dr. Das, an old friend of Germany, is the Vice-President of the India Institute, Munich, the capital of Bavaria, where he had lived for several years between the two world-wars. He has been Honorary member of the German Academy, Munich, where his well-known book *India in World-Politics* was published in a German translation. Germany honors in Dr. Das one of the oldest champions of Indian freedom, an independent personality among people, who have been working for peace among nations, and who, with love, courage and personal sacrifice, have always stood for the betterment of their country.

For receiving the degree Professor Dr. Das travelled all the way from New York to Munich. After the University convocation the India Institute, Munich, had arranged a festive dinner in honour of the Indian guest, at which the leading personalities of the scientific circles of Munich, representatives of the Bavarian State and the City of Munich, and a great number of other personalities were present.

The President of the India Institute, Dr. Franz Thierfelder expressed his administration for Professor Dr. Das as a politician, scholar and champion of the Indian independence.



An Honorary Doctorate being conferred on Dr. Taraknath Das by the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich



At the University Convocation, after the degree had been conferred on him, Dr. Taraknath Das delivers a speech thanking the members of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Munich.

PROF. MAX MULLER AND THE CONTEMPORARY INDIAN SAVANTS

By SURATH CHAKRAVARTY

PROF. MAX MULLER, the renowned Oriental scholar of Oxford, was famous for his great regard for everything Indian. His knowledge of Indian philosophy and metaphysics was also profound. In his youth he began to compile *Rig Veda*, one of the most important ancient scriptures of our country, which was published in the year 1875. He also published many valuable books on comparative religion and philosophy.

He had a strange attraction and sympathy for every notable Indian thinker of his time, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. In his well-known book *My Indian Friends* and *The Life and Letters of Prof. Max Muller*, Vols. I and II, edited by Mrs. Max Muller, his cordial relations with the distinguished Indians like Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Satyendranath Tagore, M. Renai, Ram Krishna Bhandarkar, Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, Rev. Protap Chandra Mazoomdar, Pandita Romabai, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda and many others are beautifully described. Protap Chandra Mazoomdar has very rightly said :

"As for Max Muller himself, his services to India are not to be measured only by the valuable literary tribute he has repeatedly paid to Hindu philosophy and faith but the personal affection and solicitude he has shown for every Hindu, for every Oriental he has met, are characteristic of the man."—*The Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen*, 3rd Ed., p. 151.

So great was his love for India and its spiritual ideal that he was sometimes accused of being partial in his estimation about India and her people even by some of his intimate friends. Max Muller's very natural reply to their accusations was :

"I have often been told that I have been misled by these acquaintances, and have taken far too favourable a view of the Indian character; that I had seen the best of India only, not the worst. But where is the harm? I have seen what the Indian character can be, I have learnt what it ought to be, and I hope what it will be, and though we cannot expect a whole nation of Ram Mohun Roys, of Debendranath Tagores, of Keshub Chunder Sens, of Malabarais and Ramabais, we ought not to neglect them in our estimate of the capabilities of a whole nation."—Max Muller: *Auld Land Syne*—*My Indian Friends*, 1899, pp. 5-6.

Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen, the "Thunderbolt of Bengal," went to England in the year 1870. After Raja Ram Mohun Roy he was the first Indian

who went to that country as religious preacher and reformer. He made contacts with the leading savants, philosophers, sociologists, religious reformers of England, and was very soon recognised by them as the great reformer and the prophet of the harmony of religions. Everywhere large audiences gathered to hear from him the message of the Brahmo Samaj, the better sides of ancient Indian culture and religion and the better aspects of Christianity. Not only were his lectures and addresses confined to religious matters but he also clearly pointed out to his audience the defects and drawbacks of their materialistic Christianity and what should be their attitude towards India and her people. Notable contemporary journals of England contained records of Keshub Chunder's speeches and activities in England. Thus, in the world-famous great Hindu reformer they found the voice of India represented to them.

On 1st April, 1870, Keshub Chunder was invited to lunch with the Dean of Westminster at his place where he was introduced to Lady Augusta Stanley, Prince Christian and Prof. Max Muller. He had a long discussion with Max Muller about the Indian subjects, specially the Vedas, in which the Dean also took part heartily. Thus, there grew up a warm friendship between this great scholar and the world-famous orator and religious reformer of India which lasted till the latter's death. Occasionally they used to exchange thoughts through correspondence. In his *Biographical Essays*, where Max Muller has beautifully inserted his critical estimation of Ram Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Dayananda Saraswati, etc., much of this correspondence is published. They reveal the great regard in which he held and the cordial love he bore towards Keshub Chunder Sen, though he did not quite understand certain later developments of his spiritual culture. Max Muller's condolence letter addressed to Karuna Chandra Sen, after the death of Keshub Chunder, bears testimony to this fact:

Oxford,
9th February, 1884

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter. I knew of your father's death and I have felt it as a personal loss. I not only honoured your father, but I loved him and I count his friendship as one of the most valued recollections of my life. My thoughts so often turn to India and dwell with the few men I know there, (I mean the few who are really doing good work there) that even now I seem to hold some spiritual

converse with your father, till I suddenly feel remembered that he is no longer among the living. India has suffered a great loss but so has Europe, for your father's work was telling on the minds of many people in Europe, as well as in India. . . . I wrote a short obituary notice of your father in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and sent you a copy. I hope it has reached. I should like to give a fuller account of his noble work and life, but I must wait till I have more leisure, also, till I can get fuller materials.

With truest sympathy,
Yours faithfully,
F. Max Muller.

The following tribute was paid by Prof. Max Muller to the memory of Keshub Chunder Sen in the *Pall Mall Gazette* :

"India has lost her greatest son, Keshub Chunder Sen. His was one of the few names known not only most widely among the two hundred fifty million who are said to inhabit the vast Indian Empire, but familiar even to European ears. Many of us saw him during his stay in England in 1870, listened to him, admired and loved him and not a few have ever since remained united with him by the bonds of a real friendship. . . . Though he died young, the work of his life was done, and his friend and probable successor, Protap Chunder Mazoomdar at present travelling in America and Japan, will, perhaps, be better fitted, under present circumstances, to carry on the religious reform of India. But as long as there is a religion in India, whatever its name may be, the name of Keshub Chunder Sen will be gratefully remembered as one who lived and died for the glory of God, for the welfare of mankind and for the truth, so far as he could see it."

The following few passages from his famous book are also sufficient authority for his great regard for and faith in Keshub Chunder Sen :

"His (Pawari Baba's) position, however, as a sage and a saint seems to have been generally recognised, and Keshub Chunder Sen is a sufficient authority for the fact that he well deserved a place by the side of such men as Dayananda Saraswati and Ram Krishna."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1951, p. 15.

"The life of Keshub Chunder Sen also, though he was a married man and travelled much and moved in the world, was a life of extreme self-ideal, as much of that of any Paramhansa."—*Ibid*, p. 16.

"Painful misunderstanding has arisen with regard to the exact relationship between Ram Krishna and Keshub Chunder Sen. . . . Such bickerings and cavillings would have been most distasteful both to Keshub Chunder Sen and to Ram Krishna. Both had no words but words of praise and love for each other, and it was a great pity that their relation should have been treated in a jealous way and thereby totally misrepresented. . . . As for myself, I can only say that Keshub Chunder Sen's memory is quite safe in my hands perhaps safer than in those of his relatives. I stood up for him when his nearest friends forsook him and turned against him. If my words could possibly have been misunder-

stood in India, I gladly state that neither did Ram Krishna act as *guru* nor Keshub Chunder Sen as *sishya*."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1951, pp. 66-67.

Bhai Protap Chandra Mazoomdar, one of the worthy disciples of Keshub Chunder Sen, first visited England in the year 1874, and was cordially received there by men like Mr. Robert Spears, Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, Professor F. W. Newman, Professor Max Muller, Mr. Tyndall and many others. In his well-known book, *Tour Round the World*, Protap Chandra has given a beautiful account of his first interview with Prof. Max Muller:

"I made an appointment to see Professor Max Muller at Oxford, and we had a whole afternoon together. . . . Great refinement of thought and manners, a wide powerful intellect, and a shrewed commonsense impart to his companionship a peculiar charm. He was just rejoicing at the completion of his labours over the translation of the *Rig Veda* when I first visited him. We walked together through the town of Oxford, visited the different Colleges, the Bodleian Library and different other classical spots, he walking so vigorously, and pouring upon me such a flood of information in his naive elegant style, that I could with difficulty keep pace either with the one or with the other. He had some intention of visiting India in company with Mr. Grant Duff but has subsequently given up the idea. He would be glad, he said, to wander in the streets of Benares for some years, and plunge deep into the sacred stream of Sanskrit learning as it is flowing in that ancient city. He spoke to me a sentence now and then in Sanskrit, but his pronunciation was so different from what I have been used to hear, that I could not very well understand him. . . . He knew Proddhan Acharya's (Debendranath Tagore's) father very well in Paris, and related to me certain interesting incidents . . . and when we parted at the Railway station his last words were these, 'Send me every information relating to your movement, every book, pamphlet, and paper; you will not find me working always. But when my time comes'—and then bending slightly and touching his hat, he said, 'Here I am'."—P. C. Mazoomdar: *Tour Round the World*, 2nd Edition, pp. 112-12.

Protap Chandra Mazoomdar again set out for a long tour in Europe and America in the year 1883, ten years before Swami Vivekananda's visit to America. He was the first Indian religious preacher in America. He made personal contact with the leading thinkers and savants of Europe and America and gained world-wide reputation as an orator and religious reformer. His occasional speeches on India's ancient and modern religion, the universal religion of the Brahmo Samaj, a past and present social condition of India, excited great interest in India and her people in the minds of the Americans. Famous contemporary American journals like *New York Independent*, *Christian Register*, *Springfield Republican*, etc., published detailed information about the activities and

influence of P. C. Mazoomdar in America at that time. This was India's first American Mission.

In the year 1893, Protap Chandra was specially invited to represent "Liberal Hinduism" in the famous Parliament of Religions, Chicago. He was also selected by the authorities of the Parliament as one of the members of its Advisory Council. The session of this Parliament of Religions began on 11th September, 1893. Besides other addresses Protap Chandra Mazoomdar delivered his main address "World's Religious Debt to Asia" on 22nd September. On this day the audience was much greater than those of any previous day. (Vide, Dr. J. H. Barrows: *World's Parliament of Religions*, Vol. I, p. 130). So great was his influence over the American audience that after the session of the Parliament of Religions was over he was given a cordial reception in Boston Unitarian Club by a group of intellectuals under the leadership of S. J. Barrows who declared him as the 'Prophet of the glowing East.' He was also specially invited by the authorities of the Lowell Institute, Boston to deliver a series of lectures on India. Here he delivered four lectures on "The Religious and Social Life of India," "Modern Religion in India," "The Races of India," and "Hindu Society." It excited such a great interest amongst the audience that on invitation of the management he had to repeat this series of lectures and the hall was over-crowded with almost eight thousand people. The contemporary notable American journals contain beautiful records of the influence of Rev. P. C. Mazoomdar's Chicago and Lowell lectures. His friends and admirers in America organised the "Mazoomdar Mission Fund" and thus helped him to maintain a close relation between the socio-religious cultural movement of India and that of America of that time. Thus through P. C. Mazoomdar's international fame and reputation and for his earnest labour, India was held in great esteem by the leading intellectuals of the world of that time.

Since their first meeting Professor Max Muller became a fast friend and admirer of Protap Chandra Mazoomdar. He always watched Mazoomdar's activities with great interest and encouraged him. The following few lines from his letter to the Right Hon'ble W. E. Gladstone bear testimony to this fact:

"I wish Mr. Mazoomdar, who is now in England, could have seen you. He is the right hand of Keshub Chunder Sen—though most loyal to his leader, who is overexcited and occasionally strange in his utterances, still they are working in the right direction and it is a pleasure to help them in ploughing, sowing and watering, though we can never hope to see the harvest."—Mrs. Max Muller: *Life and Letters of F. Max Muller*, 1903, Vol. II, p. 369.

P. C. Mazoomdar also never lagged behind in appreciating the sympathy and help which he always received from the venerable professor:

"But no word of cheer has been more cordial than that of Max Muller, our old well-trying friend."—P. C. Mazoomdar: *Tour Round the World*, 2nd Edition, p. 17.

Protap Chandra wrote a beautiful account of Ramakrishna Paramhansa, the saint of Dakshineswar, along with some of his sayings in *The Sunday Mirror* of April, 1876, under the title "The Hindu Saint." This was again reprinted in the *Theistic Quarterly Review* of October, 1879, and was also circulated in the form of a small leaflet which attracted the attention of the venerable Professor Max Muller to this Saint. From the following letter of Swami Vivekananda, addressed to Alasinga on 8th August, 1886, we know that Max Muller was induced to write in the *Nineteenth Century* an article on Ramakrishna "The Real Mahatman" with the help of Mazoomdar's monograph:

"I read Max Muller's article which is a good one, considering that when he wrote it six months ago, he had no materials except Mazoomdar's leaflet."—*Letters of Swami Vivekananda*, 4th Ed., p. 329.

Swami Vivekananda himself secured the help of P. C. Mazoomdar's leaflets for preaching the name of his Master in America:

"By the by, will you kindly send up a few copies of the sketch of Ram Krishna Paramhansa's life written by Mazoomdar to Chicago? They have lots in Calcutta."—*Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol. VIII, 1951, p. 321.

We find in Prof. Max Muller's *Life and Letters*, Vol. II, page 369:

"On returning to Oxford, Max Muller (August, 1896) had visits from two Indians, Vivekananda, the Vedantist Missionary who afterwards went to America to carry on a propaganda there, and . . . Again in p. 395, he writes to C. J. Longman Esq., at Oxford on 10.6.1898:

"I am ready with Ram Krishna's sayings but have not received the answer I expect from the *Brahmavadin*. So I must wait."

Professor Max Muller compiled the sayings of Ramakrishna which was published in the year 1893 under the title *Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings* by which Paramhansadeb was introduced to the European and American intellectuals. In this biography he rectified certain previous mis-statements made by him in the *Nineteenth Century*. It will be seen from the following passages of that book that Max Muller ascribed much more importance to the evidence of his old friend Protap Chandra Mazoomdar than any other person from whom he gathered information:

"The fact that he was ignorant of Sanskrit, nay, that he did not know a single word of the sacred language of India, is denied by nobody, and has been distinctly asserted by one of his great admirers, the Rev. P. C. Mazoomdar."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1951, pp. 60-61.

"But if Vivekananda might be suspected of partiality, fortunately we have another witness,

namely Rev. P. C. Mazoomdar, who is a great admirer of the Saint. Mazoomdar must be counted as a favourable witness. He stands aloof from the propaganda carried on by Ram Krishna's disciples, but he speaks of him in the highest terms. —There is a ring of truth and impartiality about this, and there is no sign of jealousy, which often breaks out, even in India among religious reformers and their followers."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1951, pp. 61-62.

"In conclusion, I have to thank my friend, Mazoomdar and several of the disciples of Ram Krishna, more particularly Vivekananda and the Editor of the *Brahmavadin*, for the ready help they have rendered me in publishing this collection of the sayings of their departed Master."—*Ram Krishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1951, p. 97.

• But in spite of the great friendship there were certain points where they did not agree with each other. Max Muller did not support the two charges which P. C. Mazoomdar brought against Ram Krishna, i.e., ill-treatment towards his wife and occasional uses of slang words in his conversation even before the ladies. His reply to Mazoomdar's charges are given at pages 64-65 of his famous book.

Protap Chandra Mazoomdar also did not agree with the venerable Professor when the latter asked him to repudiate his Hindu origin and nationality, and to accept Christianity wholeheartedly.

"Tell me some of your chief difficulties that prevent you and your countrymen from openly following Christ. I shall do my best to explain how I and many who agree with me have met them and solved them."—Prof. Max Muller's letter to P. C. Mazoomdar on 15.6.1899.

Protap Chandra's prompt and natural reply to Max Muller's proposal was:

"What disconcerts me is the half-expressed contempt which Christian leaders, even of the liberal school, seem to have of the Hindu ideal and spirituality. When I express my ardent love for Christ and Christianity, they are kindly in sympathy but the moment I say that Christ and his religion will have to be interpreted in India through Indian antecedents and the Indian medium of thought, I am suspected of trying to bend Christianity down to heathenism. So we must either renounce our national temperament or renounce Christ or re-embodiment our faith and aspirations under a new name, and form and spirit. We have taken this third course."—*Interpreter*, August, 1899.

But these differences did not in any way have any effect on their mutual sympathy and deep friendship which lasted till the death of the venerable Professor on 31st October, 1900. Is it not high time for us to unearth from the history of the contemporary period the result of this friendship and examine carefully what effect it had on the contemporary socio-religious progress of the world?

—:O:—

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN ORISSA *

BY PROF. N. B. ROY, M.A.,

Head of the Department of Islamic History, Visva-Bharati University

STERLING, writing his *An Account of Orissa* in 1322 happened unwittingly to let down her people by saying that that country was "the Boetia of India." Such a remark is, however, belied by the character of her people. These people showed in ancient times a remarkable keenness and refinement reflected alike in art and letters which remind us of the Athenian rather than the Boetian.

Orissa produced in by-gone days a great many literati who have bequeathed their thoughts both in Sanskrit and the local vernaculars. The mass of palm-leaf manuscripts which have been resuscitated show the wide range of their contents including subjects such as, philosophy, history, folk-lore, religion, medicine and grammar. The Cult of Sri Chaitanya obtained a new complexion at the hands of the Pancha-Sakha—Achyutananda, Balaram, Ananta, Jagannath and Yasovanta—the five disciples of Lord

Chaitanya. Their greatest contribution was the insistence upon social equality, by which they succeeded in resolving the rigidity of caste. Thus Achyuta says:

"My grandfather was a Karana; for he was a scribe; my father a Khuntia, for he was a temple attendant; I, though his son, am not a Karana; for I do none of the Karana's functions."

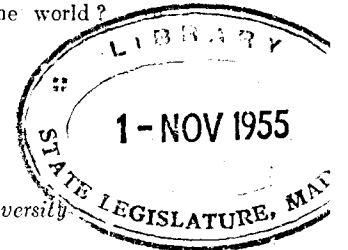
Thus the saint laid stress upon the man's vocation rather than his pedigree as determining his status in society.

The tendency for a pacific disposition and loving tenderness was accentuated by the Cult of Jagannath. When Raja Man Singh came down to Orissa with a view to the conquest of this country, he is said to have declared:

"It is a land, not fit for any scheme of human ambition; for it is a country predominantly of gods."

He saw here an impressive array of shrines whose splendours and wealth alike in the last quarter of the 16th century were dazzling. With their vast endowments which provided for the up-keep of platoons of priests and temple attendants, troupes of singers,

* *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, April/July, October, 1952 and January, 1953. Published by P. Acharyee, Supdt. of Research, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.



TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

National Exchange Programme : An Indian Visitor's Impression

By KRISHNA BAI NIMBKAR

II

AFTER the fortnight at Washington spent in introducing ourselves to America through a carefully planned programme worked for foreign exchange students and visitors generally, by the International Centre, the five of us "observers" invited by Mrs. Raymond Sayre, to attend the 7th Triennial International Conference of the ACWW* and whose visit was being sponsored by the Ford Foundation, reached Toronto on the 10th August, 1953. This Conference proved quite an experience to each of us, inasmuch as it brought us into touch with leading women from all the world over. It was really more a social affair as conferences go, but all the same it was a delightful one, with the level of discussions handled, being far more on an intelligent plane, and the general order of business done of a much higher standard than one witnesses at most of such women's gatherings. The group discussions were more interesting, the plenary sessions being devoted to the passing of resolutions resulting from such group discussions. The connected functions alongside conference work, were largely propaganda to popularise the conference and the various countries attending it. There were in all 27 countries participating, and of these India, Egypt, Pakistan, Japan, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, came as observers. Besides this, there were representatives from the Unesco, WHO, and Unicef. The five of us, two from Pakistan, two from India, and one from Egypt, were the cynosure of all eyes, perhaps, with our outlandish costumes, and so were receiving the greatest attention! Very often for civic receptions at various places, positions of distinction of honour were given to the observer countries by turns, by Mrs. Sayre, who as President of the ACWW, was conducting the whole business of the Conference most ably. Mrs. Sayre is one of the most interesting personalities I have met, and I found that she was very popular and universally liked by everybody. She has travelled widely, both in her home country U.S.A. and all over the world. She is on several governmental and non-governmental advisory committees in the U.S.A. Recently President Eisenhower appointed her to the New United States National Agricultural Advisory Commission. Besides all this, she is at the head of a family of four children, manages with the help of her elder son and her husband a large six hundred-acre farm, with only one hired farm help: attends to fifty heads of Hereford cattle, one hundred of breeding sheep, and three hundred pigs, and carries on "diversified farming"! While she does all this, at the same time in her home she cooks for the family, preserves and bottles her own farm

produce, presides Woman's Farm meetings, advises the YWCA, interests herself in the Home Economics Clubs, guides Four H Clubs, and yet keeps fresh and smiling and ready to discuss agendas and itineraries of travel for foreign visitors! With such a versatile President, the ACWW no doubt has come to be a leading international organization looking after rural women's interests.

Because perhaps we looked different from others we were very much photographed and questioned and interviewed as never before. Through all this, while I have avoided unnecessary limelight I have tried to uphold India impartially and at her best, and I hope without being untruthful. What mattered to me most was, educating the people from different lands, and largely those of Canada and U.S.A. about the troops of our country. Almost everywhere whenever I got the chance, I have maintained that we are behind Nehru's foreign policy, behind the constructive policies embodied in the Five-Year Plan, united in our abhorrence of totalitarian Communism but not afraid or panicky about it, because we have many constructive movements like *bhoodan*, etc., which could soon cripple Communist destructive activity, because of the ideology inherent in *bhoodan* given us by Gandhiji, and because of our basing all democratic functioning on truth and Ahimsa. I maintained that problems of defensive armies and atom-bombs we left to our policy makers, and trusted in their wisdom and decisions. I hope I gave the nearest to correct picture of our country's faith to-day.

While the Conference groups tackled the questions of (1) problems of rural women in less developed countries, (2) economic problems of people on land, (3) ways and means of spreading information about the U.N. agencies, the Conference itself considered and passed in their plenary sessions, resolutions on (1) output and standard of living, (2) tree-planting and forest-conservation, (3) illiteracy, (4) concept of freedom based on four freedoms, (5) the United Nations supporting its objectives and policies and its TA programmes, (6) production, distribution and balanced economy and planned distribution from surplus to needy areas, (7) international trade based on international commodity agreement.

The whole business session of the Conference was followed by a final Banquet where there were a thousand guests, and where each province of Canada contributed one item of the menu, which was a most unique feature. A great entertainment was provided to the visitors and delegates of the Conference in the form of a grand pageant "the Dominion of Destiny" in the great Maple Leaf stadium of Toronto which could

* The Associated Countrywomen of the World.

musicians and artists, they were as venerable institutions as the monasteries of medieval Europe. When the worship of many Brahmanical deities fell into comparative disfavour owing to the loss of the royal patronage, the Cult of Jagannath, originally a god of the Savaras, arose into ascendancy. He was deified as the primeval Lord, lovingly called Barathakur who symbolized in him the various manifestations of god-head. The curious thing about him is that he was considered the real ruler of the land, governing the people by his earthly representatives. This notion which was sedulously fostered by the Ganga kings since the time of Anangabhim II also had its effect in producing a disposition to piety and submissiveness among the people. The ancient traditions of this land reappears today in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal* which has undertaken to publish material on the varied aspects of Orissan history and culture, e.g., literature and religion, anthropology and numismatics, linguistics and fine arts. And in support of my statement, I would take a few specimens at random from the numbers already published under the supervision of P. Acharyee, Superintendent of Research (Retired, April, 1954), under the title "Two Comparatively Unknown Poets of Orissa." Kedarnath Mahapatra brings to light valuable facts in the life and work of Kavibhusan (ornament of poets) Govinda Samantara and Kavichandra Kamallochana Khadgaraya. The writer refutes the misapprehensions about their ancestry and birth-place and shows with hardly any doubt that both of them belonged to the same family, the latter being the grandson of the former. The interesting fact about this family is that they owed their advancement to the patronage of the Kachhwah Raja Man Singh. This Rajput General in the course of his expedition to this country, 1593 A.D. (?) had evidently come in contact with Kavichandra Visvanatha Samantara and was so enamoured of his abilities that he carried him to Delhi and ushered him into the presence of the emperor Akbar. His two minor sons grew up under the protection of Das Vidyadhara, Minister of the Khurda Raj, Ramchandradeva and his son Purushottamdeva. Seventh in descent from Mahesvara (1615 A.D.) was Govinda Samantara who has immortalised himself by composing the *Sammridha Natak* in imitation of the *Gita-Govinda*, which complete in seven acts was performed in the court-yard of the temple at Puri.

The poet Kavichandra Kamallochan who again won fame by his composition of *Sangita-Chintamani* and *Gita-Mukunda*, on the model of *Gita-Govinda*, was stated to be a Bengali Brahmin, brought over to Nagpur by the Bhonsle Raja. Kedarnath shows on the basis of reliable evidence that Kamallochana, was descended from Kavichandra Visvanath, connected with the Khurda court and was the author of a commentary on the Bhagavata Purana named *Bhagavatila-chintamani*. Here is, therefore, a source of the real widening of our knowledge on the development of Sanskrit literature in Orissa. There are original epigraphs published in this journal. For instance, "Three temple inscriptions of Bhuvaneshwara, Rasapalla copper plate grant of Ranaka Satrabhanjadeva, Samvat 198 and a short votive inscription at Saru in Balasore District." The first of the above establishes the conquest of Orissa by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva, prior to 1112 A.D., that is to say, at the commencement of the 12th century, refuting R. D. Banerji's view of the conquest having taken place in 1118 A.D. The learned editor duly assesses the importance of the word, Kirttivasa, mentioned in the inscription, and leaves the question as to the derivation of the word from the Chalukya King Kirttivarman or its corruption from *Kruttivasa*, open. S. N. Rajguru conjectures Satrabhanja to have been a feudatory of the Bhauma-Kara Kings, while S. C. De regards his find of a Siva-Linga bearing the Buddhist *Dharani* (mantra equivalent in importance to the Gayatri mantra of the Brahmanical Hindus) as rather unique in Orissa. It is difficult, however, to accept his conclusion that it was not a votive stupa, for similar conversions of them into Linga are found to have occurred in the *Nalanda Mahavihara*.

In the paper bearing the rather curious title of "Orissa in South India" excerpts in original from literature and epigraphs have been added as an Appendix. One of them—*Kataka Raja Vamsabali*—contains an interesting reference to Padmini. It is a version, different from that of Malik Muhammad Jayasi's and Ataul's. Here Padmini is represented to be the princess of Kanchi and her suitor was Gajapati Purushottamdeva. The latter is said to have invaded Kanchi and taken the princess away to his capital. Here her marriage with the King was solemnised (the word in the text *Purinita* is corrupt). But the queen had miraculous union with the god Dhavalesvara (Siva) and their offspring was Prataprudradeva!

Papers on the medieval history of Orissa are comparatively few. The one of the Paik rising of 1817 and showing its leader Jagabandhu Misra's honourable and manly stand as against the weak-kneed submission of the Khurda Raj Mukundadeva II merits perusal. The reprint of Thomas Motte's Journal which is extremely scarce at present is highly welcome.

Such contributions augur well for the advance of historical studies in Orissa. I would, however, recommend the following: (i) Improvements in the get-up and print, (ii) a chastening of the language, and above all, (iii) much greater care in proof-reading; for, misprints are as numerous as the pebbles in the bed of Orissa's rivers.

seat 15,000 people at a time. This pageant depicting the history of Canada, right from the early days of colonization to the present day, was one long continuous breath-taking unforgettable event lasting over five hours without a break, on a most lavish and colourful scale, which reflected a masterpiece of co-ordination, organization and direction, when professional, official, non-official, and voluntary social agencies worked together for one common purpose of the Conference.

After a hectic time at the Conference itself at Toronto, we went with the conference party on a grand tour of the capital cities of Canada which included visits to Niagara, the Agricultural Institute at Guelph, Ontario Hydro-Electric over the Niagara, the Beaurahois Hydro Plant over the St. Lawrence, the picnic to Isle De Orleans in Quebec, city tours over Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa and Quebec, as guests of honour of the Canadian Women's Institute and the Canadian Government. Of course, to mention merely the names will not mean much. It was not the cities that we merely exclusively visited. In the intervals, during the tour, almost entirely covered in Pullman buses, we stayed over-night at farm houses and saw the lives of the people of all classes at close quarters. We saw apple orchards, glass hot-houses for mushroom and rhubarb, growing on an industrial scale, nylon factories, the great timber and furniture factories, aluminium factory, the Grand Ottawa State Fair, the Canadian National Exhibition, etc. We were welcomed everywhere with great enthusiasm. The news of Canada's and U.S.A.'s part with reference to India in the U. N. being then fresh in people's minds, the Canadians showed particular warmth, and the U.S.A. people always were apologetic. I took the fullest opportunity of civic luncheons and such occasions, besides group gatherings at other times, to put forth an "Indian" viewpoint on all our national problems and defended our international policies as best as I could. I was able to create at least a passing interest in people to know more about us. They are woefully ignorant about many things about us. I called on the High Commissioner at Ottawa and tried to see if our handicrafts cannot find better sale and advertisement. Indians on the whole acquit themselves with better patriotism in these foreign countries than at home perhaps.

I do not remember Americans, quite so often toasting anybody at formal functions. While American religious denominations are multiplying, yet there is little evidence of orthodoxy as such. Americans do not have the problem of linguism as the Canadians are facing it today, nor the sharp cleavages between Catholics and non-Catholic Christians. Border restrictions between the two countries are friendly. Trade exchanges, and national exchanges and strictures over the free flow of farm products between the two countries take

place in friendly rivalry as shared between friends, so far. The growing "Coops" of Canada, and the one province of Saskatchewan, almost completely a Co-operative Commonwealth State in the midst of the overall liberal politics of the rest of Canada, are all indicative of a drift to a common Republican ideology spreading over the whole of the Americas from Alaska to Panama. There is a great difference between Canadian ways and American ways still, though there is a great deal of similarity too. Canadians drink to the toast of the Queen though I have a suspicion that it is not very fervent in most circles. They insist on singing "O Canada" along with "God save the Queen." The Catholics are still conservative. When I tried to gesticulate in French at Quebec and tried to talk about Voltaire as a great Frenchman, like Gandhi as a great Indian, one of the Padres shook his head and suggested Roussau.

The Notre Dame at Quebec and the Cyclorama of the life of Christ are some of the most unforgettable things I have ever seen. I bought the pictures of them. The wayside open air baking ovens, the pony carts, the dog carts, the wine cellars and the wayside shops and wayside streams are some features of Quebec country, I would not have missed. I am told that they are remnants of the fast disappearing vestiges of French patterns of country life. We visited the Fort Henrey and the Royal Military Academy where a special parade was put up for our benefit by the students dressed in the old uniforms of Infantry men of the early years. The mounties of Canada and their fine houses were further very real things. In the Fort, they fired real cannon to show us that they still worked. The Naval Hospital and the great Children's Hospital at Toronto we saw only from a distance in the course of our sight-seeing. The Niagara itself was a dream come true, where I actually saw two vivid and even a third light, rainbow arching the Falls. The coloured lighting up of the whole Falls, and the "Maid of the Mist" from the Canadian side, with the Bridge across the Niagara, the sun-set, and the moon-rise following soon after, and the two flags of the two countries fluttering on the frontier are all great memories indeed! I wished all of my younger folks were here to enjoy the thrills rather than me—past my middle age. Yet enjoy every moment of it all I did and continue to do. I have taken in things like a sponge mopping up experiences. I hope I shall be able to write of everything—scenic grandeurs, the beauty of countryside homes and gardens, the pleasure haunts, which do not belie the coloured pictures in journals and magazines and news-reels: the seaside resorts, the picnic parks, the ribbon roads, gasoline stations, the wayside farms and orchards, the farmer's wayside stalls of lovely fruits and vegetables, the long twilights, the equally protracted colourful sun-rises, the ships on the rivers and lakes, the children's parks and amuse-

ment gardens, the long lines of week-end holiday makers in their cars all moving noiselessly at 60 m.p.h. without a honk or hitch over a 100-mile stretch of a line of cars; the "Drive-In" theatres, drug stores, the wayside hotels with trailer-car-loads of picknickers or working parties; the hog pens, cattle pastures, corn-fields, milking cows, beautiful and handsome Guernseys, Jerseys, Ayreshires, Holsteins and short horns, the turkey farms of grey or white turkeys, the poultry farms of healthy Leg-horn fowl and chicken; the chicken feed and the cattle feed factories: the combines and the tractors and the elevators at work on the farms, the baling of clover and alpha-alpha; the silo or corn and cattle fodder; the fertilizer spreading machines; the stink of fertilizers, the smell of clover, and the fresh smell of chopped corn fodder; the camps of the young farmers or "AH" clubs—at their holiday—combining education and extension activity; the State Fairs, with the livestock competitors—are all the features of the country-life here which I can never tire of describing. Contrasted were the skyscrapers at Chicago and New York, Montreal and Ottawa, and the Great Department Stores with life-like wax models and show window display which just made me gasp and the other girls in the party go gaga; the air-conditioned hotel-rooms, with radio, television and telephone, and the height of polite service, with 'you are welcome' and 'thank you' and 'I hope you are enjoying yourself.' Washington and Ottawa are a wee bit different in that they are Capital Cities and the height of buildings is restricted and scenic beauties kept up. The flora and fauna of Canada are beautiful. The maple tree is a lovely tree and a national emblem of Canada. They extract maple sugar from its sap. The leaves turn colour and through the 'fall' they turn into a riot of variegated colours. There is another variety called the Silver Maple which I liked better still, and a tree called the Silver Spruce whose leaves in the light of the sun dazzle like so much silver. The pines and firs, oak, sycamore, chestnut, black walnut, weeping willow, etc., are other common trees. The refugees from Europe have reclaimed low-lying marsh lands in Canada called Holland-March and have made quite a success of their settlement. The Red Indians, sad to say, are relegated to 'Reserves.' This is the skeleton in the Canadians' and Americans' cupboards, and is their bad conscience. The younger generation and the really good citizens are, however, trying to make amends, in their own way at places. The holly and the ivy were all that I had imagined reading of them and seeing them in pictures. The flowers are also in profusion but not as sweet-scented as we have in India. Sweet peas, Cornations, Gladiolas, Petunias, Dahlias, Chrysanthemums, Roses, Hydrangeas, Daisies, Pansies, Phloxes, Salveas, Larkspurs and what not, are the common varieties in parks and gardens and in house fronts. The art of house furnishing and decoration, of beautifying

home fronts is a quality that seeps through the lives of all classes of people here. There is a degree of classlessness evident and apparently sincerely practised without show or bombast, as natural to the understanding of the democratic ideals on which both the countries are based. At the McDonald College of the McGill University at Montreal and at the State College at Iowa, I noticed girl and boy students serving at the Cafeteria at one moment and at College classes at the other. The girls serving as waitresses in Hotels sit in College with other students, the housewife in her off-hours, serve a couple of hours at a drug store and supplements her cash income. The farmer's 'help' gets his meals after a hard day's work, at the farmer's table. The carpenter and house-furnisher and stone-builder come to work in their own cars. The domestic help comes in a car, does floor and house cleaning and returns back like any other socialite to her home. Electricity has contributed to eliminate drudgery. Wages are high—anything between 75 cents to 2 dollars an hour for a maximum of 40 hours per week. Everybody works. The College Principal's wife and the farmer's wife, both wash their own dresses and work at their laundry. The baby-sitter is a growing new occupation for women. Mothers go to parties or meetings leaving the family in charge of a baby-sitter who gets her training at a Club or Women's Institute. A girl student often earns her fees by working as baby-sitter or domestic help.

About dress, they are not very formal though they are tied down to fashions. There is profusion of food on the tables and generally they eat too much for my taste. The quantity of beef and pork they consume is something enormous. I was taking all manner of food but I would grow fat in no time if I adopted their customs of eating, for always. Yet you find the best figures among the girls there. They drink coffee in such quantities with both meals. They eat a heavy breakfast, then before 12 their lunch, and their dinner by 6-30 or 7 p.m. They do not have afternoon tea like us. They use the fork mostly for everything and not like the English, an array of cutlery. They eat chunks of raw salad and consume chilled food, like fruits, vegetable and tomato juice as appetisers. They drink cultured or pasteurized or grade A milk. Their desserts of ice creams, apple, blue berry, black berry, and peach pies, and their whipped sherbet of raspberry, orange and strawberry are great institutions in themselves. They are afraid of germs and microbes and atom bombs, and Communists—all in one breath, and all research is directed to the complete elimination of these. They have atom bomb research sections in their college physics, laboratories and their research section for plants, parasites, bacteria and microbes are really great. Their University and student populations constitute all manners of people. In the holidays there are refresher courses. A student can take graduation

earlier on doing a certain number of terms and can even work in summer vacation and shorten the course. Farming salesmen, machine manufacturers, come for vacation courses. Teachers work in refresher courses and secure degrees while teaching. Retired men and women, have time hanging on their hands and are for ever searching for things to do. A 72-year man and his wife had just joined college at Ames—the former to study young peoples' work and the latter working as a matron in the Cafeteria.

Every one is conscious of diseases. A child starts life with shots for diphtheria, T.B., polio, small pox, tetanus and hay fever. A baby calf or dog or pony or pig or fowl starts life with shots against anthrax, rabies, brucellosis and other animal and fowl pests. The use of vacuum cleaners and wire netting for window frames, keeps out dust vermin and flies and the free use of hot water keeps sanitary and household ware, free from infection. Cancer, perhaps, from earlier and better diagnosis we hear is a dreaded disease, claiming 1 in 5 of the population. They are for ever trying to find antidotes and a few days ago the papers reported isolation of the cancer causative organism. For polio, they infect gamma globulin but results do not seem to be very certain. They have no State insurance companies as such, but Insurance companies have provided through their Blue Cross, for insurance for the aged, for dental care and for sickness and hospital care for men, women, children and old people. The Workmen's Insurance and Social Security Schemes are there and each State has its legislation for it. The ordinary man is thus, cancer conscious, polio conscious, insurance conscious, and atom bomb conscious, and therefore Communist conscious!

The communist phobia is something very amusing and I feel it is almost a joke: the way they headline newspapers and drive in propaganda. Why a nation with such wealth, space, natural resources, profusion of food and with no population problem yet, should worry itself, specially with its measure of conscious and enlightened democracy, is what I cannot understand. It is not as if they are worried by poverty, poor standards, space hunger, bad climate, over-population or food scarcity like us, for whom it is legitimate to fear becoming a prey to Communism. Yet we do not fear it and these people fear it. Is not it funny? The top politicians of today's Government do not seem to be in real favour with the people though they have vested them into power. A nation enjoying democracy is in a predicament as to how to pattern its party systems and shape the ideologies to keep pace with the growing and increasing power and the capital that is accumulating in these countries of the new world. Here it is, that I personally feel that there is a lot that a rural women's organization like ACWW can do. The

ACWW Conference resolutions on commodity sharing and free movement of surplus to needy areas and the emphasis of an international ideology governing the administration of individual countries in the world is a key to the whole problem. Added to this, I have been trying to emphasise there my own personal belief in the principles of Gandhian Philosophy and courageous action. The possession of A and H Bombs have created problems. Defensive armies cannot solve warfare on the old patterns. Yet, if the spirit of non-violent resistance prevails, the spirit can never be crushed as against the body by either brute force, mechanised force or atom bomb or H bomb force. So the world has turned to things spiritual ultimately. The people there are evidently in a state of constant jitters. They utilize their spare time which they have in plenty due to their labour-saving devices in speeding to some one or other destination. Half the time they are on the wheels covering spaces. They do not rest or ponder or imbibe the basic philosophy of life. They are essentially a people who are good and virtuous and altruistic. But, they have no roots or moorings. Hence their restlessness. They do not lack spirituality, as they want to do good and want to beautify and create works of art. They are hungering to build up history and traditions and archives and museums.

The tendency to return to the church of one denomination or other as against the liberalism of the hitherto common Christian faith they have held so far, is I think a swing to the mediæval, and tending to the creation of barriers which so far they had kept free from. This may be, because the people feel that their Government is not working out their problems quickly enough in international understanding. They, perhaps, think that alternatively their good acts through their churches will help to find outlet for a better expression of their internationalism. But I think they are mistaken in this. They must hurry and strengthen their democracy at the government levels still more, even as they have reached a measure of harmony at the people's level, instead of seeking expression through their churches of various denominations. If they do so, religious factionalism will one day preponderate and begin to cut at the roots of Government policies. They are proud now that the State and Church are separate. They must keep it so, and should avoid a mixing up of the functions of church with that of the State. Further, they must stop their tendency to treat the Semitic religions of the West as separate from those of the East and concede a common spiritual basis to all religions, recognizing that the days of proselytisation and religious conversion are over. International exchanges, T.C.A., Point Fours and all other aids to needy nations should not be permitted through church societies, but co-ordinated and filtered through

State and Government levels. Or else, minority problems will be stimulated in countries where the Methodist or the Presbyterian or the Catholic or the Jews have their enclaves of social services and technical assistance programmes by creating functional loyalties and patronages. This will add to the national problems of the receiving countries and only hamper the pace of progress of these countries and only set up more suspicious and mutual international antipathies and antagonisms both religious and political. If this should happen, then all altruism of Point 4 programme will disappear and America and Canada will only appear as nakedly imperialistic States whose expansion was necessitated by a toppling, rising capitalism in turn necessitating greed for foreign markets and a desire to become a world power for its own sake.

So much about the generalization about this New World and its people. Passing on to certain particular aspects of that programme, connected with Extension Work, which really constituted our particular sphere of observation and study. One came across the best example of this service in Iowa State. It happened that our visit coincided with the State Fair there. This State Fair focuses the achievements of the whole year's Extension programme in the form of a huge Exhibition *cum* fair *cum* Competition *cum* fete, in which the whole of the rural population participates in some capacity or other. A number of commercial interests play a very active and vital part in these fairs, and very often one discovers that it is the insurance company that sets the standard for health programme; the frigidaire and kitchen-range manufacturers who show more research into the labour-saving problems of the house-wife; the farm implements manufacturers who stimulate the farmers' greater interest in mechanical farming devices, the fabric manufacturers who put out very good programmes for the best modes of dress making and the best washing methods which educate the dilettantes, etc. All this often necessitates the Agricultural Extension Worker to be on the alert so that his prestige as an educator of the rural population does not suffer. At the same time the very scientific approach and the real intent with which manufacturers train their salesmen to study the needs of the people, creates a demand for trained Extension Workers and Home Economists. Thus, opportunities of employment in ever-growing new lines are created. I was thus able to gather that the whole philosophy behind Extension and Demonstration ultimately leads to a progressive betterment of standards, to perennial demand for goods to a constant pursuit of production. Thus, too, the production potential of the citizen is kept constant at its peak, by providing everwidening opportunities to produce for his country and his people. All this spells America's and Canada's pros-

perity perhaps and the high standards they have established in the world today.

I was, therefore, very glad to have had the chance to make the study of Extension Work. Specially in Iowa State I met some of the finest Extension Workers and members of the staff. This advanced extension technique is able to link up the best efforts of the government machinery to the best response from the masses themselves. While from the top there is the whole cadre of the Extension Workers of the State Departments, from the peoples' end there are the Farm Bureaus, Women's Institutes, Home Makers' Clubs, Home Demonstration Clubs, Future Farmers' Associations, Future Home Makers' Associations, Home Economics Associations, Dietetic Associations, Youth Clubs like Four H Clubs, etc., etc., all of which put out their best efforts to improve their home and country, resulting in a unique democratic set-up offering unique chances for expression of leadership, and where every citizen is a conscious citizen, proud of himself and his country.

Seeing all this activity of the American and the Canadian people, I feel that even the most casual visitor to these countries cannot return without carrying some real piece of experience worth translating to his people at home. At the same time, I found it necessary to interpret our country to them from three angles, viz., our cultural and traditional heritage, the interregnum during the British phase of shattered economics and exploited peoples, and the resurgent phase of new life after freedom and recoupment after the holocaust of war and partition when we are trying to settle down to the Constructive Land Revolution of Vinoba Bhave, the Five-Year Plan with its Community Projects, Social Welfare, and National Extension Service. Whatever the changing political currents may be, I feel that we should decide on that type of constructive work on the lines of Extension Services in America and Canada, but modified to our needs, in which alone our people can find anchorage and succour.

When one enters with discussions about mutual problems with the ordinary average American, he does not bother about high-brow politics of the political as such. Individually and nationally, Americans are extremely nice whatever they may be in other countries. Very many of them are extremely apologetic about their foreign policies, and their past and present treatment of the Red Indians and the Negroes. The younger generation generally, the working class as a whole, most educationalists and intellectuals, and some of the democratic party people I came across, are all quite sound and genuine and really international-minded as we have begun to understand internationalism in India. They are genuine about extending motiveless aid to underdeveloped countries. But their very profusion and

surplus of food itself is their great problem. Their highly mechanised existence and their disinclination to reduce standards, is what is going to precipitate a major crisis, sooner or later in their national existence. Perhaps, only such a crisis will set a correct pace and lend a certain sanity to their foreign policies. At the moment it is only a new rich Uncle Sam, giving away his riches and surplus food right and left without thought about the problems ahead of him. A section that advocates this giving away, genuinely believes that it is the surest way to insure against Communism. This Communist phobia is the lighter side which does not fail to tickle the amusement of an occasional visitor. There is yet another section which is very naive about their foreign programme, all of which does not escape the really discerning visitor. But with all that one gets a feeling that the common man in America is really a most bewildered individual today. Really speaking, this common man is a happy-go-lucky individual, normally who has obtained a degree of classlessness in spite of vestiges of class still clung to by a few snob socialites, and race conscious persons. But these latter can never become strong enough, to successfully effect cleavages in the fabric of the real classless democracy that the

American is trying to build up. He has a bon-homie constitution that makes him befriend every newcomer in sheer good humour, which is a very likable quality indeed. Very often he is ignorant of everything except America and his own particular setting. He cannot conceive an outside world that has no chain stores or department stores, or drug stores, or cars or tractors, or gadgets, and his own particular institutions. He knows very little of other peoples' history or geography. But he is quick on the intake of all new information and ideas that he can get. He is systematic, methodical, intelligent and eager to learn, eager for adventure, eager to advance, and eager to enjoy. Because of his being conditioned constantly to new threats of his own scientific inventions, he has become a defensive individual. Being conditioned himself he tries constantly to condition the weather, to condition the clouds, to condition his food, to condition his surroundings and to condition the world. Thus, in a circle, he pursues a regimented conditioned existence, which is making him a problem to himself and to the world around him without his wishing it at all.

This is the America that I have been discovering during this trip abroad.

WORDSWORTH IN INDIA

By DR. AMARESH DATTA, M.A., Ph.D.

JUDGED by the text book importance, Wordsworth is perhaps the most popular English poet in India. Right from the stage in which the study of English poetry begins to the very highest, Wordsworth has a place of honour in the syllabus. This may be taken to mean that he is most liked by the students or that study of his poetry is most edifying. The reasons in justification for such a view may be as follows. Wordsworth is a reflective poet and his reflections on life and philosophic attitude towards Nature, are in agreement with the Indian points of view regarding these subjects. The ethical content of his poetry and its deep religious tenor are, therefore, naturally considered to be of special value and significance to the Indian students. Moreover, his poetry is thought to be consistently and characteristically free from the passionate longing in love or the sensuous ecstasy of fulfilled desire so that it could safely be prescribed to the students who were expected to learn moral values from literature rather than pure aesthetic enjoyment. And above all, Wordsworth writes a very simple style and therefore it is taken for granted that he is the easiest to understand.

Thus the study of Wordsworth had begun in this country with quite a lot of wishful expectation. So in the process he could easily become a legendary Helicon to his Indian readers and the apotheosis of the Wordsworthian creed began to mean the rehabilitation of an ethical attitude which being orthodox, became typical of Wordsworth. And not only was his poetry praised

as a repository of pious sentiments, but even Wordsworth the man was hailed as a saintly person representing the highest sense of morality. Incidentally, his pantheism also agreed considerably with our somewhat anthropomorphic conception of God and Nature. The teachers of the last few decades, therefore, taught Wordsworth with a zeal that was not very much different from that of a missionary. There was also a deeper reason for this extra-ordinary enthusiasm. Swayed by the need and the fashion of the day, they had to profess their admiration for English culture and ways of life, but at the same time their instinctive attachment to the national pride and prejudice could not be altogether subdued. The poetry of Wordsworth saved the situation for them—he was an acknowledged great poet of England and he also satisfied in a positive manner, their ethical aspirations and flattered their religious sentiments. This apart, his poetry because of its preoccupation with the joys and sorrows, hopes and frustrations of the common man and its emphatic lack of urbanity appealed to the Indians for obvious reasons. When the first phase of imitative enthusiasm was over, we began to realize that certain elements of the western way of living and culture could never be fully assimilated into our pattern of life. The core of our civilisation being agricultural since the very beginning, we had almost an inherent dislike for industrialization and believed that nothing morally good or uplifting could come out of any artificial means of living—living with

a fling at Nature at every step. In Mr. F. L. Lucas's words we would have said :

"All civilisation is an encroachment on Nature. Yet encroach on nature one step too far and her revenges are terrible. She can not prevent the giant city from smoking where once waved her woods; but her slow retribution sets its mark on paling cheeks and failing nerves, on foreheads haggard with the rush of modern life, on childless hearth."

Much of Wordsworth's poetry was warning against overdoing in that direction—in encroachment and we approved of it with the greatest amount of moral zeal because our literature was also full of such precautions against excess. Thus for inculcating a genuine love for Nature and a belief in her benign influence on life such poems as 'Daffodils,' 'Education of Nature,' 'Cuckoo,' etc. were assiduously taught to the students; for a deep philosophic and religious understanding of life, 'Lines written on Tintern Abbey,' 'Ode on the Intimations of Immortality,' and convenient extracts from the 'Prelude' were prescribed with the expectations of the most hopeful results; for arousing sympathy with the sufferings of humanity 'Affliction of Margaret,' 'Simon Lee' and the like were selected as the most effective pieces of poetry; as warnings against deviation from the simple and normal way of living Michael and Ruth were presented as eye-openers to the young men who were likely to be deluded by the dazzle of the superficial city life; even for restraint in amorous feelings Wordsworth was called to the help of ardent youth and his 'She was a Phantom of Delight' and the Lucy poems or Laodamia were recommended as a few of the best specimens of the genre of ideal love poems; and above all lines such as the following were often quoted and recited for reaffirming through English poetry some of the social and moral virtues sanctioned and recommended by our society :

One impulse from the vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.
Sweet is the love which Nature brings;
Our meddling intellect
Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things :
We murder to dissect.

Or

To her fair works did Nature link
The human soul that through me ran;
And much it grieved my heart to think
What man has made of man.

Or

And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.

Or again :

Give unto me' made lowly-wise,
The spirit of self-sacrifice;
The confidence of reason give;
And in the light of truth thy Bondman let me live.

Or yet again :

Be taught, O Faithful Consort, to control
Rebellious passion : for the gods approve
The depth, and not the tumult of the soul;
A fervent, not ungovernable, love.

Learn by mortal yearning, to ascend—
Seeking a higher object. Love was given,
Encouraged, sanctioned, chiefly for that end;
For this the passion to excess was driven—
That the self might be annulled : her bondage prove

The fetters of a dream opposed to love.

In this process of adoration, as I have already said, the qualities of his poetry began to be attributed to the poet, and he was considered to be an incarnation of the ideals he preached. We never doubted that a man, particularly a poet, so distinguished for his keen sensitiveness could not realize the significance of faith in value without reacting to some deep and shattering personal experiences. The greatest possible mistake that we committed at that stage was to accept that Wordsworth was born a 'seer blest' and that he had an inherent mystic power of apprehending truth directly. And this was a mistake which we had been encouraged to commit by many zealous Wordsworthians for a long time.

We responded, *pari passu*, to Shelley's poetry in a somewhat similar manner. Our patriotic feeling and love of freedom was greatly roused and nourished by his poetry for a considerable span. But Shelley was essentially a poet of young men, though for his transcendentalism he had his admirers among the leisured and the old—and his life was also an open book to his readers. So there was no confusion of issues regarding his life and poetry—he was taken for what he meant both as man and poet. Shelley, therefore, retained throughout these years, his position among his admirers. But a certain disillusionment about Wordsworth suddenly began to creep into the minds of his worshippers, partly because of a new attitude towards his poetry and partly because of the discovery of certain unpalatable facts about his life. Mr. Aldous Huxley's essay 'Wordsworth in the Tropics' rather strongly voiced this new attitude and M. Lesouis's discovery of his 'affair' with Annette Vallon revealed a god that failed to those who made so much out of his poetry.

For Indians these were two major incidents in the history of the study of Wordsworth in this country. M. Lesouis's revelation deprived Wordsworth of his saintly halo and there was no scope for holding one's own against facts. Mr. Huxley presented Wordsworth as a poet of narrow vision—and also as one unfaithful to his immediate impressions about men and things,—working always on his Procrustean bed. Mr. Huxley's pronouncement was also taken seriously because of the revolutionary spirit of his earlier writings and his interest in India and sympathy with the Indian philosophic attitude in his later works.

Thus Wordsworth was brought down in the estimation of his Indian readers rather too adventitiously. And this could be possible because his poetry was never understood in any stage, in spite of his text book popularity in this country. Sometimes we read our own meaning in his poems, sometimes we approached him

with a preconceived notion about his life and work, and most often read his poems, selected for our own convenience, as moral precepts in verse, but seldom as works of art or as the poetic utterances of a mind deeply agitated by the great and fundamental problems of life.

The study of Wordsworth's poetry in relation to his life may not have been possible in the earlier stages either because of the non-availability of complete facts about his life or because of the desire to disregard whatever facts were then available. At a later stage wrong conclusions about his poetry were drawn on the basis of certain superficial facts of his life. Thus Wordsworth was called a lost leader, a reactionary and even a traitor *apropos* of the French Revolution. In this we of course followed some of the English critics of Wordsworth and therefore could not realize that Wordsworth in a positive way was more loyal to the fundamental tenets of the Revolutionary ideal than the acknowledged poetic high-priests of the Revolution of that age such as Shelley and Byron. While the younger poets were obsessed by the dazzling ideal of liberty, Wordsworth was guided in his poetic search for truth almost entirely by the more abiding ideals of equality and fraternity. But when the full facts of his life were made available, some were repelled by the contradiction they brought forth in their wake and thought him insincere and too much of an idle preacher, others considered him partial, capable of looking at life and Nature only from a fixed angle of vision.

All this now brings us to the most important question regarding the study of Wordsworth's poetry in India. Was his poetry ever read with relish and understanding in this country? The answer to my mind is that most often it was a text book imposition and we were also asked to discover a particular meaning and truth in his poetry and we therefore always discovered only that and nothing else, for the purpose of which convenient selections of his poetry were prescribed to the students. And this is why we recoiled too quickly from our admiration for his poems when new facts were brought to light or new interpretations were given to his works, for they disturbed our cherished notion about his poetry and also revealed a different and perhaps an unlikable Wordsworth. Needless to say, all that could be possible because his poetry was read piecemeal and we refused or did not care to see the other side of the picture. Thus those who read :

'tis her privilege
Through all the years of this our life, to lead
From joy to joy : for she can so inform
The mind that is within us, so impress
With quietness and beauty, and so feed
With lofty thoughts—etc., etc.

were taught to believe that a certain facile optimism was the essential note of his poetry and consequently they did not care to know that Wordsworth had also genuinely written elegiac pieces and sung of 'This sea in anger, and that dismal shore,' 'This rueful sky, this

pageantry of fear' and 'The lightning, the fierce wind and trampling waves', or that he could write such lines as :

There hung a darkness, call it solitude
Or blank desertion. No familiar shapes
Remained, no pleasant images of trees,
Of sea or sky, no colours of green fields ;
But huge and mighty forms, that do not live
Like living men, moved slowly through the mind
By day and were a trouble to my dreams.

Or yet again, those who by habit, ran into ecstasy over poems like 'She was a Phantom of Delight' or the Lucy poems because of the spiritual tone and the spirit of restraint in these love poems, would perhaps have been uncomfortably astonished by the passionate fervour of :

Arabian fiction never filled the world
With half the wonders that were wrought for him.
Earth breathed in one great presence of the spring ;
Life turned the meanest of her implements,
Before his eyes, to price above all gold ;
The house she dwelt in was a scented shrine ;
Her chamber window did surpass in glory
The portals of the opening of a door,
The portals of the dawn ; all Paradise
Let itself in up on him : pathways, walls
Swarmed with enchantment, till his spirit sank,
Surcharged, within him, overblest to move
Beneath a sun that wakes a weary world
To its dull round of ordinary cares ;
A man too happy for mortality !

But there are other reasons too for partially understanding if not misunderstanding Wordsworth's poetry in this country. Paradoxically enough the very simplicity of his style was a foil to our understanding and appreciation of his work. His metrical skill and variety is concealed so much by his reflections on life in the widest commonalty spread that at first sight we see only the unadorned trappings and the common theme, but fail to gauge the depth. Generally speaking, we always expect a specific effect from poetry, that means it should not only be characterised by heightened and impassioned style but also by a strangeness of approach and cleverness in expression. And the oriental mind nourished on the glamorous and the grandiose in art naturally finds little in Wordsworth's poetry that can give at least an initial thrill. It is the poetical poetry that we want and it is exactly this that Wordsworth can never give us. And therefore not much appreciation for his poetry could be secured even by quoting parallel passages from our religious books while teaching his poetry in the class room, because not only his bare and unornamental style but also his nearness to earth and the sinewy idealism springing from the ordinary objects and sentiments of this existence, were to his Indian readers the most unexpected qualities of poetry.

Every reader perhaps wants to hear the echo of his own voice in the writings of his favourite author. This may be said sometimes even of a whole nation. The Shakespearean criticism of the earlier German school is full of such national echoes. But change of circum-

stances brings now and then opportunities for proper understanding. If Wordsworth's poetry is to be read and taught in this country—as I think it must be—now and in future we should better be guided primarily by the motives of poetic values.

So a new attitude will be the essential need, which by implication will also mean a careful study of his entire poetical works without being influenced by any orthodox or unsympathetic view of his poetry however attractive that might be. Under present circumstances

the study of Wordsworth's poetry will be of special value, for he has much to say to a generation of disillusioned men and women. And on the other hand to the serious students of literature and particularly of poetry, he will long remain a challenge and a liberating force, because being initially an enthusiastic upholder of the ideal of the French Revolution he ultimately brought about a greater revolution in poetry. And the subsequent experiments in poetry are a vindication of the Wordsworthian method and approach.

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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 REHLA OF IBN BATTUTA: (India, Maldives and Ceylon): *English translation and commentary*, by Dr. Mahdi Husain. Pp. lxxvii+300 with 3 plates, 8 maps and 17 illustrations. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, No. 122). Price Rs. 37.

This is the most valuable addition to the well-reputed Baroda Oriental Series since the *Sadhan-mala* (now out of print and extremely scarce). Ibn Battuta's travels form a first-rate authority on the social conditions and government of India in the middle of the 14th century, and no earnest student of our history can do without it. For the first time a reliable translation from the original Arabic has been made after collating various early MSS. in the European public libraries and elucidated with notes based on the study of modern Survey maps and works of reference. Dr. Mahdi Husain has earned our thanks by his devoted work on this book for nearly 26 years and his performance is highly creditable by reason of its scholarly accuracy and careful annotation. No library in India ought to miss this book.

It now remains for local scholars to trace this Moorish traveller's route through their district and correct the small place names where necessary, and publish such emendations in some learned journal. *Sinnor* in the Deccan looks like *Saghor* in the Maghrebi Arabic MS., *Nun-ware* being misread as *ghain-da-re*. And so on.

J. SARKAR

INDIAN STUDIES: *United Publications, Delhi*. Author's name and the year of publication not mentioned. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2.

Consisting of a collection of papers contributed to the Mizan Newsletter for the benefit of foreign readers, this is a highly informative brochure on the varied aspects of Indian life and culture. In seven sections packed with facts drawn from a close study of standard works on the subject and from the reports of experts it surveys the field of government, religion, and society, art, literature and science, internal economy and public finance, agriculture and industry and the army in our

vast land. The author's comments on the tendencies and characteristics of these different factors of our complex national life are as a rule shrewd and sensible. Witness, e.g., his fine account of Hinduism as religion and as a social system (pp. 19-25), his keen appreciation of Indian culture (pp. 39-42) and his admirable survey of Indian folk-culture in the branches of song, music and dance as well as of arts and crafts (pp. 49-53). Where he offers himself open to criticism is his undertone of apology for British rule (of which the errors of omission and commission are but slightly touched in his account) and his veiled hostility to the Indian National Congress (which is in sharp contrast with his repeated vindication of the Muslim separatist movement culminating in the rise of the Muslim League). A more serious defect is that he brings his narrative (as is shown by the internal evidence) down to the closing years of the last Great War. In the result the author's claim (Foreword, p. 5) that his book gives us the best and the most up-to-date information about India should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt.

U. N. GHOSHAL

DR. SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJI: *By Balraj Madhak*. Deepak Prakashan, 157 Amrit Kaur Market, New Delhi-1. Illustrated. Pp. 284. Price Rs. 5.

This book should be more considered as study of Dr. Mookerji as leader of the Jana Sangha than a regular biography. The biographical portion, strictly speaking, consists in the first sixty pages only. It has been necessarily brief. In a full-length biography of Dr. Mookerji, activities in various aspects of his public life should deserve more space and detailed discussion. As an educationist Dr. Mookerji played an important role in Bengal. His arrangements for the introduction of Bengali as medium of instruction in the Matriculation stage (not in the college stage as wrongly stated by the author on p. 4) during his Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University will be appreciated and

remembered with gratitude by his countrymen for all times. Since the attainment of Independence in 1947, Dr. Mookerji emerged as an all-India leader, and his claims as such could not be overlooked by the Congress. He was appointed a first-rank Cabinet Minister of the Congress Government. While he felt necessary, he did not hesitate to throw off his ministership on the question of the relation between Pakistan and Indian Union. Dr. Mookerji carried on a tearing campaign throughout India on this subject, and the result was the formation of Jana Sangha. This Sangha fought the last General Elections. Dr. Mookerji came out victorious as leader of the Sangha. A consummate debater and a foremost parliamentarian, he was destined to be the leader of the Opposition in the Union Parliament. But the Jammu and Kashmir question had in the meantime come to a head. As leader of the Satyagraha movement, he courted arrest on his way to Srinagar. He met his tragic end in Kashmir on 23rd June last year. The nation paid its last homage to the departed great in a most befitting manner. We are awaiting a full-length biography of this great national leader of ours.

TOWARDS NEW EDUCATION: By M. K. Gandhi
Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Re. 1-4.

Gandhiji's scheme of New Education or *Nai Talim* contains three stages, namely, Pre-Basic, Basic and Post-Basic. This comprehensive scheme was made public for the first time in 1937. But Mahatmaji was thinking of children's education for a long time since. He had experimented upon his educational ideas in his Tolstoy Farm while he was in South Africa. He continued his experiments even after his return to India. Gandhiji's ideas on education became more pronounced during the Non-Co-Operation movement, when national education formed one of its constructive items. Mahatma Gandhi expressed definite views as regards medium of instruction, national language, education on a self-supporting basis, higher education, religious instruction and so on. In this land of religious discord, Gandhiji's solution of the question of religious instruction sounds most original and holds good even today. He writes: "A curriculum of religious instruction should include a study of the tenets of faiths other than one's own. For this purpose the students should be trained to cultivate the habit of understanding and appreciating the doctrines of various great religions of the world in a spirit of reverence and broad-minded tolerance" (pp. 45-6).

JOGESH C. BAGAL

1. **A GLIMPSE OF NEW CHINA:** By M. Mujeeb,
Published by Maktaba Jamia Ltd., Delhi. Price Rs. 2.

2. **THE PROMISE THAT IS NEW CHINA:** By K. T. Shah. Published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay-2. Price Rs. 48.

3. **WINDOW ON CHINA:** By Raja Hutheesing,
Published by Casement Publications Ltd., Bombay-1. Price Rs. 24.

Most divergent views have been expressed and are held on China's New Democratic experiment. To many, it is the best—barring Soviet Russia perhaps—government that our planet has yet known. To others, again, present-day China is a vast prison-house. To a very few the Chinese People's Republic has its strong as well as weak points. The atmosphere, in a word, is "clouded by rival propaganda and prejudice born of one's own upbringing and environment" and it

is perhaps not possible to arrive at a fair judgement in our days.

Prof. Mujeeb is impressed with what he saw in New China in 1951 and concludes, "If we must exercise our imagination, let us try and see the People's Government from the point of view of the Chinese, to whom the Government has given unity, self-confidence, dignity and strength and whom it has inspired with the resolve to build their life, if necessary, with bare hands" (p. 93). He does not however support the Chinese Government blindly. He does not, for example, favour the military display on the National Day, which represents "the externalisation of a People's Power, and reduces by implication the significance of moral values" (p. 29). Nor does Prof. Mujeeb accept New China's definition of literature as something produced by "intellectuals in workmen's clothes." He does not "believe that personality is determined wholly by its environment" or that "writing is wholly determined by material causes" (pp. 54-55).

New China, writes the learned Professor, respects "all personalities, ideas and movements that contributed to her growth." When would we take this lesson from Mao Tse Tung's China?

The late K. T. Shah, who visited China in 1952, has given the reading public a very readable account of New China. It is clear that Chairman Mao and his Government command the sincere allegiance of an overwhelming majority of the Chinese population. Prof. Shah is convinced that China is no tool of any extra-Chinese agency or power and that New China's policy has been and will be shaped by the exigencies of her own requirements. Unemployment seems to have been abolished and social unrest, a thing of the past. He was no doubt impressed by what he saw in China; but he had his doubts as well. The author was not allowed to go down a coal-mine at Fushan because of his age and remarks, "Years, I feel sure, could be a nuisance, as brains could be a burden" (p. 202). He complains further that relative statistics were never available. They were promised and the pledge had yet to be redeemed at the time of the completion of his book. Guides and interpreters, very courteous and eager to serve, were unwilling to answer general questions. "I do not know. I shall enquire," was the invariable reply to such questions. Prof. Shah suspects that this might be due to standing instructions.

Notes appended to the various chapters, such as Constitution and Government, industrialisation, the Huai River Project, education, the Communist Party, land-reform, the Trade Union movement and the like enhance the value of Prof. Shah's work. The volume suffers from a number of defects, which are all the more regrettable in view of its authorship. There are, for example, irrelevant digressions at places. The first chapter of 28 pages might have been halved easily. The author's Secretary, the Indian Minister at Manila and his wife have been given more space and prominence than is called for (e.g., pp. 22-23, 43-46). Frequent references to what the Secretary said and did fill one with disgust.

When everything has been said, the fact remains that Prof. K. T. Shah has given us a truer picture of the People's Republic of China than many other writers on the subject.

Mr. Hutheesing visited China in 1951 and 1952. He says that the Government of Mao Tse Tung has won the support of the Peasantry by its agrarian reform and that an era of austerity and hard work has

dawned. He however does not believe that industrialisation has gone far or that land-redistribution is a permanent solution of China's economic problems. He contends that New China has renounced her traditional culture and philosophy, that "New China is harsh, dogmatic and cruel" (p. 137), that "There is no reason or pure study" (p. 143) and that "In the colleges and schools life begins with Marxism and ends with Maoism" (p. 142). Everything is subordinated to the Party and the Government.

The author concludes, "But I have not seen happiness . . . there is none of that reckless, irresponsible elan which is the right of youth. There is no joy of love or sorrow of frustration" (p. 144) and "China offers little hope for the future" (p. 191).

Mr. Hutheesing's work, propagandist in tone as it is, is not perhaps mere propaganda.

SUDHANSHU BIMAL MOOKERJI

THOUGHTS IN CURRENT PHILOSOPHY:
By Sri Churnilal Mitra, M.A. With a Foreword by Dr. Sushil Kumar Moitra, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Philosophy, Calcutta University. Published by Sri Indu Bhushan Ghose, 30, Talpukur Road, Calcutta-10. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 2-8.

This book is an interesting collection of fifteen thoughtful essays written by the author about a decade back. Most of the essays appeared in the *Prabuddha Bharata* and *Calcutta Review* of Calcutta as well as in the *Vedanta Kesari* of Madras between the years 1939 and 1945 serially. Dr. Moitra rightly remarks in his Foreword that some of the essays show great originality. "The writer is to be commended," the learned professor observes, "for the remarkable critical ability he displays throughout and the thoroughness with which he discusses his selected themes. I like especially the essay on General Will and its somewhat novel suggestion of a religious resolution of a dilemma in the Vaishnavic concept of Prapatti or Surrender to the Lord as the Incarnation of a Will that is at once universal and individual."

But the essay on *Maya*—A Misnomer exhibits the philosophical shortsightedness of the author. He wrongly thinks that *maya* is a misnomer in a social and political sense. He further believes that the theory of *Maya* is "based on a baseless assumption and a false notion of the universe." He, therefore, concludes that "this world is not a *maya*, but *yogamaya*; not a product but a process." All these observations clearly show that the author has utterly failed to understand the meaning of *maya*. It is regretted that an M.A. in Philosophy of our University has such a wrong conception of Advaita Vedanta, the crown and glory of Indian thought.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

A GUIDE TO THE W.B.C.S. EXAMINATION
by B. Sanyal M.A., B.L. Published by the author from 106, South Sinthi Rd, Calcutta-30. Price Rs. 6-8, Pages 216.

This useful publication in the form of questions and answers—1949-52 containing English Essay, Bengali translation, English composition, Elementary mathematics and General knowledge is meant for candidates of the Civil Service examination. The reports of these examinations as published in recent years reveals an utter lack of preparation on the part of candidates, so the present publication compiled by an experienced author is likely to be of real help to the examinees.

A. B. DUTTA

KINGFISHERS CATCH FIRE: By Rumer Godden. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London. 1953. Pp. 294. Price Rs. 6-12.

Miss Rumer Godden's name will be chiefly remembered by Indian readers as the author of the story of that delightful film, *The River*. Set in Kashmir, her present novel, which is marked by her usual enthusiasm and broad sympathy for her characters, breathes something of the crisp, clear air of that lovely country.

Sophie is an impetuous English girl who makes a hasty marriage and goes to live with her family in Kashmir. Her husband, who was never much of a success in life, suddenly dies leaving his widow and his two children practically stranded. Sophie recovers quickly from the shock, takes stock of her unenviable situation, and decides, instead of going back to England, to brave it out among the simple village folk—away from her own people and the protecting care of the English mission in town. For a time, against all fears, Sophie seems a complete success and it looks as if she is going to settle down. But fate steps in as a see-saw struggle develops in the village between rival families in order to worm into Sophie's confidence and to monopolise the favour that a "rich" foreigner is capable of bestowing. Beginning innocently enough, this "cold war" soon flares up into a bitter clan feud, and Sophie's position in the village becomes increasingly difficult. Fights ensue, a little blood even is shed, and the police nose in. Sophie has to go back to the English mission. In spite, however, of Sophie's best efforts, her estrangement with the village is complete. Helpless and all alone in the world, Sophie, for a moment, seriously considers marriage with her childhood friend back in England. In the end, however, warned by a very shrewd and sensible aunt, she gives up this idea and goes to Beirut on a welfare job.

Miss Godden's chief virtue is her readability which proceeds from her naturally lucid narrative power and her sensitive understanding of the life and the problems of the simple, gregarious folk who are her subjects. *Kingfishers Catch Fire*, straightforward without being brilliant, will earn for Miss Godden many new friends in this country.

RAMESH K. GHOSHIAL

HISTORY OF KOH-I-NOOR: By N. B. Sen. Published by New Book Society, Delhi. Price Rs. 3-12.

This little book, badly printed and filled with portraits which have no relevance to the subject, can only be called a piece of journalism pushing its way into literature. The author wishes for the return of this diamond by England as a gesture of good will to the people of India (p. 158). He forgets Ranjit Singh's valuation of it, *Iska kimat panch paizar*.

N. B. R.

MAIN FACTS—MYSORE CENSUS 1951: By J. B. Mallaradhy, Census Superintendent, Mysore. Pp. 20. Price not mentioned.

Census Reports even of one's own State are seldom read. There is colossal inter-State ignorance of even the basic facts relating to population and its problem. In this admirable little book, the author gives, as the title says, the main facts about the Mysore Census of 1951. It removes a want felt by busy but interested, public men of this part of India. We hope other State Census Superintendents will publish similar booklets.

J. M. DATTA

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

PREFACE TO MRICCHAKATIKĀ (The Little Clay-Cart): By G. K. Bhat, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Ardhamagadhi and Ancient Indian Culture, Gujrat College, Ahmedabad. The New Oider Book Co., Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 4.

The work in the words of the learned author is 'an humble contribution to the aesthetic appraisal of a reputedly great work.' It has been rightly pointed out that this very important aspect of literary study has not been given proper recognition either in the traditional method of India or that followed by Anglo-Sanskrit Indian Scholars of the present day. The former is primarily concerned with textual interpretation and analysis of external element, while the latter lays more stress on the historical aspect like problems of chronology and authorship and on textual criticism. The work under review seems to draw attention to the special artistic features of the *Little Clay Cart* which, in the opinion of the learned author, 'stands apart as a unique play in the entire range of the Sanskrit drama' (p. 18). It has separate chapters on plot-construction, characterisation, humour, representational aspect and Sudraka's art. Incidentally it deals with the sources of the play and Sudraka's innovations. Chapters on authorship, date and picture of contemporary life have been added apparently to give the work a complete form to meet the requirements of all types of readers. On the whole, the book is well-written. At times it would seem to reveal rather too much eagerness to find beauty and excellence even in what would appear to be ordinary normal matters. Books of the type dealing with well-known Sanskrit works and authors have a special purpose to serve. They may attract the sympathy of the general reader who is usually scared away by the niceties of Sanskrit grammar on which undue stress is normally laid in teaching Sanskrit in schools and colleges with disastrous results. In this connection reference may be made to attempts made in this line in Bengali among others by Poet Tagore and Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

NYAYARATNA: By Manikantha Misra with the commentary *Dyutimalika* by Nrisimhayajvan. Critically edited by Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastri. Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University and Pt. V. Krishnamacharya, Special Editor, Adyar Library, Madras. Madras Government Oriental Series, No. CLV. Madras, 1953. Price Rs. 10.

We have here a nice edition of a valuable Nyaya work by a Maithil School with a Commentary by a Southerner. Manikantha is certainly earlier than Gangesa Upadhyaya. In him we find clear signs of the new orientation which seems to have started with Udayana and culminated in Gangesa. Besides dealing with some of the traditional Nyaya Categories he introduces *vyapti*, *upadhi*, *paksata* and *paramarsa* which, though connected with the system of the old Logicians, have found greater emphasis in what is called Navya-nyaya. A chapter is devoted to the *mahavidyanumana* which formed an important topic amongst earlier logicians but found no favour with later writers like Gangesa and his followers.

The work has been edited for the first time only

from four manuscripts available in Madras and Tanjore though other manuscripts are also known.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

BENGALI

BANGLAR UCHCHA SIKSHA: By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. *Visva-Bharati Granthalaya*, 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Annas Eight only.

This is a recent addition to the 'Visva-vidya-Samgraha' series of the Visva-bharati Granthalaya.

With unstinted devotion, S. J. Bagal has been carrying on his research into the Nineteenth Century Renaissance of Bengal. In several volumes he has very ably and comprehensively dealt with its manifestation in different spheres: social, political and cultural.

The present brochure is a short, compact history of the progress of higher education in this province during the British rule. The author has clearly indicated the forces working behind and gradually shaping it: the administrative and political interests of the rulers, the philanthropy of certain broad-minded British, the thirst for modern knowledge among the upper class Bengalees and their reaction against the cultural and religious onslaught by foreigners.

S. J. Bagal's culling of facts from various, sometimes rare, sources, intelligent analysis and agreeable presentation make it a really valuable work. There are nine chapters including the introduction, dealing with the preparations for higher education, Government policy at the time, the selection of medium of instruction, controversy over it, the gradual expansion of English education and its results.

Brief as it is, the booklet contains much information, not easily available to the average reader and as such, is likely to be very much appreciated by him; and needless to say, it has its direct appeal to the scholar for its accuracy and unbiased attitude.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

MAHAKAVI SHRI NIRALA: *Abhinandan Granth*, Edited by the *Abhinandan Reception Committee*, September, 1953.

It is a fortunate augury for Hindi literature that different literary and cultural associations combine from time to time for a united venture. The present volume sprung out of such an effort designed to put on record elements of biography of the poet Nirala and also eulogies in prose and verse. Current history is always running forward, and to snatch something from the past is always a contribution towards history. The organisers had been to Mahisadal in Midnapur to witness the birth-place of the poet and to scrape together whatever materials they could from local people. The reproduction of Niralaji's photographs has been very well done. It gives the reader an idea of the depth of the man revealed in his glance. Nirala is none else than Shri Suryakanta Tripathi who had had his adventures in journalism—who is called a Mahakavi without having written any epic. He has had his adventures in journalism and passed through mysticism and through a phase of patriotism and revolutionism and his present eminence. The volume will be hailed with cordial welcome by all lovers of Hindi literature and it deserves to be well received by discriminating readers and critics.

P. R. SEN

ARTHIK SAMASYAEN: By Dayashankar Nag. Published by Gautam Brothers and Co., Ltd., Kanpur. Pp. 225. Price not mentioned.

BHARAT KA SAMVIDHAN: By Raghuraj Gupta. Published by H. Chatterjee and Co., Ltd., Calcutta-12. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1-12

Both are educative and seasonal publications. For, now that India is a republic, it is the bounden duty of every citizen to take an intelligent interest in the working of the constitution of the country and in, what may be called, the play of economic forces and formulas. But before he is able to do so he must have the necessary data. And this is precisely what the author, actuated by a healthy civic sense, have done in their books. *Arthik Samasyaen* deals with National Income, Foreign Capital, Agriculture and other cognate subjects, while *Bharat Ka Samvidhan* is an exposition of the Constitution preceded by a bird's-eye view of the various political and legislative enactments that existed before the framing of the Constitution. The authors' grip of their respective subjects has enabled them to avoid successfully the "jargon" of the specialists. The books, therefore, will be found useful not only by our college students but also by the general reader.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **ITIHAS SAMMELAN NIBANDH SANGRAHA**, (2) **GUJARAT SAHITYA SABHA** (Karyavali 1946-47): Both published by the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1948, 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 231, 135+20. Price Rs. 4, Rs. 3.

The Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, is a literary society of long standing, functioning ably and efficiently from year to year. It is the premier society of its kind in the Province and can compare itself to similar Hindi and Bengali societies in the U. P. and Bengal. It held a History Conference in 1943 and the instructive and useful papers read thereat are published in No. (1). The second publication contains reviews of works published in various branches of the literature of Gujarat in 1946-47 and lectures delivered during the course of that year. It presents a gold medal to a deserving writer and the proceedings at a meeting held to present it to Prof. Mankad with his erudite speech are published herein.

SANDHYA: By Rajvaidya J. K. Shastri (now Maharaj Shri Charantirtha Maharaj), Gondal. Printed at the Rasashala Electric Printing Works, Gondal, Saurashtra. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 98. Price Rs. 2-4.

The founder of the Rasashala Aushadhashram and the Bhuvaneshwari Pitha at Gondal, Rajvaidya Jivram has entered on the third Ashram of a devout Hindu's life, *vanprastha* (retirement) but his work for the Indian system of medicine and spread of Sanskrit language and books and MSS. is as keen as ever. The book under notice is the fourth edition of directions given in great details about the performance of the Sandhya and Viswadeva rituals for the orthodox Brahmin, with reasons and explanations, and it will be found of much use by devotees. It contains other information also as to the duties of kings and their servants. There is an English edition also published for information of foreign Orientalists.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Influence of Literature

R. H. Ward writes in *The Aryan Path* :

All literature of any real importance and value has two meanings, an outward one and an inward one; and it is probably true to say that the inward meaning can be discovered and defined in as many different ways as the work in question has readers. For we are capable of discovering in it only what we are capable of bringing to it.

I am not in any exact way equating the two meanings of essentially valuable literature with form and content. Any piece of writing must be "about something," and to this extent it has content: any piece of writing uses words to express that "something," and to this extent it has form. But if we put the word "significant" before the words "form" and "content," we leave behind the conventional concept and lay emphasis only on form and content which are meaningful; literature of real importance has a meaning to be found in its shape or construction and a meaning to be found in the ideas underlying this. We have now abandoned as essentially unmeaningful, the great majority of the world's writings, all ephemeral literature of whatever sort; for only meaning will preserve the life of words and the ideas they stand for.

We can continue to speak of form and content, as convenience and the limitations of language require us to do, though we have limited both. Now we must limit them further by suggesting, though in no hard-and-fast way, that the construction of meaningful forms is, relatively speaking, an intellectual activity, and that concern with meaningful content is, equally relatively speaking, an activity in which the feelings take the lead.

In the creation of a significant work of literature these two faculties of mind and heart work together integrally, neither can work effectively in separation from the other, though this will not prevent many contemporary critics from concentrating, in the over-intellectualized fashion of our times, upon form to the exclusion of content. This is another way of saying that we tend at present to be concerned with processes of thinking rather than processes of feeling.

When there is this kind of approach to literature, the very phrase "intellectual beauty," so full of meaning for Shelley, becomes nonsense, because beauty itself implies emotion; the heart as well as the mind must appreciate it. Therefore to emphasize only the form of a work of literature, and appraise only that, is not really to criticize it at all. Supposing it to be a work of real literary value, and its form and its content fully interdependent, the one reveals the other and only both reveal the whole with which criticism should properly be concerned.

Literature of any real importance speaks from two levels, a more superficial and a deeper

level. We can properly say that the outward level is more directly expressed by form, but not that it is form, and we can properly say that the inward level is more intimately related to content, but not that it is content.

In order, however, to discuss the matter, we must make a kind of conventional separation of these two meanings. This is a matter of convenience and of the nature of language, which, for the sake of clarity or ease, tends to absolutes, whereas we are really dealing all the time with relatives.

"Man shall not live by bread alone." We seldom question the meaning of these familiar words. We have some notion that they indicate man's need for religion, or that humanism is not enough, or that God must come into man's purview; and doubtless these words do imply these things. The fact remains that man can "live" by bread alone, if by "bread" is meant nourishment for his body and its brain. But the next words, "but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God," indicates that the word "live," bears an inward and deeper meaning relevant to some other potentiality in man, a kind of life which requires to be thought about in an entirely different way from his bodily life. The full quotation seems to imply that this different kind of life can also die if it lacks nourishment of the sort appropriate to it.

At once we find ourselves considering man as having the outward form of a body and the inward content of a soul; and the soul requires to be thought about on a different level of understanding. Meanwhile, man as a whole—for we are making an essentially false separation between his two aspects—requires yet a third kind of thinking if he is to be understood; he requires whole thinking, thinking with mind and heart, or imaginative thinking; it might appropriately be called "visionary" thinking.

Literature which is worthy of consideration is always imaginative or "visionary." It sees things whole. The text quoted proclaims man's need of other than bodily nourishment and of learning to think about himself in other than merely "rational" ways. Yet it seldom strikes us that our inward and deeper lives would perish did we receive no nourishment at that deeper level. We do not think of ourselves as possessed of souls which actually live on impressions and perceptions, as our bodies live on bread. We do not think of ourselves as dying inwardly if our souls are denied the proper food.

Still less do we think of ourselves as whole men whose wholeness will be preserved only if the two aspects of our nature are fed adequately, each with the "bread of life" appropriate to it. If we did so think of ourselves, maybe we would never have allowed to come into existence the industrial civilization which now threatens

our existence, an intellectualized civilization permitting only the nourishment of the body and progressively depriving the soul of the nourishment fit for it; a civilization in which the emotional life inherent in man's relationship with unspoiled nature and with unspoiled human beings is at a discount. Meanwhile, literature of the kind which ministers to man's mind and to his heart has meaning on the third or imaginative level, and so ministers to man as a whole. Such literature is food of the kind which comes into question when it is said that man cannot live by bread alone.

Man can be poisoned in his body, and indeed killed, by bodily food which is inappropriate or contaminated; and it is equally true that he can be poisoned in his soul, and indeed killed, by absorbing into his psyche impressions and perceptions which the soul cannot usefully assimilate.

Impressions and perceptions which relate only to the animal level of existence cannot be fed to the psyche without doing it harm. Literature which has only superficial meanings, can only starve or actively poison the soul.

Almost all literature as we know it, including much that is very highly thought of, is of his kind. Not absolutely so: it is a question of degree. But the degree of psychic nourishment contained in most of what we call literature is so small, the degree of psychic poison so great, that the harm done to man by the majority of books published far outweighs the good.

Let us look at it as a matter of values. The body and its mind have their own proper values belonging to the "rational" man, sometimes called the "scientific" or even "mechanized" man. The soul's values are of quite another kind; they are the values Pascal referred to when he said that "the heart has its reasons of which the reason knows naught."

What makes most literature poisonous to the soul is our ignorance of the difference between these ways of thinking; an attempt to impose the body's values upon the soul. This is food which the soul can not assimilate. Man's soul can no more live on food which does not "speak to its condition" than his body could live on the symphonies of Beethoven.

Literature of the kind with which we are concerned has a more superficial meaning which the mind understands by "body-thinking," and a deeper meaning which the heart understands by "soul-thinking." The New Testament is, I suppose, Western man's clearest example of literature of this kind. The quotation which we have been considering is an instance of its dual significance, which comments in turn upon the dual significance of man himself. (In recent years the New Testament has been examined from something like this point of view in the writings of P. D. Ouspensky and Dr Maurice Nicoll.)

On one level the Gospels are the outward story of the birth, life and death of Jesus of Nazareth. They can be understood on that level only, and are so understood by most who read them, whether or not such men call themselves Christians. Of course it is realized by these readers that this story, or history, as Christians prefer to call it, "has a moral" and carries the ethical implication that you must conduct the life of the body and its mind, which can live by bread alone, in a particular way.

If you suggest that the Gospels also have a meaning of great emotional and psychological importance, which only the heart, working in harmony with the reason, can imaginatively understand, it is very probable that they will refuse to consider your suggestion seriously. At best they will attempt to argue it away by treating it on a purely rational or "body-thinking" level. But these matters can be dealt with only on their own level, where a different way of thinking operates.

What emerges from your discussion with those who read only the surface of the Gospels is that, where any consideration of the soul is in question, there are many whose understanding is incapable of functioning in the necessary mode. Such people cannot but dismiss the soul and the things which belong to it as either nonsensical or non-existent. They lack the apparatus for thinking as the soul thinks; whatever psychological quality they may once have possessed which would have given an inward and deeper meaning to their bodily and mental existences, that quality is there no longer. The circumstances of the average contemporary human life are such that the soul, if it does not actually die, falls into the coma which results from starvation, and from this coma something more than words, even the singularly potent words of the Gospels, is required to wake it.

We can say that, to the majority of men the inward meaning of such literature is inaccessible; it must escape their understanding. They can apprehend the Gospels only as a history which evidently "has a moral," but a moral which, when they try to apply it to their own outward lives, they find themselves powerless to



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implement; for it is not to the outward life that the real "moral" of the Gospels belongs.

To be properly understood and used, the Gospels must be studied, not only as the history of the birth, life and death of the historic Jesus, but also as the psychological history of the birth, life and death of the soul itself.

The outward history of Jesus is a symbol for something of quite another kind. All literature of a certain order is essentially religious, however secular it may superficially appear. If, for example, we examine in the light of imagination a work such as the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyar, generally considered to be the exaltation of materialistic hedonism, we shall see that it is a document of very profound and extraordinary psychological and religious significance.

The outward meaning is never the same as the inward. We can only say that the outward meaning "stands for" the inward. The inward meaning is an enigma; the outward meaning is the clue to it. The enigma always requires to be interpreted, and the interpretative faculty is neither the reason *per se* nor the emotions *per se*, but the imagination which is their synthesis. The soul has no words; it and its life are ultimately ineffable. But the way in which writers, who are in the proper sense creative, use words, making exoteric symbols for that which is esoteric, brings them near, at their best, to "speaking for" the soul. Only he who has eyes to see and ears to hear can read such words as they should be read. The soul of a book can speak to a reader's soul only if his soul is awake to hear. But literature is literature in the sense in which we have been considering it only if great art on the part of the writer bridges the gap between the two different kinds of thinking, marrying the outward form and the inward content as closely as the body and soul of a human creature, and demonstrating clearly their interdependence, so that one reveals the other in the light of the third way of thinking, the imaginative way.

Imagination, the quality which gives literature value, like God whose servant it is, is undefinable, except in negative ways.

It is not "fancy" or "fantasy" or "sur-realism" or any mode of thinking noticeable merely because it is bizarre. Indeed, imagination is often not noticeable at all, though a man who was himself imaginative would notice if it were absent from a work of literature. God, after all, is known only to the man whose consciousness is such that it can recognize God's existence; for a man lacking this consciousness, God does not exist; except perhaps as an intellectual supposition. But such a man does not himself exist; he lives, but by bread alone. Really to live is to live, not only in the body and the mind, but also in the soul, which, when it is properly nourished, co-operates with the intellect to bring forth the imaginative vision.

The influence of all literature which has the necessary dual meaning is an influence for life of this kind, for "more abundant" life. A book matters vitally in so far as its form carries a content which is a soul. In such a book the reader whose own soul is awake can see that soul mirrored as he reads; from such a book he can learn something which will enhance his own self-knowledge, waken him further, lead him to-

ward the development of imaginative vision in himself. All literature which does not have this mysterious inward effect upon men is negative, and probably harmful.

It is an ironic reflection that, while positive and creative literature contains within it that which might save the contemporary world from the soullessness and lack of imagination which threaten it with destruction, probably nothing has done more to bring about that soulless and unimaginative condition than literature of the negative kind. Book can be lethal. But they can also be the bread of eternal life.

Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Sikhs

The following article is reproduced from *The Sikh Review*. The author Balwant Singh has based this article on material from the authoritative Sikh history, *Panṭh Parkash*:

Ahmad Shah Abdali, victor of the third battle of Panipat, was repeatedly molested and harassed by the guerrilla bands of Sikh desperados. They struck their lightning blows under cover of darkness, seized whatever they could lay their hands on and vanished into thin air. Abdali was exasperated beyond measure.

The Sikhs decided to leave their families with friends in the neighbourhood of Rajpur and Gujjarwal in the Malwa area. Zain Khan, Nawab of Sarhind, sent messengers to Ahmad Shah Abdali that the Sikhs were gathering at Kup near Malerkotla. Since Abdali was anxious to swoop down upon them and wipe them out, the combined forces of Zain Khan and Ahmad Shah, by forced marches, reached Kup where, according to some versions, 100,000 Sikhs—men, women and children—were encamped.

The Sikhs were taken by surprise. There were Sikh warriors of all *misals*, of all areas. There were Sikhs of Majha, Malwa and Doaba. S. Charat Singh Sukarchakya was one of the pre-eminent leaders who directed the Sikhs.

The entire Khalsa was faced with the question of survival or extinction. If they were all killed, the brave race of warriors would be stamped out. How could they save the women and children?

A hasty council of war was held and the Sikh warriors decided upon a running fight. The Sikh warriors would keep the vanguard of the enemy engaged and in the meantime the women and children would be rushed ahead beyond the reach of the enemy.

The Sikhs thus stood up, received blows and struck blows and thus blocked the progress of the enemy until the women and children were safely removed far enough away.

The enemy's numbers were overwhelming and they had no such impediments as the safety of their women and children. The Sikhs fought with arrows, spears, swords and guns while Abdali's men fought with swords and guns and wore red uniforms.

The Sikhs' objective was Malwa, then a waterless wilderness, where they would be safe. The Sikhs' vanguard fought Abdali's forces while the flank and the rear of Abdali's men were challenged by another contingent of Sikhs. The rest of the warriors protected the women and children and rushed them ahead to safety.

Abdali's strategy was to envelop the Sikhs and to wipe them out. But the Sikhs repeatedly, stubbornly frustrated his designs. The Sikhs were practised

swordsmen and wielded their swords skilfully and ruthlessly. The Pathans fell as the Sikhs continued fighting. But being far outnumbered, the Sikhs could not shake the enemy off. It was a running fight. The Sikhs for a while engaged the enemy but seeing their position they then flew ahead to make a desperate stand a mile or two farther away. The enemy was in hot pursuit. But all the while the Sikh banners waved and their trumpets sounded.

The Sikh *sardars* behaved magnificently but Sardars Jassa Singh and Charat Singh were peerless. Jassa Singh was a terrific swordsman and a sure shot. He was constantly in the thick of the fight but he seemed to have a charmed life. He sustained 22 serious wounds and his cloths were dyed red with blood. Jassa Singh's horse became so tired that it could not move so a comrade whipped the horse to make him go. S. Jassa Singh chided him for it so the comrade dismounted and offered his own horse to Jassa Singh while he himself fought on foot.

S. Charat Singh was thirsty for hand-to-hand combat with Ahmad Shah Abdali. He looked for Abdali but could not locate him.

Throughout the battle the Sikhs carried the two volumes of the Guru Granth Sahib, one from Amritsar and the other from Damdama.

Eventually the Sikhs reached the Gehal and Qutbo Bahamani villages but the villagers would not let the Sikhs take shelter inside their villages. Some of the Sikhs hid themselves in the midst of the standing crops but the villagers smoked them out.

Great was the carnage by noon of that day. The sun was hot and the pursuers and the pursued had fought on for 12 *kos*. They were so thirsty their tongues stuck to the roofs of their mouths.

Soon they sighted a big pond of water and for a while their natural thirst for water overcame their thirst for blood. The clash and clang of swords stopped until they had their fill of water and then they were on the move again.

The Sikhs went on another 10 *kos* and the Pathans were left behind. According to some accounts only 20,000 Sikhs out of the original 100,000 escaped. Other versions say 50,000 escaped. The Sikhs suffered terribly but they talked lightly and merrily of it and said they were purged and purified of dross.

Abdali returned to Lahore and carried with him 50 carts loaded with the heads of Sikhs killed in the battle of Kup. Pyramids of the heads were erected and exhibited at Lahore. More, he went to Amritsar on the eve of the Baisakhi festival and blew up the Hari Mandir with gunpowder. The sacred tank was filled with refuse and barley was later sown thereon. The *bungahs* or resthouses were also destroyed and, as the buildings were being blown up, a stray brick struck Abdali on his nose and he carried the scar to his grave.

The Sikhs soon had their revenge. About 60,000 of them gathered at Amritsar to again fight Abdali, who sent messengers to negotiate peace. But the Sikhs would have none of it and Abdali was compelled to fight.

The Sikhs thirsted for revenge and they had it in full measure and running over. Abdali had to withdraw his forces to Lahore under cover of darkness while the Sikhs withdrew to the Lakhi jungle, their good old haunt.

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The Role of Mixed Economy in India

G. Srinivas Rao writes in *The Indian Review* :

The concept of mixed economy has been very popular in recent times. It implies the fact that the state should limit itself to those sectors where its activities could be supported both by its administrative resources and requirements of political democracy, and that private enterprise should be duly favoured to enable it to discharge its responsibilities.

Mixed economy is a sort of compromise between the capitalistic and the totalitarian forms of economy. Though at least in theory capitalism works beautiful by maintaining that there is complete freedom of choice, in reality it has its own defects and handicaps. Again, the totalitarian economy, which is a possible alternative for us to adopt, also suffers from too many rigid principles and is limited in its scope. Capitalism alone cannot do wonders. It is not able to ensure full employment and reasonable standards of living, while in the economy of controls all available goods are rationed and there is practically no freedom of labour or expression. It has, therefore, been suggested that we should follow the principle of mixed economy which claims to do away with the demerits of the above categories of economy.

THE NEED FOR A MIXED ECONOMY

Mixed economy has been favoured due to a number of reasons. The world war made it necessary for us to increase production to meet the extraordinary demands of our masses. The Government felt it necessary to encourage private enterprise with lesser controls so that more and more may be produced. Merciless exploitation of labour also called for the state management and controls to a reasonable extent. Hence, in 1948 the Government declared its policy of undertaking new measures of improving the lot of our various industries.

Any economy contains to some degree at least, a mixture of private and public investment, the corresponding increased production of which determines whether the economy is socialistic or capitalistic. In India the construction of roads and railways and undertaking of some other public works are examples of mixed economy put into practice. The need for a rapid and revolutionary change in our structure is now clear and self evident.

Mixed economy has really no diagnosis behind it and it works by the method of "trial and error." It is likely to put an end to monopolies of various sorts and give impetus to production. It aims at maintaining full employment and ensures investment for carrying out our ambitious plans. It is supposed to bring about a better distribution of incomes by resorting to suitable means of taxation and offering subsidies to those in need. Mixed economy is favoured for ironing out the ups and downs of the Trade Cycle.

In a mixed economy public enterprise may be assumed to have a much wider scope than in a capitalistic economy. "Our conception of capitalism must be a self-disciplined system of liberty." The Government should take greatest care in maintaining controls and the banking system must be properly managed. There is the danger that state capitalism will not give necessary support to increase production as private capitalism. A private enterprise has always been more potent due to its personal motives and, as such, the Government has decided to demarcate both these forms.

Certain industries, however, must be state-owned while some others can only be partly controlled. According to various statements issued by the Central Government, arms and ammunition, railways and the production and control of Atomic energy will be completely nationalized. Various kinds of aid like financial subscription, loans and debentures, subsidies and provision for cheap land and training are suggested to improve the situation.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND MIXED ECONOMY

India's lofty aims of achieving economic stability through the Five-Year Plan give considerable scope to the role of mixed economy. This system, under which the Government and private individuals contribute to the capital investment, was already developed in some States like Mysore. For instance, the production of Ammonium sulphate fertilizer is now undertaken by the Government factory at Sindri in Bihar and is also produced by privately owned industries. "This form of enterprise combines the advantages of initiative and flexibility with a larger conception of public welfare and avoid meticulous controls and complicated regulations." The Five-Year Plan is thus a plan of mixed economy. It envisages a centrally directed economy in which the State plays an active part and there is close relationship between the public and private sectors.

The Planning Commission's Report throws no light on the type of Economy they have in view. A mixed economy with anti-monopoly programme and with State playing increasing role has far-reaching effects. Until we are sure about the type of mixed economy contemplated by the Commission, we cannot judge the prospects of the Plan.

The policy of mixed economy will be failing in its purpose if production of consumer's goods is not taken up seriously. A vigorous plea has, therefore, to be made for stepping up of production and giving all possible facilities for the growth of private investment. The State can help to create a "Welfare State" by putting an end to monopolies and lessening inequalities of incomes. The secret of India's prosperity lies in encouraging private enterprise by stimulating the patriotic spirit of our shy capitalists. A revolutionary change in our present day economic structure can be made possible by following the golden principles of mixed economy.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Qazi Nazrul Islam—Poet of the People

Qazi Nazrul Islam is usually called the "Rebel Poet" of Bengali Literature. The epithet is due primarily to a magnificent poem he wrote called *VIDROHI—The Rebel*—and to some extent to the rebellious role played by him throughout. Nazrul appeared like 'comet in the firmament' of Bengali literature and practically but not physically disappeared from the scene after a spell of about twenty years with a lot of effulgent light and consuming fire to his credit.

Nazrul was born in a village named Churulia under Asansol sub-division of Burdwan district. His forefathers are reported to have migrated from Bihar to Burdwan. He was the fifth child born after death of four other children. The fond parents, therefore, nick-named Nazrul "Dukhu Mea" under the superstitious belief that such an uncouth name might shield the new-born babe from the angel of death. "Dukhu Mea" in Bengali literally means a "child of sorrow." But alas! the name proved only too literally true.

As a child, Nazrul was both precocious and naughty. He read little, but none could beat him in the class. He used to pester the whole village by his boyish pranks and for this he got from the local people the appellation of "Khepa"—mad fellow—a prediction again which came true late in life. Nonetheless, he passed from the village Primary School ahead of others and had the distinction of becoming a pupil-teacher or "Chhota Ostadice."

The ballads he composed are reminiscent of those by the Muslim bards who wrote thousands of what are popularly called "Punthis" which have regaled the rural population now for years, if not for centuries. Nazrul was undoubtedly the product of Punthi Literature, at least in his childhood. In his later phase Nazrul gave to Bengali language many Muslim words and helped influence the prevalent ideologies.

In 1916, (he was but 17 then) Nazrul slipped away to Calcutta and joined the 49th Bengal Regiment. As a private in the Regiment, Nazrul went to Karachi and from there was sent out to Mesopotamia where he rose to be a Havildar within a short time. It is as "Havildar Qazi Nazrul Islam, 49th Bengal Regiment" that he made his first debut in Bengali literature.

On the disbandment of the 49th Bengal Regiment, the Havildar-Poet came back to Calcutta and took shelter in the office of the Bengali Muslim Literary Association in the year 1918-19. He was well on his way to being the most moving poet Bengal had produced.

His poems were fiery, exciting and inspiring and he himself moved from place to place throughout Bengal, with no attachments, no fixity of home or purpose but respected, almost adored, wherever he went. He roamed, rhymed and sang. He proved to be the most dynamic of the Bengali poets who roused the people of Bengal from the torpor of slavery and this with signal success.

At about 22, Nazrul began editing a weekly called *Dhum Khetu* (Comet). His fiery writing embarrassed

the British administration and he was arrested on a charge of sedition. At the trial Nazrul made a remarkable statement which gives a glimpse into his real self. The statement was in Bengali and was later published in booklet form.

Despite his defence Nazrul was convicted and gaoled for a year. He went to jail cheerfully, for the rebel in him could not be subdued. He wrote and sang and made the life of jail authorities miserable by his fiery songs and sallies. It is in jail that Nazrul composed his wellknown *Shikal Parar Gan* (the Song of Shackles).

After his release from prison, Nazrul Islam dominated the field of Bengali literature for about 20 years, writing prolifically—more than 500 of his songs have been recorded.

His contribution to Bengali poetry cannot be forgotten. He wrote many stirring poems and songs which were and are the inspiration of the people. A number of his books such as *Bisher Banshi* (Flute of Poison), *Agni Bina* (Flute of Fire), *Bhanger Gan* (Song of Destruction), *Pralay-Shikka* (Fire of Destruction), etc., were prescribed by Government but later almost revered by literateurs. His work is immortal.

POEMS OF NAZRUL ISLAM

Translated by Mrs. Muhammad Hussain

MARCH OF YOUTH

On! On! On!
The drums beat up in the sky,
Beneath the troubled earth doth lie,
Youths of the dawning age do cry:
On! On! On!
Strike at the doors of early morn,
We shall augur a richer dawn,
The shades of dark will by us be torn
And the limits of Vindhya-chal:
On! On! On!
We shall sing the song of life,
Reborn will be this vale of strife,
We shall bring strength to life
In youthful arms, anew.
On! On! O hand of youth!
Lend ear to this forsooth:
At the gates of death,
There's the hope of life for all:
Break, O break the bar,
Onward move onward—far—
To a life that is for you.
On! On! On!

NIGHTINGLE ON THE BOUGHS

Shake not the branch, O nightingale,
The buds have yet to wake from sleep,
The South wind moves 'cross barren boughs,
And the butterfly is lost in pleasures deep.
When shall the flower maids rip ope the veils



And blush awake by dewdrops twinkle;
Rousing Spring's fragrant flood
Whelm lips with smiles; wake cheeks to dimple.
O Poet, lost in the fragrant tide,
You found not any shores,
Full is your heart with wealth of flowers,
Now, bring tears to those eyes—of yours.
—Pakistan Today, June 1, 1954.

Social Unrest an Obstacle To Peace ILO CHIEF'S SURVEY OF WORLD ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

Mr. David A Morse, Director-General of the International Labour Office, in his report to the annual conference of the ILO, opening at Geneva on 2 June, has pointed out the extent to which social disorder and civil unrest undermine and weaken attempts by nations meeting in international assembly to construct a workable and lasting peace.

Mr. Morse asks the conference to give special attention this year to the question of finding ways to alleviate the worldwide housing shortage but at the same time stressed the ILO's traditional and practical approach to many social problems affecting the workers. He says:

"The issues of peace and social progress are inextricably interwoven at the present time. Social discontent and impatience for social progress in our world today is a ready occasion for political agitation and is often quick to become a cause of civil unrest. The nations meeting in international assembly to construct a workable and lasting peace cannot risk having their strength and determination in this cause undermined by social disorder at home.

"The reality, and not only the promise, of better living conditions, especially in the vast underdeveloped areas of the world, is an essential element in strengthening the cause of peace, just as the establishment of peace is necessary to the continuing long-term improvement of social conditions throughout the world.

"At few periods in its history has the ILO's work been more directly relevant to the great international political issues of the day.

"The ILO has traditionally had a practical approach to social problems. It brings together the most powerful social forces in each country, workers and employers as well as Governments, to work out agreed solutions to concrete actual problems. I ask Governments in particular to reflect upon the importance of strengthening this practical undogmatic approach at a time when social problems are a prey to internal political dissensions and to international cleavage.

"This year I am asking the Conference to give special consideration to the question of housing. Like all the great social problems, housing affects workers virtually in every country. It does not respect ideological or geographical barriers. Workers need housing in Eastern just as in Western countries. There is a housing shortage in the industrially advanced countries and in the underdeveloped. This is one of the problems which is closest to the individual human person and it is to him that our ultimate obligation runs."

MAN NEEDS SENSE OF PURPOSE IN HIS WORK

Urging management and labour to adopt attitudes that will make possible the development of a sense of purpose by those who perform the world's work, Mr. Morse says that the worker must feel that his labour has social value—that he "is participating in a common constructive effort towards a purpose broader than his own personal wants or the profitability of his factory."

"To arouse this sense of purpose requires a new attitude by management as well as by labour. New techniques and institutions may help foster it, but it is the underlying attitude and not the methods or forms that count. The greatest challenge which must be faced through democratic labour-management relations is to spread this new attitude towards work throughout industry."

It was beginning to be recognised, Mr. Morse explains, that man must have "job satisfaction" as well as decent living and working conditions and economic security. This means that industrial work must be given the social content that it now generally lacks. Man has to be enabled to make a contribution to society. Unless he feels that he is doing so, he develops emotional conflicts giving rise to discontent. To resolve these conflicts, he has to believe that his work had a social purpose.

HOPES PLACED IN INDUSTRIALISATION

Over much of the world, the report points out, modern forms of economic and social organisation and industrial technology are regarded as man's best hope of overcoming poverty and improving the material conditions of life. Yet almost everywhere the process of industrialisation touches off a conflict between new and old social forms, attitudes and human values. The sufferers in this conflict are the peoples whose security in the old society is undermined before they find new security in the new industrial community.

"Great social strains and conflicts," the report emphasises, "emerge among people uprooted from the traditional way of life and forced by circumstances to adjust to a new and alien routine. Where there is physical poverty, disease and hunger, these tensions may be aggravated. The interaction of bad physical conditions of life with the psychological tensions of social change makes a highly explosive compound

threatening to burst into political disorder and thwart the possibility of peaceful progress."

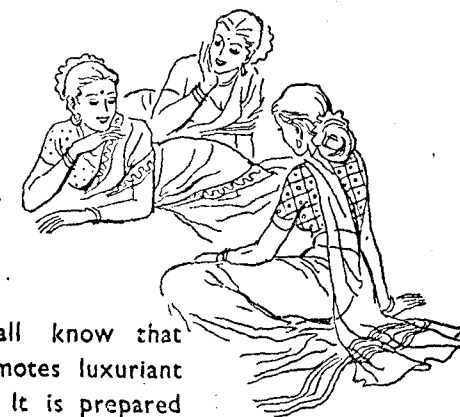
Surveying the trend of industrial development throughout the world at the present time, the report declares that in Asia "overpopulation" is the compulsive force behind a great structural change. An industrial revolution has become a demographic necessity, "and the awareness that poverty may be alleviated through modern economic organisation has aroused hopes in Asia which the world cannot afford to see frustrated." Throughout the less developed areas there is a latent conflict between the aims of those who have realised that the hopes of the future lie with industrial development and the attitudes and habits of the rural masses. This was occurring at a time when world opinion was calling for the removal of the compulsions which have operated in the past to create the labour supply on which industrialisation has been founded. But measures taken in response to this trend of opinion were not solving the social problems of industrialisation. What was being done was rather to reject unacceptable solutions. There remained "a great problem of labour supply to be overcome by those who are committed to the course of industrialisation."

Mr. Morse suggests that the trade union "may be one of the most powerful instruments for creating a new industrial society and for helping the new recruit from the rural community to adjust to the conditions of industrial life." Of great importance was the

union's role in "giving the worker a social status where he may previously have been an unregarded item at the bottom of the social scale." The problem of how to promote the growth of trade unions on sound and stable lines had been posed for governments in many parts of the world. It was not enough to say that the workers must be left alone to organise themselves; yet there were grave dangers in unionism fostered by the State. The problem was a complex one which called for serious consideration in the light of the experience in recent years of the countries undergoing economic development. If progress could be made in improving labour-management relations, more favourable attitudes by workers and employers would overcome some of the human obstacles to economic growth. But the report warns it is useless to create attitudes favourable to economic expansion if investment capital is not ready to finance expansion. "Labour mobility without new job openings does not make sense." Achieving the first without the second will only court disillusionment and a recrudescence of restrictive attitudes and practices in perhaps even more rigid forms. The social and economic problems of economic development must be solved together; they cannot be divorced from one another without either frustrating economic development or disregarding its social purpose.—ILO News Service, May 14, 1954.

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On the occasion of the Sixth Anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel, President Izhiak Ben-Zvi has published a message, extracts of which are given hereunder:

"We have witnessed in these six years the ingathering of the exiles, whole communities reaching Israel from the east and from the west. Their coming has doubled the numbers of those who dwell and labour in our ancient land, in field and in the factory, in the re-settled hills of the Galilee and in the revived Negev wastelands. Throughout the length and breadth of our homeland our heritage has been renewed by blood and toil."

"We have not been unaware of the dangers that have threatened us since the establishment of the State. Even to this day—five years after the signing of the armistice agreements—our neighbours still seek our downfall. The incessant bloodshed on our frontiers has shown us that we must be even watchful, ever on the alert, and that we ignore these dangers at our own peril."

"In the year just ended, as in former years, Israel has neglected no opportunity to express her sincere desire for peace, . . . yet we failed in our efforts to make peace with our own close neighbours who persist in their aggressive design upon us."

"A system of national education during the year replaced the old, wasteful system in education, and today a quarter of a million school-children receive a unified, standard Hebrew education administered by the State. The nation's defence and security forces were strengthened with the continued stabilisation of both the Regular Army and the Reserves within the Defence Army of Israel."

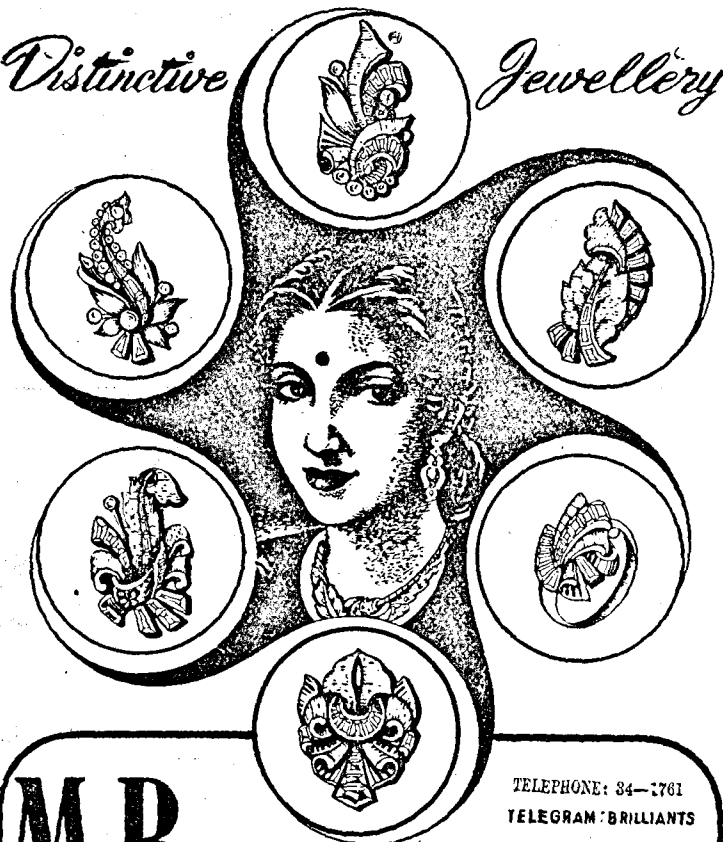
Turning to the question of religious minorities in Israel, the President said:

"We have succeeded in resolving many essential questions in the spirit of the Law of Moses and the Prophets: 'One law shall there be unto you and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you . . . Our hope is bright that those problems yet unsolved will find their solution with the passage of time in this democratic spirit.'"

Paying tribute to the citizens who gave up their lives in the War of Independence, the President recalled King David's consolation: "They compass me about like bees: they are quenched as the fire of thorns: but in the name of the Lord I will overcome them."

The President concluded his message with these words:

"On this festive day I send my good wishes and greetings to all citizens of Israel and to the children of Israel in their dispersion wherever they may be. I bid them be strong and of good courage in their sacred task of aiding in the upbuilding of Israel and the ingathering of the exiles. I pray to the Rock of Israel that He may strengthen our hands and yours, and that ours may be the privilege of witnessing with our own eyes the prosperity and peace of our blessed land."—*News from Israel*, May 15, 1954.



Newspapers in Ceylon

Ceylon should be proud of her newspapers. In fact, it is an island of newspapers. People read very few books. Most of their reading is confined to newspapers. The Ceylon newspapers are far ahead of all Asia except Japan in their technique and circulation.

There are eight daily newspapers in the three languages selling round about 300,000 copies every day. Of these, the three Sinhalese dailies—*Dinamina* 80,000, *Lankadipa* 60,000 and *Janata* 20,000 sell between themselves half of the 300,000 copies. The other five English and Tamil language papers altogether sell the balance of 150,000 copies—*Daily News* 40,000, *Observer* 25,000, *Times* 20,000, *Virakesari* 25,000 and *Thinakaran* 15,000.

The Sunday or Weekly papers of which there are five sell round about 45,000 copies—*Silumina* 150,000, *Sunday Lankadipa* 100,000, *Virakesari* 35,000, *Sinhala Jatiya* 25,000, *Sunday Thinakaran* 35,000. So that for a week Ceylon newspapers sell about 750,000 copies of daily and weekly newspapers which means that one person in eleven of the whole population buy a newspaper for a week. If you take it that in a population of 8½ million, only about 2½ million are adult and literate (according to statistics), it will be seen that nearly one in three buy a newspaper every week. We know that every newspaper bought is read by at least three persons. On this basis we might go so far as to say that every one who can read does read a newspaper once a week at least. This is a very high rate for any country. But we are here talking only of statistics!

WHAT DO THE CEYLONESE READ?

The *Dinamina*, the Sinhalese daily, had, in the old days under the famous Sinhalese literary celebrity Mr. Martin Wickramasinghe, the status of the *London Times* as far as Ceylon was concerned. It is a 40-year paper for which once Sir Baron Jayatilaka regularly wrote. But after the emergence of the *Lankadipa*, the older paper began to ape the younger upstart. If the *Dinamina* had struck to its old traditions of conservative and rigid journalism, no power on earth could have shaken its solid foundations. But its newly acquired spirit of sensationalism and the search for popularity in an effort to vie with *Lankadipa* went ill with its traditions and gave the younger paper, full of pep, vigour, and originality, a grand opportunity. Thus, the *Lankadipa* within six years, has increased its circulation to 60,000.

The *Ceylon Daily News* under the late Mr. D.R. Wijewardene was something like the *Daily Telegraph* of London, a reliable, serious, but a popular political paper without sensationalism and any ballyhoo. But, of late, it too has gone off the rails and no one can say what it exactly is today. Clearly it is the mouthpiece of the Christians, the Managing Director and all Editorial Staffers being Christians. There is, I believe, one Buddhist, Mr. Austin de Silva on the higher rungs of the ladder at Lake House. But he is the forgotten man and nobody knows what he does. To the *Daily News* all Buddhist leaders are jokes. All those who show any kind of national aspirations have to be laughed out of the newspaper. Any man who does not pay pooja to the English language as the most indispensable precious possession deserves to be pilloried. Big Buddhist school events get only a few lines. When one considers that more than two-thirds of the readers of the *Daily News* are Buddhists, the wonder is not that it is not increasing its readers but how it keeps the readers,

That is simply because there is no other English morning daily at present!

NEWSPAPER TYCOON

The *Daily News* appears to be under the influence of the American Embassy which gives scholarships generously to its staff to the U.S.A. and takes a lively interest in the machinery Lake House purchases. Time and again, the paper seems to sample the best interests of the country to those of the U.S.A. The *Daily News* is also controlled by the U.N.P. to such an extent that it is virtually a party paper. Once when a very "big noise" in the U.N.P. was asked why they didn't start a daily paper he asked blindly "Why should we? We have the *Daily News* and the *Dinamina*!"—*Tribune, Ceylon News Review*.

U. S. Library of Congress Treasures Folk Songs

Washington: Much of the rich tradition of American folk music seemed doomed to vanish for ever at the beginning of this century.

The ballads which American pioneers had sung in dozens of versions as they made their way West were all but forgotten.

The old Red Indian war chants were disappearing as Indians of the young generations left their tribes and forgot tribal ceremonies.

The railroad workers who sang their way across the continent laying track were long dead and their songs seldom sung.

The rhythmic swing of the sea-chanty disappeared with the mariners who hoisted sails.

Recently, however, there has been a revival of interest in folk music. Today, the U.S. Library of Congress has more than 60,000 recorded folk tunes.

Thirty years ago, folk-song enthusiasts began to search the isolated North Carolina mountains for early versions of Scotch-English ballads. They went deep in the mine tunnels to record the voices of the miners. They went among the prisoners in southern penitentiaries and to the Red Indian tribes in the West.

EXPENSIVE PROCESS

Collecting was an expensive process. Portable recording machines were costly. Days—sometimes months—were required for the ballad hunter to find the old people who would remember old tunes and then to wait until the singers were disposed to record them.

The list of folk singers includes some surprises. Judge Learned Hand stepped down from his U. S. Court of Appeals bench recently to sing two ballads from the American Civil War that he had learned more

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than 60 years before. The songs are included in an album of "Songs and Ballads of American History."

A famous Red Indian, Crazy Bull, similarly recorded half-forgotten tribal songs. He is the grandson of Sitting Bull, the famous chief whose Sioux warriors in 1876 massacred a cavalry contingent under General George Custer in one of the most famous episodes of U.S. frontier history.

OBSCURE PEOPLE SANG

Most of the Library's records, however, were sung or played by obscure people in their native environment rather than in a formal studio. The Library says of these recordings: "The singers and musicians.....are heard against the natural back-ground of their lives. The portable recording machines of the ballad hunters caught such realistic sounds as the informal shouting, laughter, clapping, and stamping of group dances, the thud of a lumberman's axe as it swung to the rhythm of a work song, the cracking of a whip as a Southern Negro 'mule skinner' drives his team of mules."

The tunes and lyrics of America's folk songs reflect a heritage from other parts of the world: the English ballads and seachanties, Afro-American spirituals and "blues," and French and Spanish songs of the southern and western United States. Often one song will have many variants. An unusually international ballad is *The Hangman's Tree*, a favourite Negro spiritual in the southeastern United States. Versions of it are also sung in English, Scottish dialects, Spanish, Faroese, Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, German, Estonian, Wendish, Russian, Ukrainian, and Slavonian.

The native music of other countries is also represented in the Library's archives. In exchange for albums of American music, the Library has received songs from Scotland, France, Ireland, Italy, Finland and South America.

As a result of the Library's leadership in the folk-music revival, many collections have been established throughout the United States, particularly in universities and city libraries. Students in 60 universities in the United States can now take courses in folk music.—*American Reporter*, June, 1954.

The Teacher

Prof. Henri Wallon writes in *Tribune*, the Ceylon News Review, as follows:

Youth is the period through which the individual passes from his birth to the age at which he is able to take an active part in society, not only with his professional capacities but through all the relations in which he will be involved, family, human and civic relations. Youth is also the whole body of individuals of many different personalities who compose the rising generation, the herald of the future.

Education consists in guiding the child and later the young man or young woman through this long and difficult preparation. And upon whom should this responsibility fall?

The answer given to this question by history varied widely with the different types of society and aims of each society.

TEACHER'S DUTIES

A revolutionary, a friend of Robespierre, Convention member Le Peletier de Saint Fargeau, said in his report on the organisation of education: "At the age of five years, the nation will receive the child from the hands of nature. At twelve years, he will be turned over to society." Nature was the family circle to which was given, only the responsibility for feeding and clothing the children and for their first effective im-

pressions. From the age of five to twelve, the "nation" takes all children in hand to educate them on a perfectly equalitarian basis. After the age of twelve, it turns them out to try their luck in a society sown with economic inequalities.

This unlimited responsibility of the educator, which is supposed to be a substitute even for that of the family, is even vaguer than it is vast. The teacher's duties and rights are not precisely defined nor are the aims even of education itself.

There are two possible definitions of education which are often opposed. One considers it as the transfer through successive generations, of the cultural heritage and ways of thought peculiar to a society, a people or a race. It is easy to see the danger in this: traditionalism, conservatism and eventually racism. The second definition is the opposite of the first: it is essentially individualistic and prescribes the development in each child of his leanings and aptitudes following their spontaneous appearance. This can end in a fundamental egotism, difficulties in social adaptation, in a spirit of fierce competition.

Certainly every child has the right to instruction and an education which is best able to fit him for the society in which he must live and act. But this society is not that of the past—it is that which points towards the future, which is in the process of becoming, the development of which cannot be halted. The teacher, therefore, must not take refuge in the false security of traditions, in the comforts of routine. He must refresh himself foreseeing, through events, what is being born. He must not hide himself within his own past and within the narrow limits of his professional habits. He must try not to be overtaken by the needs and aspirations of the new generation.

APTITUDES

Certainly the teacher must also try to discover in each pupil or student, all those tastes and aptitudes which are most capable of developing his intellectual and moral capacities to the utmost, but obviously this must be separated from the common tasks. It must stress the occasion when the pupil will feel or imagine his responsibilities in connection with the education he receives.

The teacher must influence the pupil, above all by his own example.

It is the teacher who directs the child towards society. And his own links with society should be without question. He should be someone who makes public welfare the law of his life, who will make the dignity of intelligence, of conscience, the right of free examination, the right to reject debasing directives which would demand of him pretence and lies, an object of respect in his own person.

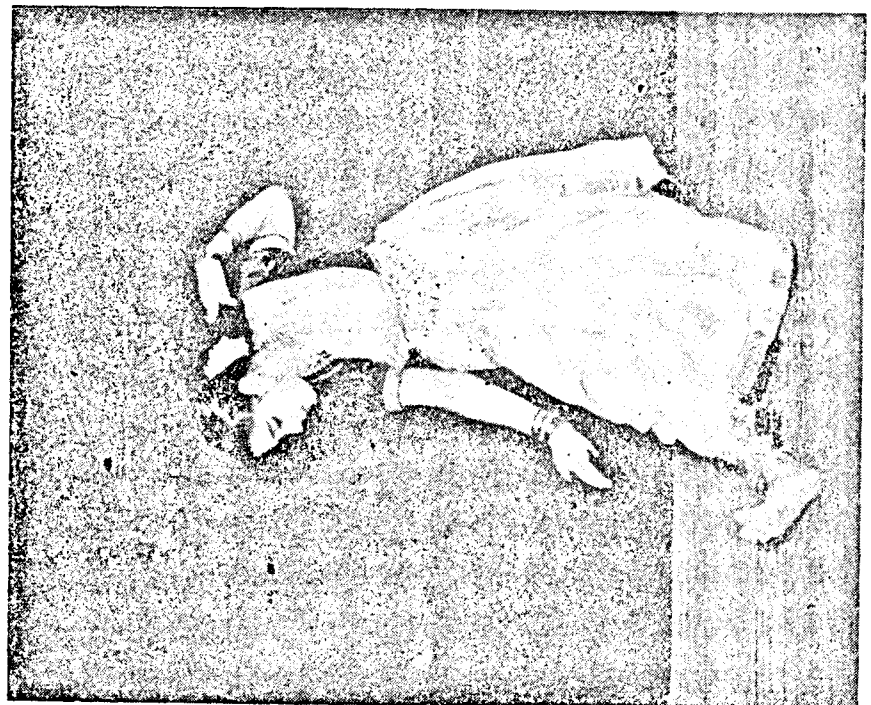
COLLABORATION

It is the teacher who forms men and he should eventually prove it by not standing aloof from the currents of enthusiasm or indignation which are aroused throughout the world by great human interests or great injustices.

Finally the teacher must know how to struggle for his school and against the shortages which seriously threaten the students' future. He must protest against the scandal of children unable to pursue their studies, not because of lack of ability but because there are not enough schools; of the children who cannot learn a trade because there are not enough apprentice training centres; of the children who grow to adulthood without any professional qualifications, condemned to a precarious and insecure existence, denied any cultural satisfaction.



Kathakali dance



A Kathakali dance performance

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Education and Progress

Speaking at Nangal on the 8th of July last, Pandit Nehru declared at a public meeting that "We have won a decisive victory against food scarcity," and further expressed great satisfaction at the progress of the Government's campaign for greater food production. He said that the results were far beyond expectations.

We are in agreement with all that he said on the point of food production and we are glad that he warned the country against the adoption of a complacent attitude. We have no doubt that with the completion of the great multi-purpose projects, like the Bhakra-Nangal, our food position will be reasonably safe. Pandit Nehru's pride in the achievement is more than justified on this score.

But Pandit Nehru was treading on far less firm ground when he referred to our progress in other spheres, from "the uplift of Harijans to scientific research." Here we have little to show in comparison with more progressive nations of the world. Industrial progress and scientific research has gone hand in hand in all lands where there has been a real harnessing of science to industry.

Here, in our country, no such link exists as yet. A chain of National Research Laboratories have been established all over the country, twelve in number. But as yet no substantial progress in any line has been the outcome. Indeed, we may be permitted to say that their usefulness and efficiency has yet to be proved. We do not say this in a scoffing spirit, but we must not take scientific research for granted. Fine buildings and costly equipment have been provided, but only substantial results can justify their existence.

We do not know if Pandit Nehru has ever considered the curious fact that scientific progress—indeed Cultural Progress—is highest in countries that have a high standard of general education, and also

have the literacy index up to the saturation mark. We would say that it would be a veritable miracle of the first degree if a nation with an extremely inefficient and poor standard of general education and a literacy index of about 15 per cent, could achieve anything in the way of scientific progress that would justify a song and a dance.

Our literacy index was about 40 per cent when the British started building their Empire. Ruthless exploitation and a total disregard for the welfare of the subject peoples, brought that down to below 10 per cent in a century and half of British rule.

In the same speech Pandit Nehru expressed grief at some promising Indian scientists going abroad in order to earn more money than they could get here. But so long as nepotism and parochialism is as rampant in Indian administrative circles as it is today, is that anything to be surprised at? Given a fair chance to get an adequate return for his labours, and ample facilities and scope for research, no scientist worthy of his name would ever stir out of his homeland. Pandit Nehru should give deep consideration to this established fact.

India has many hurdles to cross before she can attain the position, in the comity of Nations of the world, to which she lays claim. After food, the next major hurdle is education, without which no nation can make any progress in the modern world, however great its potentials. Pandit Nehru should realise this axiomatic truth and set about the repair and reconditioning of the completely neglected educational structure of our country, which is in a miserable state everywhere.

Student riots and disturbances have become a perennial source of trouble in West Bengal and the Uttar Pradesh. Recently Indore witnessed a particularly lamentable outburst of disruptive activity, and the total failure of the forces of law and order,



FLOOD
By Niharjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

This epidemic is highly contagious and the conditions in most major educational institutions are favourable to such outbreaks. Pandit Nehru and his advisors should give earnest consideration to that.

Discipline, in the fullest sense of the term, which is akin to the Sanskrit word *vinaya*, is totally absent in our educational practice. Some few schools and a very small number of colleges have tried to keep up the traditional modes of training its students into a cultured way of life and thought. Even they are finding it difficult to maintain their standards, however much though they screen their student applicants. For not only is the raw material tainted, but the skilled staff that process it is also in a state of decay. Two famous colleges in Calcutta and two famous residential Universities of India, one of which was built and sustained by the very life-blood of a great son of India, are the outstanding miserable examples.

Press Commission's Work

The Government of India have come out with a summary of the recommendations of the Press Commission "for public information" and "not to be used for forming judgments upon the recommendations" until the full text of the report became available.

The Government of India announced the constitution of a Press Commission of eleven members under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha on September 23, 1952.

The report of the Commission, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*, was divided in three volumes. The first volume contained the recommendations; the second was packed with statistics and a history of Indian journalism; the third volume contained the appendices.

The Commission had held fourteen sessions of about a fortnight each at New Delhi, Ootacamund, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Simla and had examined 414 witnesses.

The transcript of the oral evidence taken by the Commission and the written memoranda submitted to it ran to more than 10,000 pages.

The terms of reference of the Commission had been to enquire into the state of the Press in India, its present and future lines of development and to examine:

- (1) The control, management and ownership and financial structure of newspapers, news agencies, etc.;
- (2) The working of monopolies and chains and their effect on the presentation of accurate news and fair views;
- (3) Forms of external influence as may have a bearing on the development of healthy journalism;
- (4) Conditions of employment of working journalists and settlement of disputes affecting them;
- (5) Machinery for (a) ensuring high standards of journalism and (b) liaison between Government and the Press;

- (6) Freedom of the Press and repeal or amendment of laws not in consonance with it; and to make recommendations thereon.

The members of the Commission, besides those already referred to were Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Rao Saheb Patwardhan, Mr. A. R. Bhatt and Mr. T. N. Singh.

Press Commission's Recommendations

"The constitution of an All-India Press Council by statute which is to be charged with the task of safeguarding the freedom of the Press and helping the Press to maintain its independence, the formation of a code of ethics for journalists, the appointment of a Press Registrar and the establishment of a State trading corporation to deal with newsprint supplies are some of the principal recommendations of the Press Commission," reports the *Statesman*.

The Press Council to be composed of 25 members of whom 13 or more should be working journalists of ten years' standing in the profession, including working editors was to have in addition a chairman, who should be either a sitting or a retired Judge of a High Court to be nominated by the Chief Justice of India. The objects of the Press Council would include: 1. To safeguard the freedom of the Press and help the press to maintain its independence; 2. by censuring objectionable types of journalistic conduct, and by all other possible means, to build up a code in accordance with the highest professional standards; 3. to keep under review any developments likely to restrict the supply and dissemination of news of public interest and importance; 4. to encourage the growth of the sense of responsibility and public service among all those engaged in the profession of journalism; 5. to study developments in the Press which may tend towards concentration or monopoly and, if necessary, to suggest remedies therefor; 6. to publish reports, at least once a year, recording its work and reviewing the performance of the Press, its development and the factors affecting them; 7. to improve methods of recruitment, education and training for the profession, by the creation of suitable agencies for the purpose such as a Press Institute.

The Press Registrar was to keep a close watch on the circulation of newspapers and if he came to the conclusion that in a particular area or in a language a monopoly had developed, he was to bring it to the attention of the Press Council, who would conduct an investigation into the existence of the monopoly, whether that had acted against public interest, whether undesirable practices had been resorted to for eliminating competition, and what measures, if any, were necessary to deal with the situation.

The State trading corporation for newsprints was

to be entrusted with a monopoly of imports and take over the entire output of Indian mills on a fair basis and sell it along with imported newsprint, at equated prices.

The Commission recommended that the publication of newspapers and periodicals should be made a Central responsibility, and suggested the banning of crossword puzzle competition forms. It also recommended the introduction of price-page schedule for newspapers and suggested that advertisements should not cover more than 40 per cent of the total space.

It favoured single unit papers wherever possible and said that in the case of multiple editions each unit should be separated from the others in the matter of accounts. Where a chain consisted of a number of groups, each group was to be separated from the other. The adoption of a strict code of advertising by an association of publishers was recommended. It suggested the enactment of a legislation to regulate the newspaper industry which should make it punishable with fine or imprisonment to give fraudulent advertisement.

The Commission found a considerable degree of concentration in the ownership of Indian newspapers and felt that there was danger that that tendency might develop in the future. The Commission could not favourably view the accentuation of such a tendency. The proposed Press Council was to review, at the end of five years, all the consequences of newspaper ownership in the light of circumstances then existing and to make appropriate recommendations, including the setting up of a fact-finding enquiry, if it considered that necessary.

Referring to the news agencies the Commission said that they should not be State-owned or State-controlled and any assistance from the State to the news agencies should be without any strings attached. The State should have no voice in the control of the agency either editorially or administratively. The Commission laid down for adoption new schedules of charges for news agency services which they expected would result in a more equitable division of operating costs over large and small newspapers. A revision of the basis for calculation of the charges payable by the All-India Radio for the use of news agency services was also recommended.

The Commission suggested that a public corporation based on the existing organisation but controlled by a board of trustees under a chairman to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India should take up the management of the *Press Trust of India*. No organizational changes were prescribed for the *United Press of India* except that the management was to be controlled by a board of trustees. In both the cases, one of the Trustees should represent the employees.

The Government should, the Commission said,

base their advertisement policy on considerations of the circulation of the paper, the readers designed to be reached and the purpose of advertising.

The Commission noted a general decline in the status and independence of the editor and suggested "that with a view to stabilizing and defining the editor's ultimate responsibility in the conduct of a newspaper, the appointment of an editor should be attended with the execution of a contract of employment laying down the general policy of the paper in as precise terms as possible. The editor in discharging his responsibility should be bound by the generally accepted code of journalistic ethics and practice.

"As regards presentation of news, there should be no question of favouring a particular policy or trimming the news to suit that policy. The editor should decide finally what items of news should go in a paper and the owner should not be in a position to order a blacking out of any items of news."

The Commission found nothing wrong with the organization of journalists along trade union lines. It recommended a minimum basic wage of Rs. 125 per month with varying amounts of dearness allowance at different categories of places. The Commission said that an employees' provident fund should be created to which employees and employers were to contribute each one month's emoluments of the employee concerned and gratuity on the basis of 15 days' pay for every year of service. It also prescribed periods of different kinds of leave a working journalist should be entitled to.

Surveying the condition of the Press in India, the Commission said that the well-established papers had, on the whole, maintained a high standard of journalism. Such papers represented a decisive majority of the total circulation. "In the Commission's opinion India possesses many papers of which any country may be proud."

The daily press in India comprised more than 330 newspapers with a total circulation of nearly 2,600,000 engaging a capital of about twelve crores of rupees including loan capital amounting to Rs. 5 crores. The annual revenue of the daily press was about Rs. 11 crores, of which Rs. 5 crores come from advertisements. Salaries and wages paid in the industry amounted to over Rs. 4 crores of which about Rs. 85 lakhs went to journalists.

The daily newspapers were largely concentrated in big cities and capitals of States and the penetration into rural areas was very small. The Commission felt that the number of newspapers in the country should be greatly increased and that more newspapers should come up in the district towns. The readers in large cities had freedom of choice of the newspaper he wanted to read and every metropolis was adequately served. The competition of the metropolitan

papers throughout the area they served provided a choice even to the readers in small towns where no papers were published.

The Commission unanimously approved of legislative restrictions of a reasonable character on incitement to offence permitted under the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. Four members would prefer that the restrictions imposed in the interest of the State should be replaced by a reference to "prevention of public disorder," while others felt that such substitution of words was unsatisfactory. The majority favoured the retention of restrictions "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" but suggested that any legislation imposing restrictions should be confined to cases of systematic diffusion of deliberately false or distorted reports which undermined friendly relations with foreign States and should not punish any dissemination of true facts although they might tend to endanger the friendly relations with foreign States.

The Commission expressed the opinion that in so far as a particular section of the Indian Penal Code penalised mere exciting or attempting to excite feelings of hatred, contempt or disaffection towards Government without exciting or attempting to excite disturbance of public order, that section was *ultra vires* of the Constitution even under the amended Article 19(2) and opposed to the freedom of the Press. The repeal of the section was recommended. But the Commission thought that expressions inciting persons to alter by violence the system of Government with or without foreign aid should be punishable by insertion of a new Section 121B. An amendment to Section 153A was also suggested including an explanation that advocacy of change in the social or economic order not intended or likely to lead to disorder or to commission of offences would not be an offence.

The Commission supported the view of the Press Law Inquiry Committee that it had not been the intention of the framers of the Code that Section 144 Cr.P.C. should be applied to the Press. The Commission recommended that when an order was issued prohibiting the assembly of more than a certain number of persons, the authorities concerned might grant, in the order itself, special exemption to bona-fide reporters who should be asked to wear distinctive badges in token of exemption and carry the permit on their person.

The Commission considered it desirable that both Parliament and State legislatures should define by legislation, as contemplated in Articles 105 and 194 of the Constitution, the precise powers, privileges and immunities they possess in regard to contempt and the procedure for enforcing them.

It recommended that Exception 4 to Section 499 I.P.C. be amended by inserting the words 'or of

Parliament or State Legislature' to give effect to the principle that publication of a substantially correct report of the proceedings in a legislature was privileged on the same principle as an accurate report of justice was privileged, and that the advantage of publicity to the community at large outweighed any private injury resulting from the publication.

The Commission did not approve the suggestion that defamation of a public servant should be constituted as a cognizable offence. But it considers that a third proviso might be added to Section 198 Cr. P. C. to meet exceptional cases.

The Indore Tragedy

Indiscipline and disregard for law and order seems to be a contagious disease amongst our young hopefuls. With their immature brains and impetuous minds, they become the tools of every rogue on the look-out for fomenting trouble. And on each occasion some knock-kneed official or minister is panicked into making confusion worse confounded.

The latest such disturbance has been at Indore in Madhya Bharat. We have received a full account from a reader, Shri N. C. Zamindar, which we append below. We can only say that this lamentable failure on the part of the authorities is not without parallel elsewhere.

Students of colleges are regarded as the torch-bearers of the future of a nation. On them lie all our hopes. And yet neither at the Centre nor in the States can we see any realisation of that fact. It is about time capable persons were put in charge of the problem.

We give the letter below:

"Indore, the biggest and the most enlightened city not only of Madhya Bharat but of the whole Central India and Rajasthan—witnessed a complete break-down of the machinery of law and order from 20th July till 22nd July. The Government failed miserably in protecting the High Court and its own Secretariat. Little wonder, if people have lost confidence in the capacity of the Government to protect life and property and maintain law and order, in short, to govern."

"Starting from simple but childish demands of students the trouble developed into a menace. All anti-social forces mobilized, rather focussed, their strength on the machinery of law and order and have succeeded in delivering a cruel blow at the prestige of the authority. Let me recount facts which I saw personally. On the 19th a crowd of students approached the Education Minister of Madhya Bharat with demands to re-employ a retired Principal and transfer of some Professors. The Education Minister, according to the students' version, behaved rudely. He was imputed certain violent words, e.g., that he wanted to try the strength of students, etc. There was a mild clash in the afternoon between the police and the students. From 19th night the trouble-brewers started planning. The politi-

cal leaders appeared on the scene. In the afternoon when I visited the Secretariat the situation had become explosive. Stones were being thrown breaking the window-panes. The students and others had completely occupied the Western area of the premises. The Chief Minister and the Development Minister came to pacify the mob but they were not listened to. It is a painful fact to record that the Ministers misjudged and miscalculated the whole demonstration. In the meantime, the Mill labourers, which are infested with Communists, took over the lead and a regular pitched battle started between the police and the mob. The authorities dumbly suffered the ridiculous stone-pelting.

"In the evening Lathi-charge was ordered. Tear Gas Bombs were thrown and water sprinkled. These measures proved futile. The same evening I witnessed wooden planks, logs and stones being thrown at the Fire Brigade and other cars from the Government Hospital which is in front of the High Court. The mob had attacked the Court and taking out some files burnt them. The cars of the Ministers and some officers were damaged before the very eyes of the special Armed Forces, still no action was taken. I toured the whole disturbed area and found that the situation has considerably deteriorated. People mocked and pelted stones at the Police. The situation descended even to the ridiculous level when in sheer exasperation the police also began to pelt stones. In the night, Sec. 144 and Curfew till dawn was imposed. Under the cover of night perhaps detailed plans were drawn. On the 21st at about 9 a.m. all round the Secretariat preparations on the anti-social side were going on. Municipal dustbins were filled with Gitti (small stones) and the police stood doing nothing. Let it be recorded that the police were disgusted at the indecisiveness of the powers that be. In spite of Sec. 144 crowds swelled in the High Court premises and large scale unprecedented incendiarism and destruction began. Files were taken out and burnt, witness-boxes and furniture, etc., were reduced to ashes. The whole sanctity and authority of the High Court disappeared for the time being. The police stood seeing all this receiving stone-hits without effective action. Perhaps when most of the destruction was over, firing took place with a vengeance. There was indiscriminate shooting and as a result ten persons were killed and about a hundred injured. Curfew was strictly imposed. At about 4 p.m. the police had to open fire again. From the 22nd the city is under the cover of curfew and Sec. 144 I.P.C.

"There is much truth in a local newspapers' remark that it was a regular guerilla fight between the anti-social elements and the authorities. The High Court building has become a most ghastly witness to the extremely weak, inefficient and indecisive policy of the Government. An influential citizen rightly summed up the situation, 'The city has experienced total anarchy for two days. There was no law and order under the very noses of the Ministers and Secretaries. The

attack and Vandalism in the High Court premises proves amply that the Government is incapable and not worth its name.' It is a very strong verdict but the amount of destruction in the High Court fully justifies it. The C.I.D. department had collapsed and has proved not even worth the labels which it uses. It could get no important information otherwise things would not have reached this limit. The tragedy is over but the situation is all the more serious because the local press, which is completely owned by the party in power, is not only defending but praising the dilatory policy of the Government under the plea of non-violence and humanism of the Chief Minister. It is ridiculous but true. There is a complete blanketing of the true and serious aspects of the Indore Tragedy. For Indoreans it has been a warning written in fire and blood. But, perhaps, the lessons of it will be lost over the powers that be. The real causes and consequences can be known only after some lapse of time, till then one has only to gaze at the half burnt witness-boxes, chairs, tables and the ashes of most valuable and lost-for-ever records of the temple of Justice."

Undergraduate Students in Calcutta

Dr. J. C. Ghosh, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, is really to be congratulated in causing a survey to be held regarding the life and work of the undergraduate students in Calcutta. The foremost problem the Survey has emphasised is the poverty of the middle class students—the poverty is appalling and degrading too. The Survey has made various suggestions, long-term and short-term, with a view to improving the conditions of students and the education in the State of West Bengal. Dr. Ghosh in his foreword to the Survey has given his most considered opinion on the unfortunate state of affairs in the undergraduate field of education. The remedies suggested would involve large amounts and it is the primary duty of the State Government to take necessary steps. Education in this State receives somewhat a step-motherly treatment from the Government. The Government of West Bengal spends much less on education, *pro rata*, than what is spent by the Governments of Bombay, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Education in this State has been fostered and developed mainly through private initiative and munificence.

The attainment of independence has not apparently in any way changed the outlook of the Government of West Bengal towards improving the standard of education and the lot of the students. They can find enough money in sending members of the majority party in the State Legislature to foreign countries to learn the parliamentary practices in different countries of Europe, as if Indians know nothing about parliamentary practices and Government; they can find money for sending representatives after representatives to foreign countries to negotiate for the purchase of trawlers which, along with the scheme, runs out of order, but when comes the

question of spending money on education—and the students and the teachers—the Government put forward the plea of the shortage of funds.

The Survey is very interesting and informative. In a short editorial comment it is not possible to discuss in detail all the topics dealt with in it. But we must say a few things about the University authorities themselves. It is too well known that there has been a shortage of educational institutions in the city and the guardians and the students scramble for seats in the colleges. But all the students seeking higher education in colleges cannot get seats and in consequence turn towards other avocations to which they are not at all suited. The Vice-Chancellor in his foreword has stressed the need for 8 more colleges for men students and two for women students for undergraduate studies in Arts and Science Faculties in Calcutta. But it is to be pointed out that a renowned educational institution in Calcutta, with a long philanthropic tradition in pioneering the cause of education in the State, has recently erected its own building in South Calcutta and made arrangements for women's section in the morning and boys' section in the day in both arts and sciences. But for reasons still unknown and unexplained, the University has refused permission to this college to open the women's section in the morning; and after much harassment and delay, has given permission to open the day section only. The people of South Calcutta eagerly awaited the opening of the branch of a renowned college in this part of the city, but they were disappointed. The permission to the day section has been given only for commerce studies and arts and science are not being allowed. This attitude of the University is strange and seems to be ironical, especially when the Survey pleads for smaller colleges with divided units or branches in order to improve the personal touch between the teachers and students. The more the number of colleges in this great city, the less will be the number of students in each unit and the better will be the standard of education. And the action of the University just cited runs counter to the so-called ideals of the University in spreading the education among the people.

Similarly the case of the oldest Women's College in West Bengal seems to be ignored, both by the University and by the Government of West Bengal. For reasons best known to both, this college seems to be passed over in all matters regarding improvement and expansion.

Further, when in the immediate future technical education cannot be provided to all those who need it for lack of arrangements and provision, it is better that students should be enabled to get college education so that the general standard of education in the country becomes higher. A democratic government inevitably lives on a certain standard of intellectual development of its people and that is most needed in India today. Technical knowledge, of course, is also essential, but technical knowledge will be useless unless there is an

improved standard of intellectual development). Mere technical knowledge without imaginative growth and intellectual development will make the man a machine—not a creator.

On page 27 of the Survey, there is a serious mistake in calculation. The floor space of a college is counted only once, while the college is stated to be holding double shifts. The floor space should have been doubled in computation.

Nationalisation of Text Books

According to the *Hitavada* of July 8, the Government of Madhya Pradesh had decided to undertake the preparation, printing and publication and distribution of language text-books for primary classes. The Government reportedly had overruled the objections of publishers, who in a memorandum, had drawn the attention of the Government to the adverse effects of the move on the general publishing business. The publishers said that, deprived of their chief avenue of earning profit, they would henceforward not be able to undertake publication of books of a general nature which were relatively less remunerative.

The *Hitavada* supports the Government move and hopes that the Government would remove the defects of bad printing, poor production and short durability—so common to the books brought out by private publishing concerns and thereby justify its entrance into a field held by private enterprise.

Strongly critical of the move of the Government of Madhya Pradesh, Sri Maganbhai Desai writes in the *Harijan* on July 17 that it was "bad for education as well as the growth of healthy democratic government." He fails to see why the Government should have decided "to take the unusual step of writing, printing and even selling the books itself." Such monopoly control in educational matters was neither desirable nor conducive to free and unrestricted education. Sri Desai approvingly quotes Sri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari, who had condemned such a suggestion because in Rajaji's opinion "it was more dangerous than appeared on the surface. In such an event text books would change whenever Government changed and political views would get into text books."

Sri Desai entertains serious doubts whether by nationalising text books the evils of the text book trade could be eradicated, and urges the Madhya Pradesh Government to reconsider its decision, which, as things remained, was to be effective from 1955-56.

We also support Sri Maganbhai's contention. Our Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, ought to be more attentive to the development of the publishing businesses. The enlargement of the

sphere of Government publications, beyond what is essential for the purposes of recording the activities of governmental departments and the deliberations of the legislatures, should only be undertaken after mature consideration of all aspects, by any government run on democratic lines.

Community Projects in West Bengal

Striking progress was made in the work in eight community development blocks in West Bengal, reports the weekly *West Bengal*.

Each of the eight Community Development blocks had 800 to 1,000 half plots for demonstration of the Japanese method of paddy cultivation, use of improved seeds (both *aus* and *aman*), green manures, chemical fertilizers and methods of kitchen gardening up to the end of April, 1954, 7,779 maunds of seeds, 69,857 maunds of fertilizers and 49,392 lbs. of chemical fertilizers had been distributed in those blocks and 15,772 tons of compost prepared. Short term loans had also been given to enable poor agriculturists to buy seeds, etc., and seed and seedlings for kitchen had been given free for kitchen gardening. Rs. 1,97,149 were distributed as such short term loans, and of that about Rs. 42,680 had already been recovered.

Four blocks had Demonstration Fish Farms. In Jalhati 11,000 fry had been transferred in April from nursery and rearing tanks to the stocking tanks, and in Guskara, Barupur, Fulia, a total of 45,780 fry and six-and-half maunds of *chala* fish had been sold. Loans amounting to Rs. 69,250 had been given for the scheme of development of tank fishery in dry districts under which 404 acres had been brought so far. About 383 acres had been covered by the Unionwari Tank Fishery Scheme. Under the latter scheme Rs. 40,765 had been advanced as loans.

The area acquired for purposes of afforestation amounted to 768 acres. Notification for acquisition of another 607 acres had also been published.

So far 5,268 acres of cultivable waste land had been reclaimed. A sum of Rs. 183,940 had been advanced in different blocks for such land reclamation on the basis of Rs. 75 per acre.

About 4,896 acres of land had been brought under irrigation with the execution of 53 small irrigation schemes.

Almost all the eight blocks had gone ahead in the matter of site selection of two to three health sub-centres and had realised local contribution, in land, cash or in bricks for that purpose.

A total of 101 primary schools had been taken up for conversion into Basic schools. Thirty-four Secondary schools had been taken up for improvement and four Junior Basic schools had been established. As regards Social Education centres, the target of 80 per block would quite possibly be sur-

passed. A scheme of graded, circulating library had been devised to assist social education teachers giving something more than mere literacy to the villagers. Each block was now in possession of five such libraries, each having 150 books. All the blocks had been supplied with audio-visual equipments, i.e., film and film-strip projectors.

The total amount of the contribution received from the people in the form of cash, labour and materials was Rs. 738,100. The largest contribution was in the form of labour (Rs. 333,100), the second in materials (Rs. 252,000) and the rest in cash (Rs. 153,000). The largest amount, whether in cash, labour or materials, had been donated for education followed by contribution for drinking water supply, health centres and other items.

Bhakra-Nangal

A new chapter was started in the history of India's struggle against scarcity and economic bondage with the opening of the Bhakra canal. Immense benefit will accrue to the whole of northern India when the entire scheme is in full operation. It is not an exaggeration to say that the opening of the Canal has meant the opening of the portals of prosperity to all East Punjab, the PEPSU and a large tract in Rajasthan. The people of Punjab have greeted the ceremony with joy and thanks-giving.

It is a pity that our neighbour cannot view anything that gives prosperity to hard-pressed India with anything but envy and hatred. In this instance also there has been chanting of the old and familiar hymns of hatred against India.

Pakistan's friends in the West have also joined in the chorus, but in somewhat lukewarm fashion, as for instance, Mr. Ian Stephens in the B.B.C.

Pandit Nehru has truth, justice and equity on his side. There is no cause for hesitation and uneasiness. We welcome his statement as made on the auspicious occasion:

Nangal, July 8.—I.A.F. planes dipped low in salute as Mr. Nehru today opened the Bhakra canal here, describing it "a gigantic achievement and a symbol of the nation's energy and enterprise."

Crackers were set off and thousands of gas-filled balloons were released as Mr. Nehru declared: "On your behalf and on my own behalf I dedicate the Bhakra-Nangal works to the good of the Indian people."

In his one-hour address, the Prime Minister advised Pakistan to develop its own canal system which may allow India gradually to reduce its supplies. This, he declared, was the only course open to Pakistan, and India was willing to help in the task.

India, Mr. Nehru said, had no intention of injuring the interests of Pakistani farmers, but "we cannot allow the present state of affairs to continue

indefinitely." He asserted that none could challenge India's right to Sutlej waters.

In a detailed reference to the Indo-Pakistan dispute over canal waters, he made it clear that Bhakra's opening would not lead to any immediate reduction in supplies to Pakistan. "We intend giving them time to build their canals."

Speaking with deep emotion, Mr. Nehru said what they had completed in Bhakra-Nangal would inspire people in the country to greater action in fulfilling the great tasks they had placed before themselves. Bhakra, he said, would be a source of strength to the nation.

Bhakra and Nangal and other places where solid work was being done were the "modern places of worship." He considered them sacred because they symbolized "our endeavour to go forward."

Besides its evaluation of Bhakra's place in the national economy, Mr. Nehru's address was marked by an unambiguous statement of India's stand on the controversial canal water issue. He covered developments from the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 1948 to Pakistan's "virtual rejection" of the World Bank's award.

Legally, the Prime Minister said, India's stand on the subject was sound but "we have constantly been trying to keep it above legalistic squabbles and solve it on a humanitarian plane. As we see it, the question does not involve legal rights but the interests and welfare of millions of people on both sides of the border."

Mr. Nehru was amazed at the "hue and cry" that had been raised in this connexion in Pakistan. From what one heard in Pakistan, it appeared as if India was going to starve Pakistan's irrigation net-work by opening the Bhakra canal. Nothing, he said, could be farther from the truth. India wished Pakistan and its people well. It was in India's own interests to have a prosperous neighbour. Division of the canal water was a matter which, he said, must be considered against this background.

While India would do nothing to injure Pakistani farmers' interests, it could not tolerate its own farmers continuing to live under a constant threat of famine. It must be realized that while Pakistan had enormous water resources, Punjab had only the Sutlej. Pakistan should develop its own canals speedily rather than stand in the way of India using the Sutlej waters.

The Prime Minister denied the Pakistani allegation that it was compelled to sign the canal water agreement of 1948 against her wishes. He said he himself had taken part in the conference and could speak with personal knowledge. It was fantastic to suggest that he had in any way compelled Mr. Mohammed Ali to sign the agreement against his wishes. Explaining the history of the canal water

negotiations, the Prime Minister accused Pakistan of "deliberately placing obstacles in the way of a settlement."

The World Bank had recommended a division of the Indus Valley waters and "we accepted within a few days of their recommendation being conveyed to us, even though it placed a serious financial burden on India." After reminders, Pakistan communicated what amounted to a rejection of the Bank's award. Under the circumstances, Mr. Nehru said, India was free to make use of its river waters.

In Pakistan, there was no dearth of water but it required hard work to harness the rivers. Pakistan appeared reluctant to work hard and instead depended on foreign aid for its progress.

The Prime Minister praised foreign engineers who had been associated with the Bhakra project and said he saw no harm in seeking the assistance of foreign experts in spheres where the knowledge of Indian experts was inadequate. American engineers had done valuable work on the Bhakra and "we are grateful to them."

Earlier the Chief Minister, Mr. Sachar, explained the improvement that Bhakra canals would bring about in food production. He said the State would be producing 750,000 tons of food-grains and over 500,000 bales of cotton more. Over a crore of workers would find employment in factories to be run on Nangal power.

PTI adds: Earlier, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, Chief Minister of Punjab, said: "In times of peace, Punjab has been the granary of India and in times of war, Punjab will remain a sword arm of India. Punjabis do not want to budge an inch from this post of duty. For remaining in the vanguard of service to the country and the nation, you can demand every drop of our blood."

The Portuguese in India

Colonialism dies hard, it seems, where the old European imperialists are concerned. Goa, Daman, Diu and a few very small bits of Indian territory are still in the possession of Portugal. With the exception of Goa, they are of little economic importance, even to a midge amongst the nations like Portugal.

Britain saw the writing on the wall and retired with what grace she could from the ill-got and discontested empire she had in India. France had been reduced to abject misery before she saw reason in Indo-China. And now we have the ridiculous spectacle of a recalcitrant Portugal, breathing fire and brimstone at Goa!

Lisbon, July 30.—Portugal has decided to withdraw recognition from the Indian Consul General in Goa and the Vice-Consul in Marmagao and to give them until midday on Saturday to leave these settlements.

A Foreign Ministry communique early to-day said the presence of Mr. Vincent Coelho, Consul-General in Goa and Mr. G. A. Prabhu, Vice-Consul in Marmagao, is highly inconvenient as their personal activities constitute a serious menace for the internal security of these territories.

In a note handed over to the Portuguese Charge D'Affaires at 1 o'clock this afternoon the Ministry of External Affairs state they have taken note of the Portuguese demand for the withdrawal of Mr. Vincent Coelho and Mr. G. A. Prabhu, Consul-General and Vice-Consul of India at Goa, respectively, and that they should leave Portuguese territory not later than 12 o'clock on the 31st July, 1954.

The note added, "The Government of India emphatically repudiate the unfounded imputations cast against their representatives in Goa. The Government of India consider that this is another manoeuvre on the part of the Portuguese Government of making grossly exaggerated statements and extravagant demands to confuse world opinion on the issue of the Portuguese colonies in this country."

"Mr. Coelho, the Consul-General, and Mr. Prabhu, the Vice-Consul, are being instructed to leave Goa within the specified period. The Government of India would however, invite the attention of the Portuguese Government to their note dated the 29th July, 1954, personally delivered to the Portuguese Charge D'Affaires, demanding an assurance and guarantee from the Portuguese Government for the security of the Consul-General, his staff and their families in Goa. The Government of India demanded an immediate reply to that note, and an assurance for the passage to the frontier of Goa for Consul-General, Vice-Consul and their families."

"In view of the grave accusations made against the consular representatives of India in Goa and the demand for their withdrawal, the Government of India, reserving to themselves all further necessary measures."

As a first step they have decided to withdraw the exequatur of Dr. Emilio Patricio and Dr. Antonio Eduardo De Carvalho Resano Garcia, Portuguese Consul-General and Consul, respectively, in Bombay. These officers should leave the State of Bombay by 18.00 hours July 31 and leave the territory of India not later than 12 O'clock on the 1st August, 1954.

"The Government of Bombay has been instructed to communicate the above decision to the officers referred to above."

A spokesman of the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi, however, explained that this did not involve any diplomatic break, inasmuch as the Consulates at both the places would be allowed to continue.

Peace At Last!

The uneasy world has at last seen the dawn of Peace. The French Premier has kept his promise and has succeeded in the seemingly impossible task.

Let us hope that a just and proper peace settle-

ment will follow the armistice, which was announced as follows:

Geneva, July 20.—Agreement has been reached on a cease-fire in Indo-China. A French spokesman told me: "We were determined to sign the agreement tonight even if we stopped the clock."

The cease-fire will be phased with probably the maximum limit of a fortnight in outlandish Viet Minh territory.

A session of the nine-nation Conference on Indo-China, called for 9 p.m., G.M.T. (2-30 a.m., I.S.T.), will approve the cease-fire agreement. The signing will take place even if minor points are delayed.

Reuter adds that virtual agreement was reported after the second meeting today of four key Ministers—M. Mendes-France, who declared earlier that it was "midnight or never" in his gamble for peace, Mr. Eden, M. Molotov and Mr. Pram Van Dong, he Viet Minh Deputy Premier.

M. Mendes-France phoned President Coty to tell him of the peace agreement. French sources said earlier. The French Premier will fly back to Paris in a special military plane tomorrow afternoon.

Peace hung in the balance as Ministers began a series of decisive meetings aimed at sweeping away the last few obstacles to a cease-fire by midnight.

Agreement for Viet Nam was reported to have been reached on these main points:

1.—The true line should run about 20 kilometres (12½ miles) north of Colonial Route 9, main highway leading from Viet Nam into Laos (in the area of the 17th parallel);

2.—Regrouping of troops and withdrawal of opposing forces into their respective territories to be completed within 10 months;

3.—Elections to take place before the end of two years. Representatives of the Viet Minh and Viet Nam to consult each other after one year to organize the poll;

4.—The international armistice supervisory commission to comprise India, Poland and Canada with a mixed system of majority and unanimity voting; India to be chairman.

Suez-Canal and Britain

At last the vexed question of the British troops in the Suez Canal zone has been settled. Egypt has had its sovereignty fully recognised at last. This also is an advance in the way of Peace. The welcome news was announced as follows:

Cairo, July 27.—Britain and Egypt have reached an agreement on evacuation of British troops from the Suez Canal Zone, and it was initialled here tonight.

All outstanding points had been settled, said a British Embassy spokesman.

Mr. Anthony Head had met the Egyptian team led by the Prime Minister, Col. Nasser, at formal talks last night and this morning.

Agreement means the evacuation of the estimated 73,000-strong British garrison, concentrated in the Canal Zone area since British soldiers, sailors and airmen left the main cities of Egypt in 1947.

A maintenance staff will remain for some time to look after the Canal Zone military installations, valued at £400 million.

Chief points of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement are:

1.—Evacuation of British troops from the Canal Zone within 20 months.

2.—Reactivation of the base in the event of an attack on the Arab States or Turkey.

3.—The duration of the new agreement to be seven years.

4.—The base to be maintained by a British civilian contracting firm.

"Dust and Deed"

The above headline is taken from an editorial that appeared in the overseas edition of the Tokyo *Mainichi* for April 15. It is an unemotional verdict on the thoughts and acts of the power-drunk megalomaniacs who are playing with the destiny of mankind today. We quote:

The nation and the world were justifiably shocked to learn that a number of humans had been affected by the dust of particles produced by H-bomb explosions. Indeed, the situation clearly indicates that total extermination of mankind is possible by the ingenuity of the same mankind.

While it was Japanese people who were baptized with the ash of death, it is essentially a world problem. Without rancour or bitterness, Japan has spoken for the world how these men were suffering. She has told the world with humility how dark the future of the world would be if mankind was ever showered with the radioactive dust.

It was true there were emotional elements. Emotion was not to be condemned. They had every reason to be emotional. They even charged Japanese were no more than guinea pigs. They castigated the manner with which American doctors were handling the situation. The situation aggravated as the "security angle" came into the picture.

When the dust of emotion settled down and subsided, the dust of particles had proven that despite the opinions to the contrary it was really capable of indentifying itself with death.

The problem that the capability of H-dust presents from now on is not so much the destructive power of the radiation nor how such a power should be employed as how humanity can survive without it. The proven power of destruction is, in any reasonable mind, more than enough to forestall any attempt to use it.

While it will be madness alone that would consider in any serious degree letting it loose upon mankind, which includes those who contemplated it, such a thinking, it appears, does not seem to have been

removed from the mind of some people. It may be that the established power could have increased the confidence in the overall strength of a nation or nations that possesses it. To say the least, such a thinking is as dangerous as it may appear dangerous in their mind to deny the use of it.

It is regrettable that the rulers of the world think an armed peace is the only peace formula of the day. So long as the ruling concept of the world is that might is the only element that can sustain the peace, it would be indeed very difficult to expect a peace without arms.

However, the immediate reaction to what had happened was that if it was not impossible for the world to live without either using or denying the existence of such a dreadful potential. At least, the popular thinking correctly diagnosed the cause of the world ailment.

It would be a mistake to think the demonstration of H-bomb power has set a milestone for a permanent peace; it has, on the contrary, definitely increased the tension and anxiety.

The tension is on an international political plane while the anxiety on human and moral level. The interest of a nation, it is regrettable to note, does not in this particular case represent the wish and prayer of the people. It will be either the people succumb to the dictates of the country or the country heed to the conscience of the people.

The dust which in itself may be innocent has thus become the factor which will determine the deed of the world in the future. It is the greatest challenge the wisdom of mankind is now confronted with.

B.C. 3000 and A.D. 7000

In the *Worldover Press* for June 18, Devere Allen gives a commentary on the topsy-turvy modes of thinking of the ultra-modern civilized Man. It is in keeping with the tunes played on both sides of the iron-curtain, only it is in a satirical vein.

"Pharoah Cheops believed he could only get to heaven by means of solar ships that would bear his spirit far into space. Looking back 5,000 years, it seems a quaint and naive point of view. But if some enterprising archaeologists should unearth from the ashes of time the records of our behavior, would we appear, in the sight of people living 5,000 years from now, any less fantastic?"

"Our half of the world looked over into Communist-controlled East Germany, and bewailed the perversion of youth by which 300,000 boys and girls were organized into a vast peace festival. It was all very insincere, and thousands of words were written denouncing it. However, did the anti-Communist nations, or even anti-Communist West Germany, do anything to organize greater demonstrations of young people—as they might have—for peace and anti-militarism, in genuine sincerity? No, we just complained—and went on trying to mobilize

the mind of youth for war and conflict. We let the Communists steal the show by default."

"If anything constructive is likely to come out of the McCarthy-Army hearings, it is a better code of conduct for Congressional investigating committees. Various Senators and Congressmen have brought plans forward, and 19 Senators have initiated a move which has won considerable backing. The Administration is irked by the ways of McCarthy and his pals. But it lets its floor leader, Senator William Knowland, go around behind the scenes, working to get the whole reform of committee procedure held over until the next Congress. It won't be forgotten though; it will just be used in the fall political campaign as if something had been done instead of cleverly by-passed.

"We shudder about the cobalt bomb, which could release enough radioactivity to exterminate the human race, and military men both in Russia and the United States have declared that such a bomb would of course be "impracticable." Nevertheless, the biggest hydrogen bomb explosion in the Pacific produced enough radioactivity so that rain falling on the roof of buildings at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston was found to be radioactive, and radioactive particles were found in the air over Heidelberg, Germany. The quantities were not sufficient, however, to be injurious, so on this ground, there is no need to worry about the H-bomb. But if Russia and the U.S. get to throwing them around at each other, and two or three should be set off at about the same time, would this immunity prevail? Or will a warring Soviet Union and U.S. get together, and agree to keep their respective explosions far enough apart in time, so as not to harm the innocent?"

"In Pakistan a new theory of democracy seems in the making. Owing to the nature of partition, West Pakistan has 85 per cent of all the country's area, yet only 41 per cent of its population, while East Pakistan, with only 15 per cent of the national territory, has 56 per cent of the people. East Pakistan voted overwhelmingly against the government in the elections, and nurtures a large separatist movement. But West Pakistan says that the majority of Pakistanis living in a small area, will never be permitted to secede. So hereafter, it's not the numbers of a people who count, but the size of their region."

"Arrogating to itself the role of national saviour, the "For America" political movement, organized at Chicago by Col. Bertie McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, Gen. Robert E. Wood, and others is out against "internationalism, interventionism, and Communism." We'll soon have another movement against "dishonesty, religion and night clubs."

"Is there not reason to suspect that we will seem, 5,000 years from now, as far from heaven as Cheops? Up around Cape Cod they tell of a woman struggling through mud after a rain, who grumbled, and was told: "After all, the heavens are clear." "Yes," she replied, "but I'm not going that way."

The Background of Geneva Talks

Now that Peace has dawned over the battle-torn rice-bowl of Indo-China, it would be interesting to our readers to see how an unbiased American viewed the moves of the supreme executives of his own government.

We quote in *extenso* the opinion of Devere Allen, as given in the *Worldover Press* for June 4. This is how his commentary goes:

A few weeks ago, the Administration at Washington was virtually ready to put the United States fully into the Indo-China war on the side of French colonialism. That unparalleled folly was prevented by two things. First, the unwillingness of Britain to go along, a stubbornness shared by Clement Attlee, Aneurin Bevan, and Sir Winston Churchill. Second, the recalcitrance of the American people, as reflected in some vital off-the-record advice from Senators and Congressmen.

A short time later, public opinion was able to catch its breath and see how egregiously the threat of all-out force had failed. Countries friendly to America had insisted on trying to settle the conflict by negotiation. Secretary Dulles stayed a brief time in Geneva, his departure emphasizing the bankruptcy of American policy. He did not go, however, until he had boasted that he had sat in the same room with Chou En-lai time after time without once speaking to him. Dulles had to act tough in order to appease the monolithic extremists in the China Lobby wing of his party. So intransigent was U. S. policy that a writer for the conservative London *Observer*, noting that Dulles looked grim, though his aide, Walter Bedel Smith, appeared jaunty, got this explanation from an American delegate: "Dulles is going back into the Washington prison, while Bedel Smith has just escaped it."

An astute British commentator expressed a fervent wish that Mr. Dulles' second thoughts might be his first. On Indo-China, the Secretary did have second thoughts and they came closer to a clear-cut program, albeit negative. They were not without merit. The U. S. would not go further into the Indo-China war unless backed by its allies, preferably in the United Nations. It would not fight for the old colonialism. It would not send troops unless the people of Indo-China wanted this form of intervention.

Since France could not or would not grant genuine independence in time to do much good, and the people of Indo-China were either deserting to the Communists or failing to put up much of a fight against them, neither of these last two conditions seemed likely to be realized. Nor, for that matter, did the first condition, though in some third thoughts Dulles professed to find signs of more U.N. support.

The administration faced dilemmas—more of them than a rose has thorns. It seemed obvious that

Mr. Dulles couldn't have the kind of war he wanted. It was equally obvious that he was, by now, incapable of making a peace; even if he should wish to do so, that had to be done by others. His hastily-conceived remedy for Communist expansion in South-east Asia, a sort of Asian NATO, depended on his ability to bludgeon reluctant countries into action. The major nations of Asia would be left out, especially India. As Mr. Churchill bluntly said, at best it would take a long time.

Is this all that America can do for a peace? Is there no alternative for the American people except to see Communism take over Indo-China, or try to hold it back by war or the threat of war? The framework of cease-fire is being worked on at Geneva, and while press reports to the U. S. consistently stress the hopelessness of the situation, it is interesting to observe that correspondents from other lands describe the conference as opening, and continuing, on a far more promising tone than expected. If a cease-fire is achieved, what then?

It makes one sad to watch so many of the Indo-Chinese, because of Western bungling, embrace the false banner of Communism; if by military victory or by a fallacious peace they fall under Communist rule, they will learn to rue it, as so many other peoples have. Many dangers lie ahead, even after a cease-fire. Perhaps, the best that can be anticipated is partition, with Laos and Cambodia saved from Communism, and Vietnam divided between north and south. For those who want a true peace settlement right on the heels of a devastating war, this will be a disappointment; it is, of course, no real settlement at all. But it would probably be much better than a coalition regime, for the latter plan would give the hard-working and adroit Communists a chance for constant internal manipulation.

After a cease-fire there could wisely be a relatively long period preceding any final arrangements for the future. For the West this time could be a fine opportunity. Through the United Nations if possible, but if need be outside it or half and half, the U.S. should try to wipe out the worst war damage, rehabilitate the population, and stand ready to share in the creation of a sounder, non-colonial economic life. If Americans groan at the cost, they can easily be reminded of war's much greater demands in money, and the saving of lives by the thousands if not even by the millions.

The most difficult point for Americans will be that of the role assigned for Communist China. That Red China deserves distrust and excommunication, cannot be gainsaid. But there is something almost fantastic about a self-righteous crusade that condemns China for ever to non-recognition, when an American ambassador sits in Moscow, and when Dulles goes into a huddle with Molotov. This American fanaticism can be explained only on the ground that the

evils of Red China have been built up until they appear even worse than those of the Soviet Union.

Repeatedly we are told that China, in Korea, was an inexcusable aggressor. An aggressor, yes, an inexcusable aggressor, no. China intervened only after MacArthur, in defiance of plain warnings, had driven to the edge of Chinese territory and had attempted to cut off electric current vital to Manchurian industry, power which had been safeguarded by treaty with the Koreans. It is a matter of record that China has helped the Vietminh cause in Indo-China. It is also a matter of record that the United States has helped the French to perpetuate colonial rule, while aiding independence solely by word of mouth.

The extremist propaganda that bedevils American thinking says over and over, dogmatically, that unless the Communists in Indo-China are defeated by a virtual unconditional surrender, Red China will certainly over-run all South-east Asia. No one can say that might not happen. The evidence thus far, however, is to the contrary. The Chinese have not encroached upon the soil of Thailand, India, Malaya, or even Burma—not even when, in the latter country, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops to the number of 12,000 were plaguing them on the northern frontier. It is prudent to be realistic about China. To create a monstrous menace by imaginative exaggeration is foolish.

The Chinese at Geneva do not seem to be pressing for immediate recognition, or for immediate entry into the U.N. In any case, recognition by the U.S. could not possibly come until after the fall Congressional elections. But the critical question is this: could not an informal pledge of eventual recognition be given, provided the Chinese help make a fair settlement at Geneva, and then, for a reasonable time, give proof of their intent to carry out their peace-making responsibilities? There are some indications that even in Congress, opinion on this possibility grows less adamant.

Any final peace for Indo-China requires an international settlement of the war, internationally guaranteed by the West and Asian lands alike, with China not excluded. A second essential is a breathing period, between cease-fire and eventual arrangements, for reconstruction. The people of Indo-China must be given new hope, new ambition, new faith that the future will be better than the past. Not even a gigantic program of reconstruction, though, will accomplish that end unless the French come through with honest and thorough independence. Vietnam must be given freedom, and the liberty already possessed by Cambodia and Laos must be firmed up and extended. We accept it as a truism that a people longing for freedom will fight only for that goal. It is the same with peace, which demands an emotional appeal to the best the people have to give.

Admission of China to U. N.

The U. S. attitude that had found expression in the utterances of Senator Knowland, Republican leader and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, came in for a good deal of criticism in the British press. The *Sunday Times* writes editorially on July 11 that Senator Knowland's assertion that the U.S.A. should withdraw from the UN if "Red" China were admitted underlined a common misinterpretation of the Charter of the United Nations.

The newspaper points out that the articles of the Charter did not provide for the resignation or withdrawal of any member. Rather they provided for the suspension and (at the express instance of the USSR) the expulsion of any member; and "it was the clear and deliberate intention of the San Francisco Conference that no Member State, having accepted the duties and obligations of the Charter, should be able to avoid them by mere resignation."

"No doubt it is because the State Department is well aware of the true nature of the Charter that Senator Knowland has since been persuaded to modify his attitude."

Critical of the campaign in the USA against China's admission to the UN, the *Observer* of the same date writes that the choice was not between being 'soft' or 'tough' with China, but between having a rigidly paralysed or an active policy.

"We want to be able to tell the Chinese Communists they will be seated at the United Nations if they withdraw from Korea and help to bring about a compromise settlement in Indo-China, and that they will not be seated if they do not. To refuse to the Chinese the inducement for 'purging themselves of aggression' in this way means needlessly to deprive the West of one of the few diplomatic trump cards it holds in Asia."

Ceylon Government in Crisis

The *Bombay Chronicle's* special correspondent in Colombo reports that the ten-month-old Kotelawala Government was passing very difficult days. He writes that the recent resignation of Mr R. G. Senanayake, Minister of Commerce, Trade and Fisheries, was symptomatic of a deep fissure in the ruling United National Party and presaged important political re-alignments. Mr. Senanayake's resignation came as the result of his reported disagreement with the other members of the Cabinet on five points. The most important point of disagreement related to the attitude to the Ceylon-China trade pact. A Cabinet decision to revise the trade pact with China for 1955, according to Mr. Senanayake, was contrary to Ceylon's obligations under the broad terms of the five-year agreement signed in 1952. He thought the forthcoming visit of the Ceylon Premier to Washington in December next on the invitation of President

Eisenhower would largely be engaged in negotiating a Ceylon-American trade pact "in direct opposition to the policy of neutrality laid down by the late Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, and to the more recent decisions arrived at by the South-East Asian Prime Ministers' Conference in Colombo. He opposed the appointment of Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, until recently Minister of Finance in the Kotelawala administration, as the new Governor-General as he felt that it was "not one which will inspire confidence in the Government." He was also dissatisfied with the handling of the charges against the Governor of the Central Bank of Ceylon. He also differed on the Government's policy of solving the Indo-Ceylonese problem.

The Parliamentary group of the UNP had advised Sir John Kotelawala to solicit U.S. aid, the correspondent adds.

In an earlier dispatch the correspondent writes that accusations of bribery and corruption were being levelled against some leaders of the Government and its party. Sensational revelations were expected to follow the suspension of the Governor of the Central Bank of Ceylon, Mr. N. U. Jayawardena. A commission had been appointed to enquire into his official conduct.

Serious allegations were made in a popular weekly paper against two of the most important members of the Government—Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, now the Governor-General and only until very recently Minister of Finance, and Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, the Food Minister. Opposition newspapers had asked Sir Oliver to declare his assets before he assumed the office of the Governor-General. A demand was even made for an enquiry into his actions as the Finance Minister.

The stock of the Ceylon Government was so low in public eyes that the Government found it difficult to brush aside these charges, as it could under ordinary circumstances. The Ceylonese were ready to believe the worst about the Government and the U.N.P.

The correspondent says, "Most people seem convinced that if the bank chief's investigation is conducted thoroughly some very unsavoury facts about the financial dealings of several highly placed persons are bound to come to light."

He adds that the economy of Ceylon was in a very bad state with unemployment rising and slackening of industrial development. "Most of the Government economic projects exist only on paper. Most of those that have been established are melancholy failures."

The Naga Question

The *Chronicle*, a weekly journal published from Silchar in Assam, carries a series of articles by the

Information Officer, Naga National Council on the Naga attitude to India and the foreign missionaries.

The Nagas, it is stated, did not want any help from India. They wanted to be left alone. If India should refuse independence to the Nagas, the Nagas would refer that question to the United Nations Organisation. The Nagas were opposed to what the writer characterises as "Indian imperialism."

Referring to charges in the Indian press, and specially to a statement made by the Assam Chief Minister, Sri Bishnuram Medhi, on the floor of the State Assembly on March 9, about the disrupting activities of the American missionaries in Nagaland, the author states that those charges were inspired by a desire to deprive the Nagas of the *American moral support to the cause of Naga freedom*.

The Chief Minister of Assam reportedly stated that the Naga National Council had come into existence through external, primarily American, influence, and that Mr. A. Z. Phizo, President of the Naga National Council had been sent to America by the American Baptist Mission to be educated among the Baptists. He also alleged that the Pastors under the Baptist Mission had issued circulars to celebrate the Naga Independence in all their churches.

The author, refuting all the charges, writes that the American Baptist Mission had never issued such a circular and that Mr. A. Z. Phizo had never gone to the USA and had never attended intra-mural classes in the college anywhere. As for the Naga National Council, it was established "long before the question of Indian independence was in sight."

The Naga National Council, according to the author, was not a political institution but the "centralised institution of the Nagas upholding the ancient Naga customs and culture, as the binding force is Nagaland." The Council had survived many changes in name and it was largely through its agitation that the British had recognised the Naga national aspiration for independence, and the historic conception of "Excluded Area of Nagaland" had come into being.

The function of the Naga National Council is stated to be equivalent to the Parliament of a sovereign State. It never issued orders except in the nature like the last edict for the Naga Voluntary Plebiscite in the form of thumb impressions of all the adult population, and also the one for the non-participation in the last Indian General Elections. The people had obeyed both the edicts. The various tribal councils, functioning in their own territories as a federal unit within the Naga National Council, administered their regional, local and mobile courts. Those were ancient Naga institutions. Matters affecting land, inheritance and the exercise of full authority over the civil, criminal and political cases throughout the country fell within the purview of

Naga customs which the British conquerors had left entirely into the hands of the Nagas as the Nagas' own affairs. Every village had its own sovereign territory with its assembly to look after its rights and customs. The village unit was the basic foundation of the Naga National Council.

The author writes that it was not generally known that every Naga village, area or region was free to join the Indian Union if it so liked. There was absolutely no bar. The Nagas had been living in a pure democracy and such democratic freedom was not found anywhere in India.

Emphasising the growing solidarity of the Nagas under the Naga National Council, the author concludes: "The existence and the growth of the Naga National Council is the living symbol of the will and the determination of the Naga people to live on as a nation. The truth and the right of the people must be recognised as a living principle. If this much is conceded, there is no room for India and the Nagas to quarrel. Nagas are not against Indians."

What the author has failed to emphasise is that the British had virtually kept the "Excluded Area" of the Nagas as an ethnological museum. Even head-hunting was permitted, provided of course no official or soldier of the British Raj was affected. In the British days that area was practically surrounded either by British administrated territories or by impassable natural barriers. There was no question of the advancement of the Naga anywhere.

However, it is incumbent on the Government of India to look into the matter of Naga aspirations. No people should have the idea, inside a democracy, that their liberties or aspirations are being circumscribed for the benefit of others who are more numerous, or more powerful politically.

Assam-Tripura-Manipur Conference

The Assam-Tripura-Manipur Bengali Literary Conference was held at the Karimganj College Hall on the 19th and the 20th June, 1954. The conference was inaugurated by Sri Arun Chandra Guha, Deputy Minister for Finance, Government of India, and was presided over by the well-known journalist and litterateur, Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghosh. About two hundred delegates attended the conference from Assam, Tripura and Manipur. The visitors numbered two thousand.

Eleven resolutions were passed in the two-day conference. It was also decided to hold the next session of the conference at Silchar.

The resolutions adopted by the conference condemned the policy of forcible suppression of the Bengali language and culture pursued by the Government and certain interested parties of Assam and said that as a result of those policies not only the interests of the Bengali-speaking people were

being jeopardised but injury was being done to the idea of national unity, national prosperity and the national feeling. The Bengali students were deprived of scholarships even though they passed the examinations of the Gauhati University with credit and distinction. Even their admission to higher educational institutions of the State was being restricted unjustly. The attention of the Governments of Assam and India was drawn to this gross injustice to the Bengalis.

The step-motherly attitude of the Government of Assam meted out to the schools in Assam imparting education through the medium of the Bengali language was condemned in another resolution. It requested the State Government to abandon this policy of harassing and restricting the Bengalis. Another resolution pointed to the mismanagement in the work of rehabilitating the refugees coming from East Bengal.

The discriminatory attitude to the Bengalis and other non-Assamese people came in for severe condemnation in several resolutions. A resolution stated: "The Government of Assam alone was not responsible for this discriminatory treatment; the Central Government also was co-operating in the matter."

The people and the Government of Tripura were warned in another resolution against the inspired and clever move for lowering the Bengali language and literature in the State. Another resolution welcomed the heroic struggle of the people of Manbhum in Bihar under the leadership of the Loke Sevak Sangha for upholding the prestige of the Bengali language and literature there; and wished them success.

The tenth resolution said: "This conference could not agree to the correctness of the population figures of the Bengalis and tribal peoples in Assam as shown in the report of the 1951 Census."

The eleventh and last resolution proposed for the constitution of a preparatory committee with Sri Bidhubhusan Chowdhury as convener with a view to forming a permanent organisation for the promotion of closer relations and exchange of ideas with other literary and cultural groups of Assam-Manipur-Tripura and for the development of the Bengali language, literature and culture in the area. The resolution further provided for the publication of a cultural organ and for making all necessary arrangements for the establishment of branches of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in different towns.

Aftermath of Decontrol

Discussing the problems of finding alternative employment for the employees of the Civil Supplies Department facing retrenchment in the various States after the abolition of food-rationing, the *Hindu* in an editorial article writes that it would indeed be

a great relief if by following the suggestion of the Central Government, all the people thus rendered superfluous could be absorbed in the Central services, such as the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs. In West Bengal alone it would be necessary to find employment for four thousand people in services outside the State Government.

Referring specifically to the problems of Madras, the newspaper writes that in that State the Civil Supplies Department had already shrunk considerably and the small number of men still serving the Department could be absorbed in such expanding departments as the Commercial Tax Department. It urges the Government to consider the advisability of retaining the present transport organisation of the Civil Supplies Department in a modified form. The men could thus be provided with employment and there would be in existence an active fleet of vehicles which could be mobilised for use in any emergency, such as previous year's Godavari floods. The transport organisation consisting of about a hundred lorries was running on an economical basis. The units had their own workshop where maintenance and repairs of every kind were carried out and the Department had reportedly been able to extend the active life of the lorries, which should normally have been scrapped after four years, to as many as ten years.

The newspaper suggests that the Civil Supplies workshop could be rationed as a Central maintenance and repair workshop for the steadily increasing number of motor vehicles used by the various Government Departments and thinks that the growing volume of haulage on Government account alone could keep all the civil supplies lorries engaged. They could also be profitably let out to private parties when not in demand by Government Departments as had been the practice in off-seasons so long. "Such a reorganisation of the civil supplies transport system, so as to place it on a permanent basis," writes the *Hindu*, "would end the uncertainty from which the men working in it have suffered for ten long years, while securing for the Government the benefit of their experience in the future. The reorganised service should be able to pay its way, if not yield a profit to the Government."

Currency and Finance

The Reserve Bank of India's Report on Currency and Finance for the year 1953-54 reviews the annual financial developments, national and international. It is a valuable record of facts and information which are not ordinarily available. Dealing with international economic developments, the Report states that the world economy displayed, on the whole, remarkable strength during the year 1953, which was characterised by a marked rise in industrial and agricultural production, a fair degree of price stability and continued improve-

ment in balance of payments, particularly with the dollar area. The year witnessed the flexible use of monetary policy on a wide front, generally in the direction of relaxation of monetary restraints, inflation having been successfully eliminated in many countries. Further, budgetary policy was directed towards providing a stimulus to economic growth. The improvement in the economic situation was also reflected in the general movement away from direct physical and financial controls, leading to the gradual restoration of free markets. Industrial production showed increases during the year as a whole in the USA, Canada, the UK and a majority of the countries in Western Europe and Japan. In Asia, Latin America and Africa, the output of agricultural products generally expanded in 1953.

As regards international price trends, the Report observes that the progress towards a gradual downward adjustment in the general wholesale price levels noticed in several countries in 1952, following the 'break' of Korea boom, continued during 1953. The price support operations of Governments and the anti-recessionary measures taken by various countries, such as the lowering of discount rates and the relaxation of credit restrictions, greatly contributed to the arrest of the downward trend of prices and the establishment of price stability. Export prices of raw materials showed larger declines in relation to those of manufactured goods, thus resulting in improved terms of trade for the industrial countries. From October onwards, however, world commodity prices began to show a steady upward trend, which was particularly marked in the first quarter of 1954. The rise largely occurred in metals and beverages, but other commodities have recently in general shown a firm tone. The upward trend has been attributed to the following factors: (i) the necessity to build up stocks following the long spell of underbuying and depletion of stocks; (ii) expectations that the down-trend in the US industrial production would soon come to a halt; (iii) intensification of stockpiling programme in USA; (iv) relaxations of monetary restrictions in several countries; (v) tight supply position in beverages owing to increase in consumption and (vi) uncertainties of the political situation in the Far East.

Reviewing the budgetary policies, the Report states that the budgetary policy was in most countries directed towards providing a stimulus to economic activity and enabling industrial and commercial enterprise to meet the growing competition in world markets. This was sought to be achieved through tax concessions or adjustments in public expenditure, or both. In consequence, Governments have in general budgeted for smaller surpluses, or in the alternative, have left the deficits uncovered. Expenditure on defence and on certain non-essential items has been scaled down in several countries. Among tax reliefs, granted or proposed, mention may be made of the removal of the excess profits levy, the reduction of personal income-taxes, increase in the exemp-

tion limit of income-tax and stepping up of earned income relief, liberalisation of personal exemptions from taxation in respect of children, medical expenses, etc., enhancement of depreciation allowances, grant of investment allowance and reliefs against double taxation of dividends.

So far as underdeveloped countries are concerned, their ways and means position continued to remain under strain, due to reduced export earnings and increased outlay on development. The scope of tax concessions being limited in these economies, adjustments in taxes have been mostly directed towards facilitating exports. Public spending on developmental programmes has been accelerated in these countries and this has been deficit-financed to a large extent.

The year 1953 witnessed a substantial improvement in the world payments situation, in particular as regards the dollar gap. There was also a notable strengthening of the sterling area's payments position. These developments were all the more impressive as they took place in spite of the continued fall in industrial output of the United States since July 1953. The general improvement in the balance of payments situation was the outcome of several basic developments, such as increased industrial and agricultural output, elimination of domestic inflationary pressures, import restrictions against dollar goods, greater competitiveness of several non-dollar goods and finally continued US economic and military aid. The value of world trade, however, slightly fell partly as a result of the decline in prices which was more marked in the case of most of the raw materials.

The world's dollar payments position showed a remarkable improvement during the year. Temporarily at least it appeared as if the dollar gap had disappeared. The gold and dollar reserves of countries other than the USA recorded a rise of \$2.3 billion in 1953 as compared with a rise of \$1.2 billion in 1952 as a result of their transactions with the USA. Continental Western Europe accounted for the major rise, namely \$1.6 billion, while the rest was practically accounted for by the sterling area. Latin American countries together improved their gold and dollar position by about \$270 million. Among Asian countries outside the sterling area, Indonesia recorded a decline.

The Indian economy, like the world economy in general, recorded many gains during 1953-54, the third year of the first Five-Year Plan. Agricultural output, especially of foodgrains, is estimated to have recorded a substantial increase, assisted by a good monsoon. Industrial production during 1953 also showed a further overall rise, though the rate of growth was smaller than in the previous year and the rise concealed declines in some major industries like jute, sugar and steel.

In the monetary sphere, it appeared as if the disinflationary trends of the previous two years had been worked off. There was during the year some net expansion of money supply, which was in consonance with

the increasing needs of the developing economy. The increase was mainly due to the substantial surplus in balance of payments and budgetary deficit, the magnitude of the latter being, however, smaller than the original estimate. The supply of money to the private sector was also augmented by assistance from the Reserve Bank, which was on a larger scale than in the previous year. Scheduled bank credit also showed a larger seasonal expansion, but this was in part due to the substantial restoration of trading in foodgrains to private channels and there was no major net increases in bank credit during the year as a whole. It is of interest that during the three-year period of the Plan money supply with the public (excluding State Government deposits) recorded a contraction of Rs. 157 crores.

The price situation was, on the whole, stable, although as compared with the preceding year, the general price level, as indicated by the Economic Adviser's index of wholesale prices, was higher. There were a series of short-term movements and indices of groups as well as individual commodities showed divergent trends, indicating adjustments in relative prices. The impact of the improvement in agricultural and industrial production on prices appears to have been partly neutralised by the sharp decline in imports. Following the restoration of freedom of trading to various commodity markets, there was an apparent increase in the price indices concerned, which previously were based on controlled prices. Throughout the year, the price index of manufactured articles showed relatively greater stability.

As regards the foreign trade of India, the Report states that there was a favourable turn on external account also, there being a surplus of Rs. 59 crores on current account during 1953, as against a position of near balance in 1952. This was, however, achieved at a sharply reduced level of trade in imports, both private and Government. The major decline occurred under food imports. Added to this, there was a further, though small, deterioration in the terms of trade. Region-wise, there was a spectacular improvement with the dollar area.

Although the overall payments position was thus favourable, there was during the year considerable anxiety regarding two of the major export commodities, viz., jute goods and cotton manufactures. In the case of both export demand tended to decline but the situation was eased through substantial reduction or removal of export duties by Government in September-October. In the case of cotton manufactures, the response was remarkable, exports showing a significant increase. In the case of jute goods, however, it was not so marked. On the other hand, tea exports during the year recorded a marked improvement.

While the general economic situation thus showed improvement, the employment situation continued to cause considerable anxiety, though adequate data are not available as regards the nature and magnitude of the

problem. It has been recognised that, by and large, it is a long range phenomenon, requiring short-term as well as long-term remedies. An important step taken by Government to meet the problem was to raise the target of development expenditure under the Five-Year Plan by Rs. 175 crores to Rs. 2,244 crores. Special attention is also being given to the rehabilitation and development of small-scale and cottage industries, the employment potentiality of which is considerable. It would appear that the pace of rationalisation of industries is also being influenced by consideration of its possible effects on employment.

Further steps were also taken during the year to expand the financial facilities to the private sector. Five more State Governments have set up corporations under the State Financial Corporations Act, 1951 and in all cases the Reserve Bank of India has contributed 10-20 per cent of the issued capital, which has uniformly been Rs. 1 crore. In addition, proposals are under consideration for the establishment of Industrial Development and Finance Corporation sponsored by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and an Industrial Development Corporation sponsored by the Union Government.

Development of Small-scale Industries

In recent months the importance of the small-scale industries to the Indian economy is being viewed with a new outlook, particularly in consideration of the fact that the pace of growth of the large-scale industries in India has failed to keep in line with the growing unemployment. Obviously small-scale industries were hitherto ignored, or at least did not receive the consideration, official and non-official, it deserved. The Shroff Committee has classified the small-scale industries as industries which are not integrated with the rural economy and which consist of units with assets say, between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 5 lakhs. They are engaged largely in the production of articles that are ancillary to or competitive with the products of the so-called large-scale industries. Even though such small industries constitute an important element in the Indian economy, the statistical data available about investment, output or employment in them is very meagre.

The Government of India, through its Ministry of Commerce and Industry in collaboration with the National Planning Commission, and through the courtesy of the Ford Foundation, invited an International Planning Team to study opportunities directed towards increasing both industrial production and employment of people. The study was to embrace the whole field of operation—production, industrial growth, co-operatives, associations, finance, design and marketing. The International Team consisted of the following: 1. Mr. Sven Hagberg, Vice Principal and Acting Principal of the Swedish Government's Institute for Higher Education in Trades and Handicrafts; 2. Mr. Grundstrom, Managing Director of the Swedish Federation of Small Industries

and Crafts; 3. Mr. Ramy Alexander, a consultant in the development of handicrafts and specialised small industries; 4. Mr. Raymond W. Miller, a consultant to the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN and a leading authority on co-operatives; and 5. Mr. C. Leigh Stevens, an expert on Industrial Management Engineering. The first two members are from Sweden while the others were American.

In the course of its tour, the Team visited a cross section of cities, towns and villages in the States of West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab, Bombay, Madras, Andhra and Mysore. The report of the Team has gripped Indian imagination and is remarkable for its distinctive intellectual background and practical outlook. It is most authoritative and illuminating on the subject of small-scale industries.

In the opinion of the Team, the Indian market is one of the largest potential domestic markets in the world. Since 80 per cent of India's 360 millions live in the villages, the rural market deserves particular attention. Further, the 60 million urban residents, as the Team suggests, present a market of "staggering possibilities." Markets are not sought for the articles produced. The articles must be produced, the Team insists, to meet the *felt* needs of the consumer. The needs of the people are now only *latent* and not *felt*; and the demand is potential, not effective. The Team is, however, convinced that when the "latent needs of these folks begin to change into felt needs, India will experience, perhaps, the greatest industrial revolution that the world has ever seen." All this has undoubtedly fired the imagination of our leaders and industrialists. If this market is fully developed in both the cities and the villages, it can stimulate perhaps the greatest industrial revolution ever seen and make India one of the foremost producing and consuming areas in the world. But the change-over from the *latent* demand stage to the *felt* stage will require systematic effort on the part of the administrators and sustained work on the part of the workers.

This industrial revolution can be possible by improved rationalised methods. "The challenge for rationalisation," the Team says, "must be met as part of a forward-looking industrial programme that will encourage and accelerate revolutionary growth. Without rationalisation, the natural talents of Indian workers and craftsmen are being wasted in a hopeless race against modern technology. Unless and until these workers are helped to produce more goods and more wealth, neither wages nor living standards can be raised. To prevent rationalisation, to stop the process of modernisation is not only illogical, it will force stagnation and retrogression of Indian small industry." The Team further adds that rationalising industry is a relatively slow evolutionary process which takes years and which India should accelerate. Without modernisation Indian industries which cling to obsolete equipment are condemned to mediocrity and eventual elimination. Only by

adopting efficient methods of production, as soon as and as widely as possible, can small and village industry take advantage of the good opportunity it now has to lay a basis for promising long-term development. The growth of active responsible independent small industries and a gradual rise of many among the more gifted artisans to the status of self-reliant small industrialists will be an important contribution to the social and economic structure of India.

The most frequent complaint the Team heard in all its tour, was lack of finance. It was the first complaint made by almost all small industries and artisans. The Team, after a study of the problem, comes to the conclusion that the major reason for the scarcity of capital for small industry is low productivity and overpopulation in many branches. It makes the suggestion that the commercial banks should make a more concerted effort at increasing credit to small industries. Without proper financing there can be no efficient planning of small industry, nor purchase of material, nor production, nor marketing, nor any fair profit. Credit and finance problems must be tackled as part of the whole programme for industrial growth. At the present time, the Team finds, real finance does not seem to exist at all, and there is a severe lack of capital as well as credit. Small industries have no working capital for filling orders for buying raw materials or improved equipment. The commercial banks are apparently not able to grant credit to small industries.

The present economic difficulties of small business are so great that a very strong effort is needed if beneficial results are to be achieved. In this effort, however, the general principle should be that credit is to be given to gain certain results, such as securing modern equipment and better utilization of manpower. To make provision for capital, the Team recommends the following measures: (1) That commercial banks should delegate more authority to branches to make loans to small business, and work generally toward decentralizing more of their loan business; (2) that commercial banks should establish local Boards of Directors, or, if that is not feasible, at least set up local Advisory Boards. In case of disagreement between the local management and the Advisory Boards, decisions on loan applications should be referred to a higher authority; (3) that co-operative banks should expand into the industrial field; (4) that a system of loans against the security of real estate mortgages be considered and developed; (5) that, to encourage venture capital, the general atmosphere for conducting business be favourable and fair chances of reasonable profits be considered essential; (6) that an adequate amount of Government funds, now allocated for small industries under the Five Year Plan, be set aside to provide loans for venture capital. A definite allocation of these funds should be made to the State Finance Corporation; (7) that State Finance Corporations, like those that have already been set up in some States, be established in all States, with a portion of their

funds also set aside exclusively for the use of small industry, but for ordinary loans; (8) that a competent Field Organization be set up immediately to process loan applications from small industries within the framework of the State Directorates of Industries. This Organization will act as agent of the State Finance Corporations; (9) that a sound system of instalment credit primarily to spur purchase of modernizing machinery and equipment (not excluding consumer goods) be considered.

The Team has divided the village and small industries into two groups: traditional village craftsmen (carpenters, blacksmiths, etc.) working mainly for the needs of the village where they live, and small industries, such as makers of light consumer goods, *artefacts* and small tools, aiming at larger markets. The Team's judgement on small industries is that "they are today facing a crisis, their number of employed workers and their output of production gradually declining and in some cases slowly grinding to a halt." The major single reason for this state of affairs is stated to be the lack of systematic approach to the overall problem; better marketing, better financing, better raw materials, better finish, better equipment, better power facilities and better designing are often thought of as separate remedies. A systematic approach, the Team emphasises, must start with market research. What articles will sell, and at what price? Then comes the question of design. How should the article be designed, made and finished? The other problems are: raw materials equipment and organization, production, research and technical help, distribution, promotion, and finance.

The Team has recommended the establishment of four institutes of technology, located geographically so as to serve better the whole of India. In general, the institutes would act as service agencies to impart simply and quickly to the small industrialist for his immediate use modern advances in science and technology, in business management, finance and marketing. To achieve this purpose, the institutes should: (1) initiate and carry on investigations and surveys of existing methods as well as conduct experimental and applied research for promoting development of small industry, e.g., concerning the broad technical field, improved tools, machinery, methods, raw materials, products of quality, marketing, credit, finance, etc.; and (2) disseminate the methods and results thus obtained to the industrialists, their deputies, or skilled workers. Dissemination and promotion of these improvements should be done through educational short refresher courses and information and consultation service given at the institutes and at the Branch Units, and through mobile demonstration units and travelling industrial extension workers. Overall control and direction should be vested in an Administrator at the Centre.

The Team observes that Indian handicrafts and small industries could produce and sell more both in India and abroad, and tap the growing quality market as

soon as modern requirements of production and supply are met. To increase distribution and sale of these products, however, the most urgent general needs are: (1) good designing and technical quality; (2) reliable organization of supply; and (3) co-ordinated promotion in India and abroad.

Although some constructive work to meet these needs are now being made, the study Team is convinced that more substantial and faster progress is needed and possible, and would be assisted by setting up the following three types of organizations, as part of a long-term development programme. These organizations should work in close co-operation with the existing institutions in the field; they are:

(1) A National School of Design—to serve as a centre for creative studies in design and fashion. The basic functions of the School would be to design and, in its workshops, prepare improved models suitable for commercial production and arrange to get these models in production; to train potentially good designers, conduct research; to organise exhibitions, information services and promotional activities and establish a network of communication between craftsmen, designers and the public. The School should be established and supported by the Central Government and have a field organization in contact with producers. It should be headed by an international authority of highest competence, with an independent advisory board chosen on merit alone.

(2) A Customers' Service Corporation—to provide satisfactory channels of supply and a reliable procurement service for Indian and foreign buyers.

(3) Export Development Offices—one in North America, one in Europe to promote and stimulate foreign trade in handicrafts and *artefacts*, serve as contact with foreign buyers and their demands, and engage in promotional activities.

Cottage Industries in Uttar Pradesh

The important part played by cottage industry in the economy of Uttar Pradesh could be measured from the fact that about 50 lakh workers of the State were engaged in cottage industries compared with 2½ lakhs in organised industries.

In an article in the *People*, Sri Bhagwat Jha, M.P., describes the measures adopted by the State Government for the development of cottage and small-scale industries.

A Small-scale and Cottage Industries Board was constituted in 1952 with the Chief Minister as its Chairman, replacing the Small-scale and Cottage Industries Committee of 1939. The function of the Board was to advise the Government on the organisation, development and marketing of goods produced by those industries.

A separate Handloom Board was constituted in 1953 for helping the handloom industry, which was

by far the biggest cottage industry employing 8 lakh workers in 2½ lakh handlooms and producing 30 crores yards of cloth annually. There were at the moment 969 handloom co-operative societies, 32 marketing co-operative societies and 74 miscellaneous industrial co-operative societies with a total membership of about 108,050.

Under a scheme for the development of khadi, a Khadi Development Committee was found in October, 1947. The scheme provided for training, research and experiment as well as for the supply of cotton and *charkhas* to spinners. The Government encouraged the production of khadi through purchases of khadi goods for different Government departments.

A tutorial class scheme imparted training in more than 28 trades in the latest process of manufacture, production of popular design goods and organisation of industrial co-operative societies. More than 4364 persons had so far been trained under the scheme. Training was also given to local artisans in the manufacture of agricultural implements and articles of daily use. The 74 industrial co-operatives marketed their goods chiefly through the U.P. Government Handicrafts Emporium.

At present about 20 village factories were being benefitted by the Pottery Development Scheme under which a pottery centre supplied processed raw materials to the potters, who shaped and baked them in the furnace.

The Government had started a Quality Marking Scheme with a view to prescribing standard specification for the products of cottage industries, to making arrangements for bulk production of quality marked goods and to encouraging the export of those goods. The scheme had resulted in the increased demand of U.P. locks all over India and the introduction of Agra footwear in the Middle-Eastern markets.

A Loan and Grants Scheme was initiated in the year 1947-48 under which the maximum amounts of loan and grant that an individual could get were Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,000 respectively.

Two village workshops were working with modern equipments under the Pilot Workshop Scheme under which loans and grants were given for the purchase of tools, equipments and appliances for the establishment of new enterprises as well as for the expansion of existing industries. Loans were also provided for utilisation as working capital.

New 55-Mile Railway Line in U.P.

On July 12, 1953, Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, opened the 55-mile long railway line in Mirzapur district in Uttar Pradesh linking Churk, where the cement factory established by the Pradesh Government was soon to go to production, with

Chunar on the Northern Railway—thus establishing a vital connection between the cement factory and the projected multipurpose Rihand Dam. The columnist "Observer" writing in the *People* on July 17, characterises it as the "greatest event of the week, nay of this age, for U.P."

The construction of the line began in January, 1952, and it was completed within two and a half years, at an estimated cost of two hundred and sixty lakhs of rupees, reports the *People*. The completion of the work required among other things 5½ crore cft. of earthwork, 60 lakh cft. of rock blasting, construction of 146 (including nine major) bridges, movement of 24,200 tons of permanent-way materials and steel girders, etc., and 7,500 tons of cement and 130,000 tons of stone and moorum ballast.

The construction of the line required great skill because it passed through lands with sharply varying altitudes. Chunar in the Gangetic Valley was only 268 ft. above sea-level while Robertsganj was 1,020 feet above the sea-level. "The most difficult portion of the new construction," according to the report, "was between miles 15 and 17, as it entailed the crossing of two 60 ft. deep gorges, 750 ft. and 600 ft. wide respectively; and the blasting of 1,500 ft. long and 50 ft. deep cutting through rocks."

The new line would be of immense benefit to Mirzapur and the other adjacent districts by facilitating the development of their resources which had so far largely remained unexplored for want of suitable communication facilities.

Mirzapore, 5,238 square miles in area, was one of the largest districts of Uttar Pradesh possessing large forests and abundant mineral wealth. It was rich in lime stone, building stone, coal, marble and lead ores, but because of the relative inaccessibility of a good portion of the district, only building and lime stones were tapped so far. The forests were rich in bamboo, simal, sal, tenda and mahua, etc. "The Chunar-Robertsganj-Churk railway line," the report says, "will greatly help in the development of these resources."

More importantly, it would serve the cement factory and would greatly help in the building of the Rihand Dam.

On the Rihand Dam scheme lies the hopes of an area with rich agricultural possibilities, that has been neglected through the ages. This area further is the home of artisans in clay stone and non-ferrous metals, with hereditary skill and craftsmanship, who have been facing extinction due to lack of markets. Their regeneration will be substantially expedited by the new Railway link. The city of Mirzapur and the beautiful township of Chunar will get new streams of life.

PAKISTAN HITS THE HEADLINES AGAIN

Near Revolt in East Bengal

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"It would be a great mistake for either the Government in Karachi or Pakistan's many sympathisers abroad to regard what has happened in East Bengal as primarily Communist-inspired. To take refuge in a parrot-ery of that kind is to evade the problem and to allow the situation to deteriorate to a point where Communism might, in fact, become the worst danger."—*The Economist*, June 5, 1954: "One Pakistan or Two?"

PAKISTAN was formed in haste and it will be only poetic justice if circumstances so shape themselves that it will have no other alternative but to repent at leisure. Hopes have now been transformed into dupes, thereby undergoing a sea-change into something *poor* and strange. In the present context of Pakistan bidding fair to split into two at no distant date it may not, I believe, be wholly out of place to review the events that led up to its formation: not, let it be noted, with a view to recalling

"... old, unhappy, far-off things

And battles long ago,"

but purely with a view to refreshing public memory in regard to some salient features of an essentially unsavoury state of affairs.

THE LADY PROTESTETH TOO MUCH

We are all acquainted with the memorable saying, "the lady protesteth too much," and it springs to the mind irresistibly when we try to remind ourselves of the origin and development of this ugly tumour on our body politic. Cutting the cackle and coming to the 'osses, what happened was that, never losing an opportunity of assuring the people in the strongest terms possible that it would, *on no account*, be willing to present the late lamented Quaid-e-Azam with a "Stan" of his fervent desires and dreams, the Congress party was impelled, for reasons best known to itself, to abandon what the American ex-Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, has called, on a memorable occasion, its "positions of strength" one by one until, in the end, it was constrained to abandon *everything* and cravenly to agree to the partition of the country at the sweet behest of the one and only intransigent minority in our midst. Did not the poet complain: "What a tangled web we weave when first we attempt to deceive?"

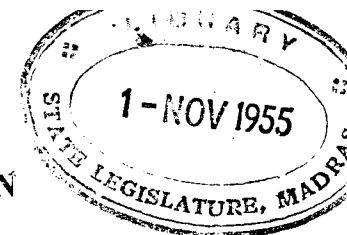
MR. ATTLEE'S HISTORIC DECLARATION

The Congress, incredible as it may seem, had not either the courage or the wisdom to take advantage of Mr. Clement Attlee's historic declaration of March 15, 1946, on the floor of the House of Commons that he would not permit any party in India to jettison independence. Nor was it necessary for

one to be clairvoyant to make a shrewd guess as to which particular party the then British Prime Minister had in mind. The historic declaration was made on the eve of his sending his Cabinet Mission to our shores to formulate concrete proposals for hastening the dawn of that independence. In the course of the intricate negotiations that followed the Congress leaders surprisingly contrived to forget Mr. Attlee's welcome assurance and, instead of (as anyone would have expected) taking their rock-like stand upon that assurance, allowed themselves to be driven ever nearer and nearer to the final dismemberment of our thrice-hallowed land. The last straw on the proverbial camel's back was, of course, the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India. And during one hectic week-end at Simla Pandit Nehru readily succumbed to the blandishments of the noble lord and, as he unctuously assured the hastily-concerned All-India Congress Committee meeting in New Delhi, accepted the infamous "June 3 Plan" (that led to the division of the country as well as to the never-to-be-forgotten bloodbaths) "on his sole responsibility."

AN EYE-OPENER

What has, of late, been happening in Pakistan is an eye-opener to those who can use their eyes. Pakistan was formed not only in haste: it was formed on a solid basis of hatred and it is now, as is only befitting, reaping the sad harvest of that haste and of that hatred. Mr. Jinnah's death robbed Pakistan of its mightiest cementing force. The army "rebellion" of 1951 was a sufficient pointer to the shape of things to come; and the assassination of the Nawabzada fairly put the lid on them. On top of all these have come the recent elections in East Pakistan. The results of these elections cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be called flattering either to the rulers of Pakistan or to the reigning party there. The Muslim League is in utter disgrace at least in the eastern half of Pakistan: and it may well be in utter disgrace in the western half also if elections are held there soon. But Mr. Mohammed Ali, having seen the red light in East Bengal, has been sufficiently astute to postpone elections in the west until such time as



the storm blows over. All the same, such a devastating rout as the Muslim League has providentially sustained in East Pakistan cannot but have its natural repercussions in the west. At the most the evil day may be considered to have been postponed: it cannot be said to have been completely averted.

U. S.—PAK PACT

Though Mr. Fazlul Huq and Mr. Hassan Suhrawardy have not specifically stated their views on the proposed American military aid to Pakistan, it cannot be denied that that aid has had its due share in the sensational defeat of the League in East Pakistan. In spite of these two leaders' diplomatic silence their followers have not been equally tongue-tied in their condemnation of it. That shows which way the political wind is blowing in Dacca and its environs. But the fissiparous tendencies do not by any means stop here. Even in West Pakistan dissension has been raising its ugly head and it is a moot point how long these ever-widening cracks in Pakistan's facade can be suitably covered up by the subtlety and cunning of the League's stalwarts. The Frontier Gandhi, for instance, has been clamouring for the formation of a Pakhtoonistan and for an impartial inquiry into his incarceration. Side by side with these rumblings storm-signals have been flown at many other key-points of West Pakistan. The Ahmadiya community continues to come in for unmitigated slander at the hands of the more orthodox Muslims and the head of Sir Zafarullah is being demanded on a charger.

Though I could have multiplied instances of growing disunity in the once-famed solid front of the Pakistani ruling party I am certain that those I have mentioned are sufficient to point a moral and to adorn a tale. That moral and that tale are self-evident: Pakistan is (deservedly) heading for a fall.

PANDIT NEHRU'S LINE

With the passing of each day it is becoming increasingly clear that the line that Pandit Nehru has taken over America's military aid to Pakistan is absolutely correct. It has changed the whole character of Indo-Pakistani relations, and the Kashmir issue, it is needless to say, has taken on a brand-new complexion. I had never been in any doubt that that military aid would usher in a new era in the aforementioned relations. Recent events have amply borne out my apprehensions. The promise of American help has visibly gone to the heads of Pakistan's leaders and even Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, has not been quite unaffected by it. He is no longer the suave, pacific, kid-gloved politician that he gave the impression of being at the time he took over from Khwaja Nazimuddin. Then he was wont to bleat like a lamb: now he has persuaded himself, or has been persuaded by others, to roar like a lion. Apparently, different times, different methods. If I am not gravely mistaken

his elevation to the Prime-Ministership of Pakistan was heralded in our country as a welcome reversal of the former belligerent policy and as the harbinger of a glorious Indo-Pakistani accord in all vital matters.

KASHMIR

That first, fine, careless rapture, however, has given place to a more sober evaluation. It is evident that, once again, we had gravely miscalculated. We know now that behind that velvet glove hid an iron hand. While he was confabulating with Pandit Nehru in the most peaceable manner possible he was conducting negotiations with the Americans for military aid to Pakistan which, he admitted in an unguarded moment, would vastly strengthen Pakistan's position *vis-a-vis* India with respect to the Kashmir dispute.

Pakistan is out to grab Kashmir—without American arms if possible, *with* them if necessary. The important point is its intention of grabbing that picturesque land at any cost. It had tried to grab it "on its own" once: and in so trying had gravely under-estimated India's strength. Feeling, no doubt, that discretion was the better part of valour it lay low for a time but, meanwhile, was subterraneously carrying on negotiations with its "big brother," America, for substantial reinforcements to buttress its position so as to march on to Kashmir again with greater prospects of success than ever before. The outcome of that policy is, of course, yet to be seen. I am a realist and have no wish to minimise the new threat to Kashmir and India.

AMERICA'S HAND

America, it is well to remember, has a global strategy: it is out to dominate the whole world. Ever since our Government had been so ill-advised as to take the Kashmir issue to the U.N.O., America has been, both actively and passively, sponsoring Pakistan's cause in every available forum. In addition the Pak-American alliance is going to be of as much help to America as to Pakistan in the context of America's world-wide ambitions.

My point (and it is a point that has not been stressed by anyone else so far) is that, apart from Pakistan's (understandable) wishing to "cash in" on American military aid at the earliest opportunity in the territory on which it has been casting covetous eyes since 1947, it is conceivable that (whatever vociferous assurances to the contrary President Eisenhower may deem fit to give periodically to Pandit Nehru) America also may be equally eager to start the global war from Kashmir. In that event Pakistan's leaders may well be visited by salutary second thoughts on that all-absorbing subject. But I am not concerned with that interesting contingency. The contingency with which I am concerned is that, deplorable as the Kashmir position is already in relation to India, it will, I am certain, be a thousand

times more deplorable when and if Kashmir becomes a vital strategic point in what I have chosen to call America's global strategy. The point is well worth serious consideration by our rulers. America has not proffered this huge military aid to Pakistan merely for the pleasure and profit it will give to that sorely tried country: we may rest assured that it has proffered that aid with a view to deriving no little pleasure and profit itself.

SPEECHES IN PAKISTAN

It may be noted that everyone who spoke in the Pakistan Parliament recently spoke in belligerent terms with respect to India. It was as though they had been vying with one another as to who should speak most truculently. Mr. Mohammed Ali himself set the pattern of speech-making, taking care, as he did, not to pull any punches. We know that wherever Mary went her little lamb was bound to follow. Mr. Mohammed Ali's little lambs followed him with equal obedience. Sir Zaffarullah cast sundry unworthy aspersions on Pandit Nehru's sincerity and, as for Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, he, as usual, lost all sense of proportion. It is pertinent to wonder where all this wild talk of invading Kashmir again (and with American guns) will lead to. We know what Pakistanis are. They are so many "howling maniacs," in the words of Justice Munir, who presided over the Special Court which enquired into the Ahmadiya riots in the Punjab. They have been, according to him, turned into "howling maniacs" by the Muslim League's persistent cry for an Islamic State. In his report Mr. Munir condemned the efforts of leaders "to press Islam into service to solve situations it was never intended to solve."

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

This ought to give our Muslim friends much food for thought. At the same time the proceedings of the Pakistan Parliament ought to give our Government also much food for thought. Kashmir is in the limelight once more. The speeches of the Pakistani leaders should not be regarded as mere sound and fury signifying nothing: nor, I submit, should they be regarded as a sort of cloak to hide the Muslim League's sensational rout at the hands of the United Front in East Bengal. It would be unwise to minimize the threat that these speeches imply. In this case, at any rate, the bite may well be worse than the bark. The danger is in continuing to be complacent over this inflammable issue: the sparks may begin to fly at any moment. More than ever is it true now that to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

THOSE "D-DAY" RIOTS

Events in Pakistan have, of late, been moving with supersonic speed: panting pen toils after them in vain. It has been said that those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword. Pakistan came

to birth on the crest of a wave of violence. "At my nativity the earth shook like a coward," boasted Glendower: Pakistan, if it so desired, could rant in a similar vein. At its nativity our beloved Motherland shook as though it had been rocked by a terrible earthquake. The bloodbaths that followed the creation of Pakistan have become a part of history. They were like nothing that had ever happened before. Not that there had not been sufficient warnings of the shape of things to come. As a matter of fact, there had been quite a sufficient number of them, beginning with the never-to-be-forgotten August 16, 1946, "D-day" massacres in the streets of Calcutta under the direct inspiration of the present Awami League leader, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy. He who, in contradistinction to Mr. Mohammed Ali, then roared like a lion and as the immortal Bertie Wooster says of his Aunt Agatha, "chewed broken bottles and killed rats with his teeth," has latterly been bleating like a veritable lamb. The whirligig of time brings in strange revenges indeed. Mr. Suhrawardy is a sober man now. He has a grouse against Providence for selecting persons other than himself to steer the ship of the largest Muslim State in the heavens above, the earth below, and the waters underneath the earth. The first, fine, careless rapture has evaporated and the ex-Chief Minister of a once-united Bengal, finding himself in the wilderness, has been induced, by the sheer compelling force of events, to sing a different tune. It is not only, as has been said, conscience that makes cowards of us all: disappointments in life, coming thick and fast upon one who has never ceased to deem himself as having been born in the political purple, also make cowards of us all. I am far from suggesting that Mr. Suhrawardy is a spent force, an extinct volcano. He is back in the headlines and, truth being (not seldom) stranger than fiction, may still live to have his second official innings.

PAKISTAN CHICKENS COMING HOME TO ROOST

The point, however, is that, at the moment of going to press, he is vastly different from the man of wrath that he undoubtedly was in 1946. Still, public memory, though notoriously short, cannot, I am certain, be as short as to forget the sanguinary happenings in Calcutta in that eventful year. That "D-Day" of August 16, 1946, started a chain-reaction of 'red run' that culminated in the frightful post-partition riots. No inconsiderable toil and blood and sweat and tears contributed to the making of Pakistan. That being so, it is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that the chickens are coming home to roost and that the end of Pakistan seems to follow a similar sanguinary pattern. I am not so foolish as to anticipate history. Pakistan may well survive the present troubled period—if only because

it has influential friends "at court" who, in their own interest, cannot be expected to see their latest stooge and "fellow-traveller" sliding down the slippery slope to perdition like the Gadarene swine mentioned in the scriptures. Pakistan has the United States of America to support it now. Left to itself, without any outside assistance, it may confidently be expected, in the light of recent occurrences in its eastern bastion, to blow up at no distant date. Even with such outside assistance the same evil fate may overtake it sooner or later—sooner rather than later. The future, both in the case of individuals and in the case of nations, has a direct relationship to the past, and countries, no less than persons, reap but what they sow. The sequence of cause and effect cannot, with the best will in the world, be broken.

THAT SENSATIONAL DISASTER

The history of Pakistan took a new (and grave) turn when the United Front inflicted a crushing defeat on the Muslim League in the elections that took place in East Bengal two or three months ago. The Muslim League sustained as crushing a defeat as any political party anywhere had ever sustained before. That, we had all hoped, would sober it noticeably and the frothing and fuming at the mouth give way to a more suave philosophy of life. But that, alas, was not to be. Like the Bourbons it appeared to learn nothing and to forget nothing. It affected to make light of the forces that led to the sensational disaster. It was said of Lord Curzon that, at the most crucial juncture in his political career, he made the colossal mistake of ignoring Lord Goschem. That mistake, as everyone knows, cost him the Premiership of England. The same kind of mistake is being made by West Pakistan in relation to East Pakistan. Time was when Western Pakistanis could afford to ride roughshod over the sensibilities of their eastern brethren. The latter, however, have long ceased to acknowledge this superiority of West Pakistanis and, slowly but surely, have been learning the art of putting them in their place. The resulting resentment in West Pakistan can better be imagined than described. It is doubtful whether, at this moment, the Western Pakistanis hate the Hindus more or their own eastern confreres.

SOMETHING ROTTEN IN THE STATE OF DENMARK

The celebrated Islamic solidarity has broken down for once and the rulers of Pakistan are desperately clutching at any straw that comes their way to keep their heads above water. The straw that they are desperately striving to clutch at now is the recent outspoken utterances of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Chief Minister of East Bengal for one crowded hour of glorious life. Mr. Huq delivered some soul-stirring speeches in Calcutta soon after

his elevation to the Chief Ministership; and later, in Karachi, he would appear to have unbosomed himself to a remarkable extent before the correspondent of the *New York Times*. In his speeches and statements in Calcutta he waxed extraordinarily eloquent over the suicidal act of partition. Coming, as it did, from an avowed Muslim it was welcomed boisterously on this side of the border; and proportionately condemned on the other. Apparently unmuffled by that condemnation he went one better at Karachi and, throwing the helve after the hatchet, as the saying is, demanded independence for East Bengal. This was after the Adamji Paper Mills riots at Narayanganj. These riots had sufficiently shaken the ground from under the feet of the Great Moghuls in Karachi. Something, indeed, did seem to be rotten in the State of Denmark. "Out of nothing, nothing comes," declared Lucretius: equally, out of nothing these recurring disturbances in East Bengal could not have staged themselves. East Bengal is, beyond doubt, in a ferment: it is—or was till the other day—in open revolt. This is becoming increasingly clear with the passage of time. The powers that be are facing the biggest crisis in the life of Pakistan.

As usual, however, they have gone the wrong way about in the matter of quenching the fires in their eastern bastion. Dismissal of Mr. Huq will assuredly not ease the tension there: it will only make "the gruel thick and slab." Pakistan is at the cross-roads: even its aforementioned influential friends "at cost" may not be able to save it. Has it not been said that those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword?

THE "NEW LOOK" IN EAST BENGAL

Mr. Huq and his Cabinet have ceased to function and Major-General Iskandar Mirza is ruling in their stead. To assert that what has been imposed on East Bengal is Governor's rule is to miss the truth by a paragon. It is Governor's rule only in the purely technical sense. But the Governor is a military man. Moreover, there is considerable significance in the particular military man chosen. General Mirza is a seasoned "brass hat" and those who recommended his name certainly knew their business. East Bengal is at present enjoying military dictatorship, not Governor's rule. It is martial law—nothing less—that has been imposed on that unhappy land. It is martial law with a stamping iron heel. It is martial law with "no d—d nonsense" about it. The distinguished General has already created a desert in the province over whose destinies he is now presiding. No wonder peace—or the simulacrum of it—has been reigning there since his arrival in Dacca. Military dictatorship and rigorous censorship of news go together and it is possible that all is not as quiet on that front as a gullible public has been led to believe.

A province that had inflicted as recently as a couple of months ago the most crushing defeat to date on the Muslim League cannot be expected to have taken cheerfully the shattering news that the duly elected Chief Minister and his colleagues had been, in the official sense, liquidated and the defeated party had replaced them with a sleight of hand rarely witnessed even at the present day. It was political legerdemain at the meridian of its splendour. It was the apex, apogee, and apotheosis of *force majeure*.

SHORT-LIVED GLORY

I am not suggesting that Mr. Fazlul Huq woke up one fine morning and found his newly-won Chief Ministership slipping through his fingers in a miraculous fashion. Even a tiro in politics could have foreseen weeks ago what was going to happen to him. The ground had been sedulously prepared for that despicable consummation. Mr. Huq had been given ample time to face the dismal prospect as philosophically as he could. Still it cannot be gainsaid that he is, perhaps, the most disappointed politician in Pakistan today. It was only the other day that, fighting against the heaviest of odds, he succeeded in assuming the leadership of the eastern bastion of the largest Muslim State even. In a phrase immortalised by our own Congress politicians he did nothing less than "wrench power from unwilling hands—and by the sheer force of non-violence, too!" With, no doubt, a modicum of assistance from the Zeitgeist he contrived to perform a miracle. The Muslim League was routed as never any political party anywhere had been routed before; and he seized the reins of office with pardonable pride. But his glory has been short-lived; and he is back in the wilderness from which he had emerged but a few months ago.

"U.S.A.'s MILITARY OUTPOST IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA"

What Karachi has done in East Bengal—and, let us remember, *after* the signing of the much-discussed U.S.-Pak military alliance—ought to be more than of passing interest to us in India. If we are not politically astigmatic we shall not fail to see the full significance of it. The full significance of it is that *already* Pakistan has managed to cash in on America's military aid to behave as America's latest political stooge—as, in fact, "U.S.A.'s military outpost in South-East Asia," to quote the sapient words of a distinguished correspondent. It would not, indeed, be surprising in the least if Karachi has acted in the manner it has done in East Bengal at the dictation of Washington. What has happened in East Bengal ought to be a grim reminder to us of the ominous shape of things to come. The *New York Times*, for

instance, has written an editorial in which it has sought to justify Karachi's virtual imposition of martial law in its eastern bastion: it has accorded to it its fullest moral support. In American eyes Communism is an all-time scapegoat, a sort of multi-purpose alibi for doing just what one wishes to do and it cannot, therefore, surprise us that the paper has assured itself that Mr. Fazlul Huq and his colleague, Mr. Hassan Suhrawardy, "were willing to play with the fire of collaboration with the Communists" and that Mr. Huq thoroughly deserves his present humiliation.

After tracing the history of events in East Pakistan since the last elections it proceeds to state that when Mr. Huq committed himself to the independence of East Pakistan from West Pakistan he left the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, "with no alternative but to force him out of office if Pakistan is to continue united and strong." It concludes significantly:

"We are interested in that union and in that strength. We want our Pakistani friends to enjoy the security of a prosperous and viable State, economic and political." (June 1).

AMERICA AVENGES ITSELF ON EAST BENGAL

This shows which way the wind is blowing and it supports my thesis that America has avenged itself on East Bengal for its opposition to its military aid to Pakistan voiced from a plethora of pulpits and platforms during the elections. The Americans have been consistently acting on the Biblical principle that those who are not with us are against us. America, as all know, is out to give Communism no quarter; and is prepared even to throw away the baby with the bath-water in the process. The comments of the American press on the crisis in East Bengal are extremely revealing. Even without American military aid Pakistan had been a stinging thorn on our sides: *with* that aid it can afford to be much more of a nuisance. Happenings in East Bengal ought to waken us out of our traditional torpor. Pakistan is playing for very high stakes, indeed.

The most important thing in these happenings is that the Muslim League—the party that had been worsted in the elections in East Bengal—has usurped the reins of authority from the party that had won those elections in the most decided manner possible. The tables have been turned with a vengeance: it has fallen to the lot of the victors to eat humble pie, the vanquished having, so to speak, risen on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things.

By BANDHUDAS SEN,

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INTRODUCTORY

BURMA has got approximately an area of 8,754,000 hectares under cultivation, with which to support a population of 18.5 million. The population has maintained a steady rate of increase. From 10.5 millions in 1901, it grew to 16.8 millions in 1941, and the total population was estimated at 18,489,000 in 1950.¹ But in comparison with other countries in the South-East Asia, Burma has got a low density of population. Whereas in China, Indo-China, Korea, Japan and Java, the density of population is 48, 37, 125, 204 and 382 per sq. km. respectively, it is only 28 in Burma. Besides, she has got vast stretches of virgin land which are yet to be brought under the plough. Only 60 per cent of the cultivable land is actually cropped every year. Like other South-East Asian countries, the economy of Burma is predominantly agricultural, and approximately 70 per cent of the working population are engaged in agriculture.

There are two main types of agrarian economy existing side by side in Burma, and there is very little in common between them. In Upper Burma, land is not fertile, rainfall is uncertain and the farming is traditional native farming. In Lower Burma, on the other hand, land is fertile, rainfall fairly dependable and farming is modern and individualistic.

WESTERN ECONOMIC PENETRATION

As in the case of most other countries in this region, contact with the Western economy which began with the opening of Suez Canal, influenced the social organization profoundly, and disintegrated the traditional, social and economic life of Burma. The old economic life of Burma was based on the tradition of village economics and handicrafts. When the British took over the lower part of Burma, more than a century ago in two stages, partly in 1824 and partly in 1852, they observed a policy of *laissez faire* which resulted ultimately in excessive concentration of land. In contrast with the conditions in Upper Burma, which retained the traditional way of life, the new set-up in the Delta region, as a result of the contact with the Western mode of life and culture, became individualistic.

Before the incursion of the British into Lower Burma, there were two types of land tenure in the whole country, namely, the State Land Tenure and the Private Land Tenure. When the British came, they did not recognize the private lands; they declared all lands as State lands. Only the landholders' right was granted on lands which were cultivated and for which revenue was paid conti-

nuously for twelve years. The landholders' right confers on one a title to hold the land and to cultivate it. This right is transferable and heritable. . . . The primary object in conferring such rights was to bring more land under cultivation and to create a class of peasant proprietors.² In spite of the intention of the British Colonial Administration to favour peasant proprietorship, the trend towards the elimination of native ownership was already apparent at the beginning of the century. The gravity of the situation was recognized in some of the legislative acts, as the Land Improvement Act of 1883, the Agricultural Loans Act of 1884, the Debt Conciliation Act of 1905, etc. But these Acts brought little relief. After the rebellions of 1930, the government declared in a press communique, their intention to re-examine the very difficult question of agrarian legislation, but that it will take some time before they can come to any conclusions on this controversial matter.³ The laws when they came, in 1941, shortly before the Japanese invasion, came too late, since the process of land concentration in the hands of non-agriculturists was so far advanced that mere legal measures were of little consequence.

The process of colonization of Burma dissolved the village community with its fixed moral standards and replaced it by a migrating tenant class. The tenant in Lower Burma has lost contact with his native community. Being isolated from the social order, he has also lost the normal restraints which mark life in a decent community. At the beginning of the war in the Pacific 'the typical rural Burma was a landless labourer, often drifting from village to village contributing to crime record that gave Burma proportionately the highest rate of murders in any country.'⁴

PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL CREDIT

Some writers have maintained that the problem of agricultural credit in Burma, is 'the natural result of Western economic penetration, of the elimination or crippling of native handicrafts and the lack of diversification.'⁵ There is hardly any peasant who is free from debts. The Banking Enquiry Committee estimated the amount of debt at between 50 and 60 crores of rupees. The bulk of agricultural credits are supplied by the Chettyars and to a certain extent

2. Hon'ble Mr. Thakin Nu's speech in support of the Land Nationalisation Bill at the sixth session of the Parliament of the Union of Burma, on October 11, 1948.

3. Quoted by Erich Jacoby: *Agrarian Unrest in the South-East Asia*.

4. J. Russel Andrews: *Burma, An Experiment in Self-Government*.

5. Erich H. Jacoby: *Op. cit.*

by the Chinese moneylenders. Chettyars are representative Indian moneylenders. The British laws guaranteed them that the loans secured by mortgage would be protected by the British Courts. The Chettyars are professional moneylenders and are not agriculturists. Their rates of interest usually ranged between 15 and 36 per cent per annum averaging 25 per cent. The rates of interest charged by the Chinese moneylenders, on the other hand, were often as high as 45 to 60 per cent. The main reason for the high concentration of land into the hands of the non-agriculturists is to be found in the credit system in the rural areas, where landlords are often the moneylenders. They supply not only land, but also loan to the tenant-cultivator. The land held by the Chettyars is estimated at nearly three million acres.

In 1926, the area held by the non-agriculturists was 3.5 million acres out of 18 million acres of cultivated land, and by 1947, it increased to 6.5 million acres out of 19.5 million acres. The following table will show the steady increase in land area held by the non-agriculturists:

TABLE I

Year	Total cultivated area (in acres)	Area held by non-agriculturists (in acres)
1926	18,271,000	3,471,000
1930	18,747,000	4,028,000
1935	18,922,000	6,138,000
1940	19,460,000	6,540,000
1947	19,430,000	6,452,000

In Lower Burma, the concentration of agricultural land in the hands of non-agriculturists is greater than in Upper Burma. Out of the total area of 11,120,343 acres of land in Lower Burma, 5.8 million acres were held by non-agriculturists in 1947. On the other hand, in Upper Burma, only a little over one million acres out of 8.2 million acres were held by non-agriculturists. Thus the non-agriculturists held nearly half of the cultivated land in Lower Burma as against one-eighth in Upper Burma.

TABLE II

Land holders	Lower Burma Area (in acres)	Upper Burma Area (in acres)
Agriculturists	5,745,263	7,125,710
Resident non-agriculturists	962,327	454,473
Non-resident non-agriculturists	4,412,753	623,315
Total	11,120,343	8,203,498

It is not difficult to explain how such an amount of land came to be owned by non-agriculturists especially the moneylenders. The report of the Land and Agriculture Committee of 1938 said:

"The moneylender . . . often carries on his business in an anti-social way . . . He has reduced many agriculturists to a state of economic servitude. He exploits the weakness of character and

will of the improvident and obtains a hold, which is frequently never relaxed, over the unfortunate who are compelled to borrow from him in times of stress, such as, failure of crops and illness. It is no concern of his to educate the borrower in thrift and self-help or to encourage him to free himself from debt and rely on his own resources. His interest is to keep him indebted."

Apart from this foreclosure of land for settlement of debts, two other reasons have been advanced for the alienation of land from agriculturists to non-agriculturists. Firstly, grants for large tracts of land were given to non-agriculturists by the British Government. Secondly, some land was also obtained by dishonest transactions by the moneylenders.

TENANCY PROBLEM

The system inevitably tended to reduce the number of owner-farmers and to increase the number of tenants and landless agricultural labourers. Within the period of 1921 to 1931, the number of tenant cultivators increased from 512,000 to 578,000 an increase of 13 per cent and the number of agricultural labourers swelled from 622,000 to over one million—an increase of 60 per cent.

There is no security of tenancy, which is usually held only for one year. The following table shows the number of years for which tenants generally hold their tenancies:

TABLE III

		Percentage of tenants holding land for				
Year	District	1 year	2 yrs.	3 yrs.	4 yrs.	5 yrs.
1914-16	Kyaukpadaung	50	15	..	..	17
1919-20	Tavoy	43	20	12	6	9
1910-17	Toungoo	55	18	9	5	13
1932-34	Pegu	50	17	8	25	..
1933-35	Insein	47	21	10	22	..
1925-27	Yamethin	46	18	12	24	..

The reason why a tenant has to shift from one tenancy to another almost every year is that land is given to the highest rent-payer by auction by the landholders. The normal rent before the war was 16 baskets of paddy for one acre of land producing 40 baskets. Even now, a tenant whose rent is only one-third of the gross produce is considered fortunate.

ALL-BURMA PEASANTS ORGANIZATION

The All-Burma Peasants' Organization was founded in 1938 under the leadership of the late Mr. Thakin Mya with a view to solving the agrarian problems. But in the early years of its existence, not many peasants could be brought together into the fold of the organization. What with the ignorance of the peasants, the risk of unemployment, the weakness of the organization itself, and above all, the foreign domination, it was difficult to organize the peasants. Things, however, have changed since the assumption of power by the Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League. A number of laws designed to improve the conditions of the peasants have been passed; movements for the socio-economic better-

1. United Nations: *Land Reform*.

ment and welfare of the peasants are afoot. As a result, peasants have become conscious of their own interests.

AGRICULTURAL LEGISLATION

The Tenancy Act which was passed in 1939, with a view to solving the rent problem proved unworkable mainly because it was left to the individual judgement of the local officers to decide what constituted a fair rent. It was subsequently replaced by a government communique which transferred outstanding cases for judicial settlement. The Land Alienation Act of 1941, was based on the report of the Land and Agricultural Committee. The law was designed to prevent land from coming into the hands of non-agriculturists. The creditor could retain land for 15 years, after which it had to be returned to the original owner without further payment. The Land Purchase Act of 1941 empowered the government to purchase land held by the Chettyars and from other non-agriculturists, who had an alternative to sell it on long-term contracts with provision for very low rates of interest or to lease to tenants. The Land Disputes (Summary Jurisdiction) Act of 1945 set up special commission to settle disputes over possession of agricultural lands. The Tenancy Act, 1946, empowered the government to fix standard rents for different localities, crops and classes of lands. Burma Agriculturists Debt Relief Act, 1947, was important from many points of view. In accordance with the Sections 13 and 14 of this Act, all debts contracted prior to October 1941, and all debts contracted after October 1941, were scaled down by the Board which was formed for the purpose, on receipt of application from the debtor concerned. As regards debts incurred prior to the 1st of October, 1941, the Act provided that all debts outstanding on the 1st October, 1946, would be deemed to be wholly discharged; for debts incurred after that date, only the principal need be repaid on instalment system; and all debts would be deemed to be wholly discharged where the agriculturist has paid twice the amount of the principal. The Tenancy Disposal Act of 1948, transferred the power of tenancy from the landowners to the hands of the tenants in the form of Tenancy Committees. Finally, the Land Nationalization Act was passed by the Burmese Parliament in 1948.

NATIONALIZATION OF LAND

Appropriation: The Land Nationalization Act seems to be the natural outcome of the desire of the Burmese people as reflected in the Constitution of the Union of Burma. Paragraph 30 of the Constitution lays down that the State is the ultimate owner of all lands, that "the State shall have right to regulate, alter or abolish land tenures or resume possession of any land and distribute the same for collective or co-operative farming or to agricultural tenants" and that "there can be no large land-holding on any basis

whatsoever" and that "the maximum size of private landholding shall be determined by law." This spirit pervades the Land Nationalization Act.

By virtue of the main provision (Article 3) of the Land Nationalization Act, 1948, the Government has been authorized to resume all lands held by the non-agriculturists. As regards lands held by agriculturists, it has been provided that they will be allowed to retain up to 50 acres in case of paddy and sugarcane lands, up to 25 acres of *va* lands and up to 10 acres of *kaing* lands and provided they have held lands from 4th January, 1948. *Dhant* lands, garden lands, rubber estates and lands belonging to religious institutions will not be resumed. January 4, 1948, was fixed with a view to eliminating dishonest transfers of land so often made by the landlords to circumvent the provisions of the Disposal of Tenancies Act which came into force on 3rd January, 1948, and laid down that a landholder would be permitted to have only 50 acres. Thus out of the total cultivated area of 21,479,857 acres, about 9,990,000 acres will be resumed by the Government, of which between 55 and 62 lakhs will be in Lower Burma and between 18 and 21 lakhs will be in Upper Burma.

Compensation: The Act lays down provisions for compensation both for the appropriation of the right of the landlords to cultivate and for constructional improvements. Compensations will be equal to the land revenue assessable in the year 1947-48. In determining compensation, the following factors are taken into consideration:

- i. The nature of the tenure
- ii. The length of time for which a person has been in possession of the agricultural land
- iii. The benefits enjoyed by virtue of possession of the land, and
- iv. The costs incurred and any loss suffered in respect of the land.

The President was empowered to appoint a Commission of ten members to determine the basis of compensation, and the manner of payment in accordance with the principles laid down in the Act. The Commission has been given the same powers as are vested in a Civil Court and the findings of the Commission are to be regarded as final. The Commission is composed of members of Parliament, experts, landholders and agriculturists.

Method of Distribution: Section 9 of the Act lays down that the agricultural lands resumed by the State, except such lands as may be required for grazing grounds and village common lands, shall be distributed to all agriculturist families with certain exceptions and such areas of land as can be served by one yoke of cattle (approximately ten acres), shall be allotted to each agriculturist family at least one of whose members is an able-bodied adult. But there is a condition that the recipient of land must join a co-operative organization. "No agriculturist family shall be allotted any agricultural land under the

provision of Section 9(3) unless one or more members thereof join or undertake to join a co-operative organization approved by the State."⁶

The right to cultivate land is further subject to certain other conditions. These conditions are:

- i. "That one or more members of such family shall personally cultivate such land;
- ii. "that it shall pay all impositions of the State;
- iii. "that it shall not cease to be an agriculturist family;
- iv. "that such land shall not be left fallow without sufficient cause;
- v. "that such land shall not be mortgaged, sold or otherwise transferred to any other person or be fragmented or sub-divided; and
- vi. "that such land shall not be rented or leased to any other person with or without consideration."

In case of failure to observe any of these conditions, all the rights to such land will be forfeited by the State.⁷

Execution of the Act: For carrying out the purposes of the Act, Land Committees are to be formally appointed by the President.⁸ These Land Committees have been given wide powers under the Act. They are required to resume possession of agricultural land on behalf of the State, to distribute land among peasants, to establish co-operative organizations, etc. The Act further lays down that the Land Committees will be elected and there will be one Land Committee for each village tract. But it was not possible for the Government to undertake such a heavy responsibility of conducting elections on such a vast scale at once. The Government has, therefore, drawn a ten-year plan, according to which 300 Land Committees consisting of 2,100 members will be elected and about 200,000 acres of land will be distributed in 1953.

Long-term Plans: Mutual Aid Teams: One yoke acreage of land, that is roughly ten acres of land, may be sufficient to assure a comfortable standard of living for the peasants. The average yield from this land will be 350 to 400 baskets of paddy, out of which 160 baskets will be required for meeting the cost of cultivation, 100 baskets for food and 85 baskets will be left for other personal expenses. "Calculating at the present market value each household will get Rs. 225 net cash income (per annum). It cannot be said that this sum is not sufficient."⁹

But as the aim is to raise the economic status of the peasants to such an extent that each peasant can own a house, a motor car and earn not less than 800 kyats per month, as the Prime Minister Thakin Nu declared on another occasion,¹⁰ peasants will

have to be organized in Mutual Aid Teams and Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives.

Mutual Aid Teams will be formed on the basis of one team for 5 agriculturist families receiving land under the Act. In forming Mutual Aid Teams, peasants not only can choose to group with any one whom they like and whose outlook and temperament are similar to theirs, but they would also receive separate shares of produce for their land, cattle and implements. The Government's intention is to form 200,000 Mutual Aid Teams by 1955.

Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives will be formed by grouping four Mutual Aid Teams. Such co-operatives will, therefore, consist of 20 families and 200 acres of land. The Government intends to form 50,000 Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives by the end of 1962.

A peasant who gets land from the Government under the Nationalization Act, will have to join the co-operative, for two reasons. In the first place, the agricultural loans, etc., will be given only to the co-operatives; and secondly, it is the intention of the Government to make the co-operatives the chief marketing organization of the peasants. If, therefore, the peasant wants to take advantage of the loans and wants to sell his produce, he will have to join the co-operative.

Collective Farms: The next and the final stage in the land reform programme is the foundation of collective farms. A beginning is intended to be made in 1954-55 in this direction when only one model collective farm will be established, with 800 to 1,000 acres of land. Between 1956 and 1962, the Government intends to open at least 66 collective farms, which will be formed mostly by grouping together the Agricultural Producers' Co-operatives.

To begin with, the landless agricultural labourers, who might not be able to get land when land is distributed under the Land Nationalization Act owing to local scarcity, will be settled in the State Collective Farms and on the State colonies established on cultivable waste land.¹²

Next those small holders whose lands do not yield enough to maintain average standard of living due to adverse local agricultural and economic conditions, will be absorbed in the Collective Farms.

There are about 4,928,000 acres of cultivable waste land in the whole of Burma. On this land and also in other suitable areas, Collective Farms will be established connecting them with the State Mechanized Farms. The type of Collective Farms to be established will be determined by such factors as time, locality and agriculturists concerned.

Although the Act was passed in 1948, the actual work could not be started before 1952, as much attention had to be given to quell the disturbances that

12. See Mr. Thakin Tin's speech at the Pyidawtha Conference, August 4-17, 1952.

6. Section 10.

7. Section 12(1).

8. Section 12(2).

9. Section 14.

10. Thakin Tin's speech at the 6th session of the Parliament.

11. Thakin Tin's speech at the 7th Annual Conference of the All-Burma Peasants' Organization.

followed. As the situation improved and conditions became normal, a new ministry, the ministry of Land Nationalization was formed to implement the Act. In May, 1950, a beginning was made with the transfer of 60,000 acres of land in Syrian and the Government gave financial assistance amounting to Rs. 400,000.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the land reform in Burma has got many commendable points, which might be worth emulating by some countries in this region. It is a pity that this Land Reform in Burma has not received as much attention as the land reform in China. In fact, in certain respects it is superior to the land reform in China. There are many points of similarity and difference between them. Like China, Burma has re-distributed land on a wide basis; but unlike her, Burma carried the land reform peacefully and without any violence. No distinction has been made among the peasants on the basis of their class status. There is also provision for compensation to the landholders.

Burma seems to have decided the pattern of her

agrarian economy once for all. The Burmese Constitution as has been mentioned earlier, does not recognize private ownership of land. Section 30(2) of the Constitution authorizes the State to acquire and distribute land for co-operative or collective farming. Mr. Thakin Tin, the Minister for Agriculture and Forestry, said in the Parliament, "The long-term aims are collective farming and mechanization. Then the agriculturist will attain the full stature of life." But there are many who believe that collective farming and mechanization of agriculture are both harmful for the social, cultural and economic upliftment of the peasants. Experiences show that the way to collectivization is hardly peaceful and without large-scale violence, which hamper the agricultural and the economic development of a country, and from which it may take years to recover.

That is the lesson of the collectivization in Russia. One can only hope that Burma will have profited by the lesson of collectivization in Russia and that the Socialist Government will not copy that method hastily in their anxiety to bring about a quick realization of their ideal.

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ECONOMICS OF SMALL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

THE Report of the International Planning Team on Small Industry in India has once again focussed the attention of the Government and the industrialists on the urgent need for developing small-scale and cottage industries in this country for solving the problem of unemployment and, what is more, under-employment. The Report rightly points out that "the Indian market is one of the largest potential domestic markets in the world." The foreign experts have frankly stated that "the rate of development of small industries is slow, far slower than is possible." The Study Team's major impression is that the basic causes of present deficiencies in small industry are "methods of management and production which fall far short of meeting modern demands for efficiency plus reluctance or failure to adopt improved rationalised methods." The International Planning Team has recommended the establishment of multi-purpose Institutes of Technology for small industries, and the Government has already decided to implement this recommendation and have announced that four Regional Institutes for the training of small-scale industries will be established in different parts of India. These institutes would act as Service Agencies and would assist small industries in improving their technique and production and management, in obtaining credit and finance, in securing raw materials, in marketing their goods to the best possible advantage and in promoting pat-

terns of development calculated to make small-scale industries ancillary to large-scale industries by bringing about co-ordination of production programmes. The Government have also accepted the recommendation of the Ford Foundation Team for the establishment of a Marketing Service Corporation which would integrate its activities with those of the Regional Institutes. It has also been decided to establish a Small Industries Corporation to organise production for meeting Government orders. Other recommendations made by the team regarding a National School of Designs, Export Development Offices and the establishment of Industrial Co-operatives are under the consideration of the Government of India. In the meantime, the Government have decided to constitute a Small-scale Industries' Board which would consist of representatives of the Ministries concerned in the Government of India and of State Governments. The functions of the Board would be to control and co-ordinate the activities of the organisations mentioned above and also to frame and implement programmes generally for the development of small-scale industries in India.

We would, however, like to examine closely the recommendations of the foreign experts on the problem of "rationalisation" in the sphere of small-scale industries in this country. The Report points out that

"Without rationalisation, the natural talents of Indian workers and craftsmen are being wasted in a hopeless race against modern technology."

Unless and until these workers are helped to produce more goods and more wealth, neither wages nor living standards can be raised. You cannot divide what you do not produce. The Experts further expressed the view that

"To prevent rationalisation, to stop the processes of modernisation, is not only illogical but it will force stagnation and retrogression of Indian small industry."

They also hold the view that modernisation instead of creating technological unemployment, would create more employment.

"Improvements mean more and better products at lower and lower cost price and result in greatly expanded demands and markets and thus expanded job opportunities."

These observations of the Ford Foundation Team require careful consideration and examination. We do not know whether these Experts ever cared to go to the Centre of the All-India Village Industries Association in Wardha and whether they tried to understand the point of view advocated by Gandhiji. So far as we know, no such attempt was made by the International Planning Team. This is, surely, unfortunate. We are prepared to learn from foreign experts in improving our techniques of production. But if these experts come to India with the impression that Gandhiji, his co-workers and the Indian national leaders devoted no attention to this problem all these decades, they are sadly mistaken.

Gandhiji himself was not against machinery as such. He was very desirous of improving the spinning wheel and announced attractive prizes to those who would prepare improved *charkhas*. In Wardha, he conducted continuous experiments for improvements in the techniques of village industries in India. Gandhiji was, therefore, not against modernisation and technological progress; he was against the "craze" for mechanisation and labour-saving devices, specially in a country like India where labour is abundant and capital is scarce.

"Mechanisation is good," observed Gandhiji, "when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished." "It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India."

He, therefore, welcomed those machines "that lightened the burden of crores of men living in cottages." Gandhiji was not against the use of electricity either.

"If we could have electricity in every village home," remarked Gandhiji. "I would not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity."

The over-riding consideration in all these matters must be the human factor which essentially

means the provision for full employment to the people. It is true that the techniques of production must improve if the total amount of wealth in the country has to be increased. But a mere increase in the total wealth without increasing the purchasing power of the people by providing them adequate means of livelihood, will not solve our basic problems. Our objective, therefore, should be "full employment plus maximum production." It should also be borne in mind that we cannot afford to depend very much on foreign markets for absorbing the products of our industries. Our attempt should be to create an increasing market within the country. This can be possible only if we employ labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive techniques of production.

We are, therefore, not against modernisation or rationalisation. But in our anxiety for improving the techniques of production in small-scale and cottage industries, we should not exceed the proper limits and create fresh problems. The content and form of rationalisation will naturally differ from country to country and from region to region even within a country in accordance with local circumstances. A particular type of technological improvement in America or Russia where labour is comparatively scarce may be completely out of place in India where the main problem is to provide employment to the people. Even within India, a particular technique which may be good in Rajasthan, may not be suitable in Travancore-Cochin where the density of population is much higher. The application of modern techniques, therefore, requires constant vigilance, study and research in order to balance the advantages of scientific improvements and the employment potential.

We do earnestly hope that the Regional Institutes, which the Government of India would be setting up in different parts of the country, would keep all these considerations in view so that the fundamental problems of our national economy may be solved satisfactorily. We understand that the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board has also decided to establish a Research Centre in Calcutta. Recently, a training school for Khadi workers has been opened at Nasik on behalf of the Board. The Government should try to co-ordinate the activities and experiments of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board with those of the new Small-scale Industries Board in order to avoid duplication of work and conflict of ideas. We should approach this task with an open mind without reducing a particular notion to a "fetish" or a dogma. Our approach must be scientific and rational and must not lose touch with the realities of the situation. Any kind of orthodoxy, either for modernisation or for old techniques, would be suicidal.

I

INDONESIA, or the Netherlands India, is not a solid landmass but an archipelago, containing several large and many small islands separated by often, stormy tropical seas. Measured in terms of area, population and economic resources, she occupies an important place in South-East Asia. For centuries, Indonesia became "the forgotten zone of the Asiatic continent." From the moment of the capitulation of Japan during World War II, she has come into the limelight. Since the war, she was turned into a hot-bed of intense conflict between the resurgent nationalism and the decadent colonialism. At present, Indonesia is confronted with grave problems and her stability and economic developments are urgently called for not only in the interest of Asia, but also for the colony-holding nations of Europe.

II

Indonesia is made up of nearly 2,000 islands—large and small—covering an area of 375,000 sq. miles. She has a population of about 75 millions of which nearly 50 millions live in Java which is rich in resources, culture and civilization. The density of population in Java is nearly 1,000 to the sq. mile, which is also the greatest in the world. Indonesia is called "the cultural melting-pot of Asia." There the Brahmin, Buddhist and Naturalist traditions survive basically unchanged. The basic strain is Malaya, but it has mixed up considerably with Indian and Chinese strains. In spite of their absorption in the indigenous stock, they retain some local differences and show considerable variations in civilization. The majority of the Indonesian population are Moslems, although there are about 2,500,000 Christians, including 200,000 Europeans and nearly 2,000,000 Chinese. In Indonesia, no less than two hundred different languages are spoken.

Indonesia is the reservoir of valuable raw materials. Being one of the world's renowned areas of tropical agriculture, she produces abundant valuable products—tea, cinchona, copra, sisal, pepper, maize, sugar, coffee, etc. A vast crop of rice is also grown, but this is insufficient to feed the population. There are also valuable timber forests, particularly teak. From the point of view of the sinews of war, she possesses a large reserve of petroleum and rubber. In fact, this reserve of petroleum—the liquid gold—is the greatest asset to the oil-poor East and has drawn Indonesia into the vortex of power-politics. She is also rich in mineral resources like tin, coal and manganese and has large deposits of medium-grade iron ore. There is no gainsaying the fact that "not only were the Indies the cork by which Holland floated economically; they were also her window on

the outside world and provided rich opportunities for the exercise of creative energy."

As the islands lie between Asia and Australia fringing the sea-route between the Indian and Pacific Oceans, they form a discontinuous land-bridge linking two continents and command great strategic importance. Indonesia is "the hub of South-East Asia." In the words of the Secretary of State, Hull:

"Any change in the status of the Netherlands Indies would directly affect the interests of many countries. The Netherlands Indies are very important in the international relationships of the whole Pacific Ocean . . . Intervention in the domestic affairs of the Netherlands Indies or any alteration in their *status quo* by other than peaceful processes would be prejudicial to the cause of stability, peace and security, not only in the region of the Netherlands Indies but in the entire Pacific area."

The Big Powers of today are engaged in a diplomatic showdown to have their sway over this area in order to maintain land, naval and air bases.

Dutch sovereignty over Indonesia dates back to the establishment of trading posts in Java, Sumatra and Madura at the beginning of the 17th century. Early Dutch policy was openly colonialistic and exploitative, and as Indonesia consisted of a number of petty kingdoms with mutual jealousies, the early Governors lost no time to exploit the weakness of the situation. As Dr. Van Mook says:

"They practised of necessity a policy of *divide et impera*; of balancing between contending interests; of attracting one group to despoil the other."

For a long time trade remained the principal business. But with the growing power of the Dutch and the increasing demand of raw materials to feed the new industries, they progressively integrated the country with their home economy. On January 1, 1800, the Dutch Government took over the political and administrative control of the country from the Chartered Companies. Eventually, they embarked upon a policy of territorial expansion and political domination for the purpose of bringing greater financial returns to Holland. In 1830, they introduced 'Culture System' in Java for the development of resources in a more systematic way.

Dutch policy was modified towards the end of the 19th century in response to the new theories of productive efficiency and the exploitation of natural resources. Private capital began to flow in and new impetus was given to large-scale plantations. With a view to make this country a prop of their economic

1. Dorothy Woodman : *An A. B. C. of the Pacific* (A Penguin Special, 1942), pp. 61.

2. H. J. Van Mook : *The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia*, 1950, pp. 74-75.

structure, they improved it by building "an astounding edifice of order, wealth and sanitation." By 1910, all the islands of the archipelago came under the Dutch rule.

The Indonesian independence movement is the product of the present century. Like the Indian, it is essentially a movement of the middle-class intelligentsia. The effect of the Russo-Japanese war produced a new psychology which gave stimulus to Indonesian nationalism. Moreover, a series of international events like the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the upsurge of nationalism in India and the Near and Middle East, and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1918 imparted an added impetus to it. Shortly after World War I, it developed into an organised form and drew its inspiration from Western culture, modern democratic nationalism and Marxism.³ In the late thirties, the nationalist sentiment grew stronger and there were mass agitations for political autonomy. The Dutch took recourse to repressive measures and were temporarily successful. When the World War II broke out in 1939, Indonesian nationalism again flared up. But with the invasion of Japan the course of events took a different turn. The Japanese drew much support from the Indonesians by granting them a bare semblance of self-government. With a view to counteract the effect of Japanese occupation, Holland adopted a more liberal attitude. On December 7, 1942, Queen Wilhelmina announced that at the end of the War a Round Table Conference would be convened for the participation of Indonesia within the Commonwealth "with complete freedom of conduct for each part regarding internal affairs, but with readiness to render mutual assistance." Unfortunately, this plan proved to be illusory and the Indonesian leaders turned to the Japanese in the hope of securing better terms for them. Japan conceded a fair measure of autonomy to them by setting up a Provisional Government. This provided a golden opportunity for the Indonesian nationalists. They quickly trained Indonesian technicians and a army of, more than 60,000 on Japanese lines who were useful in subsequent years for fighting out Dutch Imperialism.

III

The surrender of Japan on August 11, 1945, decisively altered the situation in Indonesia; for, at the time of their surrender Japan provided every opportunity to the Indonesians to proclaim their independence. The Indonesian leaders immediately created a Preparatory Committee and on August 17, proclaimed their independence. They adopted a Constitution of which Article 1(1) reads:

"The Indonesian State shall be unitarian with a Republican form of Government."

3. L. K. Rosinger & Associates : *The State of Asia : A Contemporary Survey* 1951, p. 408.

They also issued a political manifesto stating Indonesia's right to freedom under the terms of the U. N. Charter and her desire to serve the cause of peace and humanity.

Meanwhile, the task of maintaining law and order was assigned to the British under Admiral Mountbatten. But being unprepared to take up the job, they delayed nearly six weeks within which the Indonesians were able to consolidate their position. On September 29, 1945, the British and Indian troops reached Indonesia in order to disarm and concentrate the Japanese forces, to rescue and bring home their prisoners of war, and obviously to pave the way for the military and political re-entry of the Dutch. The return of the Dutch forces provoked Indonesian resistance. Britain was put in a very embarrassing position when the Dutch refused to negotiate with the Republicans. For, as Dr. Evatt says:

"The Dutch, on their part, do not seem to have taken a sufficiently realistic view of the situation and were unduly flexible. The pre-war conditions had disappeared for ever, but the Dutch seemed slow to appreciate this."

But when the British forces were preparing for evacuation, the Netherlands Government accepted the idea of negotiation with the Indonesian Republicans at the Chequers Conference on December 27, 1945.

At the beginning of 1946, a proposal for an investigation by the U. N. Security Council was submitted by the Ukrainian delegate alleging that the military action directed by the British with the help of the Japanese forces against the Indonesians was in direct contradiction to Article 1(2) and Article 73 of the U.N. Charter, and constituted a threat to international peace and security. He asked the Security Council to take necessary measures by the creation of a Special Commission for an on-the-spot investigation. The Dutch Government objected to this on the ground of "domestic jurisdiction." Subsequently, the proposal was voted down and the matter was dropped.⁴

The atmosphere improved quickly with the arrival of Dr. Van Mook as Lieutenant Governor-General and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr as a Special British Envoy to Indonesia. Simultaneously, in February 1946 the Netherlands Government advanced a plan stressing the desire of a "Federal Indonesian Commonwealth" fully self-governing but united with Holland in allegiance to the Dutch Crown. Discussions on this basis took place but they did not materialise. While the negotiations were in abeyance, the Dutch hastily established some puppet States in and outside the Republican territory. Their objectives were two-fold: first, to enhance Dutch control in areas to which the

4. H. V. Evatt : *The Task of Nations*, 1949, p. 177.

5. *Year Book of the United Nations*, 1946-47, p. 338.

Republicans had originally laid claim; and secondly, to build counterweights to the Republic in the event that a federation of Indonesia was later created.⁶

In July, 1946, the Malino Conference at Macassar was convened by Dr. Van Mook in which it was decided that the Indonesian Republic would be a constituent part of a larger federal Commonwealth and linked with Holland by a personal tie. It should be pointed out that Indonesia insisted on establishing a strong centralised government but "the rise of federalism in Indonesia," says Prof. Kroef, "was primarily the consequence of the strategy employed by the Dutch in their attempt to discredit the young and, at that time, as yet unrecognised Republic." For, he again says, by promoting federalism they hoped to achieve two objectives: first, they believed they would convince the Security Council that the Indonesian dispute was a local or internal matter over which the Council could claim no jurisdiction; and, secondly, the Dutch hoped that by establishing a number of federal States an internal conflict between them could be created.⁷ However, opinions divided on the question of the nature of Indonesia's participation with Holland and the conference fell through.

With the arrival of Lord Killearn, the British Special Commissioner in South-East Asia, as a mediator between the two parties, negotiations were resumed in October, 1946. On November 15, 1946, the deadlock was temporarily broken off when the two parties initialled a "political accord" which was known as the Linggadjati Agreement. Under this agreement the Dutch recognised the *de facto* authority of the Republican Government over Java, Sumatra and Madura. At once recognition was accorded by the U.S.A., U.K., India, Australia, and the members of the Arab League. It was agreed that "the Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic shall co-operate in the rapid formation of a sovereign, democratic State on a federal basis to be called the United States of Indonesia (U.S.I.)." It was also decided that the areas occupied by the Allied or Netherlands troops would be included gradually in the Republican territory and the process was to be completed by January 1, 1949. The two parties agreed to settle by arbitration any dispute which might arise from the Agreement. After a fortnight the British forces left Indonesia leaving the country under the Netherlands Government.

The Linggadjati Agreement was one of the milestones in Indonesian political history. It raised great hopes despite its gaps, vagueness and reservation clauses. But these hopes were ultimately belied. Even before the Agreement was signed, the Dutch military

strength in the Indies was increased by 30,000 above the permitted figure, and the Netherlands Government pressed for unilateral acceptance of the interpretation of the Agreement to which the Republicans refused to yield. Fighting continued in Java and Sumatra after the Agreement was initialled. Each side accused the other of violating the truce term. The Dutch blockaded all the Republican ports which caused great economic hardship and proceeded with their policy of setting up "States" in the Outer Territories. In this depressing background the Agreement was finally signed in Batavia on March 25, 1947.

On July 20, large-scale fighting broke out in Java and Sumatra. It became quite clear that the Dutch signed the agreement "only to gain time and to complete their preparation for war."⁸ They described their repressive measures as police actions of a strictly limited character. But in reality it was "no police action against rebels but a veritable full-dress battle to crush nationalists."⁹

Dutch actions produced great international repercussions. On July 30, India and Australia brought the hostilities to the attention of the Security Council under Article 34(1) and Article 39 of the U. N. Charter, and urged it to take immediate action to restore international peace and security. Despite Netherlands' plea of "domestic jurisdiction," the Security Council passed a resolution on August 1, 1947, calling upon both parties to cease hostilities forthwith, to settle their disputes by arbitration or by other peaceful means, and to keep the Security Council informed about the progress of the settlement.

In spite of the cease-fire orders, the situation was still in flux. With the insistence of the Australian representative to the Council, on August 25, established a Committee of Good Offices consisting of three members—Belgium, Australia and the U.S.A. Under the auspices of the Committee of Good Offices the Renville Agreement was eventually concluded between the two parties on January 7, 1948. This Agreement consisted of a Truce Agreement and an annex of 18 principles which re-affirmed the provisions of the Linggadjati Agreement. Among others, the most important provisions of the Renville Agreement were: (1) the independence for the Indonesian people; (2) a Sovereign United States of Indonesia on a Federal basis under a constitution framed by "democratic processes"; (3) co-operation between the peoples of the Netherlands and Indonesia in the formation of a Netherlands-Indonesian Union; (4) sovereignty throughout Indonesia should remain with the Netherlands until transfer to the U.S.I. after a stated period; (5) the armed forces of both parties were to be reduced gradually, but there was no

requirement that troops be withdrawn to positions they had held before the police action.

The Renville Agreement had a short life. Although it afforded a breathing space and improved the atmosphere, the Dutch refused to change the present status of the Republic. Disputes on the basic question of sovereignty persisted. While the Dutch claimed sovereignty in strict terms of the Renville Principles, the Republicans claimed certain *de facto* attributes of sovereignty and denied Dutch sovereignty in certain respects. In fact, "the wrangle over *de jure* and *de facto* sovereignty was repeated *ad nauseam* only to play for time."¹⁰

After the conclusion of the Renville Agreement, the internal situation in Indonesia became worsened both politically and economically. Both the parties viewed each other with reserve and suspicion. On December 17, 1948, the Dutch sent an ultimatum for complete acceptance of their terms demanding reply within twenty-four hours which was impossible of fulfilment. Before the expiry of the time-limit military operations began in full swing in contravention of the Renville Agreement and the U. N. Charter. Some Indonesian leaders were thrown behind the prison bar. Immediately, the Committee of Good Offices reported to the Security Council urging it to restore peace and sanity. When the Council resumed the discussion on December 22, the Dutch again attempted to justify their actions on the ground of "domestic jurisdiction." After discussions for two days the Council adopted a resolution on December 24, calling up both parties to release the leaders and to cease hostilities forthwith. It also instructed the Committee of Good Offices to report on the sincerity of the parties to comply with the resolution.

In January, 1949, the Committee reported that the cease-fire order was not carried out and the Republican leaders remained under detention. The Security Council again resumed its discussions wherein the scorched-earth policy of the Dutch was severely condemned by the members. Moreover, the Dutch action influenced world opinion, particularly the Asian nations. At the insistence of Burma, the Asiatic Conference on Indonesia was convened in New Delhi on January 20, 1949. Almost all the Asian countries represented in it. Pandit Nehru severely condemned the Dutch imperialism and voiced the indignation of Asian people over "the most naked and unabashed aggression." In accordance with the decision of the Conference, the Security Council, on January 28, 1949, adopted a resolution calling upon both parties to stop military operations and to release immediately and unconditionally the leaders held under detention. It also asked the Netherlands Government to resume negotiations between the two parties to establish the United States of Indonesia on the basis of Linggadjati and Renville Agreements. Moreover, the Committee of Good Offices was replaced by a U. N. Commission which was given greater powers and advised to assist in all possible ways the parties in the peaceful settlement of disputes at the earliest possible time.

Yet the Dutch became obdurate. On March 1, 1949, the Commission reported that "the Netherlands Government had not complied with the basic prerequisites of further action under the resolution." At last, during the meeting of the Security Council in March 1949, the Netherlands representative consented to act in spirit of the resolution and proposed to convene a Round Table Conference to evolve a lasting settlement of the dispute. On this basis, the Security Council passed a resolution on March 23, 1949, directing the U. N. Commission to assist the parties to create an atmosphere for holding the proposed Conference at the Hague. The Republicans also gave assurance to participate in the Conference in order to implement the Council's resolution.

On August 23, 1949, the Round Table Conference met at the Hague. The representatives of the Netherlands, the Republic of Indonesia and U. N. Commission took part in it. After haggling for three months, a final agreement was hammered out which was embodied in a Charter of the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia: a statute for the Netherlands-Indonesian Union; agreements making operative the transfer of sovereignty and dealing with many problems arising from such radical change in relationships. It was also decided that the Netherlands would transfer complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (RUSI) by December 30, 1949, and would thereby recognise it as a fully independent and sovereign State. Western New Guinea or West Irian, over which no agreement had been reached, would continue to be under the Netherlands for the first year and after that the question of its status was to be determined through negotiations between the RUSI and the Netherlands.

The Hague Agreement was the triumph of Dutch diplomacy. For it sought for the perpetuation of Dutch influence both politically and economically. The provision for the Dutch-Indonesian Union was patterned after the British Commonwealth of Nations. But it should be noted that, as Prof. Kroef observes, "the possible safety-valve of a complete break with the Netherlands is not afforded by the present agreement."¹¹ Furthermore, by this Agreement the transfer of sovereignty became *incomplete* and *conditional*. For, says Prof. Kroef, "federalism permitted the Dutch to keep a toe in the door."¹² Not only did

11. Prof. Kroef: "The Indonesian Settlement." *Current History*, April, 1950, p. 195.

12. Prof. Kroef: "Indonesia: Federalism and Centralism," *Current History*, August, 1950, p. 93.

6. L. K. Rosinger & Associates: *Op. cit.*, p. 414.
7. Prof. Justus M. Vander Kroef: "Indonesia: Federalism and Centralism," *Current History*, August 1950, pp. 88-89.

8. K. P. Karunakaran: *India in World Affairs*, 1952, p. 221.
9. *India Quarterly*, 1949, p. 376.

10. *Ibid.*

the Agreement deny to Indonesians the right of controlling their foreign relations but that also decreed the continuation of foreign vested interests. It provided an opportunity for the free play of Dutch "imperialism" through dominating key sectors of Indonesian economy, Dutch-created puppet States which were dominated by feudal elements, pro-Dutch mercenaries, Surabaya naval base and the custody of undeveloped oil-rich Western New Guinea. It was evident that in accepting this Agreement, the Republicans acted on the well-known dictum that 'half a loaf is better than none.'

After a few days of debate the Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia ratified the Hague Award on December 14, 1949. The bulk of opposition came from the extremists, but nothing serious happened. The formal transfer of sovereignty by the Netherlands to the USI took place on December 27, 1949, at a ceremony in the Royal Palace of Amsterdam. And immediately after the transfer of sovereignty, formal recognition was accorded to the United States of Indonesia by the USA, UK, France, China (Nationalist), India, Pakistan, Canada, Australia, Burma, South Africa, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Turkey, Eire, Portugal, Siam, etc. Soviet recognition was accorded towards the end of January, 1950.

With the achievement of independence, Indonesia opened her diplomatic relations with various countries of the world—the USA, UK, India, Pakistan, etc. She appointed a High Commissioner in Holland because of her membership within the Netherlands Commonwealth. She has recognised the People's Republic of China and concluded trade agreement with her regarding the exchange of specific goods. Towards the end of 1935, she exchanged diplomatic representatives with the USSR, Indonesia was admitted as a member of the UNO and took active parts in the works of that organisation and its subsidiary bodies.

Indonesia's relationship with India is both unique and interesting. On March 3, 1951, a treaty of "perpetual peace and unalterable friendship" was concluded between the two countries.¹³ In international relations, she pursues the foreign policy very much akin to that of India, i.e., a policy of "positive neutrality" or "non-involvement" in either of the power blocks. During the Colombo Conference which held in May 1954, the Indonesian Prime Minister said:

"In case of conflict or controversy, we do not align ourselves with either of the opposing parties but, rather, we actively promote the policy of conciliation. We believe this policy is one of the most effective means of building international solidarity and securing peace in the world."¹⁴

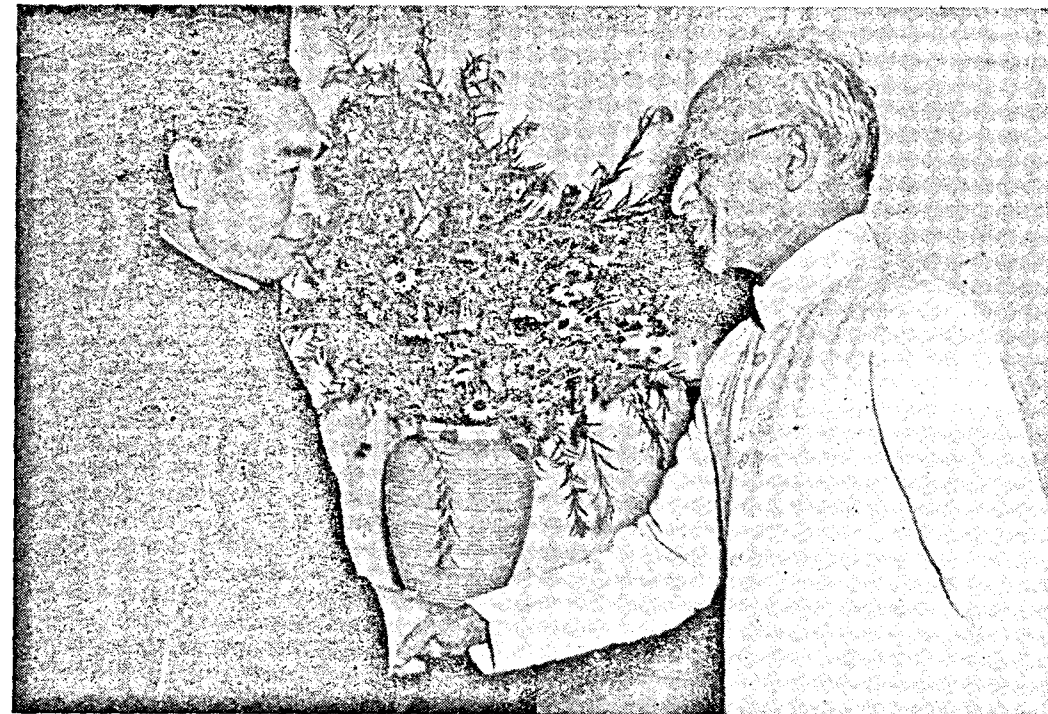
Moreover, she had taken a greater part in the direction of Asian affairs. It was reported that she was considering ways and means to exert her influence to settle the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.¹⁵ She was also exploring the possibility of a non-aggression pact between Indonesia, India, Burma and China in order to counteract the Western-sponsored "Asian NATO."¹⁶ Despite this following the policy of "active neutrality," she has maintained an attitude of cautious friendship towards the Western Powers, because she counts heavily on American aid for her economic reconstruction and development. She accepted full membership of the "Colombo Plan" for receiving "technical and economic assistance" to back up her Development Programme.

IV

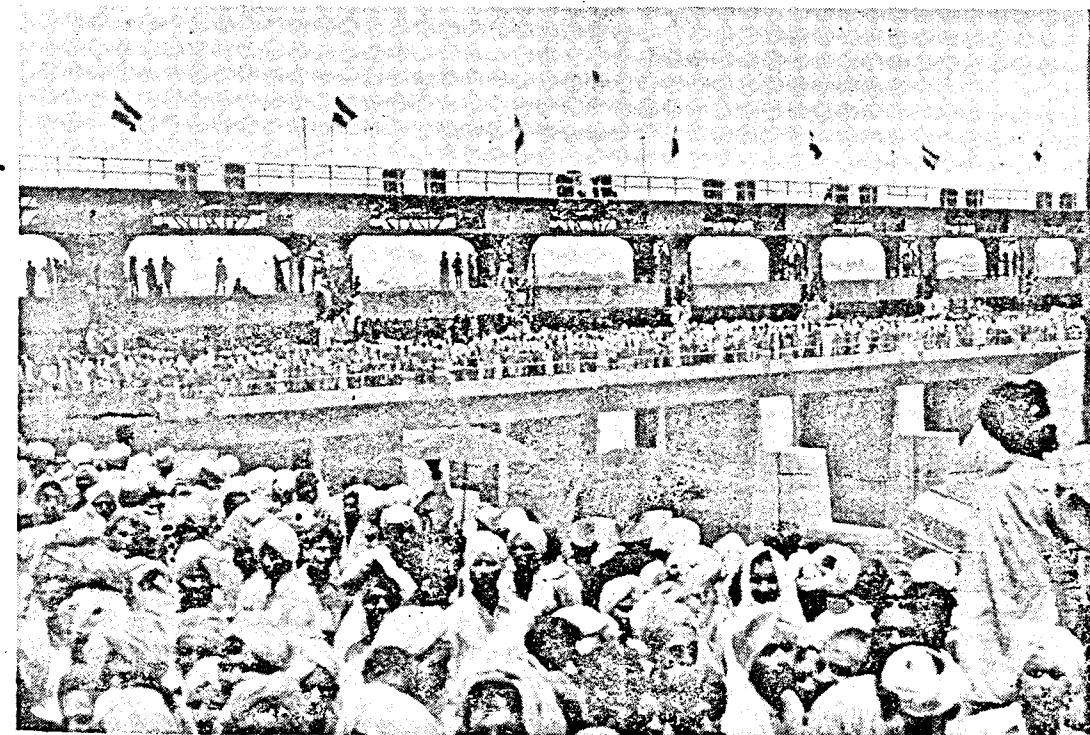
Since the change-over from the Colonial to national status, Indonesia, like other nations in South-East Asia, has confronted with diverse complexities of problems. Political independence has not yet brought about any substantial change in the economics and politics of Indonesia. This arises from the fact that economically she is not a prosperous country. It has been said that "this is largely a result of foreign rule which has always followed a ruinous economic policy."¹⁷ The pressing problems which she faces today are largely economic and the agrarian question remains the most urgent and controversial one to be solved.

Economically, Indonesia is dependent on her vital raw materials like rubber, copra, tin, etc. Among them, rubber is the "life-blood" of Indonesia's economy. She produces nearly 750,000 tons of rubber which costs her approximately \$150,000,000 annually. But it is the rubber tragedy which has hit Indonesia very hard. About ten million people have been directly affected by the ups and downs of this primary product. The fluctuation of prices has not only cut drastically into her external earnings, but reduced her internal revenues. Besides, the enactment of UN embargo against the People's Republic of China and North Korea has aggravated the problem further. Thus, there is neither the internal capital nor the foreign currency to buy some of the essential requirements of the investment programme. On the other hand, the amount of "foreign aid and assistance" forthcoming is very negligible. Consequently, the general standard of living has become low. It has caused discontent, and thus produced a disruptive effect on her national freedom and security.

In reality, the key to stabilise Indonesia's shaky economic situation lies in the "community approach



Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan greeting His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, in New Delhi on June 25



Large crowds witness the waters of the Sutlej flowing into the Nangal-Hydel Channel after its formal inauguration by the Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru

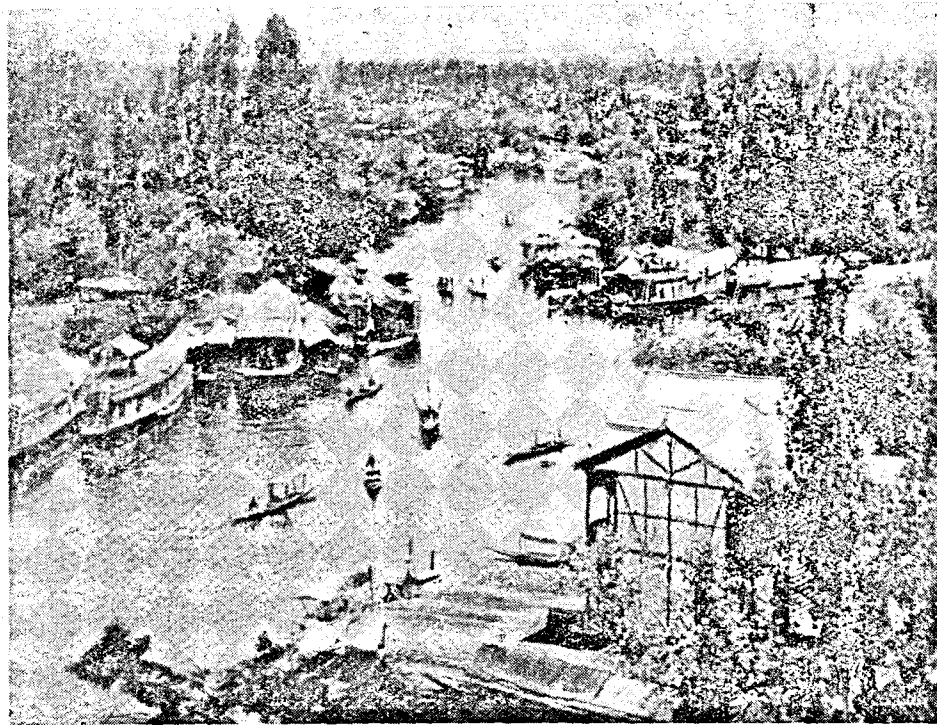
13. *Keesings Contemporary Archives*, 1950-52, p. 11332 B.

14. *The Statesman*, May, 6, 1954, (For Indonesia's Foreign Policy, see *Asian Nationalism and the West*, Edited by W. L. Holland, pp. 169-178).

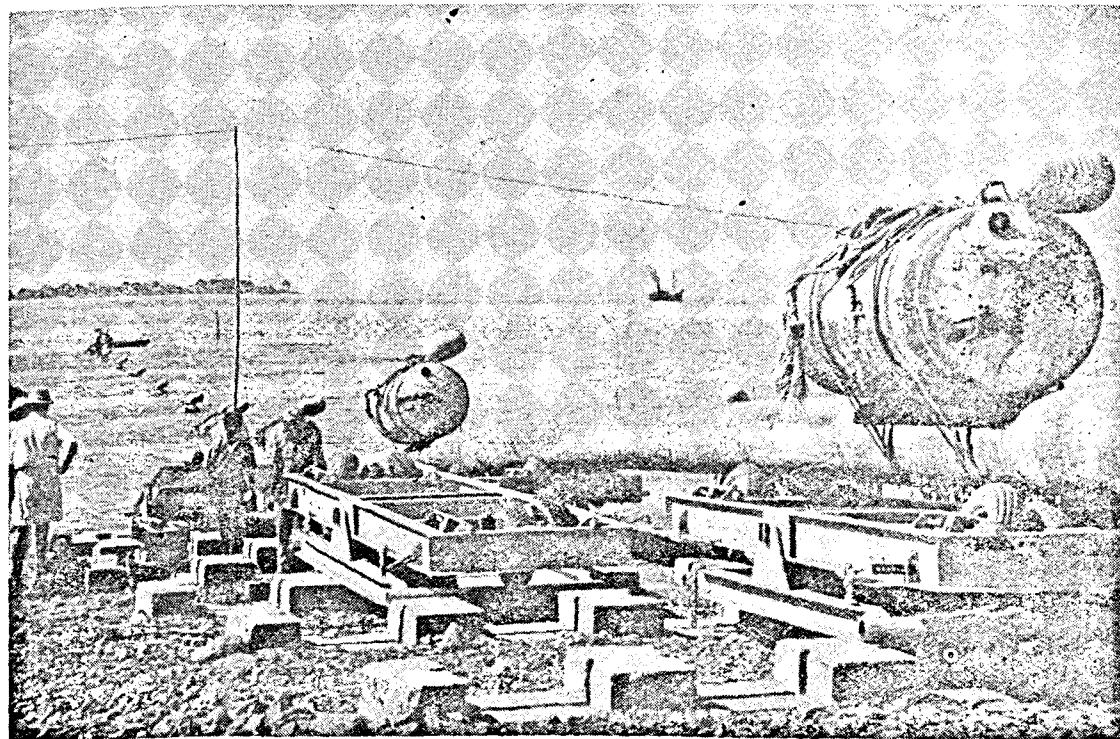
15. *The Statesman*, March 17, 1954.

16. *The Statesman*, May 18, 1954.

17. *India and South-East Asia*: Published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi, p. 58.



Panoramic view of the famous Dal Lake at Srinagar, Kashmir



Gigantic operation of launching submarine pipelines, connecting the Butcher Island Marine Terminal and Trombay

to rural development.¹⁸ It boils down to giving highest priority to stimulating and organising productive activities in the agricultural as well as the industrial field. It has been widely accepted that increasing production both in the agricultural and industrial sectors is the key to Indonesia's solvency and progress. With this end in view, she has adopted planned economy which aims primarily at increasing production so as to reduce the adverse balance of trade as well as dependence on imports of food and consumer goods.¹⁹ But this has not yet been effective because of threatening clouds in the horizon. With a view to launch upon a Five-Year Plan from January 1955, she was reviewing the progress made by India under her Five-Year Plan.²⁰ What she needs now—and needs very badly—is “foreign aid and assistance” for the development of her latent resources. A small degree of aid has already been received from the ECAFE, FAO, WHO, and also from the Colombo Plan. But they have proved to be insufficient in relation to the vast problems that she has confronted. More “foreign aid and assistance” are called for in order to switch on her development programme. This has been greatly emphasised at the ECAFE Conference which was held in February 1954 at Kandy in Ceylon.²¹

The economic instability has also caused great troubles in the body politic of Indonesia. Since the establishment of the Republican Government she has been torn by internecine squabbles leading to demonstrations and unrest. A number of political parties have sprung up without any clear-cut ideologies. At present, there are two major parties in Indonesia—the Masjumi Party and the Nationalist Party (PNI). The powerful Masjumi Party is in favour of the establishment of an “Islamic State” in Indonesia and opposed to the present Cabinet's policy of keeping aloof from power-political alliances. Party-political rivalries have also led to Cabinet crisis and encouraged discontent and lawlessness in many areas of the country. The reason of this political trouble is not far to seek. According to *London Times*:

“But this endemic political instability has deeper causes. There have been no elections, and the composition of the nominated Chamber remains unchanged, almost like a colonial legislature in its initial stages, oblivious to dissatisfaction and lawlessness in Java and the distant islands. The need for elections was recognised after the demonstrations last October, but nothing has been done to compile an electoral register.”²²

There is also another reason which should be reckoned with. As the *London Times* says:

18. Dr. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo: “Economic Problems in Indonesia and Our Way Out,” *India Quarterly*, Oct.-Dec., 1952, p. 264.

19. David Ingber: “Indonesia's First Eight Years,” *The Fortnightly*, August, 1953, p. 90.

20. *The Statesman*, June 14, 1954.

21. *The Statesman*, February 6, 1954.

22. *The Statesman*, July 18, 1953.

“Geography is the greatest barrier to national unity, to the identification of the majority with the common cause. The physical separation of more than 2,000 islands scattered about the oceanic area larger than the USA presents problems which the most efficient administration would find hard to solve.”²³

However, for a newly-independent Asian country like Indonesia, political stability is indispensable not only for her own future progress, but for the entire region of South-East Asia. And if stability of administration and steady advancement of the country are to be ensured, the leadership of the country should take courage in both hands to rid the body politic of the fundamental malady with which she had evidently been infected. With this end in view she should hold a general election without delay and frame a constitution according to the wishes of the people. Further, the political parties should co-operate with the Government in all matters of national importance at this juncture. Otherwise, it would lay open to intensified fissiparous tendencies that would mean the standing invitation to foreign intervention in her “domestic affairs.”

Another flash-point of conflict is the West New Guinea or West Irian. Pressing problems of Indonesia are ignored or swallowed up in the persistent demands of this territory. It was decided at the Hague Conference that the question of West Irian would be shelved for another one year and after that its fate was to be decided through negotiations between the two parties. After the expiry of the scheduled time, Indonesia pressed for deciding the fate of the Dutch New Guinea on various occasions. Negotiations went on, but of no avail owing to the obdurate policy of the Dutch. On April 14, 1954, the Netherlands Government has officially reported to the Indonesian Government their unwillingness to resume discussions on changing the status of the territory, which is ruled by Holland but claimed by Indonesia as part of her territory.²⁴ In fact, the reasons for this refusal lie in the importance of the territory. To Holland its importance is three-fold: first, it would serve as a “national home” for the Eurasians; secondly, it would afford facilities for her capitalistic adventure; and thirdly, it would provide an important strategic base in the maintenance of anti-Red defence organisation in the Pacific region. However, the solution of this burning problem lies in the statement of Pandit Nehru, who, during his official visit to Indonesia in June 1950, emphasized the fact that “it should be incorporated into Indonesia, both because it formed part of the Indonesian grouping and because ‘Western Colonialism’ should not be allowed to remain in any part of Asia.”²⁵

23. *The Statesman*, January 26, 1954.

24. *The Statesman*, April 16, 1954.

25. *Keesings Archives*, 1950-52, p. 10892 A.

BENGALI IN MANBHUM, DHALBHUM AND ADJOINING AREAS

By CHUNI LAL RAY

THERE is not the least doubt that the Bengali language has been spoken, and that the Bengali script has been in use in Manbhum, Dhalbhum, etc., for a very long time, from very long before the advent of the British and of Bengali followers of the Britishers. The inscriptions on the gates of the Panchkote fort in Manbhum, bearing date Samvat 1657 or 1659, i.e., about 1600 A.D., which are in the Bengali character, (vide page 279 of the *Manbhum District Gazetteer*) are direct evidence of the use of the Bengali script in this area at the close of the 16th century A.D. And there are other circumstances which raise the very strong presumption that Bengali was the language of the country from the 14th century at least.

In the 14th century A.D., copper ore was being extracted in Dhalbhum (vide page 23, *District Gazetteer*, Singbhum), and beautiful stone and brick temples were being erected, and fine images of Jaina Tirthankaras and of Hindu gods and goddesses were being executed in stone in several places in Manbhum district by a remarkable people who called themselves Sravakas. Their descendants of the present day, scattered in Manbhum, Dhalbhum and in the extreme south-eastern corner of Tamar and Khunti thanas of Ranchi district, also in parts of the Bankura and Birbhum districts of West Bengal bordering on Bihar, speak Bengali of considerable purity; and Dr. Grierson observed, on page 86, Vol. B, Part I of his *Linguistic Survey* that

"The difference between Saraki and Western Bengali is so slight that it is not worthy of the title of a separate dialect."

It is remarkable that Bengali is practically unknown, except for these Saraks, in thana Khunti, where the predominant language is Mundari. There is not the least evidence of the exercise of any special influence from the east on these Bengali-speaking Saraks in Khunti, or on their progenitors in the 14th century; and the most natural inference, in the circumstances, is that the ancient Sravakas of Manbhum and Dhalbhum and south-east Khunti had Bengali as their mother-tongue, and that they stuck to this mother-tongue even after migration to the preponderantly Mundari-speaking area of Khunti, in parts whereof no Aryan language at all, either Bihari or Bengali, is spoken, or even understood. There is tradition, no doubt, of the Sravakas having migrated, from the west, (some speaking of Ghazipur, others of Saurashtra); and there have been speculations about their connection with Saraogis or with Agarwalas of Rajasthan;

but such traditions and speculations can not be taken as any more suggestive of an earlier mother-tongue of Sravakas different from Bengali (on which Bengali was later imposed under pressure) than the tradition of migration from Kanyakubja would be for establishing, in respect of undoubtedly Bengali-speaking Banerjis, Mukherjis, Chatterjis, Gangulies, Ghoshals, Ghoshes, Boses, Mitras of Bengal, a very different mother-tongue in earlier ages. In any case, there can be no doubt that, with Sravakas who had settled down either in Dhalbhum, under the Man Rajas, or in Manbhum, under the Rajas of Panchkote, Bengali was already the mother-tongue in the 14th century A.D. The Mahishamardini images in Dulmi near Chandil, and in Boram, near Jaipur, are of a pattern unknown in Bihar, but very familiar in Bengal; and indeed it is a copy of the Dulmi sculpture that is worshipped as Durga in the Lakepalli Sarvajani Durga Puja in Calcutta.

The Sravakas extracted their copper ore in Dhalbhum, but it was possibly within the Manbhum district that they smelted the copper. Copper coins with some similarity to Puri-Kushan coins are still found in fair numbers, strewn on the ground, particularly after heavy showers of rain which disturb the soil surface, in Beldi in Pargana Barabhum of the district of Manbhum (vide *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika* of the first quarter of 1328 Bengal era).

In the 16th century, a flood of cultural contact with people from Central Bengal passed over Dhalbhum and Manbhum, also adjoining sub-plateau areas of Ranchi and Hazaribagh districts, when Chaitanya Deva, the great Bengali saint, passed, with a big party, through these areas in course of his journey from Nilachal (the hill-clad Nilgiri State now merged in Balasore district of Orissa) to Banaras. The party undoubtedly traversed the entire length of the Subarnarekha valley in Dhalbhum, and crossed that river somewhere near Jamshedpur, in the gap between the 3,000 feet high Dalma hill to the east and the smaller hills striking the river near the Ranchi border. The reference in *Chaitanya-Charitamrita* to Shri Chaitanya Deva's ablutions in a hot spring before he reached the road to Banaras leaves no doubt that this hot spring was either Indra-Jorba on the Ramgarh-Hazaribagh road or Kanki on the Ramgarh-Badam road, there being no other hot spring in that region (although there are several of them within a mile or two to the north and south of the Grand Trunk Road). Between Jamshedpur and Ramgarh, the route might have been,

either, west of the Baghmundi plateau of Manbhum, through the Patich Parganas of Ranchi district, or east of the Baghmundi plateau, not very far from the railway alignment via Purulia and Jhalda and then north-westwards through Gola. Along either route, particularly the eastern one, Radhakrishna songs and also *Navaratri kirtans* are very common, exactly as in Bankura, west Burdwan or Birbhum, very different from the *bhajans* of Sitarani cult characteristic of Hindi-speaking countries. Radha-Krishna songs in pure Bengali, composed by one Dina Tanti, a member of the untouchable Pan Tanti caste from an obscure village in Pargana Baghmundi not far from the Ranchi border, were very popular in Purulia in the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the twentieth century. During a subsequent visit to Purulia in the twenties, finding that these beautiful songs were losing popularity in competition with songs imported from the Calcutta theatres or through gramophone records, I made a collection of the few songs of Dina Tanti not yet forgotten and tried to send them in manuscript to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat through a very esteemed friend of mine; but recent enquiries disclose that my manuscript collection failed to reach the Parishat.

On the possible western route, through the Patich Parganas of Ranchi, very curious songs were composed by some Munda poets, in mixed Mundari and Bengali, like

Ogo, ogo, duti, okote Brojopati,
Mage, mage bachar murijan,
Oro gating mae hiju'a,
Nalita Brinda duti, okote Brojopati,

quoted on page 175 of Sarat Chandra Roy's *Mundas and Their Country*. It was probably from Shri Chaitanya's time that the Barabhum Bhumijes on the possible eastern route (about whom page 79 of the *Manbhum District Gazetteer* may be seen) changed from their tribal language to Bengali, and also that the dialect of Hindi spoken in the Gola-Kasmar-Ramgarh area of Hazaribagh took over the distinctive Bengali demonstrative pronoun 'se' and the Bengali words for 'is', 'came', 'went', etc., referred to in pages 59, 60 of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Hazaribagh*, for which the Het-Gola tongue has very often been mistaken to be a dialect of Bengali (vide para 726 of the *Census Report of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa* for 1911). It may be noted that in proceeding from Bengal to Gola, one must traverse the entire breadth of Manbhum district from east to west, and the same is the case for the home of the Munda poet who composed the song quoted above.

Persian was the only language allowed for use in Courts during the period of Mughal administration. The British soon realised the inconvenience for the general public arising from this; and, in their Regulations IV, V and VI of 1793, they issued directions that Bengali also was to be recognised as a language

for courts in the districts of Subah Bengal and Hindi for courts in Subah Behar. As a sequel to this, Bengali came to be prescribed for areas comprising (i) Dhalbhum and Barabhum Parganas, which were then parts of Midnapur district, (ii) Pachet, with Patcoom, Jhalda, Jharia, Nowagarh, etc., forming constituents of Pachet district, (iii) Pandra, now in the Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum, but then a part of Burdwan district, (iv) Deoghar, Jamtara and Dumka which were portions at that time of Birbhum district, (v) Pakur and Maheshpur which were then parts of Raichak district, and (vi) Rajmahal or Rajmahal, then controlled direct from Murshidabad. Similarly, Hindi became the popular court language in the next line of districts which had come from Subah Behar, viz., Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Hazaribagh (then known as Ramgarh) and Ranchi. What constitutes now the Sadar and Saraikela subdivisions of Singbhum district did not come into the picture at all, because the British had no jurisdiction over this area at the time, neither Mughal nor Mahratta having ever conquered this wild area; it was not till after a British military expedition in 1818 that the Raja of Singbhum admitted allegiance. (All talk of entire Chota Nagpur Division having gone over to the British in 1765 as an integral part of Behar is unalloyed fiction).

Buchanan Hamilton, travelling in 1810 through what is now the Santal Parganas district of Bihar, made frequent notes in his diary about the language spoken in the localities through which he passed. There is no mention of Hindi being spoken anywhere east or south-east of Kadnya and Gunjuria in Godda; and, from Nuni (Nunihat) onwards he came across Bengalis and Malos only. "At Dumka, most of the people speak Bengali," he writes (page 358, *B. and O. Research Society's Journal* for 1929); and Raj Bhuiyas or Rai Bhuiyas of places nearabout "have a different or bad dialect of the Bengali, like the Mal, which has a strong affinity to the dialect of the Bengali" (p. 357).

In 1833, there was a revolt of Bhumijes in Barabhum (now within Manbhum district, then in Midnapur); and one Mr. Dent who was sent out from Calcutta to quell the rising was surprised to find that Bhumijes spoke Bengali, and not any tribal language (p. 79, *Manbhum District Gazetteer*). They might have been speaking Bengali from a very long time back, possibly from the days of Shri Chaitanya's visit in the 16th century; but Mr. Dent's report of 1833 is the earliest written record available of Bengali being the mother-tongue of Bhumijes of Barabhum. In a few villages in the extreme western portions of Parganas Baghmundo, Patcoom and Dhalbhum, the tribal language is still spoken by Bhumijes, the total number of such Bhumijes being only 1,818. Bhumijes who have discarded the tribal language, number about 120,000 in Manbhum and about 60,000 in Dhalbhum.

Kharias and Paharias living near the foot of the Dalmia hills in Manbhum (pages 82, 83 of *Manbhum District Gazetteer*), numbering about 10,000, and Mal Paharias of Santal Parganas (referred to by Buchanan Hamilton as Mal) numbering about 55,000 are other Adibasi groups that have given up the tribal language and taken to Bengali; the same is the case with most sections of Koras, numbering about 20,000 in Manbhum (pages 81, 82 of *District Gazetteer*) and the Desaoi Majhi section of Santals in Manbhum and Dhalbhum. The numbers of Desaoi Santals can be roughly estimated by deducting from figures of the castes, the numbers shown as speaking the tribal dialect:

Manbhum: 282,315—242,091=40,224

Dhalbhum: 103,093—97,119=5,974

In the first decade of the present century Dr. Grierson compiled his monumental treatise on the *Linguistic Survey of India* of which page 152 of the Introductory Volume, and pages 69 to 119 of Part I. of Vol. V deal with Bengali in its western form as the predominant Aryan language in Dhalbhum, Manbhum (including Dhanbad subdivision) and the eastern two-thirds of Santal Parganas district. Pages 139, 140 and 145-6 of Part 2 of the same Volume V, which deal with mixed Bihari-Bengali dialects in use on the western fringes of the above areas and continuation thereof in the Panch Parganas of Ranchi district and the Gola-Kasmar-Ramgarh area of Hazaribagh district, are also worth perusal. Dr. Grierson's conclusions may be summarised as follows:

The western form of Bengali (known in some areas as Rarhi) is the predominant language in Dhalbhum and Manbhum, and is, next to Santali, the predominant language also in the southern and

eastern portions of the Santal Parganas. There however, some overlapping with Oriya, in Seraikhe immediately to the west of Dhalbhum and also the southern fringe of Dhalbhum itself, and there similar overlapping with Maithili Hindi in the borderland between Deoghar subdivision and the adjoining portions of Dumka and Pakur, and also Jamtara to a smaller extent, and with Magahi Hindi in the Nowgarh, Katras and Jharra Parganas of Manbhum. An there are also some mixed Magahi-Bengali dialects spoken by "immigrants from the highlands of Chhot Nagpur into Bengali-speaking areas," usually described as Kurmal or Khotta in the western portion of Manbhum and Dhalbhum or as Panch Pargani or Tamarra in sub-plateau area of Ranchi, or a Bangla in the Gola-Kasmar-Ramgarh area. These local names were, in Dr. Grierson's opinion, inappropriate, as "none of them applied sufficiently to all the speakers," e.g., "Kurmis do not all speak Bibari many of them speak Bengali; and in Manbhum, the Kurmal dialect is not confined to this one caste, but is spoken by other tribes also"; and he advised their replacement by the more comprehensive expression eastern Magahi. Grierson's estimate of the total number of persons speaking pure Magahi and the mixed dialects Kurmal, Khotta, etc., was 111,100; he could not get separate figures for the two. District Officer Mr. Coupland's estimate a few years later was Kurmal, Khotta, etc., somewhat over 40,000, and other dialects of Magahi Hindi and Magahi itself 120,000. As Kurmis in Manbhum numbered 226,000 in Grierson's time and 241,000 in Coupland's time, it may be safe to assume that not more than 20 per cent of Manbhum Kurmis speak Kurmal (along with many men of other castes), and that the remaining 80 per cent have Bengali as their mother-tongue.

POEM*

By F. R. STANLEY

When in the world of light, silence falls,
And the flight of song is broken, and spirit calls
To spirit in the lonely hour, will they remain,
The last notes of music we have made
From love and sadness, laughter and pain?

Wherever they go the sons of men will sing,
Some of the spirit's wonder, some of the Summer
and Spring;
And because they sang in the heart's faithfulness,
The music of their love and sadness, laughter and
pain, will remain.

* Rabindranath Tagore, died Aug. 7, 1941.

JURY SYSTEM IN INDIA

By P. C. RAICHOUDHURI, M.A., LL.B.

INTRODUCTION

THE jury system is one of England's numerous gifts to India. Rightly does Professor Munro say that "the art of self-government is the greatest contribution of the Anglo-Norman race to the progress of the world." The jury is based upon the conception of a person being tried by his peers. Self-governing institutions comparable to it are found among human groups of various times and places. But the origin of the institution, as it exists amongst the English-speaking nations, has been traced to Greece, Rome, the Slavs, the Norwegians, the Welsh, the Canon law and even to Asia. Whatever remote sources might have contributed to it, the germ of the jury was in Anglo-Saxon law, and other elements were introduced by the Normans. In short, the jury, which was shaped in the Anglo-Norman England, has been carried to its highest development by the English-speaking peoples since the Norman conquest. Its essential characteristics are found most clearly in criminal trials. Citizens who hold no permanent judicial office and who reside in the district in which the crime is committed, determine, under oath, the guilt or innocence of a person accused of the crime. Their power goes no further; the punishment is inflicted by the Judge. He also presides throughout the trial, decides what evidence the jury should consider and tells the jury what the laws governing their duties are. In England and the United States of America a jury consists of twelve citizens and there is no conviction unless the jurors are unanimous.

THREE KINDS OF JURY

A trial jury, called the petit jury in English-speaking countries, must be distinguished from the grand jury which consists of twelve to twenty-three members, tries no cases but functions in authorising trials and in various other ways. A coroner's jury, again, assists that officer in determining the nature of deaths suspected of being not from natural causes. In India, there is now nothing called grand jury and our concern in this article is not with the coroner's jury either. It may be mentioned here that assessors, like jurors, are a set of advisers to the judge; under the Code of Criminal Procedure all trials held in a Court of Sessions must be with the aid of assessors where, because of the absence of a Government notification, a jury may not be summoned. The difference between a trial by jury and that with the aid of assessors is in the fact that in the former the jury is the real tribunal but is aided, and only in certain matters directed, by the Judge, whereas in the latter the Judge is the sole tribunal aided by the assessors. The assessors are not responsible for the

decision; they give opinions, and not decisions, on facts. In assessor trials the Judge is the sole judge of law and fact. The assessors do not form a body as the jury does; each acts and gives his opinion individually.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN HINDU AND MUSLIM INDIA

In India, "in the early Vedic age there is no trace of any organised criminal justice vested either in the king or in the people. There seems to have prevailed the system of wiregild (Vaira) which indicated that criminal justice remained in the hands of those who were wronged" (Macdonell). In short, self-help seems to have been the prevailing rule. In the Sutras, however, the King's peace is recognised as infringing, a penalty being paid to him or to the Brahmins. In the Epics we find kings anxious to ensure justice to all. Throughout the history of the administration of justice in Hindu India we find no differentiation of civil and criminal actions. In the capitals the administration of justice was in the hands of the kings who were assisted by Brahmins and other peoples versed in law. But under them there was a hierarchy of judges, the better known amongst whom were the Pradvivaka, Dharmika, Dharmastha, Amatya, Adhyaksha, Purohita, Uparaja and Gramabhojaka. The Senapati, too, sometimes acted as a judge. Unlike the king they required no expounders of law to assist them. They used to sit generally in towns; but in those days, as even now, the towns were few and the villages more numerous; and in the villages the administration of justice was carried on by the *gramavidhas* (village elders) meeting in a *sabha*. The Muslim conquest superseded the Hindu judicial system in the capitals, principal cities and towns but the Panchayat system of administering justice in the villages was permitted to stay. In Muslim India, where also there was no formal distinction between the civil and the criminal law, the principal judicial officers were the emperors and Nababs themselves, their deputies, the Fouzdars, the Mohtesibs, the Kazis, the Muftis, the Darogas and the Kotwals; and they would very often seek the assistance of Maulvis for a correct view of law. Thus the assistance of outsiders, in some shape or other, was not unknown to the judicial administration of India throughout the ages; but nothing akin to the jury was there.

FIRST INTRODUCTION OF JURY IN INDIA

The jury was first witnessed in India in 1669. A Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1601 to the East India Company conferred on that body power to make laws for good government of the Company and for better advancement and continuance of trade and traffic. This power was renewed by the Charters

of 1609, 1651 and 1669 issued by James I and Charles II, and in exercise of this power some laws were made in those times. But there was then no regular court to administer those laws and the responsibility was undertaken by the Governors of the several establishments of the Company. Bombay was the first of the Company's settlements to take advantage of the power conferred by the Charters. Bombay was not a factory such as the Company had at Surat or on the Hooghly or in any other parts of India. It was not held by the Company from the Mughal or any other native power. The full sovereignty of the island was acquired by Charles II from the King of Portugal (1661) and after seven years that sovereignty along with the island was acquired by the Company. In 1669-70, Governor Aungier created two Courts, one superior and another inferior, for the island of Bombay. The superior Court consisted of the Governor or Deputy Governor and Council and would try all civil and criminal cases. We are told that this Court held the first jury trial in India in 1669; but regular juries were empanelled in Bombay not earlier than 1672 (*Fraser's Travels*).

Madras was the next to adopt the jury. There the Governor Streyntsham Master constituted the Governor and Council a Court of Judicature in 1678. This Court used to sit twice a week for trial of all cases, civil and criminal (except petty ones), with the aid of juries in accordance with the laws of England. Nothing like that was however seen in Bengal for many years to come. It is interesting to note that it was only in 1699 that Bengal was constituted a Presidency and in this youngest English settlement no regular Court for administration of the British law could be established because of the continued opposition on the Nababs and their Dewans. Fort William had to remain satisfied with its haphazard judicial system till the year 1726. In that year all the judicial bodies constituted by the previous Charters were superseded and in their places were established, by Letters Patent, Mayors, Courts at Bombay, Madras and Fort William for trial of civil suits. The Governors and Councils were constituted Courts of Appeal from the decisions of these Courts and these Government Courts further became Courts of Oyer and Terminer for trial of criminal cases. These Courts, rather Commissioners, used to try, with the grand and the petty jury, all offences (except treason) committed within the towns of Madras, Bombay and Fort William or factories subordinate thereto and within ten miles thereof. In this way the jury became a regular feature of the criminal trials in all the settlements of the Company by 1726. But the benefit of the system accrued in those days to Englishmen alone, the Indians being still governed by their own laws administered by the Indian Courts in capitals and towns and the Zamindars and Panchayats in villages. This state of things continued

through the Charter of 1753 almost uninterrupted till 1774 when in Fort William there came to be established a Supreme Court which, on the criminal side, was a Court of Oyer and Terminer. The Letters Patent by which it was created abolished the power of the Governor-General and Council as such Court. How the jury acquitted themselves in the Government Courts it is difficult at this distance of time to say; but there is reason to think that the English Jury, unfamiliar with the conditions obtaining in India, did not in the beginning do very well in the Supreme Court at Fort William. It appears, for example, that the collapse of the defence set up by Nanda Kumar had such a tremendous effect upon the jury that this almost turned the scale in favour of the prosecution. In spite of this and similar other infirmities the jury was not disfavoured and when a Supreme Court was established in Madras in 1800 and another in Bombay in 1823, they continued to try criminal cases with the aid of juries for many years to come.

COURTS OF SESSIONS AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODES

Side by side with these Courts there were those established by the East India Company for trial of criminal cases in the mofussils. These Courts of the Sessions Judges and the Nizamats Adalats were judges of fact as well as of law. By several Regulations it was ordered that trial by jury would be introduced in these Provincial Courts. Nothing however was done before 1831 when a petition signed by a large and influential section of the people was sent out from this country requesting the House of Commons to take steps for introduction of jury trial in mofussil Courts. Already in 1825, Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, wrote a Minute in which he expressed the following view:

"As far as the success of the proposed plan may depend upon the qualifications of the Natives we have the strongest reason to expect it, for, having been in former times and still being in the present accustomed to sit on the Panchayats, they are, in general, sufficiently expert in examining and weighing evidence."

The petition had its desired effect and trial by Jury was first introduced in the Provincial Courts of Bengal by the Regulation VI of 1832. The system was extended in 1843 to Madras by Act VII of that year. The privilege was not however extended to the other Presidency; and everywhere there was general exemption of the European British subjects from the jurisdiction of the Provincial Courts. They were amenable to the authority of the Supreme Courts alone (where the trial of criminal cases was by jury). But it was soon felt that it was extremely inconvenient to bring up before the Supreme Courts European British subjects accused of offences committed in mofussil and in 1849 two Bills were drafted for extension of

the jurisdiction of the Provincial Courts of Sessions and abolition of the exemption. As they were circulated for general information there was strong opposition from the European community who claimed their rights "to be tried by their own peers" and the Bills had to be dropped. The criminal procedure, as almost all other laws, remained divergent and extremely uncertain and the uncertainty gave rise to a sense of insecurity. The administrators began seriously to think of measures for remedying the defects. The abolition of the East India Company and the direct assumption of Government by the British Crown afforded a great opportunity. In a few years after the Queen's Proclamation the civil and criminal laws of the land were placed on a stable basis. Amongst those laws was the Criminal Procedure Code (1861) which applied to the whole of British India and all Courts, save only the Supreme Courts, were to be guided by it. The Supreme Courts were, however, abolished by 1862 and High Courts, governed by the Code in matters of criminal procedure were established in their places.

NATURE OF THE JURY IN INDIA

The Code of 1861 introduced a regular system of trial by jury all over India. Later legislation introduced changes from time to time, but none of them was fundamental. Under the Code the jury is in "the nature of an examining body" selected from the loyal subjects of the Crown and guided in their office, in so far as the legal questions are concerned, by the presiding judge. They try only the specific offences. Every year a list of jurors is prepared by the Collector of each district in consultation with the Sessions Judge; and at the time of the trial of a case a panel is formed of persons chosen by lot. All these were done in imitation of the English law prevailing at that time; but the Indian Jury is very much different from its English counterpart and the differences have been summed up by Monnier as follows:

"In England, the trial by jury is an inalienable right of the accused under the common law but in India, it depends upon a revocable order of the government applying it to particular areas and offences. The jurors in India are not jurata and determined cases under the Code of 1861 by a prescribed majority and since then they do it by a bare majority. The unanimous decision of a jury of 12 in England is different from that of the majority or even from the unanimous verdict of 5, 7 or 9 in India. There is here no finality in the verdict as in England."

In this matter the Indian system is a compromise, the essential characteristic, finality, being withheld. Its sacred character does not obtain here. The Code of 1861 approached the English law the nearest in finality but the amended Code of 1872 created an important departure from it in order to provide against miscarriage of justice. Interference by the High Court was allowed on the facts and the revised

Codes of 1882 to 1923 have provided for appeals on facts, in certain cases.

SPREAD OF JURY TRIALS IN INDIA

Immediately after the passing of the Act of 1861 the jury system was introduced in seven districts of Bengal—24 Parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan, Nadia, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna; but in other districts (save, of course, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Chittagong Hill Tracts) it came only in 1919. In the Assam Valley districts it was introduced as early as 1862, but Sylhet got it only in 1919. Poona was the first of the districts of Bombay to have the system (1867) and Ahmadabad, Karachi, Surat, Balgaum and Thana got it by 1886. Like Bengal, Madras adopted the system very early, first in the districts of Tanjore, Cuddalore, Arcot, Chittoor, Cuddapa, Rajamahendry, Vizagapattam, Tranquebar and a few others. By 1883, it was extended to all the districts of the Presidency except in the Agency Tracts of Ganjam, Godavary and Vizagapattam in respect of certain classes of cases. At Lucknow, Allahabad and Banaras it was introduced in 1884. Gradually many of the districts in the Punjab and the Central Provinces became jury districts and Burma too did not fail to catch the contagion. Later, owing to corruption or inefficiency, trial by jury was withdrawn in many districts.

ITS DOUBTFUL EFFICACY

Sincere regard of Englishmen for the capacity of lay judges to properly appreciate facts, an effort to associate Indians with the administration of justice in greater numbers and thereby raise their character, and political expediency to a certain extent were, in varying degrees, responsible for the introduction of this system into India. The result has not been an unmixed blessing to the administration of our criminal justice. Indeed, today the jury system stands at the bar of Indian public opinion. It is doubtful whether the expectation of Governor Munro (whose opinion has been quoted in a foregoing paragraph) has been fulfilled. It is well-known that this system has been subjected to severe criticism not only in this country but also in England, its homeland. There it had a historical growth. One of the judicial customs of the ancient Saxons was that a man might be cleared of an accusation of certain crimes if an appointed number of persons came forward and swear to a verdictum that they believed him to be innocent. The usual number of such jurors in any accusation of any consequence was 12. This custom was brought over to England and stuck to its soil. Then again the liberty-loving Englishmen had in the middle ages to fight hard with their kings for maintaining the freedom of their thoughts and actions. The judges who were generally dependent on the crown could not render them much of assistance; a Hale or a Gascoigne was a rare phenomenon in the judicial history of England of those days. It is generally held

that the independence of the judiciary in England dates from the passing of the Act of Settlement (1701) by which the tenure of the judges became fixed and secure. Before that it was impossible to place absolute reliance upon the judges (whose tenure was at the king's pleasure) and that was one of the reasons why, in spite of all the attendant difficulties, trial of offenders with the assistance of the jury became a cherished institution of Englishmen. Conditions have since changed fundamentally in England and, to quote the pregnant words of Best, "In modern times it is the packed jury and not the corrupt judge which upright citizens have to dread."

In America, too, there is the same apathy for jury today. American tradition included distrustful memories of even masterful English judges. To these were added abiding faith in the average man's capacities and an inexplicable scepticism for the claims of specialised skill or knowledge. Thus jury came to have a place in the very Constitution of the country and out of this background the Americans assigned in the State constitutions and statutes a very limited role for the trial judge. He was to be a little more than an umpire; the attorneys, with tactical freedom before the jury, had the real management of the case. Later however, when the temper of the Courts and the people favoured control over the jury there grew up a complex body of rules and the technical intricacy of appellate procedure was used to upset judgments based on jury verdicts. In this country many of the States increased the trial judges' field of operations by permitting the accused to waive jury trial in favour of trial before the judge alone. In the opinion of competent observers the tendency in recent times seems to be towards more waivers. In some States, e.g., Maryland, Wisconsin and Connecticut, trial by the judge has become the general rule. In 1930, the Supreme Court held that a defendant might waive jury trial in a Federal Court although there was no Statutory provision therefor.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST JURY

If that is the general attitude of Englishmen and Americans who associate the institution with their idea of liberty, indeed consider it to be a palladium of freedom and justice, the Indians who have no such tradition are likely to be more critical. The basic elements in favour of the jury are, in short, as follows: The jurors are selected generally from intelligent citizens and are capable of taking a commonsense view of facts; ordinarily they are of similar rank as the accused and having the same general interest understand their viewpoints better; the presence of laymen in the tribunal discourages too much of legal casuistry; and lastly, their presence in political cases is of immense value. In such cases a great temptation is held out to the executive to secure the conviction of political enemies by placing on the seat of justice, Judges "of complying morals or timorous dispositions." Where the fate of the prisoner is decided by a body the individual members of which

are unknown until the moment of trial such a temptation is far removed. The arguments against the jury may be summed up as follows: The facts are often much too complicated to be fully grasped by lay judges; in between the skilful argument of counsel of both the sides the jurors often get puzzled and nothing but the exhortations of the presiding judge (which is improper) can pull them out of the difficulty; experience shows that the more learned the members of the jury, the greater is their tendency of convicting on insufficient evidence and mainly on preconceived notions; it is almost impossible for men of ordinary commonsense and education to properly appreciate the difference between the finer shades of similar crimes, e.g., murder and culpable homicide, attempt at rape and outraging modesty, etc.; the principle that a tribunal shall be composed of prisoner's equals is *prima facie* unreasonable, since law's policy cannot be to make provisions simply for escape of the offender; and lastly, the jurors are likely to be more emotional and even actuated by baser motives in giving their verdicts.

CONCLUSION

It is not that our rulers had not all these points in their minds when they introduced the jury system into our criminal procedure. The English system was not transplanted in toto; adequate provisions were made for an appeal against the perverse verdict of the jury, although unanimous. That the jury has not been a conspicuous success in this country will be evident from the fact that its progress has been very slow. From the very beginning opinions have been sharply divided as to its utility. Majority of judges have considered it to be an utter failure, but the press declared in its favour; and in the Poona (1895) and Calcutta (1896) sessions of the Indian National Congress resolutions were passed affirming the view that the time had arrived when the jury trial might be "safely extended to many parts of the country where it was then not in force." It is doubtful whether the Indian public opinion has set a high value on the system. The gentlemen of the jury are, at least, not generally held in that esteem which, as judges, they do certainly deserve.

Time has now arrived for a reconsideration of the matter in the light of changed circumstances. The judges are now almost all Indians and, unlike the European judges who were not always acquainted with the local conditions, they do not require the assistance of outsiders for evaluation of evidence. Without gainsaying the advantage of putting more minds than one into any affair, judicial or otherwise, it must be inquired whether the system has fulfilled its purpose. For an intelligent grasp of facts some amount of special training as to sifting of evidence is necessary. The very imperfect often stereotyped address that is muttered by the judge at the end of every trial is more often than not of little practical

value. Law is not always commonsense and for understanding its principles a little more than average intelligence is essential. The point, therefore, is whether the more intelligent section of our people having such training and intelligence is willing to serve in the jury. The next point is whether our character has been so formed as to place our usual judges above temptations, when there is no other check than the so-called fear of God and the remote possibility of detection. And lastly, there is the question of adequate funds for the purpose. As was nicely put in the *Westminster Review* for April, 1872:

"Are we justified in imposing for the general good so heavy a burden on the individual citizen as his compulsory absence, for an indefinite period, from the employment by which he gains his livelihood? We are accustomed on other subjects to demand very clear proof of necessity before requiring so serious a sacrifice. We do not expect our ministers of State, our judges and our generals, even though their service is voluntary, to act without a just remuneration. . . . We recognise our duty to pay them sufficiently well to make it worth their while to serve us voluntarily. The payment of jurors in the same way from the State

funds would be a grievous charge on the taxpayer."

The writer, therefore, advocated abolition of the system. It is well-known that the compensation paid to the jurors in our country is extremely inadequate and no one save a very patriotic citizen or a dishonest person is willing to sit in the jury. Perhaps, we have not got enough of the former sort of people and their patriotism, even if we have, will undoubtedly evaporate when there is a prospect of the trial being indefinitely prolonged. It is true that to be on the jury list "ought to be regarded as an honour and distinction" (Stephen); but even then, unless proper arrangements are made for the comfort of the jurors and payment of their expenses on duty, no man of standing and intelligence would be willing to fill the position. Is there any need today of the jury in India save in political cases? Is it necessary simply for giving the much too mechanical criminal trials "the character of human concerns?" We are told that the Union and the State Governments are thinking of reforms in the matter of criminal procedure in general and we expect that they will give these questions their proper consideration.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE RAJBANSHIS

By JYOTIRMOY ROY, M.A.,

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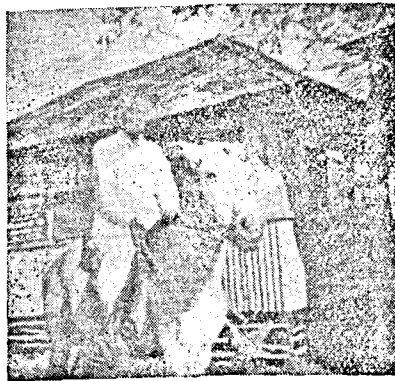
THE Rajbanshis are a Mongolian type of people inhabiting the northern districts of West Bengal. These snub-nosed, small-eyed and beardless people claim their descent from the Kshatriyas of old and deem themselves superior by birth to those outside their clan. They use a peculiar dialect which though apparently Bengali sounds Greek to the unaccustomed ear and all their social customs and intercourse are strictly limited to themselves. Dining with foreigners whom they term as *Bhatiyas* is forbidden and anybody contacting any relation with them either by marriage or otherwise is declared an outcast.

More than ninety-nine per cent of the Rajbanshis are agriculturists and here as elsewhere the share-croppers predominate. Though a Rajbanshi Zotedar is no less exacting than anybody else of his class, the share-cropper belonging to this community prefers to work under one of his tribe and very rarely he is found in the employment of Musalman Zotedars in spite of their holding a substantial portion of the available land. The rest are either a trader in timber or non-agricultural labour.

The peculiar agricultural system prevailing in these districts is responsible for curbing the initiative and enthusiasm both of the landlords and of the share-croppers. The landlords own vast tracts of land

and even in these days of acute food crisis, you may find acres of unploughed soil anywhere in this part of the State. Most primitive techniques are used in the process of agriculture and as a general rule any particular piece of land is sown alternately from year to year under the notion that the fertility is thereby increased. Double cropping is practically absent and instances are by no means rare when the mature crop is not harvested for some reason or other. Fortunately enough, these practices are gradually dying out with the colonisation of the refugees from East Bengal who in spite of their various faults are generally good cultivators. The ownership of vast areas makes the landlord unmindful of land-improvement as the simple necessities of life and a few luxuries can be obtained from the output of the soil with much ease. An example will make the point more explicit. A man owning 100 acres of land (which is very common) can easily obtain 800 maunds of paddy (8 maunds per acre) every year without expending a single farthing for land-improvement and without taking resort to improved techniques of agriculture as well as avoiding the use of the superior variety of seeds. Now, even at the rate of Rs. 10 per maund (market rate is invariably higher), this fetches him Rs. 8,000 a year. And who will dispute that this sum is more than sufficient for maintaining the standard

of an Indian cultivator even if a liberal amount is set aside as the cost of agricultural operations? Naturally, therefore, he is lethargic and his ambition being very moderate he hardly exerts himself to utilise the lands to the best of his advantages. Characteristically too, he loathes the idea of any improvement.



An influential Zotedar on horseback. The office of the Indian Central Jute Committee is in the background

From the share-cropper's point of view the picture is not much brighter. It is a tradition over here that a Zotedar must feed the share-cropper and his family throughout the year besides providing him with a dwelling hut and necessary agricultural implements. Good or bad harvest, the share-cropper is sure to receive the advance of foodgrains from the Zotedar who is locally called a *grihi*. These advances are, of course, adjusted at the end of the year from the share-cropper's share of the output but as it is, the latter seldom knows nor does he care to know how much is left after paying off the debt incurred during the previous months. This assurance of obtaining the bare necessities under any circumstances whatsoever, takes away the incentive of the share-cropper and he continues his exertions most reluctantly. Again, this blind faith imposed on the Zotedar is not at all to his benefit because we are not living in Ram-rajya to expect the Zotedar not to take advantage of the situation. The accounts are manipulated and at times the share-cropper is thrown away most arbitrarily. Luckily, he can get into the employment of any other landlord without much loss of time, there being a chronic dearth of able-bodied agricultural labourers amongst the Rajbanshis.

Their standard of living—both rich and poor—is fantastically low. The two principal meals consist of rice and a sole vegetable curry (a variety known as *lapha* being the most palatable) while the richer section relishes an occasional dish of fish which is generally burnt in an open oven and taken with a grain of salt. Dried fish is preferred to the fresh. Without exception the Rajbanshis take tea in

the morning and in the evening and those who cannot afford the luxury of sugar and milk, take it raw. As for clothes, the average man somehow manages to cover his sex organ with a piece of cloth while the remaining body is left totally bare. Man with a bit higher income stretches his *dhuti* up to the knees and wears a *genji* (under-garment for the upper body) on festive occasions. The richer section now-a-days wears *dhuti* and *punjabi* (*kurta*) while the modernised ones are not slow in adopting themselves to the use of pants and shirts. The womenfolk ties a piece of cloth which is known as *phuta* just above the breasts and it hangs up to the knees. A sari-clad Rajbanshi woman is not a rare sight. The townspeople will shudder to note that at least up to the age of ten, a Rajbanshi child—both male and female—maintains his birthday costume.



A Rajbanshi Zotedar with his bicycle

Both the sexes are fond of smoking and quality of the smoke differs with the income. A poor peasant is content with *bidi*s while his master relishes cheap-variety cigarettes and it may be the case that the master's modernised and educated (?) son touches nothing but Goldflake or State Express.

The writer of this article had the opportunity of collecting the monthly budget of some Rajbanshi families from every walk of life continuously for the last three years and an analysis of those family budgets reveals the following tendency:

Items of expenditure	Percentage of total expenditure
Food—(1) Cereals	66.0 per cent
(2) Others	22.7 " "
Clothings	1.5 " "
Tea, tobacco, etc.	7.6 " "
Education	0.5 " "
Medical expenses	0.7 " "
Miscellaneous	1.0 " "

Social customs again take a heavy drain of resources. Girls are to be purchased in marriage and so when the richer section goes on adding to the strength of their wives, the poor are compelled to

wait till late in life to accumulate the necessary sum. This has its evil effects too. The moral character of a Rajbanshi cannot, therefore, stand a hard test and the society also takes the matter lightly. The victims of venereal diseases are daily increasing as well. Widow-remarriage is hardly in vogue though she is allowed to live with another as man and wife and this 'adopted husband' goes by the name of *dangua*. If they beget children, they may obtain a share of their mother's property together with the stepbrother (if any by her previous husband) though the *dangua* himself cannot claim any legal right to the properties left by his predecessor. That the *dangua* is not held in much esteem is evidenced by the peculiar belief amongst the Rajbanshis that an elephant is sure to refuse any food offered by a *dangua* and they claim that the truth of it has amply been tested.



Another Zotedar inspecting his paddy-field

The girl becomes marriageable at the age of ten and the system of taking a *ghar-jamai* (bringing the groom to live with the bride's father) is very common. Again, a poor youngman can earn the requisite dowry by working under the would-be father-in-law. A contract is entered into when the bride's father agrees to give his daughter in marriage to the contracting youth in lieu of the latter's labour of a specified period of time. During the intervening period the youth lives as a member of the family and gets the bare necessities but no cash. Often romances creep in and the father is obliged to expedite the ceremony to avoid the infamy of illegitimate birth in the family. In case, the bride's father backs out and refuses to contract any matrimonial alliance with the youngman concerned after he has worked for sometime, the latter is entitled to receive the full money wage for the entire period of apprenticeship. Though rare, yet there are instances when the youth concerned made good his escape at the detection of the signs of pregnancy in his lady-love and could not be traced. Such girls and offspring are, of course, tolerated in the society though few agree

to take her again as wife. Anyway, by virtue of her blooming youth and beauty she can easily attract admirers and spend the rest of her life merrily with this or that man. She is then known as an *andri*. Married women are, however, strictly required to maintain the sanctity of conjugal life.

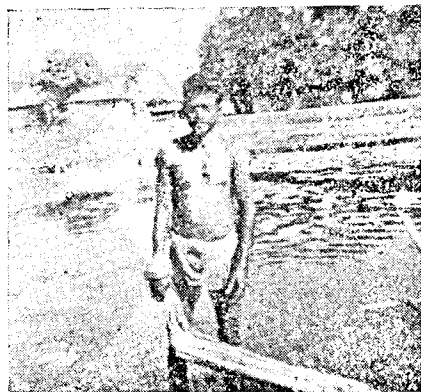
Romance is by no means rare in a Rajbanshi's life. Often a youngman elopes with a girl of the village and hides her somewhere till the parents of the girl surrender and propose marriage. The wrong doer must, of course, make good the wounded reputation of the bride's father by paying an agreed sum of money before the actual ceremony takes place. Girls too sometimes take a leading part. She may indicate her desire by sprinkling water on the body of her cherished one and if the man agrees marriage follows. This system is known as *pani-sachani* (sprinkling of water). The man is also entitled to indicate his desire in the same way with the only difference that in case the girl objects, he will have a good beating. Another system known as *ghar-sidhani* (entering the house) provides that the girl may of her own accord enter the bed chamber of the youngman of her liking. She will then refuse to come out on any persuasion whatsoever and here again marriage is the only solution.



A cultivator who habitually wears half-pants

Economic calculations take no mean part in the question of "to marry or not to marry," and more so in the case of well-to-do persons. When a man adds a few acres of land, the work of the womenfolk naturally increases as women are responsible for all the post-thrashing activities. The landlord, therefore, calculates within himself whether to engage an extra maid or to bring an additional wife and generally the second wins, because engaging a maid means giving her a salary besides providing for other necessities while in case of a wife the question of salary does not arise at all. Sometimes, she comes as a maid and is soon converted into a wife. Young

widows are now-a-days generally remarried and elderly widows with two or three children bestow favour on a man who must come to stay with her and as has already been stated he is called a *dangua*. Premarital flirtation on the part of the girls is tolerated even if that does not bring a wedlock. Feasts are arranged on occasions like marriage even by borrowing. A share-cropper is usually accommodated by his Zotedar while others rush to the Marwari merchants in the nearby sub-towns. Once under their grip, these Marwaris suck the whole blood of the victim who is devoid of the knowledge of three R's and so fails to understand what is written in the bond he must sign before borrowing nor does he care to know. He still



A labourer extracting jute believes that the *babu-loks* cannot play false and as a natural corollary to this you may find a large number of Marwari Zotedars owning vast areas in this part of the State. Elsewhere in the State of West Bengal they are merely traders but in the north they are landlords as well.

The dwelling of a Rajbanshi is a simple thatched hut which serves both the purposes of a dwelling and a kitchen. The well-to-do amongst them have a fancy for constructing two-storeyed corrugated iron sheds where also like the poorman's hut a minimum amount of light and air is allowed to penetrate. Another sign of prosperity of a Rajbanshi is the possession of a licensed gun. It is curious to note that in times of danger, such as raid by dacoits, etc., this gun remains totally ineffective and instances are very rare when the guns have been used for self-defence. The habit of banking is still to grow amongst these people and as such substantial sums are hoarded in the dwelling houses by the upper and the middle income groups which readily invites robbers and burglars. Gold is sparingly used; silver bangles, *hasuli* (necklace) and silver *mals* in both the legs have the sole privilege of adorning the fair sex. The luxury of possessing a horse and a bicycle is often indulged in by a financially solvent Rajbanshi even if he does not know cycling.

Education was a taboo even a generation ago. Now-a-days, the boy from the upper strata generally attends school till he is engaged in romance with a pretty dame and once married he enters life. The possession of a school boy generally includes amongst other things a wrist-watch, a bicycle, a pair of trousers, a packet of Capstan cigarettes and a cigarette lighter. He must also have a decent pocket allowance to treat his friends occasionally with sweets and cinema-shows in the neighbouring town. And the father is proud to announce in public the big sum that his educated (?) son squeezes from him! No wonder that such a son develops but little intimacy with the goddess of learning.

People are very enthusiastic over the worship of Mother Durga. Other gods and goddesses are worshipped also. Like the Adivashis of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, these people do not indulge in intoxicants in the name of Pujas and in normal times as well drinking as a habit is not widely prevalent. Holi or Doljatra is another festival to which the Rajbanshis lend active support and money is expended like anything. Everyone has his family deity too—Nityananda, Chaityanna, Padma, Hanuman and many others. Up to this they agree with the other Hindu population of Bengal and there are reasons to believe that of late the above-mentioned festivals have usurped the place of the traditional worship of the Rajbanshis. Some old people said



Some Rajbanshi boys notice with curiosity the operation of the jute seed-drill by the staff of the Indian Central Jute Committee to the author that in their childhood these modern gods were unknown and only recently they have attracted the fancy of the younger generation in view of the pomp and grandeur associated with them. The author is of the opinion that this is the outcome of their mixing with the outsiders who were naturally attracted to the northern districts in their search for bread and settled themselves in the locality. Anyway, the historian is more competent to put forward the correct viewpoint than the writer of the present article who is a student of economics.

The indigenous god, the *Gram Thakur*, is still widely worshipped by the Rajbanshis. This is done in the month of Ashar every year in a place far from the house and amidst the blooming crops (*aus* paddy, jute, etc.), and a very small hut is erected for the purpose. The *kula-guru* (family priest) who is called a *damda* (obviously from the Bengali word *devata*) conducts the whole affair, at the end of which sumptuous dishes are served. Goats and pigeons are offered as sacrifices and in this function the women have



A happy old woman

very little to do. They have, however, a separate function of their own known as the worship of *Tista Bari* which name presumably comes from the name of the mighty river Tista. This occurs in the month of Baishakh and every farthing of the expenditure is collected by the womenfolk themselves by collecting alms from door to door. In the forest area, another goddess named *Sateswari* is occasionally invoked as well. The above celebrations require no Brahmin and the *guru* who is also a Kshatriya by caste is competent enough to pilot. But in case of other divinities such as Durga, Kali, etc., a Brahmin is invariably imported who is unavoidably a *bhatiya* (outsider). Does this not lend support to the author's theory that these gods and goddesses entered into the life of the Rajbanshis at a later stage in course of their association with the foreigners?

The Rajbanshis are tremendously afraid of the ghosts as they are sure to come down upon human beings any time nobody can tell. The writer had the opportunity to witness one such victim of possession by a ghost. A simple village-folk apparently devoid of the knowledge of reading and writing was found to talk English fluently, at least 50% of which was not unmeaning and the writer found and still finds it difficult to explain the phenomenon. To drive out spirits, the *Ruja* is the best doctor. His first task is to administer a good beating on the person of the victim, chanting *mantras* all the while till the unfortunate fellow becomes unconscious. The

evil spirit is then drawn into a conversation with the *Ruja* through the medium of the unconscious victim. With unutterable rebukes in his lips accompanied by obscene movements of the body, the *Ruja* drags on the conversation till the spirit agrees to forsake the victim generally under certain conditions. If those conditions are not fulfilled or wilfully delayed, the spirit reserves the right of re-appearance and this time he secures the additional guarantee of non-interference by any *Ruja*. The ghosts are sex-conscious too—a man generally falls prey to a female spirit and *vice versa*; again the young are more likely to be the target than the old.

Individually, a Rajbanshi is awfully lazy. He does not like to move unless compelled to. Though a voracious eater, he can remain without food for days together as well. The writer has the experience of being refused by a starving person when the latter was asked to walk a distance of four miles to deliver a letter for which the bearer would be paid a full meal plus a sum of one rupee. The women are more active and painstaking than the men and on occasions when the store may be without a morsel of food of any kind, it is the wife and not the husband who exerts to earn the bread or to procure something by loan. Besides collecting fuel, etc., for sale, she also earns by husking paddy and often by working



Rajbanshi mother in her traditional robe and the daughter in sari

in the fields. She is by no means a drag to her husband and more often than not she contributes substantially to the family budget. This holds good in case of the well-to-do families as well. It is, of course, a fact that here she is not required to earn wages from outside but the physical exertion that she renders for the family is by no means negligible. It is this consideration that generally prompts one to go on adding to the number of wives. She takes practically no rest save and except two or three days after child-birth. Ailments of women-folk are not to be seriously taken and instances are not rare

when the wife of a rich Zotedar dies quite uncared for. As a matter of fact, medicine has still today a rare access to a Rajbanshi family and the Ruja predominates. It is only when any talisman or sacred water fails to cure that a physician is ushered in but that is generally too late. Moreover, it is not always possible to avail themselves of the services of a qualified doctor in view of their scarcity specially in rural areas and hence the quacks have some say in the matter. To call a qualified physician from a distant place is with certain exceptions beyond the means of the Rajbanshis.

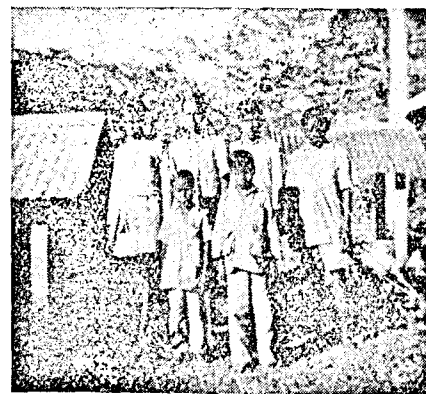


Rajbanshi boys on the way to school

The dead are generally cremated while the practice of burial is not unknown. The poor who cannot bear the expenses of fuel, etc., take recourse to the latter. Women dying at child-birth are, however, buried by all irrespective of the consideration of wealth. Death invariably puts a financial strain on the surviving relations. Besides the provision of new clothes to the deceased, the *sraddha* ceremony must be performed with due pomp at the end of twelve days, and during the intervening period the near relatives practise austerity. They must not take more than one meal a day which again is to be devoid of salt, *dal* and curry of any kind. A son who cannot feed his co-villagers on the occasion of the *sraddha* ceremony of his deceased father is looked down in the society. The poor fellow is, therefore, obliged to run to a *mahajan* (money-lender) and the poorer he is, the higher will be the rate of interest, as he cannot offer any tangible security for the loan granted. The *kula-guru* and the Ruja also must have their shares.

The society is organised villagewise under a headman who goes by the local name of *deonia*. The headmanship is neither hereditary nor elective. Anybody may occupy this coveted position by virtue of his superior intellect, bravery and cleverness. Whatever might be the case in bygone days, he is, now, generally the President of an Union Board or a member or an influential Zotedar. The *deonia* exerts tremendous influence in the

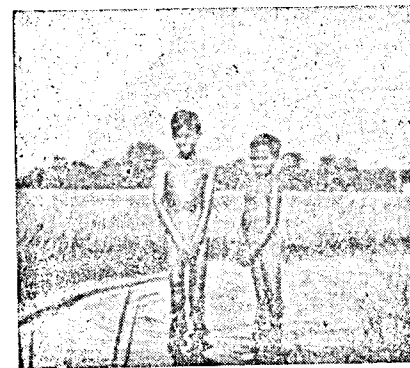
society and everything—be it marriage or *sraddha*—must have his previous sanction and the programme should be chalked out with his advice. He is farther an arbitrator of local disputes, a law-giver in petty cases, besides being the adviser of the entire community in relation to their contact with the outside world. It is, therefore, to his interest to arrange intrigues amongst the villagers so that he may reign supreme as per the maxim—divide and rule. It must not be understood that these services by the *deonia* are done gratis. The actual fact is far from it. He must be paid in full for every bit of service rendered or advice given and it will not be wrong to say that he sucks the life-blood of the community. An interesting case may be cited here. Once a village *deonia* who was also an Union Board clerk came to the writer of this article with a document written in English. The person who was concerned with the text of the document was made to wait a few furlongs off the author's bungalow. On being requested, the author made the contents explicitly understood (in Bengali) to the bearer who then left. It was later on revealed that the *deonia* besides charging his own fees for the trouble involved in approaching the writer, made the poor man pay an extra sum of Rs. 5 only on the pretext that the writer would accept nothing less for the task of explanation.



Some boys and girls in their winter robes. Small huts for worshipping Gram Thakur are seen in the background

The moral character of a *deonia* is anything but satisfactory. Being economically solvent, he generally maintains several wives and bestows favours on many others. There was a time when no girl was safe from his evil passion, and to desire was to obtain. Nobody ever dared to raise a hand in protest. Luckily, the situation is now undoubtedly improved with the awakening of consciousness as well as the spread of communistic ideas amongst the masses. But it must be said that for this cunning *deonia*, an average Raj-

banshi is no match at all. By virtue of his financial condition and shrewd judgement, and with a little knowledge of reading and writing, he is the monarch of all he surveys. The days of elections are his hey-days. You may be sure of a good number of votes if you can handle a *deonia* properly. And he sells himself to the highest bidder.



Two boys in their birth-day costumes. Are they ashamed to face the camera?

The cultural life of the Rajbanshis is not at all gloomy. During the slack season when the work in the fields is not pressing, there are fairs and *melas* on every conceivable occasion wherein the people flock in from far and near. The most important of these *melas* is the congregation at the Jalpaiguri Rajbati on the occasion of Manasa Puja on the last day of the month of Sraban. On that day, the railway carriages are scenes to be seen when even the womenfolk take their seats quite comfortably on the roofs of the compartments not to speak of the foot-boards. Popular songs, dances and merriments are the chief attraction of these congregations and the women are more conspicuous by their presence. They come in the best of their robes and spirit while they provide ample scope for illegitimate mixings in view of the *melas* being mainly held at night. People from miles afar assemble there even if they have got not a single penny to expend but come only to enjoy the fun of it. Another noteworthy social gathering of the Rajbanshis coincides with the last day of the month of Chaitra. This is called *Bisua* or *Harua* and is mainly a manly affair. Every able-bodied Rajbanshi must go a-hunting on the occasion and there is a tradition that a bachelor who cannot net at least a wild boar on that day must go unmarried during the coming year and take a fresh chance at the next *Bisua* and so on till he comes out successful. The tradition is in recent days observed more in the breach than in the observance. Like the Rajputs, the Rajbanshis too assemble in batches and beat the forest, and from every corner drive the wild animals into open contests. Aims must not be directed towards the sleeping, ailing or unaware denizens of the forest.

The true picture of the Rajbanshi's life can best be obtained from *dhamgan* which is organised on the line of modern *jatras*. Tales of the society as well as the episodes from mythology are depicted in the form of dramas and the roles are played in their own dialect while appropriate costumes are used. The writer had the opportunity to witness once the performance of the dramatised version of Bankim Chandra's *Krishna-kantter Will* organised by the educated Rajbanshis of the village of Belakoba in the district of Jalpaiguri. He must confess that he could not follow the dialogue all through but the presentation was on the whole praiseworthy. The performances are generally organised in the house of an well-to-do person where different parties from far and near assemble and present the dramas one party after another throughout the whole night and sometimes even up to late hours in the morning. Different parties have different plays and, on occasions, the performances continue for nights together at the end of which the deserving players and their parties are suitably rewarded in order of merit. Here is another occasion



A village path in a sub-town

for the lavish expenditure of money. Those taking part in the contest are, of course, paid practically nothing. There are instances when they are not even provided with *pan-supari* (betel-nut, etc.) and *bidis*. The organisers generally bear the cost of lighting where in the absence of petromax, etc., gas taps and even hurricane lanterns can do. But those who come to enjoy the performance must enjoy fully and to a Rajbanshi nothing short of repeated cups of tea supplemented with sweets will mean "full enjoyment." Near-about the pandal you may, therefore, come across scores of tea-stalls and you may even find that a few money-lenders are present there to lend money.

The *dhamgans* reproduce every aspect of the local life—son's duty towards the old parents, neces-

sity of wife's devotion to the husband and so on—to be accelerated by occasional scenes of romance and heart-felt laughter here and there. The dramas are composed by some member of the community itself who possesses the natural talent of making verses. He may not always know how to write and in such cases the manuscript is prepared while he dictates. There are unwritten plays as well that pass from generation to generation with slight modifications here and there to cope with the march of time.

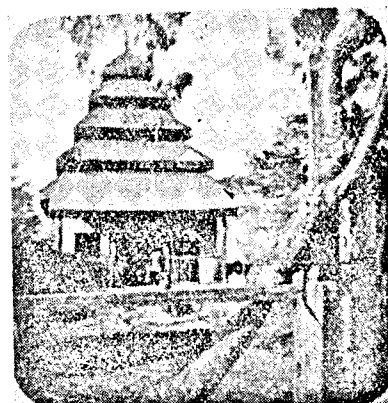


A Charitable Dispensary at Belakoba

With the advent of Western civilisation and as a consequence of general economic depression this merry aspect of the Rajbanshi life is gradually dying out. The moderns amongst them prefer a cinema-show in the neighbouring town to the sleepless nights of *dhamgan* so coveted by their predecessors. Solely for the dearth of patronage, the creative urge of the village-folk finds no expression. Adding rhymes to the popular incidents of life no longer fetches him bread and it is now overwhelmingly clear to him that to maintain himself and his family he must work and work hard. From the modern point of view his occupation is not socially necessary and he is nothing more than a parasite.

The age-old isolation of the Rajbanshis is now gone. Colonisation by outsiders began long ago; on economic grounds and with the partition of the

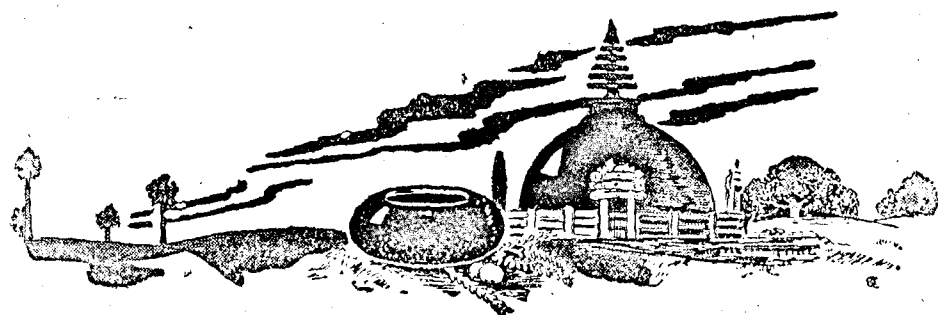
province, the land of the Rajbanshis is now practically lost to them. People from all parts of the divided territories were forced to make it their home and unfortunately there are disruptionist elements amongst our uprooted brethren. The indigenous population is obliged to come into daily contact with the settlers and as a result their age-old belief that the *babuloks* can't play false is now dwindling. Even an intelligent Rajbanshi is no match for an average



Bhawani Pathak's temple. He is worshipped by the Rajbanshis

East Bengal man. By force of his superior abilities and cunningness, the latter is now grabbing openly the possessions of the former before the very eyes of law. And it is a known fact that the Rajbanshis in general dread the law-courts no less than the ghosts. Even the mighty *dewan* is losing ground to the imported *matabbar* (headman). As a natural outcome of all these a tense atmosphere is being constantly created by interested parties while reports of sporadic outbursts occasionally pour in. It is now not the question of whether but when open rivalries will ensue between the outsiders (*bhatiyas*) and the indigenous population (*bahis*) of the soil in their final bid for power.

Photographs by the author



AKBAR THROUGH HIS BUILDINGS

By M. YASIN SIDDIQI, M.A. LL.B.

THE architecture of an age is moulded by the spirit of that age and bears the impress of the builders. There can be no great piece of architecture without a mind with imagination behind it; no culture without a psychology, and no civilization without a soul. A flatterer's pen might extol the weaknesses of his benefactor, but the architectural remains of a particular period are the mute witnesses testifying to the general character, psychology and tastes of the people or the individual, who inspired it. A ruler reflects himself in the buildings he erects. With the advancement of civilization, imagination gradually becomes weaker and poorer, and that is why there are buildings beautified ten times more than the Taj but lacking its subtle grace and sublime majesty.

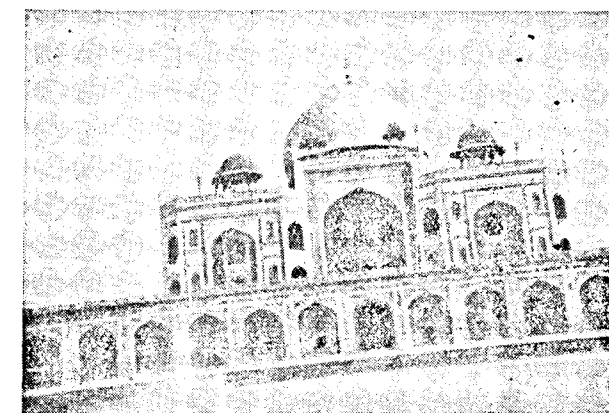
INDO-MUSLIM STYLE

The advent of Islam into India marks a revolution in more than one aspect. It rang out the old and heralded the dawn of a new era. Never before in the history of the world people of two creeds, radically opposed to one another in culture and civilization, ideals and tastes, came into contact as was the case in India when Hinduism and Islam met together. It is one of the interesting facts of history, and most remarkable in the history of architecture, that they were harmonised in a happy synthesis and evolved a distinct style of their own, known as Indo-Muslim or Indo-Islamic. The history of Indo-Muslim architecture begins with the conquest of the kingdoms of Delhi, Ajmer and Kanauj, and in fact the whole of Northern India by the Muslims between 1193 and 1206 A.D. On the ruins of old Indraprastha and Lalkot (old Delhi capital of Prithvi Raj) blossomed an imperial city with mosques, minars and palaces built by Hindu masons to suit the taste and requirements of the new race. The style was essentially Hindu with a thin Muslim garb, an indifferent 'physical compound' bearing traces both of the old and the new so far the general plan, surface decoration, roofing and other embellishments were concerned, reflecting the character of the conquerors of an alien faith and of a different civilization.

HAVELL CRITICISED

The archaeological experts have divided themselves into two main groups: one, admitting the Indo-Muslim school of architecture as a distinct style; and the other, whose chief exponent is Havell, holding that there is no such thing as Indo-Muslim style, and what the newcomers brought with themselves was almost "a return wave" of Buddhist-Hindu traditions, which the Indian master-builders readily recognised as their own. The new elements ceased as creative forces, and were submerged into different local phases of Indian architecture. But it is a common fact of history that, by the twelfth century A.D., Muslim architecture had become a fully developed art in Central Asia and Persia

before it entered the soil of Hindustan. Muslims had a "natural talent" for building, and possessed a highly developed architecture of their own. They had their mosques in Egypt, Baghdad, Cordova, Constantinople and Damascus, with pointed arches and lofty domes which served as models for Indian builders. The Muslim conquerors were not unacquainted with the elements of architecture, nor were they mere soldiers devoid of culture and refinement, as Havell would suggest.



Humayun's Tomb at Delhi

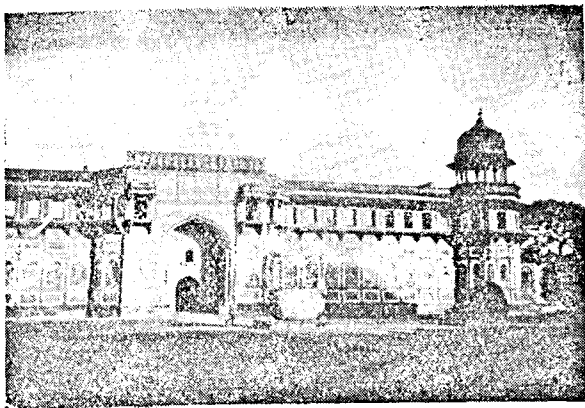
SUR BUILDINGS

Without going into the details of the buildings of the Sultanate period and that of the provincial styles which sprang up after the fall of the Tughlaqs, this much should be noted that they were more Muslim than Hindu in conception and treatment, with a few exceptions here and there. It was Sher Shah who opened a promising avenue and laid the foundations of a style of architecture which has been rightly termed as the Renaissance style. The buildings of the Sur dynasty faithfully reflect the Indian character. As there was a definite advance in the direction of Indianization of the Muslim administration during this period, so in architecture too, the Sur period marks an epoch of nationalization, foreshadowing the rise of a national style of architecture and a national empire in the reign of Akbar. The new spirit is outstanding in Sher Shah's mosque in old Delhi (*Qila-i-Kuhna* mosque). Ferguson justly remarks that the mosque is Muslim outside but Hindu within, without any open defiance of the Islamic law and tradition. This mosque, like the reign of Sher Shah, marks only a period of transition from the period of sultanate to that of empire, from the tastes and institutions that were Islamic to those that were truly Indian.

NEW ERA

It is true as Vincent Smith (author of *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*) holds that the Muslim

art and architecture possess a "uniform character" throughout the whole Muslim world because the main inspiration is derived from religion. But in that age of religious dogmatism was born a prophet who delivered the message of Indian nationalism. And he was Akbar.



Jahangiri Mahal at Agra Fort

During the reign of Akbar, Humayun's tomb which was erected by Humayun's widow, Haji Begam, was completed. "It suggested new principles, wider possibilities, greater flexibility and generally infused the building art with fresh life." But Akbar had nothing to do with it. He was a dreamer and an idealist. He had a passion for building ingeniously, and his building project started with great enthusiasm. The most important building schemes after Humayun's tomb were launched in the shape of palace fortresses at Agra and Lahore. Within the Agra Fort enclosure, the *Ain-i-Akbari* states, Akbar built upwards of five hundred edifices of red stone in the fine style of Bengal and Gujarat. In the general character of the fort at Agra, there is a resemblance of the fortress at Gwalior, with its palaces of Man Singh built early in the century. The Elephant Gateway, the cupolas of Amar Singh's Gateway, the palaces rising out of the fort walls, the planning of these palaces, and also some of the carved details, all indicate that the Rajput citadel, which had moved Babur to admiration some forty years before "was used freely as a model by his more fortunately placed grandson." The most characteristic building ascribed to Akbar is *Jahangiri Mahal* at Agra Fort. It is almost entirely of red sand-stone, inlaid with white marble on the exterior. The principle of construction is the *beam and bracket*, the arch being sparingly used and then only in its ornamental capacity.

Although Lahore was regarded as only the second capital of the empire, the fort that Akbar constructed there almost at the same time as that of Agra, was conceived and carried out on practically the same grand scale. What is left of the palace buildings dated from the time of Akbar, possibly Jahangir, shows that the style of

these was similar in most respects to the *Jahangiri Mahal* at Agra, except that the carved decoration was, if anything, more vigorous and unrestrained. Elephants and lions figure in the brackets. One other fort of the first rank was built by Akbar some twenty years later at Allahabad, which still shows the remains of considerable architectural merit. Only one noble pavilion is found intact, the *Zanana Palace*, from which the character of the whole may be surmised.

FATHPUR-SIKRI

But the real building project which determines the place of Akbar in the architectural history is the ruined and desolate city of Fathpur-Sikri, some seven miles in circumference, situated twenty-three miles south-west of Agra, built during the years 1569 to 1605.

The motives ascribed to Akbar in building the new city are partly personal and partly military. Akbar regarded Fathpur-Sikri auspicious as Jahangir was born to him through the blessings of Shaikh Salim Chishti who resided there. Secondly, he wanted to build a new capital where he could introduce his novel ideas and policy, unfettered and uninterrupted by the orthodox section of Muslims. At Sikri he got a chance to start with a clean slate. Apart from personal considerations, Agra was in the plains and Sikri is situated on the hills commanding the neighbouring countries. Entrance into Rajputana and Bharatpur could be easily guarded from Sikri. Akbar was a great general and it was strategically sound to shift from Agra to Fathpur-Sikri.

IMPORTANCE OF SIKRI

It has been well said that there are two histories of the reign of Akbar: Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, and Fathpur-Sikri. Truly, Fathpur-Sikri is a very valuable commentary on Akbar as a whole, and bears witness to Akbar's splendid capacity as an organiser, as a ruler of men, and as a statesman of genius. In Fathpur-Sikri we find the ideas of Akbar personified. The allegation of Vincent Smith that "the building of Fathpur-Sikri was a freak of an irresponsible autocrat acting under the impulse of overpowering superstitious emotions and enjoying the sensation of absolute freedom from financial limitations," and the contention of Percy Brown that Fathpur-Sikri was built in a haste which necessitated an immense staff of workmen, predominantly Hindu, which accounted for the Hindu influences in the buildings of Sikri, do great injustice to the high soul and his dream of founding a truly Indian style. That wondrous city is a monument of Akbar's tact and genius, and justifies the courtly phrase of his biographer that "His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay."

ITS PSYCHOLOGY

Fathpur-Sikri is the culmination of the age of enlightenment and the revival of Indian culture in the sixteenth-century India, whose sponsor was Akbar. Since the middle of the fifteenth century the contending forces of Islam and Hinduism were seeking a common platform, a path to rapprochement, first in the

realm of thought and then in politics. Hence the psychology behind Fathpur-Sikri was an impulse towards amalgamation and unity, a blending of the best in Islamic fine art with the imperishable elements of ancient Indian architecture. Akbar, who inspired the style of Fathpur-Sikri, imparted the same impress on the new style of architecture, as he had done in politics, namely, the foundations of a polity which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but pre-eminently Indian, with a composite Asian culture.

Without indulging in generalities, let us analyse the peculiar characteristics of some of the specimen buildings of Fathpur-Sikri to elucidate the point that the architectural style of Fathpur-Sikri was not exclusively Hindu or Muslim, but typically Indian and national.

JODH BAI'S MAHAL

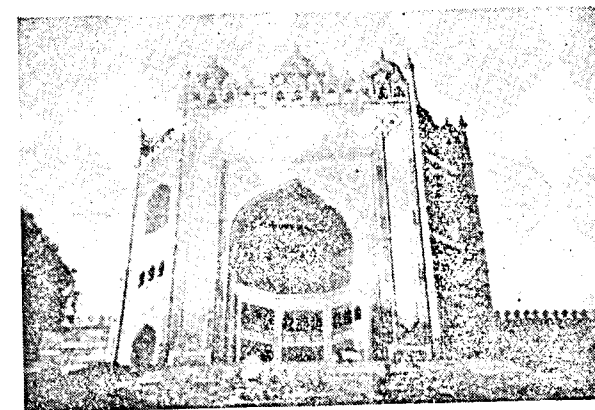
The so-called Jodh Bai's Mahal was the second, perhaps in point of the date of construction, though E. W. Smith regards it the oldest of all the domestic buildings. History does not record any Hindu wife of Akbar bearing the name of Jodh Bai. The entrance to the palace is of the usual plan of entrance to a Muslim house. It is like a *Swastika* without the vertical line—a peculiar device for maintaining *Purdah* of the inner courtyard. The ground floor has a colonnaded verandah on three sides. On the west there is an open hall with a small raised platform of several steps which may be identified either as a Hindu altar for idols or the *mimbar* of a mosque. A stair-case leads to the upper storey on all the four sides above the verandah. The atmosphere that pervades the structure is neither Hindu nor Muslim but something of the spirit of the age and of the character of the Emperor. The building, to a greater extent, is similar to the *Jahangiri Mahal* at Agra Fort. Here for the first time a novel form of roofing catches our eye. Rooms are found with roofs of sand-stone chiselled in a wavy form like a "corrugated" iron sheet. E. W. Smith is not correct when he says that the idea was borrowed from Italy. The roofs have their archetype in the *kachcha* houses of the rural areas in the country. The versatile Emperor could appreciate beauty in humble things and the importation of the form of tiled roof to cover a princely abode is another proof of his attempt to Indianize Muslim architecture as much as possible and build an empire in which the high and low should be equally represented. The bell and chain, one of the oldest Hindu ornaments, is freely carved upon the piers.

The other striking room in Jodh Bai's palace is the *Hawa Mahal*, with its latticed screens overlooking the courtyard of *Mahal-i-Khas*. A covered stone pathway, higher than a man's height, connects Jodh Bai's palace with the *Mahal-i-Khas*. The *Mahal-i-Khas* with Jodh Bai's palace formed the inner citadel of Akbar's fortified city of Fathpur-Sikri.

JOGI-KA-CHHATRI

Outside the building, labelled as girl's school, there

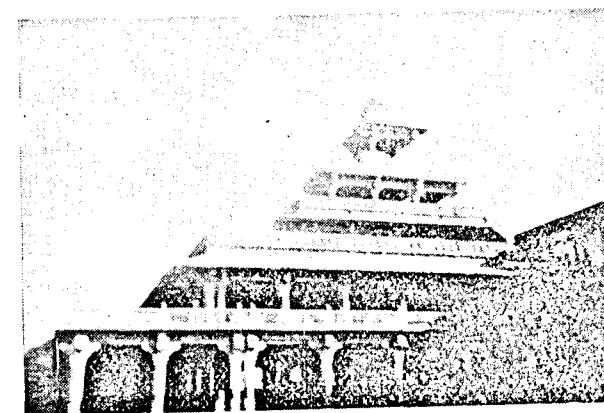
is a small pleasing pavilion called *Jogi-ka-Chhatri*. Its serpentine brackets of exquisite workmanship and every thing else about it, is so purely Hindu in taste and tradition that the *Jogi-ka-Chhatri* would have been quite becoming in a Jain temple of Gujarat style of architecture.



Buland Darwaza, the southern gate of the Great Mosque at Sikri

BIBI MARYAM'S KOTHI

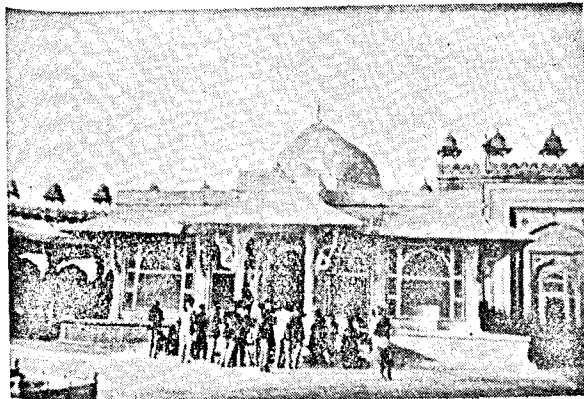
Originally this residence was known as the *Sonahra Makan*, or "Golden House" and it was so called on account of the profuse gilding which embellished both the outer and the inner walls. Among other buildings of *Mahal-i-Khas*, it is large in size though not so exquisitely sculptured outside like Turkish Sultana



Panch Mahal at Sikri

palace. There is hot controversy about the name and the person who occupied this house. The colour painting has now disappeared. E. W. Smith has given photographs of the remnants of this painting which he found there. There is one scene indicating the punishment of sinners cast into hell. There is another painting which seems to be copy of the Madonna. Another gives the picture of a Brahmin in *dhuti* with a sheet thrown cross-wise over his back. These are enough to judge

the high quality of art that marked the paintings of the age of Akbar, and a clear departure from dogmatic injunctions of Islam forbidding the representation of animate beings in any form.



Shaikh Salim Chisti's Tomb at Sikri

TURKISH SULTANA PALACE

A "superb jewelled casket" as the Turkish Sultana Palace is designated, it stands unrivalled in its wealth of relief sculpture among the palaces of Fathpur-Sikri. It is a small but very well-proportioned building worthy of the abode of a queen. A glance at the palace of the Turkish Sultana reminds one of Prof. Rushbrooke William's remark that with Babur began the modern age. In fact modern taste in a medieval building is first exhibited in the palace of Turkish Sultana. It is worthy of imitation in modern times if India wants to combine of chaste elegance of the West with the picturesqueness of the Orient. Though the room is small in size it has wide verandahs on all sides with lean-to roofs lower than the ceiling of the main room. The walls are divided into panels and each panel has an inimitable forest scene, trees, flowering creepers, thick under-grove concealing lions beneath and peacocks above.

BIR BAL'S HOUSE

Raja Bir Bal's house is a peer in beauty, grandeur and magnificence with the palace of Turkish Sultana as a residential building and yet no two buildings are more unlike in design and execution. The house is built on a high plinth. In Raja Bir Bal's house we find a reflection of the mind of Akbar as a rebel against conventionalism and as a bold innovator. Throughout the whole range of the residential buildings of the reign of Akbar, Raja Bir Bal's palace is the only one with a domed roof. A dome in Muslim architecture is always associated with a mosque or with a grave. Here the dome was used as a roof beneath which a living being, and that too a Brahmin, was to sleep. Hence Akbar retained the dome as the symbol of new India which was then in the process of creation under the driving power of Muslim civilization. But he discarded the superstition about it as befitting either the house of God or the house of the dead.

PANCH MAHAL

One of the most striking buildings at Fathpur-Sikri is that known as the Panch Mahal, or the "Five-storeyed Pavilion." For what distinct purpose it was built one cannot definitely say, but probably it was used by Akbar and his chosen retainers as a pleasure resort, in the airy aisles of which he could obtain the cool breeze of an evening, and a fine view of the adjacent country; or, it may have been exclusively used by the ladies and children of the court.

The peculiar feature of the structure is that each storey is smaller than that upon which it stands till at last only a small kiosque, supported on four small slender square shafts, forms the uppermost floor. Havell says that it is planned after the old Indian assembly hall frequently alluded to in Buddhist literature, an example of which exists within the fort of Bijapur. The ground floor contains fifty-six pillars, of which no two pillars are alike in design. The construction, at any rate, is mainly Hindu and the bell and the chain have been employed in decoration.

DIWAN-I-KHAS

The most unique piece of classic imagination and antique beauty that one finds is Akbar's Diwan-i-Khas in Fathpur-Sikri. It is small like all other buildings. It has no pretensions to elaborate surface carvings or any relief on its walls. The chief peculiarity of the structure is that though it has only one storey it looks like a double-storeyed building. But on getting inside we see no obstruction in the middle. It is really a room twice the usual height. The main attraction of Diwan-i-Khas is the central pillar. It is octagonal in shape and very delicately carved to the height of the capital. It is genuinely ancient Indian in spirit. From the capital there radiate four stone causeways, divided into eight, with low *jali* (screens). These causeways are ingeniously supported on very beautifully carved brackets giving the capital the appearance of a full-bloomed lotus. The pillar also resembles the throne of Lord Vishnu.

GREAT MOSQUE

The Great Mosque of Fathpur-Sikri, from the pulpit of which Akbar promulgated his Divine Faith, in the endeavour to reconcile the conflicting creeds of all his subjects, is an interesting example of this. This is the most glorious edifice which Akbar dedicated to his faith. There is an inscription on the mosque to the effect that "this is a duplicate of the Holy Place (Mecca)". Yet in the structure itself the evidence of the Indian master-builder's handiwork and controlling mind gives an overwhelming proof to the contrary. It is purely an Indian building, in spite of the eclecticism of its details. Within the courtyard of the mosque is the *White Marble* shrine covering the remains of Shaikh Salim Chishti, one of the most beautiful specimens of Mughal architecture extant. The lattices are particularly praiseworthy. The tomb of the saint may be regarded as an exception to the general character of the buildings of

BULAND DARWAZA

The public entrance to the mosque was through the southern gateway known as the *Buland Darwaza* or High Gate, a name justified by the fact that it is the highest of Indian gateways and among the largest in the world. The structure is a magnificent example of the Persian form of gateway, deriving its dignity from the great semi-dome in which the actual doors are inset. The Buland Darwaza was added to the mosque in 1601-1602 as a triumph arch to commemorate Akbar's conquests in the Deccan. The highest authorities regard Buland Darwaza as "one of the most perfect architectural achievements in the whole of India." Like most of the other buildings at Fathpur-Sikri, it is built of red sandstone and there is no painted decoration on it except the carving and the discreet inlay of white marble. Though this noble masterpiece is Persian in form, the architectural treatment of it is distinctively Indian.

APPRECIATION OF STYLE

Literary critics say that the style reflects the man. It is no less true in the case of architecture. The general impression of the buildings at Fathpur-Sikri which a visitor gets is very much unlike that of any of the Muslim architecture either in India or outside before the age of Akbar; nor anybody would say that it is a reproduction of the old Hindu style of architecture, though signs of revivalism are writ large. Akbar was an eclectic in religion and philosophy, so was he in his architectural taste. The Emperor himself was neither a poet nor very much partial to poetry, yet he had a poet's eye for the beautiful. Akbar was neither Hindu nor Muslim but both; first a Hindustani, a child of the Orient. Akbar's Hindustan was neither a land of Hindus exclusively nor that of Islam. Occasionally, Akbar's anxiety to revive the past bordered on the enthusiasm of a purist. In the style of architecture the same exuberance of Hindu imagination is noticeable, which seems to have found a greater and more elegant synthesis and sense of proportion generally missed in the wilderness of the political history of his long reign.

In Akbar we find a sense of art and economy, not extravagance which characterises the buildings of his grandson, Shahjahan; beauty out of simplicity and not subservient to the wealth of material. All his buildings are in red sandstone as against marble and the inlaying of precious stones. The buildings of Akbar truly belong to an epic age—vigorous, virile and full of youthful exuberance, as opposed to the effeminate grace of the Mughal architecture in general. It is interesting to note that in Akbar no two buildings are alike in shape and no two pillars similar in design. It impresses the sense of homogeneity in diversity and is surely the stamp of individual genius.

A SCHOOL OF ART

The city of Fathpur-Sikri even in its deserted and dilapidated condition, as it stands today, appears to have been designed more as a comprehensive work of

ture combined into one. In the field of art—for example, in the 'frescos' in Khwabagh, Bibi Maryam's Kothi and in the Hammam—we find a connecting link between the ancient Indian art of Ajanta and that of Central Asia carried to perfection by the school of Behzad. It was Akbar's policy to make everything meet halfway, whether in politics or in religion or in art. The art of Ajanta was indigenous to the soil of India whereas that of Behzad was a foreign graft on the stem of the ancient Indian art tradition. Indian subjects are treated under the Perso-Mongol technique of the school of Behzad. But the spirit of Ajanta, to reproduce scenes not Indian, is as conspicuous in Fathpur-Sikri as in the caves of Ajanta. The sculpture of Fathpur-Sikri is also a reflex of the national mind of the Indian Empire of Akbar if Huxley's dictum that sculpture is the index of a nation's genius and philosophy is true.

FATE OF SIKRI

Fathpur-Sikri and Din-i-Ilahi are the twin offspring of Akbar's mind. The fate of Fathpur-Sikri was different from that of Din-i-Ilahi (the Divine Faith of Akbar). The fundamental principle of Din-i-Ilahi was universal, while that of the other national. In the universalism of Din-i-Ilahi there was also an imprint of nationalism, namely, foundation of a school of theology and religious practice which could unite the elect of both the communities. Din-i-Ilahi was offered for acceptance to the best minds of the time. But it is the fate of a prophet and a poet not to be appreciated in the circle of familiarity. Even Bhagwan Das, as Badauni writes, was ready to embrace Islam rather than to become a member of the Divine Faith.

But Fathpur-Sikri had a different tale to tell. The synthetic Hindu-Muslim national style of Akbar was enthusiastically copied by the Hindus in their buildings. The closest copy of the architecture of Fathpur-Sikri is to be found in the palaces of the citadel of Ambar, built by Man Singh and his successors. During the period of Hindu reaction, that brought into existence many a powerful Rajput state, the tradition of Fathpur-Sikri remained undisturbed. Sikri remained the national style of architecture with the Hindus whereas Musalmans discarded it subsequently. The rulers of Alwar, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Malwa kept alive this national tradition of architecture.

After the death of Akbar there came a reaction against red sandstone, against Hindu lintel and relief decoration as smacking of infidelity. Lions and peacocks were out of tune with the spirit of Islam. Among the successors of Akbar only Shahjahan reached him in the grandeur of conception and a certain amount of human feeling. The period of the youth of the empire passed with Akbar and the maturity set in with the lyric age of Shahjahan. Shahjahan was perhaps more correct in taste and his architecture has more grace than strength. But for the marble and the *pietra dura* decoration, and above all the Taj, the style of Shahjahan would have been considered a decline since the

FOSTER FATHER TO 150 BOYS

For almost half a century Dr. John Whitten, a bachelor living in the town of North Tazewell, Virginia, has been the head of a unique family unit which has included a houseful of boys. Through the years several generations of the Doctor's boys have grown to manhood and established homes of their own, relinquishing their places in the Whitten household to other orphaned or abandoned children. In all, the Doctor has reared some 150 foster sons—boys who have affectionately addressed him as "Pa" and looked to him for the love and security every child needs.

from people who hear or read about the Doctor's foster family—most of the money for food, clothing and shelter comes from Whitten himself. He is one of the community's most popular physicians and the fees from his practice are spent largely in caring for his boys and providing them an education. The Whitten farm is operated by a resident manager and provides much of the food for the household, including the milk supply furnished by the herd of four cows. Chickens and turkeys, cared for by the boys as part of their daily chores, supply the family's egg



Dr. Whitten spends some part of each busy day with his foster sons in a lounging room built for the boys



Dr. Whitten's boys are encouraged to develop skills in landscaping and horticulture by caring for the family lawn and flower garden

Like most families, "Doc" Whitten's also began with just one child—a needy boy whom he took into his home in 1907. That first impulsive gesture of offering shelter and love to one lonely child was to lead to a lifetime of foster parenthood for the Doctor; a second boy, deserted by his family, was soon added to the Whitten household, and then came a third who had run away from a broken home.

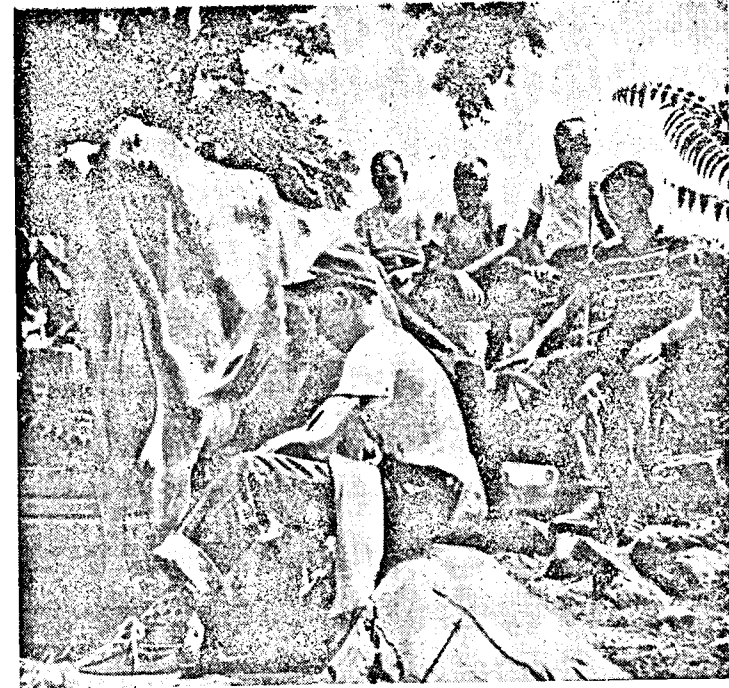
As word of the Doctor's kindness spread through the southern State, other orphaned or runaway boys came knocking at the Whitten door. The only limit to the Doctor's generosity was the physical one imposed by the size of his house: even with four boys assigned to a bedroom, no more than 20 could be accommodated at one time. So the size of the Doctor's family has been held to 20 boys who fill up the spacious old house and in summer time find outlet for their energy in work and play on the 200-acre farm a few miles away.

The financial responsibility entailed in caring for his boys is borne entirely by Dr. Whitten. While a contribution is never refused—and many do flow in

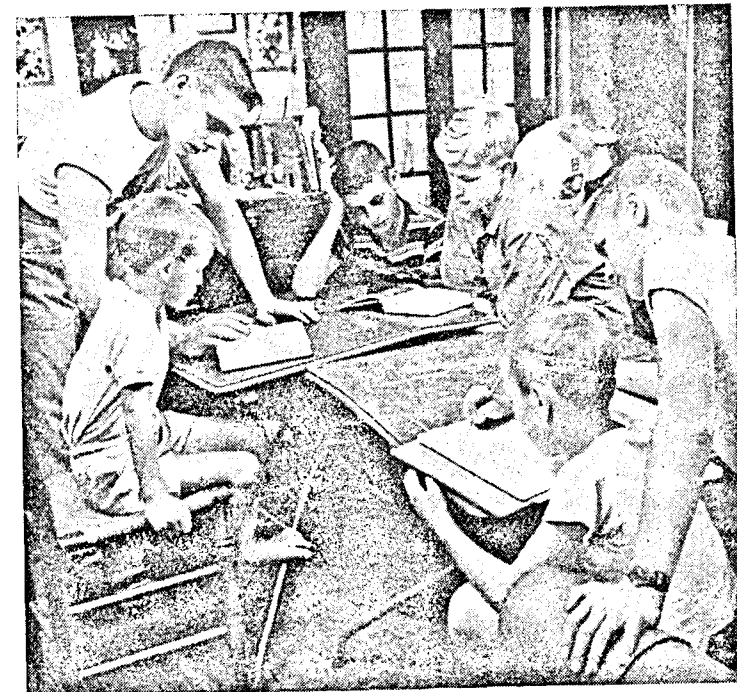
and poultry needs.

There is no dormitory-like discipline in the Doctor's household. Boys have all the freedom of an ordinary home although there are certain basic rules which each is taught to obey for the good of all. Each boy has specific chores to do—such as cleaning his room and helping to feed the poultry, bring in the eggs and care for the lawn and flower garden—but there is ample time for outdoor games and other recreation. In summer, the boys help with the farm work, taking over care of the cows and lending a hand with the vegetable garden and cultivation of other crops.

No matter how busy his day, "Doc" Whitten manages to spend some time with his boys. He pays careful attention to their health needs and each receives a regular physical examination. Each younger boy is placed in the protective care of an older "brother" whose job it is to see that he follows the daily health rules, takes care of his school work and home chores and creates no behaviour problem within the family group. The Doctor wisely reasons that

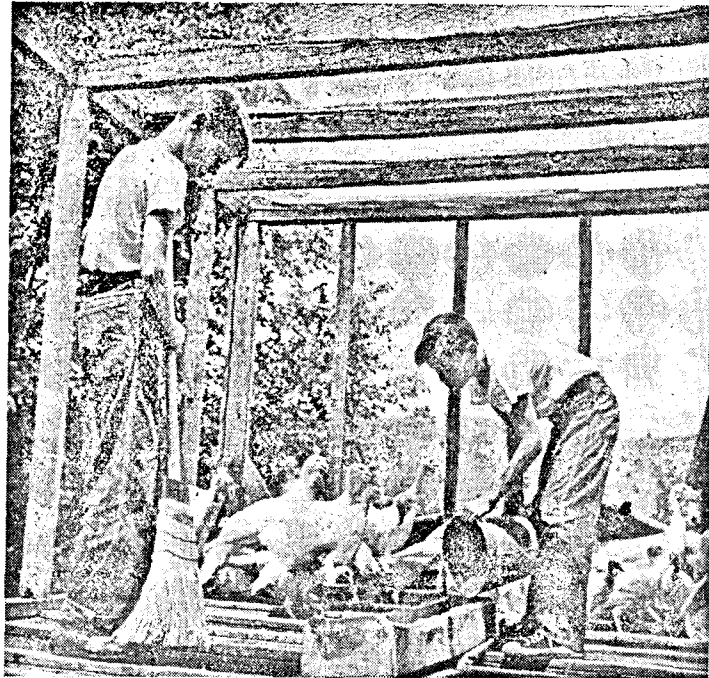


The boys learn to milk and to care for the animals as part of their daily farm chores



Here, younger boys, helped by their "big brothers," study their lessons in preparation for the next day at school

by letting his boys accept responsibility for others of the group, he is training them for the responsibilities and consider their actions in relation to the welfare of citizenship in adult life.



Twelve-year-old twins in the Whitten household feed the turkeys kept in a pen behind the house



Dr. Whitten gets help in treating an office patient from one of his boys who is home on vacation from medical school

Dr. Whitten encourages his boys to study hard and to take advantage of every opportunity to get a good education. Many of them have gone through college, their tuition paid by Whitten himself. Three have chosen to follow in his footsteps as doctors, getting some practical experience in their student days from helping "Pa" in his North Tazewell office during school vacations.

Twenty boys at a time, totalling 150 over the years, constitute quite a family. Yet such is Dr. Whitten's capacity for love that he is never happier than when there is room to add a new "son" to the group. The Doctor doesn't profess to know much about the art of being a father; he just uses common sense, love and understanding in rearing his young charges but the fact that to date not one of the 150 has been a failure attests to the soundness of his methods.—USIS.



The children undergo a regular physical examination in the Whitten household

DR. J. C. SINHA

An Obituary Appreciation

By S. K. BOSE, M.A., I.A.S.,
Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Orissa

JOGISH CHANDRA SINHA was born in the village of Poradah in an humble Bengali home on 2nd May, 1893. Having received his early education in the village school, he came to Calcutta and joined the Hare School passing the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in 1909 and thereafter was educated at the Presidency College, Calcutta, during the years 1909 to 1915. His high intellectual abilities were in evidence from the very early days, but it was his contact with the late Sir J. C. Coyajee and Professor Gilchrist that helped to bring about a full blossoming of his deep love for true learning and an insatiable hunger for the search for the truth. He truly believed that "the search for the truth was the noblest occupation of mankind," and devoted himself wholeheartedly to the scholastic pursuit of academic studies. Having obtained a brilliant M.A. degree in Economics from the University of Calcutta in the year 1915, he went on to be the Premchand Roychand Scholar of the University during the years 1920 to 1923. After serving the University of Calcutta as a lecturer from 1915-1923, he joined the University of Dacca in 1923 and continued to be its Reader and Head of the Department (obtaining the Ph.D. degree of the University of Calcutta in the year 1927) till 1932, when he joined as Senior Professor of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta, and Economic Adviser to the Government of Bengal. He served in this capacity up to 1950 and also officiated as Principal of the Presidency College for some time. After his retirement in the year 1950, he took up in the same

year the onerous duties of Principal, Maharaja Manindra Chandra College but resigned the post in 1952 due to ill-health.

In spite of all the heavy administrative duties that he was called upon to shoulder, Dr. J. C. Sinha, continued to have a deep attachment to his scholarly studies, and, published in 1927 his famous book *Economic Annals of Bengal*. It was a pioneer work in a field, which despite its great importance and interest, had been comparatively neglected. The volume claimed to be "a study of the hitherto neglected aspects of the economic life of our province from 1757 to 1793." It was indeed a specialised study but the book brings out truly the man behind the scholar, and showed that Dr. J. C. Sinha was no hankerer after popular applause nor anxious to earn a fortune but was a devotee of true learning for its own sake. Indeed the author was acutely conscious that "a study of this kind is apt to be dull to the general reader," and, therefore, not bring him money or popularity. But Dr. Sinha was not interested in either, and, undertook the work because he felt that "... unless work on such lines is attempted, the economic history of India will never pass beyond the dilettante stage."

It is a pity that the current problems of the times gradually shifted him from his first love, and, took his interests more towards the problems of Currency and Banking. Perhaps, the raging "ratio controversy," wherein Dr. Sinha attempted to bring sanity and realism by his searching analytical articles

published in the *Sankhya* (Volume III, Parts 2 and 4), or the countrywide interest in problems of Currency and Banking brought about by the Economic Depression of 1930 and the Indian Banking Enquiry of 1931 in which he took an active part as a member of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee (1929-30), were responsible for this change; or, perhaps merely a change of interest took place, but it is noticed that from 1931 onwards Dr. Sinha's academic pursuits took him more and more into the fields of monetary studies, until in 1938 he published his famous series of lectures delivered under the auspices of the University of Delhi as Sir Kikabhai Premchand Readership Lectures in 1937 as a volume entitled *Indian Currency Problems in the Last Decade, 1926-1936*. Perhaps, no other publication in India has done more towards canalising the study and analysis of



Dr. J. C. Sinha

Indian Currency Problems on the lines of a painstaking realistic and statistical approach than this book of Dr. Sinha did. The publication is remarkable both for its clarity of exposition and its intensely searching analysis of problems that had brought about more bitter and opposing schools of thought than perhaps any other Indian Economic Problem in living memory.

But problems of economic life of the villager did not cease to get from Dr. Sinha a due share of his time and energy, in spite of his growing interest in the more academic problems of monetary analysis. As a member of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee of 1933, he brought to bear on its report evidence of that same love for the common man's welfare and honest facing of his problems that was characteristic of Dr. Sinha's whole outlook on life. Dr. Sinha had always believed in a proper set-up for agricultural

finance and marketing as the basic *desideratum* of agricultural prosperity, and, in his article on "Land Mortgage Banking in India," published in *The Bankers Magazine*, London, February 1929, he had given glimpses of some of his ideas. The deliberations of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee of 1933 gave him opportunities to further develop these ideas, and, the apparent impress of his thought is noticeable in many of the recommendations contained in the report and particularly in his learned Minute of dissent to the main report.

Recognition and public esteem came to him in various forms and he was honoured not only by membership of various official and expert Committees, but also by public and academic bodies. He was ex-officio member of the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry, 1935, Trade Union Constituencies Tribunal, Bengal, 1936, and President of the Indian Economic Conference held at Hyderabad in December, 1948.

Dr. Sinha was not a prolific writer nor a hasty publisher. He was reluctant to give to the academic world anything but the best that he was capable of. Many of his unpublished ideas would have been far more creditable than the deluge of *pseudo-intellectual* and half-baked publications of our times; but, in his academic sphere, as in all other aspects of his life, he showed restraint, and, valued the fundamentals rather than worship the Goddess of Popularity. Yet, his publications were by no means unimpressive, and, some amongst these, (leaving aside a host of articles and pamphlets published from time to time) in addition to those already mentioned above, are:

1. "Indian Guilds" (*Bengal Economic Journal*, September 1918).
2. *Some Currency Reforms of Hastings*. Published by Superintendent, Govt. Printing, India, 1924.
3. "Economic Theorists among the Servants of John Company (1766-1806)" (*Economic Journal*, March, 1925).
4. "Industrial Banking in India" (*Indian Journal of Economics*, January 1931).
5. "Indian Cottage Industries" (*Current Thought*, Calcutta, September 1940).
6. "Recent Economic Policy in India" (*Indian Journal of Economics*, January 1949).
7. "The Population Problem in India" (*The Modern Review*, Calcutta, November 1953).

Dr. J. C. Sinha died under tragic circumstances on 10th May, 1954, at Calcutta. Even though retired from active life, he was taking keen interest in the multifarious problems of our country, and, there were hopes that he could have brought to the service of his countrymen those qualities of intellect and honesty that God had gifted him with. But God willed it otherwise, and, he died as he had lived, simply, unostentatiously and unselfishly, and perhaps, happily in the thought that he had done his own little bit for the service of his country and countrymen through "thought and study and the building up of knowledge."

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

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A little over two hundred years ago J. J. Rousseau in a prize-winning essay denounced fiercely and eloquently arts, letters, science and culture as causes of all sorts of corruption; and at once he leaped into fame as a censor of civilisation. Anyone who considers the role of education in States like Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy might easily condemn modern education also. In the name of national glory highly educated Germans encouraged wholesale attacks upon religious faiths, expulsion of thinkers, scientific and spiritual, from Germany, and outlawry of the whole race of the Jews. In Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, education was practically a system for injecting the Machiavellian poison of force and fraud into the very vitals of the Germans and the Italians. In consequence, they set up almost a record of barbarity in the whole of human history; and uneducated, commonplace men simply hang their heads at the very mention of the crimes committed by the Nazis and the Fascists.

However, as men are all meant for living in society, education proper must not make them hate, deceive or murder one another on any grounds whatsoever.

MEANING OF EDUCATION

Education implies an attempt on the part of the adult members of a human society to shape the development of the coming generation in accordance with its own ideals. Used in a wide sense, education means everything which helps to mould the human being; and with some poetic licence we sometimes speak of the education of a people or even of the whole human race. According to Plato, education aims at developing in the body and the soul all the beauty and all the perfection of which they are capable.¹

What, then, is the ideal of human life? Or what is the nature and form of the beauty and perfection for a human being, especially in our times? Though the essential aims of human life should, perhaps, be the same in every place or generation, perfection of human life in the Athens of Plato would be different in certain aspects from what it would obtain in London, Paris, Moscow, New York or New Delhi today.

EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL LIFE

In ancient times men could live a more or less satisfactory life in their villages or cities, or in some

slightly larger areas. The world as a whole was either unknown or too big for immediate consideration in those days. Educationists, therefore, in those times did not speak much about the development of international understanding. But owing to scientific discoveries all nations are now so near to one another, and their destructive capacities, also, are now so much beyond the wildest imaginations of earlier generations, that it is impossible today not to emphasise the role of education in fostering international understanding.

As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century most nations, with a few exceptions like the English, the French and the Dutch, seemed to live within their national boundaries. But during the last hundred and fifty years sudden and far-reaching changes have been occurring, and they have led to an intensification of international relationships. Only about half a century ago the Wright brothers got the Kittyhawk off the ground to record the first flight by a heavier-than-air machine. Modern aeroplanes which are the descendants of the Wrights' stick, string and canvas contraption can fly at almost the velocity of sound. The earth has already been reduced to a sixty-hour flying trip; and talks of inter-planetary expeditions are also in the air. Such records and expectations are likely to go up still further when atomic energy acquires wings.

However, as rockets now fly three thousand miles per hour,² the great cities of the world are at a stone's throw from one another not only in the metaphorical, but also in the literal, sense of the phrase. All vestiges of human life could also be reduced to ashes by modern hydrogen, atomic, bacterial and chemical weapons. Even radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, causing annihilation of any life on earth, seems now to be within the range of technical possibilities.

Obviously, modern science has made our communications, trades, interests, relations and organisations, fears and expectations, nay, even our whole outlook on life, more or less international, so that our education also must be preparation for this international life.

WHAT EDUCATION SHOULD DO?

A system of modern education should utilise the services of schools, colleges and universities; of art,

1. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), Education.

2. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, September 4, 1953.

3. Nehru's Statement to the House of the People, India, on April 2, 1954.

drama, music, cinema, sports and games, radio and press; and of history, geography, law, economics, politics, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, languages and literature for developing a life of international understanding. The basic idea behind all modern education should be to emphasise the necessity of three essential factors for peaceful international life: first, loyalty to the whole human race over and above our national loyalties; secondly, development of world-wide democratic institutions for dealing with problems which have international repercussions; and, thirdly, acceptance of a world police force which, without being itself an organisation for terror and oppression, may curb the excesses of national violence. This idea is derived from the almost universal experience that peaceful life of friendly understanding within a nation is essentially dependent upon three similar factors, *viz.*, national loyalty; national institutions like the legislature, the executive and the judiciary for resolving disputes and tensions among groups and individuals; and a national armed force used economically through its state monopoly.

The law of the United Nations together with other sources of international law gives us the rudiments of the essential factors of international life. Full realisation of these factors in actual life would ensure a satisfactory basis for international understanding. Education can play its proper role in this connexion by drawing largely on the teachings of scriptures and great men and on the analysis of the dynamic forces of the history of the world as a whole.

The most vital need of our times is the cultivation of a vivid sense of citizenship of the world.⁴ If we have no world-wide loyalty today, but only national groups, each practising its own private idolatry, then even international football matches and athletic contests may turn out to be causes of international misunderstanding. Intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind has, of course, been the message of seers and prophets from even the days of the Upanishads.⁵ But never before was there a greater need, also a grander opportunity, for giving actual shape to this ideal. Actually, true loyalty to the United Nations implies a form of world citizenship. All should now be zealously taught to feel that we belong to the same human race, have the same world as our common territory, profess the same religion of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood and sisterhood of humanity, and speak the same human language which can be easily translated into so many dialects. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948, even speaks of us all as belonging to the "human family." This tendency towards the growing concept of world citizenship is being accelerated by two

additional historical factors: first, worldwide interlocking of individuals' interests through their increasing association with different nations; and, secondly, gradual loss of national self-sufficiency in almost the same way as the loss of group self-sufficiency within nations during the period when the idea of nationalism itself was struggling to be born.

Besides, we have in the United Nations international institutions for bringing about, peacefully, necessary adjustments among nations. Some sort of a world police force, also, was developed under the auspices of the United Nations for meeting aggression in Korea.

More than two thousand years ago Aristotle declared that the City-state was natural, because it was an outgrowth of the individual through the family and the village.⁶ A modern Aristotle would perhaps say that the world state is natural today,⁷ for the great current of human history, despite national falsifications, and even obstructions, here and there, seems to be moving irresistibly, though slowly and painfully, towards world loyalty and world institutions of all kinds. As a matter of fact, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, maintains that the present-day situation made the task of setting up a United Nations Organisation at San Francisco as natural and as inevitable a part of social evolution as any other collective social response to a common need.

"The United Nations," he says, "... is not an appendage added superficially to the lives of peoples and of nations. It was born out of demanding requirements of the age in which we live."⁸

With a proper curriculum of study and the right type of teachers, education could hasten this process of growing international solidarity by limiting the idea of national sovereignty and developing the idea of world sovereignty. Historical forces have apparently compelled nations to surrender a part of their sovereignty. But the ghosts of sovereign nations still try feverishly to retain in their hands the reins of their empires, occasionally even destroy the rule of law at their frontiers, and thus threaten the human race. Obviously, nations which were Leviathans will not easily take to the hook.⁹ But unless they do so, most attempts at education for international understanding are likely to fail.

WHAT EDUCATION HAS DONE

In recognition of the great role of education in developing international understanding, the Council of the League of Nations set up in 1922 a Committee

5. Rabindranath Tagore: *Nationalism*, pp. 5-6, also his *Kamala Lectures on the Religion of Man* (in Bengali), Calcutta University.

6. Aristotle's *Politics*, I. 2. 8-9.

7. Bertrand Russell: *Education and Social Order*, p. 27.

8. *United Nations Bulletin*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p. 137.

9. Laski, H. J.: *Introduction to Politics*, Chapter IV.

on intellectual co-operation to co-ordinate the work of such bodies as the international Research Council, the International Academic Union, and the Institute of International Law. In 1924, the League Council took steps for establishing an International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to act as the Secretariat of the Committee. Later on, the Committee and the Institute and a few other bodies were linked together into a comprehensive Intellectual Co-operation Organisation. The educative influence of the Secretariat of the League of Nations through its compilation and publication of information on problems which came before the League for consideration cannot also be ignored. In a sense, indeed, the whole experience with the League of Nations was a kind of new education for the whole human race in international relationship, and this education facilitated the advent of the United Nations.

Similar educative influence on the growing generation is seen in most of the acts of the United Nations, along with its Non-governmental Organisations and Specialised Agencies. The Department of Public Information in the Secretariat of the United Nations has been doing magnificent work in this connexion by recording, compiling, analysing and publishing significant facts about international life. Since the very inception of the United Nations, it was duly realised that the sociological task of organising the world politically must be accompanied by the psychological task of preparing the minds of men for such an organisation and its ideals. Accordingly, a Specialised Agency, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, was assigned the task of approaching the problem of international understanding from the psychological point of view. The Unesco came into being on November 4, 1946, when its Constitution was formally accepted by twenty of its signatories. It is now an organisation of sixty-eight States. It has a comparatively small budget of about nine million dollars a year. But in its global adventure of increased learning and mutual understanding, it has already mobilised battalions of creative thinkers and doers—painters, actors, musicians, authors, teachers, philosophers, scientists, anthropologists and librarians. Its aim is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, law, rights and freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. For this purpose the Unesco collaborates in the work of advancing mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples through all means of mass communication, gives fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture, and maintains, increases and diffuses knowledge.¹⁰

It has given financial aid to facilitate the meet-

ings and publication programmes of several voluntary bodies. It has formed new organisations like the International Sociological Association, International Political Science Association, International Council of Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, International Music Council, and International Theatre Institute. It has opened Science Co-operation Offices in Montevideo, Istanbul, Cairo, New Delhi, Djakarta, and Manila as a link between highly developed and underdeveloped countries in matters of current scientific information. It has sponsored seminars and meetings of experts on such subjects as the teaching of history and geography, teacher training, rural education, public library services, the philosophy of East and West, and the question of racial differences. It has published bibliographies and abstracts. It has helped governments to set up national or regional centres of scientific and technical documentation for use by researchers and industries. It has given clearing house services by distributing information on such subjects as fundamental education, availability of fellowships and scholarships around the world, and new experiments and techniques in the sphere of radio, film, press and television. It has helped to reduce existing barriers to the flow of materials between countries, such as, foreign country, tariffs, quotas and copyright. It has also focussed its interest on specific projects of various kinds in education, science and culture, and thus sought to "put knowledge to work."

This enumeration of Unesco activities clearly shows what can be done by means of educational work for the development of international understanding.

WORLD WAR AGAINST THE VICES OF INDIVIDUALS

When Plato laid an undue emphasis on organisational reforms of the City-states in Greece for reducing quarrels and tensions among groups and individuals, Aristotle uttered an important warning. "The state," said Aristotle, "... is a plurality, which should be united and made into a community by means of education."¹¹ The world is a far greater plurality. Our salvation, therefore, lies in greater education. Perhaps, our education would be very effective, if our universities, news agencies and similar other institutions were truly international in character.

In any case, we should never forget those words in the preamble of the Unesco Constitution:

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.

A modern war among nations can be so terribly unjust that it can be declared for aggressive purposes by only the worst of the ruffians. The roots of all wars lie basically in the rejection of the principle

10. The Constitution of UNESCO, Article I.

11. Aristotle's *Politics*, II, 5. 15.

4. Bertrand Russell: *Education and the Social Order*, p. 27.

of universal brotherhood, and in our surrender to vices like greed, intolerance, hatred, dishonesty, anger and violence. In a sense, indeed, wars are international riots, manifestations of our individual vices in their aggregate forms. In the first half of the 20th century, these vices have already been responsible for two World Wars with nations fighting one another. If we

want to prevent the third World War, we must carry on, on all fronts, the first World War against all sorts of vices of individuals. Above all, the psychological Everest of narrow nationalism which gives cover to these vices must be conquered as expeditiously as possible, and on its top must be planted the flag of mankind as a whole.

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INFLUENCE OF THE RAMAYANA ON BENGALI LITERATURE

By NARENDRA DEV

WE all know that the Ramayana is the earliest epic of our ancient India, when Sanskrit was the universal language of the land. It is a superb creation of Maharshi Valmiki who is rightly called 'Adi-kavi'—the First Poet of saintly merit. He composed it in such an entrancing style that it at once captured the heart of the people.

India is a land of spiritual thinkers given to sincere love of religion and devotion. We find in this vast country a strong undercurrent of poetry and passion for the sublime running side by side since the Vedic ages. Even the great philosophers of the past and the present of this mysterious land have composed beautiful poems to give expression to their realisation of the highest Truth as revealed to us through the Upanishads, the *Gitanjali* of Tagore and *Savitri* of Sri Aurobindo.

The Ramayana is the ideal epic of India. It is needless to refer here, how this great treasure came to us. It depicts in detail the extraordinary ideal life of the illustrious King Ramachandra and provides historical glimpses of the royal family of Ajodhya. Since when Lava and Kusha, the twin sons of the exiled queen Seeta, sang it for the first time at their father's court unaware of their relationship with the King, at the behest of Valmiki, their Guru and Protector, the Ramayana has been sung in every corner of India. In course of time it crossed the frontier and spread to Greater India, Java, Bali, Sumatra and Siam still ring with the melodious songs of the Ramayana.

Valmiki's Ramayana was so adapted afterwards in the different provinces of India that the regional languages with their local colour and diction soon made it their own saga, which they dearly love to sing and perform at the market-places or temple-yards of their town and village. Ramachandra, the highly noble king of Ajodhya, and Seeta Devi, his most devoted consort, Vir Hanuman, his faithful follower, and Lakshman, his selfless brother, have all been raised to the level of dieties. It is the Ramayana which, by attributing divine qualities to Ramachandra and his family, has deified them.

For thousands and thousands of years India has worshipped the hallowed memory of that "Nara-

chandrama" as Valmiki called that ideal king in his immortal epic. The Ramayana, composed in chaste Sanskrit verses, was not very easy for the common people to follow. So, it was between the sixth century and the fourth century B. C. that the Sanskrit Ramayana was first translated into Pali and then into Prakrit, the latter being the spoken language of India at that period.

Thus, the Ramayana came into the hands of the masses, and in course of time strange stories were added to the main text of the epic, and some interpolations have also found their way into it. In the stories of the Buddha Jatakas, more than one incident of the Ramayana were found retold in some form or other. In this way the Ramayana was gradually translated into all the principal languages of India. Even stories and tales from the Ramayana began to spread to the homes of the humble villagers.

The theme of the Ramayana is so simple and homely, and the plot of the story so attractive that its wide popularity is not in any way a strange phenomenon. The sudden death of King Dasaratha, the affectionate father who could not survive to bear the pangs of separation from his beloved sons, the tremendous sacrifice of Ramachandra on the eve of his *Rajyavishek* to enable his father to fulfil his promise; his devoted wife Seeta's noble example in following her husband unhesitatingly to the forests, the step-brothers Lakshman and Bharata's fraternal attachment to each other and specially Lakshman's devotion to Rama are exemplary. The loyal and valiant follower Vir Hanuman who was always ready to serve his noble lord in all his difficulties and dangers; the wonderful band of apes, monkeys and baboons, and lastly, all the uncannily strong and powerful monsters of Lanka are really very interesting to all people, specially to women and children of our land.

Even, we find the poets of the past, whose reputation and distinction stands unchallenged, such as Mahakavi Kalidas, Bhavabhuti and others, were tempted to borrow materials and ideas from the Ramayana which largely contributed to the success of their best works,

like the *Raghuvansam*, the *Meghadutam*, and the *Uttar Ramacharitam*, etc.

The Ramayana first came to be translated into the Bengali language during the fifteenth century A.D. by the great Bengali Poet Sri Krittibas Ojha who hailed from Phulia, a village near Santipur, in the district of Nadia. In his wonderful translation of the Ramayana, this powerful and highly imaginative Poet contributed some new incidents and local colours to embellish his work, such as, the "Fall of Taranisen" who went to fight Ramachandra, with the names of Rama inscribed all over his body, the story of Angada being sent as envoy at the Court of Ravana, who made the majestic Rakshasha King look very small by his sharp, curt, satirical and witty remarks, the funny episodes of Ahiravana and Mahiravana, the untimely break of sleep of Ravana's 'King-Kong' brother Kumbhakarna which caused his premature death. These and some other small but excellent additions and alterations made by him, proved the extraordinary merit of this Bengali composer. He is in no way less respected than Valmiki himself throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. It is claimed by connoisseurs that Krittibas's work is rather a new creation than a mere translation, just as they speak about the *Ramcharitamanasam* by that saintly Poet Tulsidas of the 16th century. It is the Kavi Krittibas of Bengal whose work has been so much popularised in his own country, that every hearth and home of Bengal still possesses a copy of his Ramayana. He has become an essential part of our life and society for the last five hundred years. A special class of Ramayana singers grew up in every district, who took up the profession of entertaining people with songs and recitations from the Ramayana during all festive occasions and at annual *melas* or fairs that used to be held everywhere in Bengal.

The popularity of the Ramayana by Krittibas was so much wide-spread in Bengal that some of the less talented poets who came after Krittibas, attempted to copy him in their own way, of whom the names of Kavichandra and Adbhutacharyya may be mentioned here, who achieved some success in their respective bold efforts. The saddest part of it was that these various compositions of an inferior type were surreptitiously infiltrated into Krittibas's text, thereby defiling his work to some extent.

The literary works of Bengal of the medieval age may be classified into three principal groups. First, the *Padavali*, i.e., short lyrical songs, second, the *Panchali*, i.e., stories in verses with detailed incidents, for singing and reciting, and the third is the *Sandarvas*, i.e., thoughtful articles in prose to read and enjoy.

The first and the second group have each some sub-sections, such as, the *Padavalis*, which have got no less than four distinct divisions. Number One: The Vaishnava *Padavali*. Number Two: Religious Lyrics other than the Vaishnava *Padavali*. Number Three:

The Popular Love Lyrics, and Number Four: Folk songs and Rural verses.

The Panchali Group have got three distinct divisions, of which number one is the translation from Sanskrit epics like the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Sri Bhagabata, etc. Number two is the *Mangalakavyam*, i.e., tales in verse of cruel persecutions of the unbelievers by the wrathful gods and goddesses as well as the story of their immense boon and favour to the believers, and number three is folklores in doggeral verse as also social ballads.

Though the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and Sri Bhagabata belong to the first division of the Panchali Group, yet we should not forget that the influence of these three Grand Epics, specially the charms of the Ramayana, fascinated the people so much that all the contemporary works and later productions in Bengali literature were saturated with its spirit and they were largely indebted for all their remarkable literary gifts to the Ramayana only.

The direct and indirect influence of the Ramayana are to be found scattered in almost every literary work of the medieval age. In the popular Vaishnava *Padavali*, the Poet's description of Sree Krishna's departure to Mathura from Brindavan while the Gopis tearfully make entreaties, their hearts wrung with pain, appears to be nothing but the echo of the scenes of heart-rending sorrow demonstrated by the Ajodhya people when Ramachandra was leaving the city with Lakshman and Seeta on his exile. In the translations in beautiful and easy Bengali verse of Vedavyasa's 'Mahabharata' by our eminent poet Kashiram Das, the descriptions of 'Vana Parba' remind us of the 'Aranyakandam' of the Ramayana.

The famous poetess of the medieval period 'Chandravati Devi,' daughter of the reputed Ramayana-singer Kavi Dwija Vansidas of North Bengal, composed ballads based on Seeta's heart-rending sorrows when she was, on an erroneous presumption of the people, turned out from the kingdom of Ajodhya, and some other pathetic scenes ingeniously selected by her from the Ramayana placed her to an outstanding fame.

Also in the *Mangala Kavyam*, we find that the tough fight between Dakshina Ray and the Pir Gazi Khan as described in the *Rai Mangal Kavyam* is exactly the same as the terrible fight between Rama and Ravana delineated in the *Lanka Kandam* of the Ramayana.

In the *Chandimangal Kavyam* of the great poet Mukundaram, it is evident, that the chapter on the Fire-ordeal of Fullar the heroine is nothing but a clear shadow of Seeta's Fire-ordeal as described in the Ramayana. We also find in it the picture of Kalketu, the hero as portrayed by the Poet, is only a replica of the image of Ajodhya's young prince Ramachandra, a mere reproduction of the grand conception of Valmiki.

In the *Aswamedha Panchali* by Dwija Raghunath Das, though largely drawn from Kavi Kashiram Das's *Mahabharata*, one never fails to recognise Ramachandra's Aswamedha, as it is described vividly in the

Ramayana. The picture of successive defeats of Bharata and Lakshmana in their fight with Seeta's two brave sons Lava and Kusha as depicted in the Ramayana, has been redrawn, we find, in Dwija Raghunath Das's *Aswamedha Panchali*, where he describes Arjun combating with an unknown opponent, who was no other than his bold and courageous son Vabhrubahana, and his humiliating discomfiture at the end of the fight.

Now let us examine the folk-songs, popular ballads, folklores and fairy tales of Bengal. Nowhere do we find any reference as to the exact dates of their origin, nor is it possible to trace back their source, but it is a fact, that these were subsequently introduced. The anecdotes of Prince Shita-Vasanta or the tales of Kanchanmala or other stories which narrate adventures of some Prince to the land of Rakshashas for delivering a long-imprisoned princess from their cruel hold, are obviously indebted for their idea to the Ramayana.

Thus we find in the medieval period of Bengali Literature the unmistakable evidence of the influence, either direct or indirect of the Ramayana, and also on almost all the literary works of the latter age. And these ideas were unconsciously permeated into their works, and the authors can therefore disclaim any direct influence of the Ramayana over them. The idealism with which the characters of the Ramayana was invested is no more a poetical flight of imagination, but its manifestation is inseparably connected with our everyday life.

In the folk-literature of Bengal, especially in the rural dramas and operas (better known as *Yatra*) publicly performed by the villagers, the influence of the great epics and particularly of the Ramayana cannot be denied. A large number of these play-wrights borrowed their materials from the 'Kalpa-Taru'—the Ramayana. Prior to the *Krishna Leela* performances came into vogue, play had been written on Rama-Seeta episodes the mainstay of the village entertainers.

Perhaps, many of us are acquainted with the *Ram-Leela* performances, which are still very popular in Uttar Pradesh and Behar and which deal mostly with incidents from the Ramayana. In the 'Puppet Dance' performances known in Bengal as *Putul Natch* or 'Drolls of the Dolls' we find most of the characters were drawn from this perennial source—the Ramayana. Many stray songs and doggeral verses of the villages of Bengal are still replete with teachings of the Ramayana. Even the richness of modern literature are very often heightened by the parabolic insertions from the Ramayana. The great structure of the modern Bengali literature, the foundation of which was laid by Raja Rammohun Roy, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar Bankim Chandra Chatterji and others, was steadily raised

during the middle of the nineteenth century. The high edifice is still adding to its height and one cannot miss the palpable influence of the Ramayana.

One of the mighty modern poets of Bengal, Michael Madhusudhan Dutta, whose immortal Bengali epic, *Meghnada-Badh* or *The Fall of Meghnada*, furnishes another example in point. Most of the best modern dramas of the Bengali stage owe their exquisite qualities to the exuberant influence of the Ramayana. The foremost dramatist of our country Girish Chandra Ghosh, who is known as the Shakespeare of Bengal, and acknowledged as the father of the Bengali stage, as he was also an histrionic artist of a very high order, and many of his contemporaries and followers too, culled copiously from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata as well as Rajasthan ballads for their magnificent works done for our stage. The silver screens of the cinemas are still being very largely covered with the memorable events of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, as well as that of Rajasthan's *Seeta Haran*, *Seetar Vanabas*, *Lakshman Varjan*, *Ramachandrer Rajyavishek*, *Seetar Agni Pariksha*, *Hara Dhanu Vanga*, *Bali-badh*, *Lanka Dahan*, etc., are some of the dramas whose very titles are suggestive enough.

It can be safely acknowledged that the influence of the Ramayana is very often prolifically utilised for the development of the modern Bengali Literature. Some of the works of our illustrious Kavi-Guru Rabindranath Tagore, and those of the great Bengali novelist Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji bear an unmistakable impress of that benign influence. Gurudev's *Valmiki Pratibha* provides an illuminating illustration of this.

Tagore used to call the Ramayana our family epic. The eternal history of Bharatvarsha has been embodied in it. India's lofty attainments in the domain of moral and spiritual understanding are due mostly to the pregnant influence of this immortal epic. Our country finds its highest ideal of manhood enshrined in the Ramayana. Gurudev went so far as to declare that Bharatvarsha and the Ramayana are one and the same. In his opinion, the influence of the Ramayana on our life and literature is the invaluable treasure which we have inherited from our very fortunate ancestors. The fundamental message of the Ramayana still resounds within our inner soul.

Gurudev used to acclaim it as a perennial spring of eternal force ever increasing our mental and spiritual wealth. It not only chastens but enriches ourselves from within. Days will never come in the measurable future when its influence will cease to enlighten and ennoble us. Ramayana's immortal *Bani of Kalyan* will remain always gracefully afresh, and it will continue to exercise its sublime and superb influence on every field of the human activity of life.

PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL FINANCE IN INDIA

By PROF. V. K. SHRIVASTAVA, M.A., F.R. Econ. S. (Lond.)

CAPITAL is the life-blood of any industry. Even in the most primitive times, man felt the need of some kind of tools. In modern times of complex and large-scale production, capital has assumed a tremendous importance. The economic prosperity of nations is in direct proportion to the capital they own. The industrialisation of India is a burning need, without which there can be no real raising of the living standards for the people. British Imperialism used its political and economic powers to prevent any decisive expansion of India's industrial capacity. On the other hand, the British control over economic and political life has both 'warped and retarded national development.'

When World War II came to a close, India's industries were faced with new problems. When India became independent she inherited an industrial structure which had been exhausted by war and crippled by partition. The country's economic unity was destroyed. The index number of industrial production, year by year, showed decline. The general index declined from 113.5 in 1941-42 to 104.9 in 1950-51. The important factors responsible for this decline are the difficulty of obtaining capital equipment, labour unrest, transport difficulties and restricted investment activity in the country.

The capital equipment of most Indian industries was strained considerably during the war. Replacement of the worn-out machineries requires large capital. Reorganisation of industries also depends on capital equipment. New plants, however, cannot be established without adequate capital resources. In the post-war independent India, the need for capital has further accentuated.

Estimates of total capital invested in the Indian industries are quite inadequate. The only estimate made by Colin Clark for pre-war years is available which provides the following estimates of capital investments:

Average annual rate of investment
(in Rs. crores)

	1919-23	1934-38
Railways	19	2
Irrigation	2	2
Other public works	6	4
Agricultural improvement	55	58
Industry	21	12
Mining	5	—
Housing	40	61
	150	139

As far as the estimates of domestic savings are concerned, the percentage of per capita saving to per capita real income amounts to 9.7 and 11.7 respectively for the above two periods. No such figures are available for post-war years. According to an estimate by the *Eastern Economist*, there has been an actual emergence of dissaving.

The existing sources of finance in India, apart from foreign investments, are managing agents, banks, public deposits, shares and debentures. The managing system is the most important single source of finance in most industrial centres. Public deposits and shares also have an important place in the field of industrial finance. A number of industrial banks were established in the post-war years (1919) but most of them changed their business to commercial banking.

A number of institutions dealing in industrial finance were established in Britain after the first World War. In Germany, the investment banks had ceased to perform the function of supplying cheap industrial credit. Several new concerns were established after the second War. The government also started a State Bank, the Deutsche Industrial Bank for providing long-term credit to industries.

In India, since the outbreak of the war, cheap money was utilized to subserve the needs of the government. The capital market was subjected to control. The available money resources were used for war-financing. Interest rates went high. But this tendency was short-lived. The large acquisition of sterling by the Reserve Bank contributed to the easing of credit conditions.

With the cessation of war, cheap money policy assumed new importance. It was felt necessary that the advantages of the money market should also flow to the other sectors of economy. As the Governor of the Reserve Bank put it, "The benefits of cheap money have yet to percolate to the same extent to the other sector of our economy, particularly agriculture . . ." In India, our need for cheap money is great for both construction and reconstruction purposes. The first Five-Year Plan has already been launched. It is a Rs. 2068.78 crores plan. Both public and private savings have to be mobilised.

However, there are few considerations. The available capital equipments have reached the limit of full employment, partly owing to the capital issues control and partly owing to non-availability of fresh capital equipments. The inflationary spiral has badly

grinded the saving capacity in the private sector. The institutional savings in India are almost insignificant. The bears, bulls and fools gamble in chance. Possibilities of investment in shares and debentures and securities have now declined. Slowly, but surely depression seems to set in. Profits have declined. The fear of nationalisation of industries hovers in the minds of the anxious investors.

The Indian Industrial Finance Corporation was started in July 1948. It has an authorised capital of Rs. 10 crores divided into 20,000 shares of Rs. 5,000 each. It is also authorised to issue bonds to the extent of five times the amount of its reserve fund and paid-up capital. The working of the Industrial Finance Corporation for two years have shown that the post-war demand for loans have not been considerable.

Loans have been granted to the cotton textiles, woolen textiles, rayon industry, chemicals, cement, ceramics and glass, oil-mills, electric power, metallurgical industry, iron and steel, aluminium, sugar industry, mining, mechanical and electric engineering and textile machinery.

Investment in precious metals is considerable in India for two reasons, firstly, on account of the lack of investment institutions in the country and secondly owing to the particular attachment of the common people to the glittering metal. However, the bulk of their supply goes to the private sector. During the war, private trade in bullion with overseas countries was suspended. The Government have increased the duty on silver and imposed specific duty on gold.

Insurance companies have also played a very important part in the investment of their funds. About 108 crores of rupees have been invested by them in Government securities, foreign governments and other institutions. Some of them have invested their capital in industrial shares and debentures.

In recent years several investment trusts have also been established, namely, Central Investment & Trust Co. Ltd., Industrial Investment Trust Ltd., New India Investment Corporation Ltd., Hindusthan Investment and Financial Trust Ltd., and others.

The problem of investment in India is peculiarly different. Businessmen have reaped rich harvests during the war, and they had enough money to spare both for industrial investment as well as for lending it to the Government. There have been secret hoardings of the cash by certain people who could not bring it in the open market for investment for the reason of its detection. There has been an increase in wages and salaries also but the inflationary conditions have been coming in the way of the accumulation of small savings.

There are certain external conditions which have

their bearing on the prospects of investment in a country, such as the Korean war, the Commonwealth financial agreements and the industrial policy of the nation, with regard to import and export trade. The *Eastern Economist* argues that investors look forward for the yield and a steady yield, but can any one guarantee a steady yield these days? The new Government monetary policies, the high rates of income tax and certain acerbities in the finance concerned with the Five-Year Plan offer no hope for capital formation or investment. The recent lowering down of commodity prices has reduced the savings of the agriculturists and the merchants. The prospects of future investments, therefore, are not in any way hopeful.

The role of foreign capital is none-the-less important. Attempts have been made to make an estimate of the total amount of foreign capital in India. After the repatriation of the sterling debt, the *Financial Times* assessed the total foreign capital at £240 million. However, correct computation is difficult. With a view to attract foreign capital, the Government announced its policy in April, 1949. It preferred private investment to inter-governmental financial arrangements on the grounds that it brings 'continuity of economic development' and it brings with it 'an administrative and technical know-how.' The returns on foreign capital have been very satisfactory. But new investments have considerably declined in recent years.

A favourable balance of trade also may earn foreign exchange for a country. Unfortunately, the balance of India's trade has not been favourable. There was a slight improvement in the situation in the year 1950-51 but it was only short-lived. The partition of the country has affected our economy adversely. India need not also make much of her sterling balances. They should be well-guarded as our precious assets for its use in times of grave emergency.

Evidently, the need for both public and private savings is clear and urgent. Loans from the International Bank or the policy of deficit financing may not go a long way. The economic conditions of the masses in general are extremely low. The living standards of the people have to be raised. The per capita income has to be increased. The Five-Year Plan needs adequate finances to meet its obligations in respect of vast proposed expenditures. The only solution lies in increased internal savings. Any plan to be effective must be based on the sacrifices of the people. Russia and Japan fully mobilised their internal resources. India has to emulate their example. The savings schemes are there; all that is required of the people is their sincere and whole-hearted efforts to make them a success.



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

BALADITYA: A Historical Romance of Ancient India: By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S. Second edition. The P. P. I. Book Depot, Bangalore. Pp. xiii + 476. Price Rs. 6.

The opening decades of the sixth century of the Christian era were a critical period in the history of our land. It was then that the White Huns, a branch of that formidable Central Asian group of tribes that had carried the terror of their names to the gates of Constantinople and Rome, burst a second time upon India after their initial discomfiture half a century earlier at the hands of the valiant Gupta Emperor, Skandagupta. Under the leadership of Toramana and his infamous son Mihiragula ("the slayer of three crores of human beings," according to the *Rajatarangini*) they succeeded this time in carving out for themselves a considerable dominion in Northern India and threatened to overwhelm the remains of the Gupta Empire. They received their first check from a valiant but insubordinate feudatory of the Gupta Empire, Yasodharman of Malwa and were finally crushed by a grand combination of Indian princes led by the last great Gupta Emperor Baladitya. In the present work, the author has sought to bring before us a picture of this epic struggle of our ancestors against the barbarian invaders. Judged by strict historical standards this work is liable to be charged with some serious lapses. Thus the author's mention of the great Vishnu temple in the centre of Ujjaini (p. 1) is not supported by facts, while his references to "the Vishnuvada on the bed of the Phalguni river" (sic.) (p. 185) and to "Puri, Jagannath (sic.), Bhuvaneshwara, and Konarka" (p. 324) as well as his detailed description of the temple at "Puri Jagannath" (sic.) (p. 461 f.) are nothing but anachronisms. If we ignore these slight blemishes we have no hesitation in saying that the author has produced a work of outstanding merit. The interest of the story never flags from beginning to end. The incidents are remarkably varied. Not to speak of the side-lights thrown upon the horrible espionage system and the atrocious cruelties of the barbarian invaders, we have thrilling accounts of a high-born maiden's rescue from Hunnish captivity first by a band of robbers and a second time by her own wits, of a sea-voyage from Bharukachcha to distant Tamralipta by way of the West Indian and the Malabar ports, of a dastardly but happily unsuccessful plot to poison Yasodharman at a village inn, of a Princess's *svayamvara* at which the redoubtable Mihiragula through a messenger vainly attempted to coerce her into acceptance of his hand, and of preparations led by kings, queens, and princesses for the final war of liberation against the hated foreigners. Vivid descrip-

tions are also given of the extensive scale of India's maritime enterprises and overseas trade in those times, while pathetic scenes are provided by the historical account of *sati* committed by the wife of a valiant chieftain who was killed in fighting with the Huns and the notices of the last days of Toramana and Baladitya. The characters which are nearly 75 in number range over every walk of life and are all vivid and lifelike. They include a villainous Brahmana, the vilest of the vile, and his counterpart, a noble Chandala sweeper-woman, a loyal and valiant but somewhat narrow-minded chieftain (Goparaja), an implacable enemy of the Huns and a brave warrior but an insubordinate chieftain (Yasodharman), a high-born maiden (afterwards Queen of Baladitya) combining in herself the characteristic grace and charm, purity, devotion and practical wisdom of Indian womanhood, and finally, the Emperor Baladitya figured as the pink of Kshatriya chivalry and (before his conversion to the Buddhist cult of non-violence) of Kshatriya valour as well.

The book is remarkably free from misprints and the paper and general get-up are satisfactory. We wish it the widest circulation among our reading public.

U. N. GHOSHAL

DAYARAM GIDUMAL: By T. L. Manghir-malani. Printed at Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Distributed by Navajivan Karyalaya and its branch. Pp. 46. Price 12 annas.

CHARVAK AND CHARINI: By Raghavendra Govind Kulkarni. To be had of K. G. Kulkarni, 252, Sadashiv, Poona. Pp. 52. Price 8 annas.

The author of the first book under review is a son-in-law of Dayaram Gidumal, a benefactor of Sind, and of all worthy causes in India and outside. He rose high in the judicial service, and was offered a seat in the Bombay High Court as Judge, but declined the offer as it came too late.

It was not by his eminence as a Judge but as a philanthropist that Davaram will be best remembered. His contribution to the funds of the Bose Institute is a case in point. As a social reformer, as a fellow-worker of Bhrumali Malabari, editor of the *Bombay Spectator* (weekly) and of the *East and West* (monthly), as an author of notable books on Sind and its culture, Davaram Gidumal occupied a high place in Western India.

His benefactions were made possible by his economies in personal expenses; often he denied himself the necessities of life. In his time, he was regarded as the guardian of Sind's needy, of the poor and the forlorn. Sri Manghir-malani has done a

distinct service to Sind and to the other language areas by acquainting the latter with the life-work of a maker of modern Sind who kept up the traditions of Sadhu Hiranand and Sadhu Navalrai, two disciples of Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen.

The second book is an imaginative attempt to reconstruct the past of India of about 2,500 years back. Charvak was born in 2441 B.C. in a family of scholars. He is known to posterity for his materialistic atheistic views; Kapila Rishi held the same opinion when he said: *Ishwara*, the Creator of the worlds, could not be proved as there was no evidence for His existence.

For this heterodoxy Charvak and his followers have been persecuted; his teachings mutilated and misrepresented; and all traces of these erased except in opponents' stray references.

Charini is an imaginative figure, the wife and soul's companion of Charvak. Charvak was an upholder of the woman's cause, of the victims of caste system. And Charini travelled with him throughout India and the Himalayas. They held controversies with sages and philosophers; and thereby tested their own system of thought and were confirmed in their views. Charvak has yet to find an authentic historian. In free India, the Communist scholars should turn their attention to one of their master's predecessors in an Indian incarnation.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

BABAJIS MASTERKEY TO ALL ILLS: By V. T. Neelkantan and S. A. A. Ramiah, M.A. Published by the authors from 1-1, Arulananda Mudaly Street, San Thome, Mylapore, Madras-4. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 7.

Both the authors have jointly written another book named "The Voice of Babaji" which is already published. They have separately some other books on similar subjects as well. One of them Sri Neelkantan is a veteran journalist of Madras before whom Kriya Babaji materialised himself several times since 26th July, 1952 to propagate his lofty gospel of happiness and his un-failing remedy to all ills. On Friday, September 5 of the same year Kriya Babaji, who is now dead and gone, appeared before Sri Neelkantan when the latter opened his eyes after about four hours of meditation at a stretch. Then followed an illuminating talk between them after which Kriya Babaji laughed, blessed and vanished. The Master thus dictated in materialised form many mysterious things now published in this and the former book. This is, therefore, a wonderful book of psychomancy and occultism. That discarnate spirits can reveal themselves in visible form and talk to us directly about future events and the like is an entrancing art of Hindu Yoga. It is said that Sankaracharya while alive on earth left for sometime his own physical sheath and entered the dead body of a king to learn certain art unknown to him.

This book is written from the view-point of a Vedantist. Pictures of the two authors as well as Kriya Babaji are given in the book. But the book is printed on bad paper, probably newsprint and its price is exorbitant. Though it is divided into fifteen chapters no index of chapters or topics treated is there. It is however interesting and repays a perusal. The get-up is far from satisfactory.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

TRENDS IN ECONOMIC THINKING: By Santi Kumar Ghosh. Published from 15, Mahendra Road, Calcutta-25. Pp. 57. Price Rs. 2.

In this small book the author has critically examined some of the fundamental concepts—Production, Consumption, Industry, Competition, Monopoly, Trade Cycle, etc., in the light of recent trends in economic thinking. Although the writer does not offer any revision of existing theories, the discussions are helpful in understanding the limitations of traditional theories. Students of economics will find this book useful.

THE ONWARD MARCH—WEST BENGAL: Published by Congress Bhawan, 59-13, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta-20. Pages 35. Price 12 annas.

This booklet gives a short account of the progress of West Bengal under the Congress Government under the following heads: Irrigation, Food, Agriculture, Land Reform, Relief and Rehabilitation of the Refugees from East Bengal, Social Services, Cottage Industries, Labour, Communication and Transport, Community Projects, etc. The booklet is full of information which every citizen should know.

As this is a Congress publication on the eve of the Kalyani Congress, readers will naturally desire to have information of Congress activities other than that of the Congress Government. But such information is not found anywhere in this booklet. Congress leaders have said at times without number that the Indian National Congress and the Congress Administration of the Government are not one and the same thing but Congressmen often forget this and confuse the two. All credit of the Government is considered as the credit of the Congress organisation and as a result Congress becomes a blind supporter of what is done in the name of the Government. Thus the Congress is getting away from the mass contact which leaders of the Congress deplore.

A. B. DUTTA

LECTURES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: By R. N. Chowdhury, M.A., Department of History, Maharaja's College, Jaipur. Published by Bharati Publishing House, Jaipur. Price Rs. 3.

Prof. R. N. Chowdhury's work under review covers in six lectures the history of international relations from the Treaty of Versailles, 1919, to the foundation of the United Nations Organisation, 1945. Students of current affairs and international relations will find the volume quite helpful.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

VIDEHI (A Novel of Indian Life): By Charles Leslie Holden. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London. 1953. Pp. 402. Price Rs. 8.

It is symbolic of the rising prestige of the new India that books such as Mr. Holden's are gradually coming into being, replacing the peculiarly cavalier and burra-sahibish outlook on men and things Indian which we have had to put with till fairly recently.

Perhaps the greatest virtue of Mr. Holden's writing is his appositeness and his intelligent understanding of Indian life, society and customs and I think it is a great thing to be able to say that Mr. Holden's picture and colour are neither jarring nor perfunctory.

Videhi, the principal figure of the present novel, is a lovable and deeply sensitive young girl whom the capricious gods endowed with rather more pronounced streaks of individuality than was good for her. The result was an unfortunate early marriage which foundered almost instantaneously and a separation followed within a matter of days. Spontaneous love (for which she pined) later

came to Videhi with an impact that literally swept her off her feet. But before this love could blossom, tragedy struck and Videhi's lover suddenly died of plague. A period of ceaseless mental struggle sent the girl into a self-imposed exile in the wilderness of Bihar. In the end, chance brought Videhi to Bombay where he met her quondam husband, now a shining light in the Indian Civil Service and was at last reconciled to him.

The best parts of this well-told, if somewhat spun out, tale are, curiously enough, sustained not by Videhi, but by her loving and self-effacing mother Shalini who early learnt the lessons that a cruel and unrelenting life gave her. She hovered over her brood and her little world of little fads and inhibitions with vehemence and futility that is perhaps only possible in an Indian mother. It is, therefore, not surprising that the frail Shalini, with her deep sense of her daughter's shortcomings, comes out in sharper relief in Holden's canvas.

Videhi is as sweet as she can be, but her complete abandon during one of her first encounters with her aged lover (p. 274) does not square up with the picture drawn of her in the book. Many will not also approve of the way Mr. Holden has painted the goings-on in the young people's debating society-cum-club in Delhi with everybody falling in love with everybody. I did not also like the jacket illustration: the stiff, outlandish and completely expressionless half-bust of a woman, which can be anybody's but Videhi's whom one grows to like in spite of her understandable limitations.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SRI AUROBINDO: HYMNS TO THE MYSTIC FIRE: Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. 1952. Pp. xxvi+607. Price Rs. 15.

This enlarged edition of a monumental work of the great scholar-saint will have to be consulted by all future students of the Veda and its publication after only six years proves that it hardly needs any recommendation to them. From very ancient times the Veda is known to convey apart from its superficial liturgic sense a secret 'inner' meaning only known to the mystics. The fanciful and arbitrary interpretations of the European etymologists and historians, which unfortunately has persuaded the mind of modern India, entirely miss this true meaning of the Veda. The 'Foreword' seeks to explain the true import of Vedic religion and the basis of the esoteric interpretation of the Veda. No Vedic scholar should miss this brilliant thesis, where mystic meanings of some of the keywords like *Ritam* are divulged. It is only a pity that greater preoccupations of the saint prevented a planned esoteric edition of the whole Rigveda on a scholastic basis. We have, instead, only the text and translation of the Hymns to Agni in their esoteric sense and for a specimen of the inimitable performance we need only quote here the English version of the very first hymn of the Rigveda which has been uttered by myriads of devout Indians for many millenniums.

"I adore the flame, the vicar the divine Ritwik of the Sacrificed, the summoner who most founds the ecstasy." A comparison with the numerous current versions of the Hymn will inevitably bring out the superior quality of the present volume.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA

HINDI

JAIN SHASAN: By Sumeruchandra Diwakar. Published by Bharatiya Granthpith, Kashi. Pp. 475. Price Rs. 3.

The present edition is the second edition of the book, which effectively deals with the tenets of Jainism in a critical as well as catholic spirit and in a style which is lucid and literary, together with an attempt at applying these tenets to some of our present-day problems. A praiseworthy publication in every respect.

G. M.

GUJARATI

MAHADEO BHAINI DIARY—PART III: (From 2.1.33 to 20.8.33). Concluding portion of Yeravda Jail, Edited by Narahari Parikh, Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. September 1949, Price Rs. 5.

This book brings down the story of Gandhiji's prison life at Yeravda from the beginning of 1933 to 23rd August, 1933. He was in Sassoon Hospital and his life there was open to the public. To be sure, all his life had been an open book, but from this time on it was wholly so. During this period he was so absorbed in the removal of untouchability that it marks an important period of his life. If any other period of his life can be compared with this, it is the period of his life when he was at Noakhali. From that on to the great sacrifice at Delhi, Gandhiji was not only a political leader, he was leader also in constructive works and the combination of the two comes out very clear and bright in his life—as we review this period.

"Untouchable" students came to see him; he asked them about statistics on various topics, consulted Thakkar Bapa and tried to find a means to solve the difficult problem of the removal of untouchability. Was his fast a coercion or otherwise? As days went by, he discussed the point with Vallabhbhai. "It was not a problem—it was a danger. To him untouchability was a stain, a curse." He had discussions with Pandits of the orthodox school and wanted to know who was an untouchable. It was not dependent on vocation, and the first step towards self-revelation was the removal of untouchability, and untouchability as practised in the past came nowhere near its implication in modern times. Gandhiji was busy organising and husbanding his strength.

There were many other discussions: Should girls wear ornaments; should there be mixed marriages; if so, what would be their implications. The mischief from a blind obedience to Sanatan Dharma and the advice from Gokhale regarding Seva also came up for consideration. Was not Malaviya's solution of untouchability a mistake? Even to fill one's belly or to take a hearty meal was a crime in the present context of things. Is prayer possible without fast? Is fast possible without prayer? While talking to the Gujarati students Gandhiji said that it was necessary for the students to understand the position of Varna in Hinduism. As for Gandhiji himself there was nothing high, nothing low in society. There is an interesting passage also about the meeting with Stanley Jones and a discussion about the Tagore family and its position in Brahma Samaj on page 151.

The volume contains several interesting appendices and documents. The solution proposed on temple entry to Congressmen and others has a very intimate and close bearing on untouchability. It contains also some correspondence with the Government and an account of the second fast. It contains also an interesting critical observation on Nagananda by Sri Harsha. Who was this Nag? Where was this

Himalaya Parvat? The earlier part of the drama was slack but the latter part Gandhiji considered to be beautiful. The sacrifice of Jimutbahan is beautifully expressed (Act IV, verses 23-24). Even at the age of 64, Bapu was experimenting on the way to give up spectacles. The repartee from Vallabhbhai and Rajaji is also recorded as well as the estrangement of the Ali brothers who wanted to be considered the sole representatives of Islam. The translation of the Geeta into Gujarati by Narmada Shankar and its influence in strengthening one's faith in the Geeta was sufficiently recognised, and it was a real influence in Gandhiji's own case.

But it would not be possible—nor would it be desirable—to make an inventory of the many episodes and remarks of Gandhiji and his circle. Sufficient mention has been made to suggest that the book is a mine of information and that in no bookish fashion. It keeps up the standard of Mahadeo Bhai's diaries as reviewed in these columns.

Literary discussions, political principles, social reform organisations were all woven into the texture of Gandhiji's life, and the book faithfully reproduces it.

P. R. SEN

SHRI GITA VEDANT: By Purushottam Bhangi Parekh, Amreli (Saurashtra). Printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar, 1949. Cloth-bound. Pp. 255. Price Re. 1.

Mr. Parekh does not know Sanskrit. He has studied the Gita in translations and has still been able to publish more than one book on the different aspects of its teaching and philosophy. In this particular book, in seven sections,

he has been able to analyse and explain the problems of (1) Captivity (*Bandhan*) and Liberation (*Moksha*), (2) the Genesis of the book, (3) The Tripuras of Jagat, Jiva, and Brahma and (4) two others in the light of the verses of the Gita. For such a non-scholar as the composer, this is a notable work.

BROKEN WING: By (1) Shivam Sundaram, (2) Palash and (3) Krishnaprasad Bhatt. Published by the Adarsha Pustak Bhandar, Ahmedabad. 1950. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 330. Price Rs. 4.

Broken Wing (Shivam Sudaram) the Forerunner (Agradut), (Palash) and Tears and Laughter (Krishnaprasad Bhatt) are three tales originally written by Khalil Jibran. The translators do not know Arabic and have had to rely on translations in one or the other of the Indian languages or even English. They have been able to capture and reproduce the spirit of the original. The price Rs. 4 is rather heavy for the ordinary reader's purse.

VANACHHAYA: By Dhumketu. Published by the Bharatiya Sahitya Sangh, Ahmedabad, 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 281. Price Rs. 3.

Dhumketu alias Shri Gourishankar G. Joshi has been writing books of fiction and also serious literature like the Life of Hemchandracharya, at the speed with which a meteor (*dhumketu*) is running in the vast spaces of the sky. He has till now written on about thirty books if not more. His novels and short stories have proved immensely popular. The present collection consists of twenty-two short stories. They are all readable and attractive.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Small-Scale Production of India

V. R. Natarajan writes in *The Mysore Economic Review*:

When production is carried on with small quantities of the various factors of production the scale of production is said to be small. In modern days, production has a tendency of being instituted on a large scale; but still small scale production persists with great vigour.

The causes of the persistence of small-scale production are to be found in (i) the nature of certain occupations to which small-scale is best suited; and (ii) the advantages of small scale.

(i) The following are the cases in which small scale is invariably adopted:

(a) the occupation requiring personal attention and care like tailoring are mostly conducted on small scale.

(b) The products which require high artistic excellence are produced on small scale.

(c) Some products do not command a wide market, and must be produced on small scale.

(d) Some occupations by their very nature cannot be conducted on a large scale. Agriculture is an example. It is true that we often hear of big mechanised farms but they are not big as compared with mammoth factories. Bidis are made by hand and bidi making has, therefore, to be a small scale enterprise.

(e) Industries in the experimental stage have to be run on small scale.

(f) Handicraftsmen, who want to remain independent, work on a small scale production.

(ii) The following are the advantages of small-scale production. Firstly, the master can keep a close watch everywhere, his foreman or workman cannot afford to shirk the duty. Secondly, he saves much of the book-keeping and the elaborate system of checks which are essential in the case of large establishment. Thirdly, the relations between the master and his servants are very intimate and cordial; and there is rarely any occasion for strikes or lock-outs.

The chief disadvantage of small-scale production is that it cannot take advantage of the various economies which are available in the case of large-scale production. Moreover, difficulty is faced if the commodity of a standard type has to be produced in bulk. In other words, it is unsuited for mass production.

However, the disadvantages of small-scale production have been appreciably reduced by a number of factors. Firstly, the small-scale producer shares the wastages of external economies which are constantly increasing in importance. Secondly, the advantages of research, new modes of production etc., which were so far available to big producers only are now available to small producers as well. In all matters respecting trade knowledge, newspapers and trade and technical publications

of all kinds are perpetually scouting for him and bringing him much of the knowledge he wants. Finally, small machinery have been invented for the benefit of small-scale production, which can be operated by electricity. They have greatly improved the lot of the artisan and granted him a fresh lease of life.

Production in India has been carried on from olden days on small scale. In industrial as well as agricultural sectors, small-scale production has been the rule. With the advent of Britishers in India, production began to take place on large scale. Even then, the typical feature is small-scale production. Of the total output, not less than 61.8 per cent comes from small units. Of the total national income about 84 per cent comes from these units. It is, therefore, very clear that in our country, most of the production is organised on small scale.

There are several reasons for this state of affairs. Firstly, India is still carrying on her old ways of production and Capitalism has not yet fully developed here. It is a feature of feudalism and mediaevalism that production under it is organised on small scale; and this feature still persists in India. Secondly, Indian producers generally possess small capital, and they are, therefore, unable to carry on production on a large-scale. Thirdly, Indians are poor people and their purchasing power is small; hence they cannot purchase certain goods in large quantities. Limitation of demand also sometimes acts as a check on large-scale production.

Is this situation unfavourable to the country? In fact, large scale and small scale, each has its own sphere of advantages and disadvantages. But in some spheres, production on a large scale is inevitable, e.g., in the case of key industries. In other spheres, if the volume of the output has to be substantial, production has to be organised on a large scale. Hence efforts should be made to remove artificial obstacles to large-scale production. Where small-scale is suitable or is otherwise desirable, we should make attempts to remove the causes of efficiency therein.

In India there is a wide field for small-scale industries. Even now, cottage industries support millions of people. India is an agricultural country and the peasant is in a state of enforced idleness of several months in the year. Agriculture must be supplemented by suitable supplementary industries. Besides, labour is cheap and machinery is dear. The All India Village Industries Association has been doing a lot to popularize small-scale industries. The National Congress, the Government of India, and State Governments render enthusiastic support to small and cottage industries in every possible way.

In India, small industries have shown remarkable efficiency in the past, and still occupy a large part in the system of production. The low wages, the scattered character of the Indian cottage and other small industries, and the difficulty of organising them are

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perhaps some of the serious defects of the present system of small scale production in India. In spite of these inevitable defects in the economic organisation, small scale production in India at present covers a much larger area than in European countries.

In the words of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, "the development of village industries on a co-operative basis is essential if they are to survive increasing competition. The question of organising them on such a basis should receive the attention of the departments of co-operation and industries in all States." Co-operation can help artisan class, (a) by giving loans on small interest, (b) in the purchase of raw materials used in handicrafts, and also (c) in the sale of finished article. In fact, Co-operation on these lines is the great hope of the small industries in India.

What is the future of small scale production? The question is more easily raised than answered. As regards agricultural production in the future, it is said that the tendency to agricultural progress is from extensive to intensive cultivation, and that agriculture should assume more and more the form of small farms organised on a co-operative basis. It is only by a process of intensive cultivation that sufficient food can be raised for the growing population of the world. Professor Seligman observes that large scale production must soon give place to small-scale production in agriculture. As regards, the future of production in manufacture and commerce small-scale business are not free from defects but many of the defects of small scale industries, wherever social and economic conditions are favourable to them, can be overcome by organising them on a co-operative basis. While large-scale enterprises are numerous and show a tendency to increase, it is also evident that the small producer still holds his own in certain important and useful branches of production.

To conclude, in modern industrial organisation, small scale industries have a place as well as the large industries. But in developing small industries, we have to distinguish between healthy forms of small-scale production and unhealthy sweated businesses, where the workmen work for the middlemen at low wages. Such sweated industries do not deserve encouragement. But the healthy forms of small scale production in India, wherever social and economic conditions permit, have to be encouraged and preserved with a view to attain a healthy social economy.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

Thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged 17th (June, 1954) edition of **A MANUAL OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE & OFFICE COMPENDIUM** by Tripurari Saran of U.P. Secretariat is *Just out*. It deals with innumerable subjects of General Knowledge, General English, Precise-writing, Drafting, History, Geography, Science, Literature, Politics, Sports, Facts, Plans and Conferences, World Directory, World Affairs, Questions & Answers and various other useful topics. **HIGHLY SPOKEN OF. Indispensable for all Public Service Commission Examinations.**

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Asia and America

Van Wyck Brooks, an American critic, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

"Throughout Asia today there prevails an atmosphere of hope, not of despair. There is not a single country in Asia in which people feel that we are entering on an age of chaos. What they see opening out before them is a limitless horizon of hope—the hope of peaceful co-operation among free peoples. There will be disillusionments along the way as these hopes unfold. They should not come from America, or as the result of American policy. A great part of Asia's hopes, however, will be fulfilled, and should be fulfilled with American co-operation. We have everything to gain by being on the side of hope."

So, in *The Situation in Asia*, writes Owen Lattimore, and who knows better what he is talking about? But what a contrast to Europe, where the "Decline of the West" has, for the last 30 years, been taken for granted. That mankind has come to the end of its tether even H. G. Wells believed at the last, and how many others have agreed with D. H. Lawrence that Europe is "dead, dead and stinking." For decades every European voice has cried "chaos" and "despair," and the word "hope" is anathema to European ears.

How could it have been otherwise since, as an English statesman said, the lamps went out all over Europe and considering that in two general wars the continent has almost destroyed itself while losing most of its imperial possessions overseas? The despair of Europe is the result of its exhaustion and shrinkage, and generations will have to pass before—in Robert Frost's phrase—it learns "what to make of a diminished thing." But Europe's extremity has been Asia's opportunity, and the displacement of planetary forces that deprived Europe of its empires abroad placed these empires at home in their own possession. For the first time in modern conditions the nations of Asia are on their own, free to shape their own destinies and work out their own forms. How could they feel that they are "entering on an age of chaos"? How could they not feel buoyed up with "hope"?

But now, in relation to all this, what is the position of American writers? This country cannot share the mood of Europe—for America is too vigorous and too large and it has lost too little; and yet our literary life is still so far under the European spell that it reflects this end-of-the-world feeling. It still shows traces everywhere of the influence of Joyce, Eliot, Kafka, Lawrence and the Existentialist writers who express this feeling, in disregard of the real feeling of the country and Melville's remark that the time had come for Americans to "set," not "follow" precedents. It is obvious that, before long, we shall be setting precedents—our position of power will all but oblige us to do so; and we shall do this, I predict, in alliance with Asiatic minds that share our vitality and our hope for the future. I suggest that we have as much to gain by "co-operation" with Asia as Asia has to gain by co-operation with us—I mean on the literary, as, I trust, on the political level.

Our Educational Problems

Dr. Amaresh Datta writes in *Careers and Courses* :

There is not a single educationist in our country, who has not expressed his dissatisfaction with or disapproval of the present system of education. The

Government also, on the assumption of a need for reorientation, have, from time to time, set up commissions, published books and reports and issued inspiring statements, but nothing substantial has yet been done.

It is admitted on all hands that the present system has either outlived its utility or has been, generally speaking, unsuitable for a country with different ideals and rich educational traditions. Yet the Public Service Commission, of late, have started being critical of the educational standards. One cannot, I believe, hold at the same time that the system of education is defective and expect the standards to go up. All this discrepancy is due to the fact that education is usually considered as an isolated issue. We think of a few brilliant products of the system in the past, and by a mental comparison, begin to cry over the progressive deterioration of standard in our time. In doing so, in most cases, we conveniently refuse to take into consideration the circumstances—economic, political and cultural—prevailing in the past and their unrecognisable changed character at the present day. But the impact of environment is one of the basic factors and an understanding of its significance will help us to look at the whole problem with greater sympathy and more equanimity of mind.

A SOCIAL PROBLEM

A generation of men and women gradually sailing adrift from its moorings, dazed by the first flush of the dangerous ideal of liberty and shattered by economic depression (for their hope of a better life in free India was as high as their despair is deep now) cannot easily settle to a calm and healthy way of thinking. For obvious reasons, therefore, agitation in some form or the other is their only means of escape. In fact when homes are breaking, society is in the last throes of disintegration and the sense of values is fast vanishing without yielding place to new, it is indeed too much to expect the glory of a historic past. The problem of education, therefore, is primarily a social problem and only the rehabilitation of a definite social ideal can ultimately solve this problem in any satisfactory manner. At present we have no way of life; living for us is merely a matter of habit, a mere biological process.

But this is perhaps too wide a context for the subject under discussion, though I believe we cannot gauge the full implications of the problem except in relation to the social background. Let us, therefore, deal with some of the problems directly. It is unfortunate that too much of filthy politics has contaminated almost all the spheres of our national life. In professional politics, even in a democratic country, the spirit of democracy is very often sacrificed to a rigid adherence to mere procedural methods. This is why needs of the hour are often neglected or the strength of a right cause weakened by the delay and intrigues perpetrated democratically by a chain of committees and sub-committees set up by a parent body.

All this may be a weakness inherent in democracy itself or these methods may have some diplomatic significance in the administrative politics of a country, but in educational institutions, in spite of their similar set up, such methods can produce only disastrous results—a fact about which all but the politically minded feel deeply concerned. For elections to various academic bodies in the universities have not been in most cases very different from municipal elections and their effect on all concerned and the future of education has been, to say the least, the most pernicious.

Indeed this failure of democracy in the most enlightened constituency of a country makes the whole picture even more depressing. It is, therefore, necessary

that the administrative structure also should be basically changed along with the system of education. That, of course, does not mean that there should be more or governmental interference; in fact such interference should preferably be the minimum possible in every instance.

For political values, at least in comparison with the educational ideals, are much less permanent and if anything substantial is to be achieved, the policy and purpose of education cannot afford to change with the changes of party governments, that democracy on that level indicates. Yet the power can make a great and definite contribution to the cause of education in this country, because here in India a politician wields limitless powers and can easily do a great deal in any direction. Even a petty member of a powerful political party is accepted by the masses as a social reformer, an educationist, a connoisseur of arts and sports, all in one and he also acts all these roles with a modesty which is another name for graceful deception. When that is so, they can do much by actively recognising the proper significance of education in the making of a nation and also by trying to create an atmosphere where teachers get the social value and status that they deserve.

VICTIMS OF SACRIFICE

In a society where man's worth—intellectual or otherwise—is determined or measured by the money he earns, teachers in general cannot expect to do their best or exert any healthy and effective influence. Economic discomfort may sometimes be tolerated if there is any compensatory reward in terms of social recognition and prestige, but when even that is not there, it will be unfair to exhort them from the pulpit of self-sacrifice. Why, a teacher may legitimately ask, should the members of the teaching profession be always ear-marked as victims of sacrifice when they have their claims on society as others have or when the responsibility for nation-building is not entirely theirs. It is not only bad logic but also had taste that demands all sixteen annas of a rupee without paying none.

A few individual teachers may have carved out for themselves some covetable positions either by their scholarship or by other qualifications, but in general teachers are a class of languishing people thrown into the profession out of necessity, not by choice. Competent and earnest men are attracted by more lucrative jobs which also mean more dignity and honour. Yet there is no dearth of well-placed dilettanti in this country who would refuse to speak about the nobility of the teaching profession. But the fact is that the profession has retained all the other concomitant factors proverbially

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ally associated with it except nobility. More financial assistance, of course, is now being given by the governments to all the educational institutions, but what is really the use of well-furnished libraries and laboratories in universities full of dissatisfied or political-minded teachers disposed to think in terms of trade unionism? Or what are the ultimate results of these scattered grants without any co-ordination or any definite ideal in view?

This again raises another pertinent question—what is the real value of all this inflated importance attached to education at the university level if in earlier stages it is improper or even misguided? A plan for educational reform, therefore, will include all the different stages which should be treated as integral parts of an organic whole.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

Then there is confusion of issues and there are strange notions about teaching and purpose of education, and because everybody feels qualified to speak about the subject there is a plethora of contending views. One of our greatest difficulties is that while thinking of our universities we cannot help thinking in terms of Oxford or Cambridge or even of Harvard or Yale. And this is certainly a very wrong way of thinking. For one thing our needs are different. Then, they (universities) were originally set up with a different purpose in view, and, above all, they do not as yet possess the sanctity and the element of piety that had been lent to some of the foreign universities by tradition or their peculiar background. But this mental comparison becomes almost ridiculous when we know that our universities despite their similarity of patterns do not impart education as a means to culture or even in any systematic way.

There are universities where teachers are required to coach Intermediate students and also to guide research scholars, which is done obviously at the cost of intensification in any stage of the university education. There are others where library or laboratory facilities are far from satisfactory, yet researches are carried on because it is believed that research works, whatever be their quality or worth, bring credit to the university. This unhealthy craze for research on the part of the students, often taken as some stopgap arrangement or as the last resort for an unemployed degree-holder, and low sense of standard on part of the authority have been responsible for many approved theses which are nothing but compilations of others' views or anthologies of rambling thoughts. This is why very few research-works done in this country have attained anything like wide or international reputation. Governments are now giving valuable financial assistance for building up well-equipped libraries and laboratories, but these equipments being very expensive, these scattered grants cannot meet the needs anywhere in full. It would certainly be more worthwhile if they could establish a few research centres for science and humanities with eminent and competent scholars to guide the students. This may also engender a higher sense of standard and value and ultimately drive out of our minds all these cheap and undignified notions about research and university degrees.

Ideas about teaching are more unwholesome and misguided. Here in a college, a high-salaried and complacent principal suddenly becomes critical of his university a vice-chancellor thinks that a teacher's merit or worth is to be judged by the number of papers he has managed to publish in non-descript periodicals. Evidently those who hold the reins in matters educational do not actually know what is the real purpose of

education. Real originality is as rare a thing in the world as genius and the institutions set up for building up the character and personality of students or creating in them a lively interest in their subjects of study, can do without such originality. What is really needed of a teacher is not his capacity for positing unusual views but the ability to place facts and views in such a way that the students aspire to know more when their initial inquisitiveness is satisfied. A mere academician whose knowledge of books has failed to enrich his life or conduct, may have his significance in the world of learning, but as a teacher he may not be able to give his students that impetus which helps them to understand life better through knowledge.

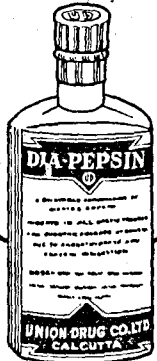
THE TEACHERS AND THE TAUGHT

But the most important aspect of the matter in the present context is the one concerning the relations between the teacher and the taught, administration and student community. The ideal relations between the *Guru* and *Shishya* that existed sometime in a more spacious and less complicated past and which are very often referred to, though I believe anachronistically, in public speeches, are certainly not there. It is also a fact that the student as a community have become more conscious of their rights than duties and that they not only lack devotion and integrity but sometimes even a primary sense of responsibility towards their parents and society.

All these are indeed deplorable. But I feel there still persists an element of bureaucracy in the educational administration of the country. There is sometimes an unnecessary and harmful interference on the part of the administration with students' affairs. Sometimes, again, it is made manifestly clear that the authorities are there

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to impose a rigorous code of behaviour and that the students without their official guidance cannot conduct themselves properly. This gradually kills the spirit of freedom that is the breath of educational sanctuaries and this habit in kind is not very much different from the justly condemned western habit of bearing the white man's burden or leading a civilized mission.

Grown up university students may fail to appreciate this patronizing attitude. They may be led by the loving care and the high moral and academic qualities of their teachers, which are revealed more through examples than precepts, but seldom by threats or coercion. If we want our students to cultivate responsibility and discipline, we must let them manage their own affairs, for thus alone can they learn these virtues which grow from within and under congenial circumstances. It might mean in the beginning a running of risks, for there may be bungling and mismanagement, but we must be prepared to face these difficulties because we should give them the opportunity to learn through their mistakes, and also because the students, when they are taken into confidence or entrusted with any responsible work, are likely to rise up to our expectations especially when the community sense is now so strong among them.

It is, therefore, unwise to turn back or adhere to an old ideal while dealing with the present situation, and it is dangerous to maintain a negative attitude because that might inflame the students, young as they are, to go beyond proper limits in their claims and demands. This does not imply a cowardly surrender to the students' way of thinking but merely the admission of the need for a readjustment and a willingness to proceed with

the business with better understanding. If there is corruption among students today it is partly because the administration is not free from it and partly because there is no healthy occupation for them. Many avenues may be found for giving proper direction to their energies and even some social purposes such as campaign against illiteracy and other social evils may be partially served by their willing co-operation, once that understanding and good will is created among all concerned.

EARN AND LEARN

There is another important factor which should not be ignored particularly when it is vitally connected with the economic conditions of the students. The practice of giving and taking charity has been encouraged since long in our educational institutions; but at least the acceptance of charity by a student has a bad psychological effect—it blunts the edge of self-respect. Much is being said these days about the dignity of labour and I think educational institutions can and should provide poor students with opportunities for supporting themselves through their student days instead of letting them accept gifts and charities without the slightest qualm.

There may be many other problems which the educational institutions have to face today, but none is too difficult to be solved. Our educationists, who really matter, should, do well to come down at once to realities and approach these problems with minds free from any preconceived ideas or biased ideals; for the causes of disintegration are deep-rooted and a change in the system of education will almost invariably mean a reform in the structure of our decadent society.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

People's Daily on Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China

"Fully confident, let all the people discuss the Draft Constitution and joyfully prepare to welcome the birth of a first Constitution of the Chinese people!"—writes the editorial of Peking People's Daily on June 16th, 1954.

The full text of the editorial follows:

Publication of the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China is an important event in the political life of the Chinese people.

The Central People's Government Council at its 20th meeting of January 13th, 1953 adopted a "resolution for convening of the National People's Congress and local people's congress at every level." This provided for setting up the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as Chairman, to draft the Constitution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, submitted the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China (first draft) to the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution on March 23rd, 1954. The Committee conducted a detailed and careful study and discussion of the Draft Constitution and drew more than 8,000 persons in all walks of life into taking part in its discussions. It successfully completed the work of drafting the Constitution on June 11th, 1954. On June 14th, the Central People's Government Council at its 30th meeting decided to publish this Draft Constitution and have it discussed by the people of the whole country so as to collect still broader opinions for revisions. This will be in preparation for submission of the Draft Constitution to the first meeting of the National People's Congress for examination.

The Draft Constitution reflects the actual conditions of the great social changes that have taken place since the people's revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China. It sums up in legal form the main experience in struggle and organisation of the Chinese people. It affirms the fruits of the Chinese people's revolution—the interests which the Chinese people's demands the aspiration common to the Chinese people to build a Socialist society step by step.

The Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has acted as a provisional constitution since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Real life proves the correctness of the programme. The Draft Constitution is based on the Common Programme. The preamble of the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China states: "This Constitution is based on, and is a develop-

ment of, the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of 1949."

Certain basic principles laid down in the Common Programme are affirmed in the Draft Constitution. At the same time, because the real life has already taken a step forward, the Draft Constitution includes many new provisions in connection with the State and the social system. These are certain new, concrete provisions mainly concerned with building a Socialist society step by step and with strengthening the people's democratic system.

The preamble of the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China begins: "The Chinese people, after more than a century of heroic struggle, finally in 1949, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, achieved their great victory in the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, thereby ending the long history of oppression and enslavement and setting up the People's Republic of China, a people's democratic dictatorship. The system of people's democracy—new democracy—of the People's Republic of China ensures that China can in a peaceful way wipe out exploitation and poverty and build a prosperous and happy Socialist society."

Article 4 of the general principles provides: "The People's Republic of China shall ensure the step-by-step abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a Socialist society by relying on the organs of state and the social forces and through Socialist industrialisation and Socialist transformation."

The construction of a Socialist society becomes in the Draft Constitution the objective prescribed by the law of our State. The great idea of Socialism in pursuance of which many revolutionary martyrs of the Chinese people laid down their lives is becoming a brilliant reality step by step. The Draft Constitution affirms the reality of the increasing growth of Socialist construction with each passing day. After the Draft Constitution is formally adopted, it will play the role of positively guaranteeing and promoting the healthy development of this brilliant reality. How happy and inspired all patriotic people will be by this great reality and the prospect it opens up. The correctness of the Draft Constitution lies in the fact that its provisions dealing with the building of a Socialist society in our country are not based on wishful thinking, but on facts and follow a practical and reliable path.

What is the basis for realising Socialism in our country?

Our country is a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. This is the political basis for realising

Socialism. Our state-owned economy is an economy owned by the whole people. This is the economic basis for realising Socialism. According to statistics for 1952, the proportion of industrial production in the national economy increased from ten per cent it was before liberation, to 28 per cent; in modern industry, the sector of state-owned industry of a Socialist character already came to 50.7 per cent; state and co-operative trade already came to more than 50 per cent of the total value of sales within the country. Co-operative economy in agriculture and handicrafts also holds an important position in the national economy. By the end of 1953 there were more than 14,000 agricultural producer co-operatives in the country. Now they have increased to 95,000. Capitalist industry and commerce is gradually taking the path of state capitalism. The political, economic and cultural levels of the mass of the people are rising day by day, and they ardently desire the happy life of Socialism. These facts are the starting points set down in the Draft Constitution for the struggle to build a Socialist society.

But, to build a Socialist society, transition step by step must be undertaken. Gradual transition is dependent on the daily development and growth of the material basis of Socialism, and at the same dependent on the daily raising of the Socialist consciousness of the mass of the people.

The preamble of the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China writes: "From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the attainment of Socialist society is a period of transition. The central task of the State during the transition period is to bring about, step by step the Socialist industrialisation of the country and to accomplish, step by step, the Socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce."

Many articles in the general principles of the Draft Constitution contain sound and reasonable provisions in all respects of this subject.

In our country, there exist, on the one hand, state ownership or ownership by the whole people and co-operative ownership of the means of production. On the other hand, there exist ownership by individual working people and capitalist ownership. This means that at present the Socialist economy and non-Socialist economy exist side by side. This is a basic characteristic of the transition period of our country. On the basis of these actual conditions and the direction of the development of our country, the Draft Constitution stipulates that the Socialist economy of ownership by the whole people "is the leading force in the national economy and the material basis on which the State carries out the Socialist transformation." It also stipulates that the State will protect private ownership of the means of production and other property according to law. At the same time, it provides that the State shall encourage individual economy to change, step by step, on the voluntary basis and through a concrete form of transition into the economy of co-operative ownership. It further stipulates that the State shall encourage and guide "the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce into various forms of state capitalist economy step by step replacing ownership by capitalists with ownership by the whole people. The Draft Constitution also provides:

"The State prohibits any person to use his private property to undermine the public interests." All these provisions will guarantee the successful accomplishment of Socialist construction and Socialist transformation in our country. They will guarantee the advance of our

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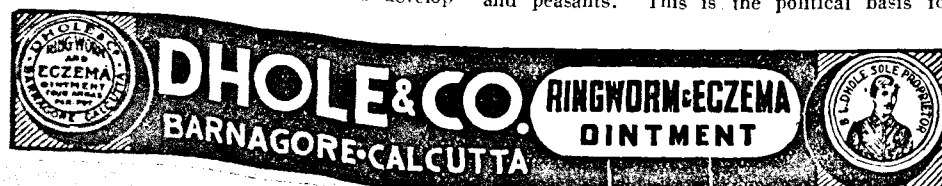


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To guarantee the transition step by step into a Socialist society, it is necessary to develop further the democratic system of our country in order to strengthen relations between state organs and the mass of the people, to raise the political and working initiative of the mass of the people.

Article 2 of the general principles of the Draft Constitution says: "All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress and the local people's congress at every level."

This means that the power of the people in our country is exercised by the National People's Congress and local people's congresses at every level. Article 2 of the general principles of the Draft Constitution also provides: "The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses at every level and other state organs, without exception, practise democratic centralism."

By democratic centralism is meant: firstly, the organs of state power in our country, are created by popular elections and are supervised by the voters and the electoral units, which, in accordance with law, have the right to replace their own deputies. Secondly, the state administrative organs, the courts and the procurator's offices are all created by the organs of state power. They are responsible to the organs of state power, report to them and are supervised by them. The central and local administrative organs at every level are the executive organs of the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at every level. The organs of state power have the right to remove personnel in all state organs created by them. Thirdly, democratic centralism combines the initiative and creativeness of central and local organs with the principle of the subordination of the lower level to the higher level, of the local to the central organ. These and other provisions in the Draft Constitution guarantee that all the people of the country, act as true masters in national life, and guarantee that the state organs and their personnel serve the people faithfully.

To guarantee the transition step by step into a Socialist society, it is necessary to consolidate the unity of the country's various nationalities.

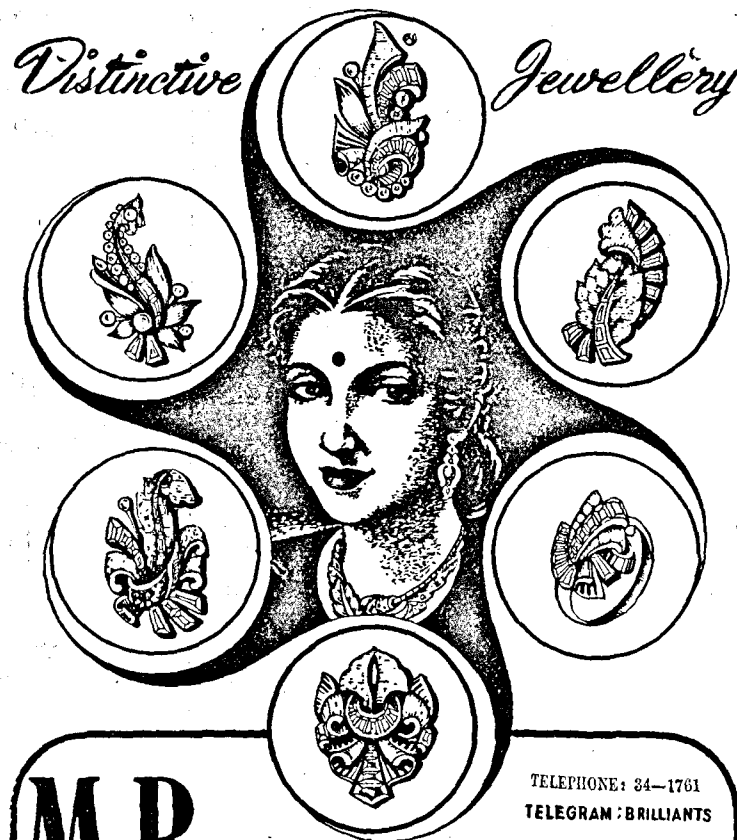
Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the country's nationalities have been united, free and equal, in a big family of nations. Facts prove that only in a country that is led by the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, is it possible to solve in a real fashion the question of relations among nationalities within a country.

Article 3 of the general principles of the Draft Constitution provides: "The

People's Republic of China is a unified, multi-national state," "all the nationalities are equal," "regional autonomy applies in areas where people of the national minorities live in numbers," etc.

Section 5 of Chapter 2 of the Draft Constitution has special provisions dealing with the local autonomous organs of the areas of national autonomy. Advancing along the direction indicated in these provisions of the Draft Constitution, greater unity among the nationalities in our country and the prosperity and progress of the nationalities is assured.

The Draft Constitution provides that all Chinese citizens enjoy equal rights and have definite obligations. Citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to elect and be elected. All citizens have freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration, the right to education and the freedom of religious belief. Citizens have the right to make



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charges to any state organ at any level against any government worker for breach of law or negligence of duty.

The State assures citizens the right to work. The working people have the right to rest and to material assistance in old age, illness or disability.

Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of political, economic, cultural, social and domestic life. The State protects marriage, the family, the mother and child.

The past five years under the people's democratic system show that the people have exercised these rights to the ver-increasing extent, and will be able to do so still more with the growth of the country's economic construction.

Of course in our country the rights of citizens should not be isolated from obligations. That is why the Draft Constitution stipulates that citizens also have the duty to abide by the law, to respect and safeguard public property, to pay taxes and perform military service.

These obligations are all in accord with the immediate interests of the Chinese people and closely related to the rights enjoyed by citizens. The rights and obligations are necessary to consolidate and defend our country, to ensure the mass of the people a happy life and to realise Socialist construction and Socialist transformation.

The Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China has now been published for the people of the whole country. This Draft Constitution represents a new height in the democratic and Socialist construction of the people of our country. Any constitution of a capitalist country which is used to oppress and exploit the people cannot compare with the Constitution of the people of our country. The Constitution of the people of our country is a truly democratic constitution, belonging to the Socialist category. People throughout the country should take an active part in the discussion on this fundamental law of the land which has a direct bearing on their own interest and raise opinions. The wisdom of the people of the whole country will thus be gathered together, in order to perfect the draft of this first Constitution of the Chinese people. With this Constitution as our weapon, we can ensure the constant success of our country's great cause of construction for Socialism.

We fully believe that the central task of the transition period of our country can be successfully achieved by relying upon the people's democratic united front led by the Communist Party of China, the fraternal love, mutual assistance and unity of the various nationalities within the country, the friendship and solidarity between our country and the great Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and peace-loving people throughout the world. This is pointed out in the preamble of the Draft Constitution. Any plots to undermine our construction on the part of any reactionary forces either within or outside the country will be crushed under our triumphant iron fist.—Hsinhua News, June 17, 1954.

Omar Khayyam

Iran has produced some of the greatest luminaries of the world who immensely contributed to the development of knowledge in the mediaeval times and who were mainly instrumental in bringing about renaissance in the Western world. Omar Khayyam of Nishapur is one figure.

In his homeland he is not counted among the four pillars of Persian poetry, who are, namely, (1) Firdausi, the author of the world-famous epic, *Shahnama*; Saadi, the great moral thinker; Hafiz, the celebrated lyricist; and Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, the author of *Masnawi* called the "Quran in the Persian language." There he was better known as a mathematician and astronomer till his poetic merit was brought to light by the Western scholars. H. A. R. Gibb writes in *The Legacy of Islam*, Omar Khayyam is a name much more familiar in England and America than in Persia. Today he is universally regarded, in both the West and the Orient, as one of the intellectual giants of his age.

LIFE

Ghyasuddin Abdul Fath Ibn Ibrahim el-Khayyam, better known in the world as Omar Khayyam, was born in 1048 at Nishapur, the capital of Khorasan, which is a province of Iran. His place of birth is a disputed point among historians. Mohammad and Saharauri hold that he was born at Basang, a village in the district of Astrabad, but their contentions do not stand the test of later historical researches. Actually he was born, educated and passed the major part of his life at Nishapur where he ultimately died and was buried. "His tomb at Nishapur is in itself sufficient proof of the identity of his birthplace," says a writer, "for in Iran the custom in Omar's days, as in ours, was to bury the dead in the place of their nativity."

Though Omar has universally been accepted as an Iranian national, some historians hold, he originally belonged to an Arabic tribe 'Al-Khayyami,' who were tent-makers and had migrated and settled in Iran long after her conquest by the Arabs.

Not much is known about the early life of the celebrated poet, but being the son of a well-to-do father he received the best education available in those days, and became the pupil of the learned Imam Mowaffiq, a well-known teacher of the Islamic world. Here he met and made intimate friendship with Hassan Ali Ibn Ishaq better known in history as Nizamul Mulk Toosi; the Grand Vizier of Malik Shah Seljuki, and Hasan Bin Sabbah who later on became the founder of the Ismaili sect.

As the legend goes, the three class-fellows, who in their later life earned immortal places in the page of history, had entered into a remarkable bond of friendship—that if anyone of them might get ahead of the other, he would try his best for the advancement of the remaining two, even to the extent of sharing his wealth and honour.

Nizamul Mulk, who was the most brilliant among the trio and topped the list in the examination, was



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invited to undertake the education of Alp Arsalan, the Seljuk prince. When Alp Arsalan ascended the Seljukid throne, Nizamul Mulk was elevated to the high rank of the grand Vizier and proved himself to be one of the ablest administrators that the Orient has produced.

In the midst of his many pre-occupations, Nizamul Mulk did not forget his former friends and kept up his promise and installed Hasan in a post of considerable responsibility, but Hassan was involved in several court intrigues and left the service to become the founder of the Ismaili sect.

Omar Khayyam, a philosopher by nature, had on the other hand declined a lucrative Government job and preferred an annual pension of 1200 gold pieces paid out of the revenues of Nishapur, where he had settled in order to devote the rest of his life in the pursuit of learning and poetry.

AS A POET

Omar Khayyam was a high class poet whose worth as a poet was not fully realised during his lifetime and whose immortal quatrains (*Rubaiyat*) have been better appreciated in the Western world. The best part of his poems were composed during his youth in the quiet and beautiful landscape of Nishapur. Under the "shade of sweet scented trees that shed their lovely flowers at his feet, Omar often sat sipping his cool sharbat from the hands of saki and smoke his fragrant hookah. He watched the dark-eyed maidens roaming about and as he watched he forgot all the anxieties of worldly life."

The translated version of his famous *Rubaiyat* (quatrains) was first published by E. Fitzgerald in 1859, which made him famous throughout the modern world.

It is needless to search for a carefully reasoned system of philosophy in the works of a poet. So was the case with Omar, whose verses record certain moods. The dominant note of his verses is to cast off the cares and anxieties of the worldly life by sipping a cup of wine. A few drops of liquor would free one from all sorts of miseries and would transport him to the realm of ecstasy and bliss.

The verses of Omar were composed during different periods of his life and the contradictions in his writings are due to the progress of his ideas as he passed through various stages of life—from a pious Muslim to an avowed sceptic. His sole consistency lies in his praise of wine, to which in his moments of depression he turns for oblivion. His love for wine is so intense that he wishes that his body may be washed with wine after his death.

"Ab with the grape my fading life provide.
And wash the body whence the life has died.
And lay me shrouded in the living leaf,
By some not unfrequented garden side."
He says that he tried to give up wine and swore not to taste it again—but when spring came his penitence was torn to pieces.

"Indeed, indeed, repentance oft before,
I swore—but was I sober when I swore?
And then, and then came spring, and rose in hand.
My threadbare penitence apieces tore."

CONTRIBUTIONS

Omar has also left behind him three metaphysical treatises. The manuscript of the treatise *On Existence* exists in Berlin; the manuscript of a small Persian treatise *Dar Ilm Quiliat* has been preserved in a library of Paris and *Nauroz Nama* has recently been discovered by F. Rosen.

After completing his studies, Omar visited Samarkand, Bokhara, Isfahan and Balkh which were the intellectual centres in those times and added to his astronomical knowledge by exchanging views on the subject with some of the leading intellectuals residing in these cities. Side by side with his scientific pursuits, he also studied medicine in which he won a high reputation.

Khayyam's fame in the Orient mainly rests on his outstanding mathematical and scientific researches and not on poetry. His works on algebra were translated in Europe in 1851 while his *Rubaiyat* were first published in 1859. Manuscripts of his principal works exist in Paris and in India Office, London. The Masadrat on Euclid's axioms, and Mushkilat-al-hisab, dealing with complicated arithmetical problems, have been preserved in Munich (Germany).

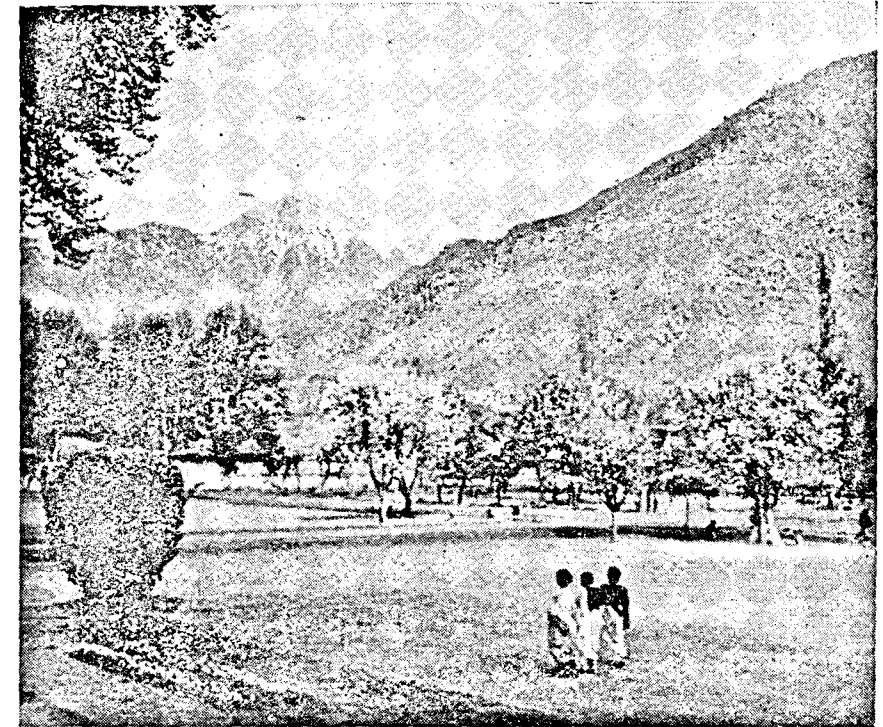
According to V. Minorsky, "he was the greatest mathematician of the mediaeval times." His foremost contribution is in the field of algebra. He advanced the science of algebra much further from the stage reached by the Greeks and also by Khwarizmi; of the greater part of Omar's works is devoted to cubic equations while Khwarizmi dealt with quadratic equations only. He also deals with geometric and algebraic equations of second degree, an admirable classification of equations including the cubic. He recognises thirteen different forms of cubic equations. His solution of cubic and quadratic equations with the help of conic sections is probably the most advanced contribution to Arabian mathematics that has survived to us. "His skill as a geometer," says Max Mayerhaf, "is equal to his literary erudition and reveals real logical power and penetration."

In physics, Omar's researches are devoted to specific weight of gold and silver. The *Tarikhul Fi* mentions the Mizanul Hukma which determines the method of ascertaining the weight of objects studded with precious stones without taking out such stones.

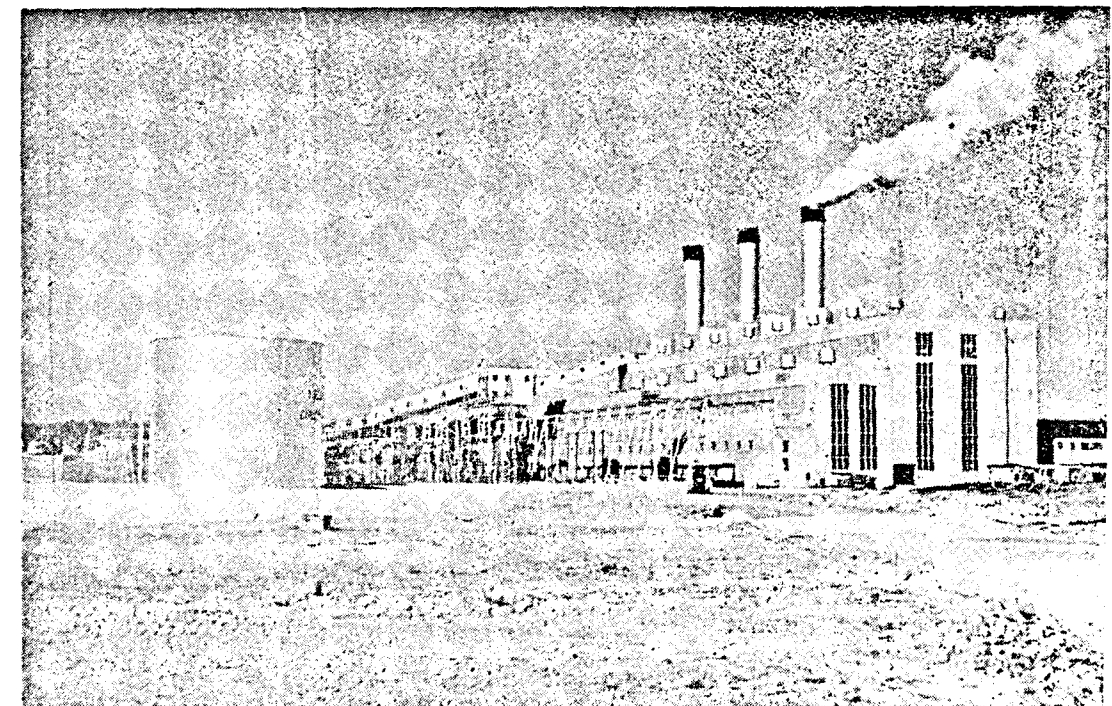
During the reign of Malik Shah Seljuki, his illustrious Grand Vizier Nizamul Mulk Toosi, had invited a body of savants including Omar Khayyam and Abdur Rahman Hazini, to carry out astronomical observations. Their efforts led to the reform of calendar which was in advance of the Gregorian by 600 years and according to Sedillot, an authority on the subject, "it is more exact."

The famous observatory where Omar carried out his astronomical researches was constructed at Ray and the calendar formulated by Omar is known as "At-Tarik-al-Jalali."

Of his death the following story is told by Nuzhatul Arwah: "On the day of this death, Omar was attentively reading the *Book of Recovery*, a metaphysical work of Avicenna. When he came upon the chapter 'One and Many' he put aside the book, stood up, offered his prayers and made his last injunctions to his friends and relations. Since then he neither ate nor drank till the evening and after the evening prayers he prostrated and cried out; 'O, Almighty, verily I have tried to realise Thee to the extent of my abilities. I beg your forgiveness.' Saying this, he breathed his last. He was buried, according to his life-long desire, in a beautiful grove.—*Careers*, July 1954, Lahore.



A view of the famous Moghul Gardens of Shalimar in Srinagar with snow ranges in the background



The most outstanding achievement in Bihar is the completion of the D.V.C.'s Bokaro thermal power station in 1953

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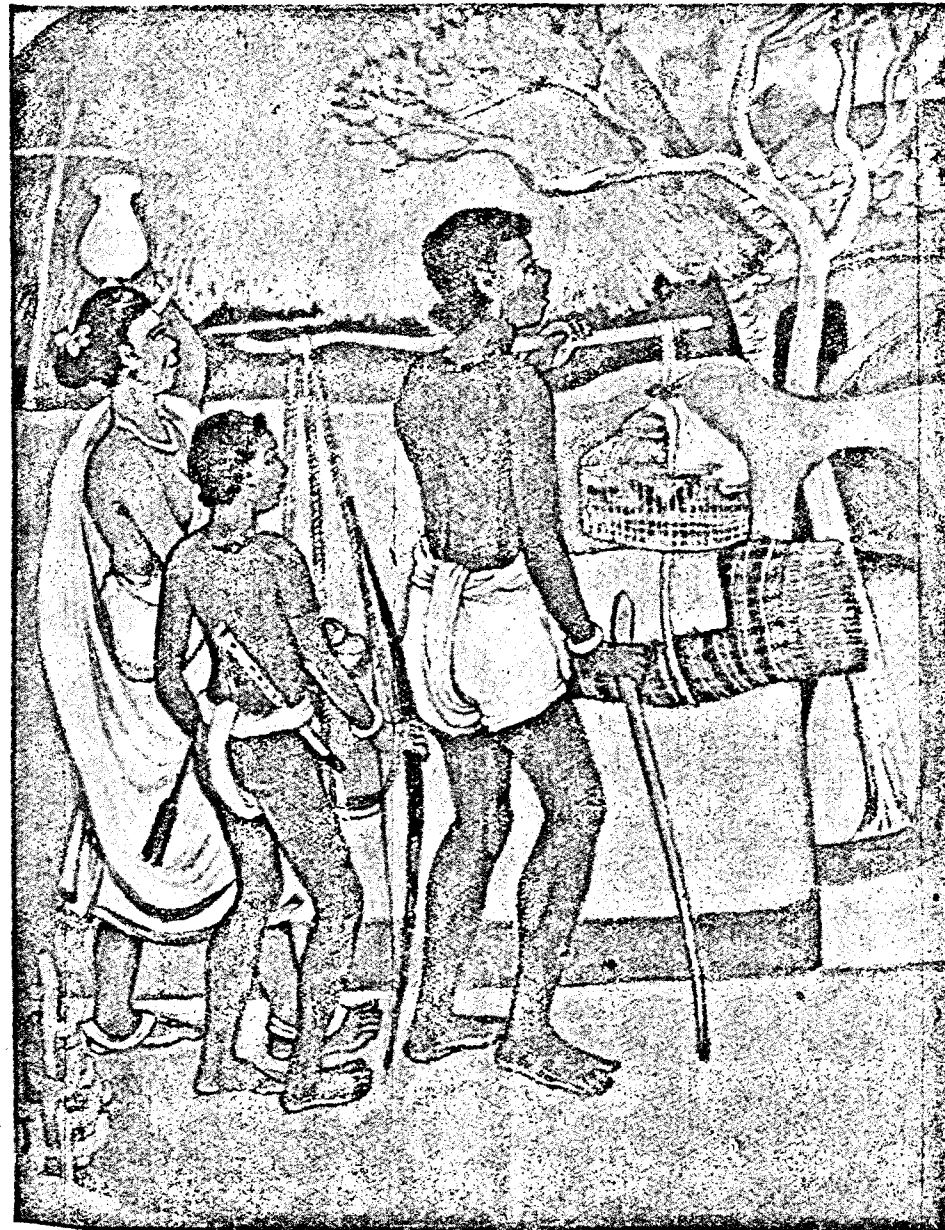
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HOMEWARD BOUND
By Niharrajan Sen Gupta

NOTES

The Press Commission Report

The Press Commission has published Part I of its Report. It is a volume of 538 closely printed pages and bears testimony in every page to the extreme care and conscientious application which Sri Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha and his colleagues and assistants brought to bear on the manifold problems.

The Terms of Reference were as follows:

"2. The Press Commission shall enquire into the state of the Press in India, its present and future lines of development and shall in particular examine:

- (i) the control, management and ownership and financial structure of newspapers, large and small, the periodical press and news agencies and feature syndicates;
- (ii) the working of monopolies and chains and their effect on the presentation of accurate news and fair views;
- (iii) the effect of holding companies, the distribution of advertisements and such other forms of external influence as may have a bearing on the development of healthy journalism;
- (iv) the method of recruitment, training, scales of remuneration, benefits and other conditions of employment of working journalists, settlement of disputes affecting them and factors which influence the establishment and maintenance of high professional standards;
- (v) the adequacy of newsprint supplies and their distribution among all classes of newspapers and the possibilities of promoting indigenous manufacture of (i) newsprint and (ii) printing and composing machinery;
- (vi) machinery for (a) ensuring high standards of journalism and (b) liaison between Government and the Press; the functioning of Press Advisory Committees and organisations of editors and working journalists, etc.;
- (vii) freedom of the Press and repeal or amendment of laws not in consonance with it; and to make recommendations thereon."

The terms of reference being so wide, the Com-

mission had to probe deeply into the intricate workings of the Press in general.

It may be said—and it is being said—that the picture presented is not absolutely correct in all details, and that in certain matters, such as in those relating to the price per page of the dailies, and the rates, space allowances and placing of advertisements, the recommendations of the Commission have gone beyond the actual scope of the terms of reference.

Be that as it may, the picture presented is revealing and comprehensive, and that not only of the Press, but also of the reading public and of the Governments, at the Centre and in the States. The findings, as detailed in the volume just published, expose most of the structural defects of the Indian Press of today, and there can be no doubt that most of them have been correctly surveyed.

The Press Commission is to be felicitated therefore for having thus completed the very arduous and intricate task of preliminary fact-finding. It may well be said that the structure of the Press tomorrow may now have its foundation firmly under-pinned, all the basic defects having been exposed.

When we turn to the Recommendations, however, we are on less firm ground. There is not only ample ground for disagreement, but also a great deal of need for prolonged discussion. Some of the recommendations, such as those for ownership and for emoluments, if made too rigid, would defeat the very purpose for which they were made.

The Press Commission has given a clear indication of the objectives aimed at by their recommendations by giving in detail the objects before the Press Council they propose. They are:

1. To safeguard the freedom of the Press.
2. To help the Press to maintain its independence.
3. To ensure on the part of the Press the

maintenance of high standards of public taste and foster a due sense of both the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

4. To encourage the growth of the sense of responsibility and public service among all those engaged in the profession of journalism.

5. To keep under review any developments likely to restrict the supply and dissemination of views of public interest and importance, and to keep a watch on the arrangements made by Indian newspapers and news agencies with foreign newspapers and news agencies or other bodies for the reproduction in India of material obtained from those sources.

6. To improve the methods of recruitment, education, and training for the profession, if necessary by the creation of suitable agencies for the purpose, such as a Press Institute.

7. To conduct through the Press Institute a continuous study of the contents and performance of the Press.

8. To promote a proper functional relationship amongst all sections of the profession.

9. By censuring objectionable types of journalistic conduct, and by all other possible means, to build up a code in accordance with the highest professional standards. (In this connection the Council will have the right to consider *bona fide* complaints which it may receive about the conduct of the Press or of any person towards the Press, to deal with these complaints in whatever manner may seem to it practicable and appropriate, and to include in its annual report a record of any action taken under this level and its findings thereon.)

10. To promote the establishment of such common services as may from time to time appear desirable.

11. To promote technical and other research.

12. To study developments in the Press, which may tend towards concentration or monopoly and, if necessary to suggest remedies therefor.

13. To publish reports, at least once a year, recording its work and reviewing the performance of the Press, its development and the factors affecting them, including the number and circulation of newspapers, the condition of working journalists, and the financial condition of the industry.

14. To review the ownership structure and its impact on the performance of the Press.

The whole problem revolves round one question, that of the Freedom of the Press, as opposed to its responsibilities. Indeed the basic premise, Freedom of the Press, cannot be defined with precision, as matters stand. The State would define it in one way and the Press in several other. The Press Commission has quoted from the American Commission thus:

"Freedom of the Press is essential to political liberty. Where men cannot freely convey their thoughts to one another, no freedom is secure. Where freedom of expression exists, the beginnings of a free society and a means for every retention of liberty are already present. Free expression is therefore unique among liberties.

"The right to freedom of expression is an expression of confidence in the ability of free men to learn the truth through the unhampered interplay of competing ideas. Where the right is gene-

rally exercised, the public benefits from the selective process of winnowing truth from falsehood, desirable ideas from evil ones. If the people are to govern themselves, their only hope of doing so wisely lies in the collective wisdom derived from the fullest possible information, and in the fair presentation of differing opinions. The right is also necessary to permit each man to find his way to the religious and political beliefs which suit his private needs."

And has further elaborated its own views thus:

As Mahatma Gandhi has stated in words which have been inscribed on the portals of All-India Radio at Delhi. "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown of my feet by any of them. Mine is not a religion of the prison house. It has room for the least among God's creations. But it is proof against insolence, pride of race, religion or colour." Democracy can thrive not only under the vigilant eye of its legislature, but also under the care and guidance of public opinion, and the Press is, *par excellence*, the vehicle through which opinion can become articulate. Its role consists not only in reflecting public opinion, but in instructing it and giving it proper orientation and guidance. For this, the Press has not only a moral right to free expression, but is subject to certain responsibilities also. "In the absence of accepted moral duties, there can be no moral rights. From the moral point of view, freedom of expression does not include the right to lie as a deliberate instrument of policy. The moral right does not cover the right to be deliberately or irresponsibly in error."

With these as premises, the Press Commission has arrived at its conclusions and given its recommendations. But it is evident that some of the latter have to be considerably altered or modified in order that the main objectives be attained. For example, if the recommendation regarding the splitting of unitary ownership is adopted, it will either mean State or Party subsidisation and control or it will mean the running of newspapers on purely profit motives by joint-stock companies or private partnerships. And it will further mean the laying down of a distinction between the Press and other forms of private enterprise. Similarly if the scales of pay are rigidly enforced without any discrimination, it will mean the extinction of many papers that have not the weight of ill-gotten "Black" money behind them and effectively prevent the new ventures in the districts that the Press Commission desires.

In autocracies and totalitarian States, this question of the Freedom of the Press does not arise, since *L'etat c'est moi* is the motto of the dictator. In democracies, where the People are called upon, once every so many years, to make fools of themselves at the behest of this party or that, the control of the Press is of the essence in party politics. This can be done by dragooning the Press into submission by the Party in Power, with the legal whip in one hand and the flesh-pots of Government publicity in the other,

as was done in the years 1941-45. And again it can be done, by the displaced party where cravens who seek shelter behind the footling phrase that the "Press is the Mirror of Public opinion," are concerned, by mob incitement and threats against the circulation of the paper concerned. And then of course there are those who would view the journalistic profession in the light of the Oldest Profession, as a field for mercenary activities only.

All these are evils and the Press Commission has rightly viewed it on idealistic lines. But the cures prescribed might be too potent. That has to be considered in detail.

National Plan Loan and Bank Finance

The National Plan Loan is estimated to have withdrawn from the market a large sum of money, nearly Rs. 140 crores. It is a fairly good achievement on the part of the government. One aspect of this loan should not be however be ignored and this is the probable result of the loan on the flow of finance to the private sector of the economy. Ours is a mixed economy and the Government depend to a large extent on the private sector for increasing industrialisation and providing employment. But the point is that private capital in this country is not being accumulated to the desired extent, on the contrary, it is accumulating at a progressively falling rate. Industrial progress is checked for lack of capital in the private sector and it is only in the public sector that the pace of industrialisation is having a rapid progress.

The reluctance of private capital to come forward in the private sector cannot be ignored. The impact of the National Plan Loan on such capital has to be measured therefore, in the light of subsequent movements in the financial field. There is an absolute impasse, where the smaller industries are concerned, in the matter of their expansion and development. The Government has to decide as to whether all future developments in the sphere of industry is to be taken up by it. If a mixed economy, with both Public and Private sectors is to continue, then flotations of large loans have to be made with very considerable circumspection.

Following the recommendations of the Shroff Committee, the Reserve Bank of India has taken several important actions to supply the growing needs of industrial finance in the private sector. First, the scope of the Bill Market has been liberalised and enlarged so as to include all scheduled banks. While the Shroff Committee recommended that the scheme should be extended to scheduled banks having deposits of Rs. 1 crore or over, the intention of the Committee was to include only licensed banks with deposits of Rs. 1 crore or more. It has, however, been decided by the Reserve Bank to extend the scheme to all scheduled banks in possession of a licence granted by it in terms of Section 22 of the Banking Companies Act 1949, irrespective

of the size of the deposits. It may be stated that the bill market scheme was introduced by the Reserve Bank in January 1952 as an experimental measure. At present, only scheduled banks having deposits of Rs. 5 crores or more and in possession of such a licence are eligible to participate in the scheme.

The Reserve Bank, as recommended by the Shroff Committee on finance for the private sector, has reduced the minimum limit of advances under the scheme from Rs. 25 lakhs to Rs. 10 lakhs and the minimum amount of each individual bill has been fixed at Rs. 50,000 instead of Rs. 1 lakh. The result will be that the tendency among the scheduled banks to move from short-dated securities into medium-dated will be accentuated. The bill market scheme, since its inception, has lessened the banks' need to hold Government securities in the slack season with a view to selling them later when pressure for funds increased. Formerly, the sudden rise in demand for Government securities caused wide fluctuations in the security market. The bill market scheme has generated a shift towards medium-dated securities. The maturity pattern of banks' gilt-edged portfolio shows marked changes. Investments in Treasury bills declined sharply either through maturity or rediscounting. Securities maturing in 5 to 10 years, on the other hand, rose from Rs. 140.3 crores to Rs. 161.7 crores; that is, as a percentage of the total holdings of securities, the holdings in medium-dated securities rose from 42.9 to 47.9 and those maturing between 10 and 15 years from 8.5 to 15.1. But the holdings of securities maturing within five years declined from 33.4 per cent of the total investment in securities to 30.3 per cent., between December 1952 and December 1953.

At the end of December 1953, out of 89 scheduled banks, there were 25 banks with deposits of Rs. 5 crores and over. The Bill Market scheme hitherto covered these 25 banks which accounted for 85 per cent of the total advances. But as a result of the extension, it will now cover 33 banks. These 33 banks, however, constitute only about 37.5 per cent of the total number of scheduled banks.

The Shroff Committee also recommended that the Reserve Bank should actively pursue the question of linking indigenous bankers and shroffs to the Bank. Repeated efforts were made in the past by the Reserve Bank in this direction. In 1937 and again in 1941 the Reserve Bank agreed to extend rediscount and remittance facilities to indigenous bankers provided they were prepared to separate their non-banking business from their banking business, discard the non-banking business within a specified period, and maintain proper books of account, which could be audited and made available to the Reserve Bank for inspection. The proposals were, however, not acceptable to the bankers, who were not agreeable to give up their non-banking business.

The Reserve Bank observes that joint-stock and co-operative banks have, since 1941, made considerable progress and there has been a large increase in the

number of their branches and resources, and indigenous bankers have been able to obtain funds from joint stock banks at reasonable rates. There has also been a tendency on the part of some indigenous bankers to convert themselves into joint-stock banking companies, and the banking legislation enacted in 1949 covers the non-scheduled banks.

Another suggestion which the Shroff Committee has made in this connection is that, pending direct linking of indigenous bankers with the Reserve Bank, steps should be taken to encourage rediscounting by the Reserve Bank of the usance bills of the indigenous bankers, such as the Multani hundis of the Shikarpuri shroffs, through scheduled banks. But there are certain administrative and statutory difficulties in rediscounting Multani hundis. Under Section 17(2) (A) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, the Reserve Bank is required to observe certain essential safeguards and can rediscount only bills maturing within 90 days which arise out of bona fide commercial or trade transactions and bear two or more good signatures one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank. It would be extremely difficult in practice for the Reserve Bank to verify whether the numerous Multani hundis, which are generally for small amounts, have arisen out of bona fide trade transactions.

In the opinion of the Reserve Bank, such rediscounting facilities will not by themselves be of any significant assistance to the Shikarpuri shroffs, whose limits for advances by the banks with which they normally deal are determined by their credit-worthiness and the nature of their business. These banks have normally sufficient funds for the extension of the limits of the shroffs, if requirements of prudence justified it.

The Reserve Bank has, however, accepted another suggestion of the Shroff Committee. The Committee recommended that the Reserve Bank should treat shares and bonds of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India and State Financial Corporations as on a par with Government securities for advances under Section 17(4) (A) of the Reserve Bank Act, on such terms as the Reserve Bank may deem appropriate. The Reserve Bank has accepted this recommendation and shares and bonds will hereafter be treated on a par with the Government securities for the purpose of advances to scheduled banks under Section 17(4) (A) of the Reserve Bank Act.

The Shroff Committee further recommended that the indirect participation by banks in long-term industrial finance would be considerably facilitated if the leading banks in India, in co-operation with the insurance companies, could form a consortium or syndicate for underwriting or investing in new issues of shares and debentures of industrial companies wherever they are satisfied about the soundness and prospects of the projects. If banks in India would invest, say, an amount equal to 5 per cent of their deposits in such shares and debentures, they could make available a further sum of over Rs. 30 crores for the long-term finance of

industries in the private sector without seriously jeopardising their liquid position. Accordingly, the Reserve Bank of India has appointed a committee to consider the question of extending financial facilities for new industries on a long-term basis. The Committee is presided over by Mr. S' K. Handoo, Managing Director of the Imperial Bank of India, and consists of the Managing Director of the Central Bank of India Ltd., and the General Managers of the Bank of India Ltd., Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company Ltd., and New India Assurance Company Ltd. The Committee has been asked to make specific recommendations on the formation of a consortium or syndicate for financing new industries on the lines suggested by the Shroff Committee. The final outcome of the suggestions of the Committee and the Reserve Bank's decisions thereon will be awaited with considerable interest by all sections of industry.

Indian Shipping

Indian shipping today does not represent even half a per cent of the tonnage of the world, writes Sri M. A. Master.

Twenty-three steamers with a tonnage of about 175,000 gross registered tons ran regularly at present on some of the important routes. They carried about a million tons of cargo a year, which was nearly 5 per cent of the total overseas trade of India.

In a special article in the Independence Day Supplement of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Sri Master examines the problems of Indian shipping.

According to the writer, out of a total sum of Rs. 106 crores paid as freight between 1946 and 1951 for the import of 180 lakh tons of foodgrains, Indian ships had received only Rs. 5 crores.

In 1951 Indian ships had been allotted only five lakh tons of Government cargo out of a total of 90 lakh tons equivalent to 5.6 per cent. In 1952 Indian ships had been given only 533,000 tons of Government cargo out of a total tonnage of a little more than 6,100,000 tons. That was less than nine per cent.

Sri Master estimates on the basis of such published figures of the major and minor ports as were available that nearly 20 million tons of cargo had been carried on an average in the preceding three years in the overseas trade of India.

The Government of India, the writer points out, had at one time planned to buy a dozen ships to conserve the exchange resources and to aid substantially the national fleet. But that opportunity had been lost. Later on, they had announced in reply to criticisms in the Parliament that all Indian purchase missions had been instructed to make use of Indian bottoms as much as possible. But as Indian ships were not available at all places and in times of need use of foreign ships sometimes became inevitable.

He contradicts the contention that if the Government of India were to give preference to Indian ships for the carriage of cargo under its patronage, it would constitute an act of discrimination and refers to the practice of the greatest maritime power in the world, the USA, where in addition to the provision of the carriage of cargo on the principles of 50-50, a Bill had recently been introduced in both Houses of the Congress providing that all foreign-aid cargo originating within and outside the USA as well as cargo procured by U.S. Government for its own account should be transported exclusively on privately-owned U.S. Flag Commercial vessels.

Bombay State Financial Corporation

At the first annual general meeting of the Bombay State Financial Corporation, the Chairman elucidated the policy of the Corporation in relation to financial assistance extended by the Corporation to the needy industries. The Corporation is authorised to undertake various types of business under the State Finance Corporation Act. For the present, however, its operations will be confined to granting loans and advances to industrial concerns of medium and small-scale industries. It would participate in subscribing also to debentures of industrial concerns. With the expansion of business and enrichment of experience the Corporation may undertake other lines of business in due course.

In deciding its policy, the Board has taken care to avoid overlapping of activities with the Industrial Finance Corporation of India. This aim is being achieved by its decision to entertain loan applications from public limited companies of medium- and small-scale industries only up to a maximum of Rs. 5 lakhs. Public companies in the State intending to get loans and accommodations in excess of this limit will have to approach the Industrial Finance Corporation of India for their financial requirements. The central institution entertains applications only from public companies, and, therefore, other concerns, such as private limited companies, registered partnerships, and proprietary concerns, can only seek financial accommodation from the State Financial Corporation. This demarcation of activities between the State and the All-India Corporations is both necessary and practical as it prevents overlapping and helps co-ordination between the two institutions.

The Board has fixed the minimum and maximum amount of loan which it can lend to concerns at a time at Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 5 lakhs respectively. The minimum loan fixed at Rs. 10,000 will enable small-scale concerns to take advantage of the assistance rendered by the Corporation. Industries requiring loans below this minimum will have to turn to other sources for assistance. Under the State Financial Corporation Act, the maximum limit of loan has been fixed at Rs. 10 lakhs. But the Board has

decided that in the initial stages the limit should be Rs. 5 lakhs and this is just a way of caution.

Although the Corporation's activities are confined to medium and small-scale industries, such concerns as can offer adequate security can alone get accommodation from the Corporation. Under the provisions of the Act, the loans—both medium and long term—must be secured by mortgage of fixed assets of the borrowing concern. As a result, industrial concerns which have no tangible or fixed assets to offer as security are not eligible for assistance from the Corporation. The amount of loan sanctioned must be secured by about 50 per cent of the net value of fixed assets of a concern, and thus the borrowing concern should have assets valued at not less than Rs. 20,000, if it seeks a loan of Rs. 10,000. This limitation acts rather harshly on small industrial concerns, such as rice mills and oil mills operating in mofussil areas. Moreover, for their day-to-day operations these concerns have to borrow working capital from commercial banks and for that they have to provide tangible securities. Therefore, small industrial units are often handicapped in obtaining loans from the Corporation as they could not provide adequate securities for medium- and long-term credit.

Applications of many industrial concerns are for loans either wholly or partly for working capital. But the Board has decided that loans should be primarily given for purposes of acquiring fixed assets, either for development of new units or for expansion, renovation or modernisation of existing units and that loans for working capital would be extended only in exceptional circumstances. The Bombay Government has also given instructions to the Corporation to give loans for working capital only in exceptional cases.

Irrigation Rates in Uttar Pradesh

In an article in the *Vigil* criticising the enhancements in canal water rates in the Uttar Pradesh, Sri Triloki Singh writes that the Government of Uttar Pradesh did not appear to make any distinction between the rates charged for productive and unproductive canal rates. While State irrigation was nowhere looked upon as a profit-making commercial enterprise, and rates were kept lower for relatively unproductive canals constructed as a protection against famine, even at a low outturn in the outlay, Sri Singh points out, the U.P. Government had been after increasing rates since the advent of independence.

The irrigation rates, revised after the First World War on account of rise in wages and prices, had been further revised in 1923 and except in the case of sugarcane the rates in 1948 generally were those of 1923. Quoting certain statistics the writer shows that the price of foodgrains had gained 100% since

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1923. Viewed in that perspective the present enhancements in irrigation rates of 130 per cent to 300 per cent could hardly be justified.

Sri Singh further shows with the help of statistics that the net revenue to the U.P. Government from irrigation after meeting the working expenses and other incidental charges had increased six times with the addition of only 1/9th in the capacity of the Ganga Canal and a few hundred tube wells for *kharif* crops. There was no increase in supplies for *rabi* crops on any canal in U. P.

The irrigation rates in U.P. were higher than in any other State in India except for sugarcane in Bombay.

We have every sympathy with the people who have to pay heavy rates and taxes, but we are amazed to learn that food prices have gone up only 100 per cent, as compared with pre-war rates.

Statistics is a singularly pliable and elastic science where India is concerned. The old adage about lies and statistics remains operative in our country to-day.

Poliomyelitis in Bombay

According to a statement of the Acting Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, Sri V. L. Gidwani, in a meeting of the Corporation of the City of Bombay on August 9, it was learnt that since 1949 when there had been 389 attacks of poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis) resulting in 65 deaths, the figures had been:

Year	Attacks	Deaths
1950	122	20
1951	51	15
1952	57	27
1953	53	18
1954 (up to 7.8.54)	118	22

Mr. Gidwani said that the situation was under control. He added that efforts were being made to get gamma globulin from the United States, where it was being tried out for "passive immunity." But it was a very costly treatment as a ten c.c. phial cost Rs. 200.

In an editorial article on the 12th August, the *Bombay Chronicle*, which was carrying on a regular and systematic campaign for the prevention and putting a stop to its extension, writes that though polio figures were relatively smaller this year than in some of the previous years quoted by the Municipal Commissioner, complacency in the effort to halt the spread of the disease could not be tolerated, because only two months of the difficult period had passed and there were nearly two more months to go. Parental anxiety could only be allayed when there was demonstrable evidence that the dreadful march of the disease was being halted effectively. The newspaper thought that the municipal authorities might be under-estimating the seriousness of the danger presented by the disease. It quotes the expert

opinion of Dr. George Coelho and urges the municipal authorities to improve the conservancy and public health services in the city.

Ganga Bridge Project

Considerable progress has been achieved on the preliminary work for the Ganga bridge project which is to cost Rs. 16 crores. Global tenders were invited for the erection of the main bridge across the river at Mokameh, about 54 miles east of Patna. Nine Indian and foreign firms have submitted tenders. In addition to quotations for two official designs they have also quoted for alternative designs. The foreign engineering firms are mainly from Germany but some of them also have Indian, Australian and Italian associates.

At the site of the project, work is proceeding steadily. Collection of pitching stone at the site has started. It is estimated that nearly thirty million cubic feet of stone will be required mainly for the vital guide bund. On an average, two or three train-loads of stone will be carried to the project site everyday. To meet the transport needs of the projects, about 1500 broad-gauge and meter-gauge wagons are undergoing a process of repair and conversion. So far nearly Rs. 80 lakhs have been spent on the project and it is estimated that another one crore and 25 lakhs of rupees will be spent in the current financial year.

Actual work in the river bed will begin in October next year. Meanwhile, plant, machinery and steel required for the foundations and girders will be collected. When completed, the bridge will provide a far more satisfactory transport system for carrying traffic between North Bihar and South Bihar and will help in the development of North Bihar and surrounding areas including Eastern Uttar Pradesh, Assam and indirectly Nepal.

Government and Unemployment

While the problem of unemployment is increasing in the country, some of the Government policies in this regard evidently tend to worsen the situation. And the most glaring instance of this contradictory policy is the re-employment of retired officers as well as the extension of the terms of many officers who are already due to retire. It is now-a-days a common practice, and the practice has become widespread enough, to re-employ retired Government officers either in the departments to which they originally belonged or in some other departments. Again, retirement is often put off by extension of the terms for several times. The result is obviously dangerous—new employment is thus bound to be limited with the consequential rise in unemployment.

Government seem to have forgotten what was done during the early 'thirties to check the growing unemployment. It was the compulsory retirement at the age of 55 and this was followed with few exceptions by the authorities at that time. Why is it not being followed this time also? Are the elderly officers of the present re-

gime more efficient and more indispensable than their counterparts of the late 'thirties? In the railway department, in the post and telegraphs department, in the income-tax department, just to cite a few examples, re-employment and extension of the terms of the high officers have become a normal feature of Government employment policy.

The usual excuse put forward is the paucity of qualified and suitable younger men. There is some justification for this, we know. But thanks to nepotism and wire-pulling by well-placed relatives, it is seldom the best candidate who is put forward for selection. This also cannot be denied.

Rate Cut in Wheat

The fall in wheat prices in the USA and Canada is an important event. The initiative in reducing the wheat price came from the USA. The cut was not made directly in the selling price; it was effected by increasing the shipping subsidy for wheat by about 10 cents a bushel (60 lbs.). Following this action, Canada made a cut of 10½ cents a bushel in the Canadian Wheat Board's export price for three top grades. The revised rate now stands at \$1.72½ a bushel, and this applies to sales under the International Wheat Agreement as well as to other sales. The main reason for the drop in wheat prices is the large increase in world supplies, following two successive record crops in the United States and Canada and the prospect of another good crop in the current season. Production in other parts of the world has also increased considerably. India, with a good crop of wheat and rice harvests in the past year, is practically out of the import market this year. The world's biggest importing area, Western Europe, has harvested a record crop, particularly France, Italy and the UK. The main problem of the world wheat crop is that while the importing countries are in need of less wheat, all the exporting countries have more wheat for sale. Because of increasing production and mounting stocks, the USA was forced to reduce the wheat price. The total production of wheat during 1953-54 of the four major wheat exporting countries, namely, the USA, Canada, Argentine and Australia, aggregated 2,212 million bushels and there was a carry-over of further, 1,610 million bushels from the 1952-53 crop.

The cut in American and Canadian wheat price has not however brought any reduction in the selling prices of Australian and Argentine prices. The world wheat market has undergone a striking change in the face of rising supply with falling demand. The importing signatories to the International Wheat Agreement have not yet made their guaranteed purchases. The total purchase during the current year is only 421 million bushels—and this is very much less than the 581 million bushels fully taken up in the previous two seasons as under the agreement. India, which the second biggest import quota, has taken up just one per cent of its quota of 37.3 million bushels (equivalent of one million tons).

The exporting countries may reduce their prices to the minimum of \$1.55 per bushel so as to force the signatories to take up their quota. If they do so, India is in duty bound to take up its quota of one million tons. It is said that she cannot refuse to buy, because in previous seasons when the free market price was well above the maximum price fixed under the International Wheat Agreement, the exporting countries honoured their obligation to the full. Similarly, all other signatory countries will have to take up their quota if the wheat price comes down to the "floor." When the last International Wheat Agreement was being negotiated and concluded, we objected to India's renewing the pact as it was evident that the world wheat price was bound to decline. Britain was of course clever as she kept out of the agreement. She is now free to buy at the lowest market the minimum quantity she needs.

Golden Lanka

The wealth of ancient Ceylon and the skill of its engineers was far-famed in the epics and chronicles of ancient Orient. A most amazing proof is given in the following extract from the *Worldover Press*.

It also shows how little the foreign rulers of Ceylon were concerned with the real welfare of the children of the soil, anywhere in Asia. Else these ancient structures would not have been neglected.

From no mere sentimentalist, but from a hard-headed and experienced man of business outlook, comes a report that fascinatingly combines the meeting of a great need with a reliance on historic ways of the ancient Ceylonese. Dr. Raymond W. Miller, F.A.O. Consultant, a public relations counsel and a lecturer at the Harvard Business School, tells a colorful and unusual story, basing it on Hardy's research.

The Ceylonese Kings, before the time of Christ, erected irrigation systems and reservoirs for the people. Ceylon today has a population of about 25,000,000 for an area half that of England, and although there were fewer people back in antiquity, some of the cities contained a million inhabitants. There was food enough for all, but the mosquito decimated the population time after time from malaria. To rid themselves of this deadly pest, the people moved out and migrated to other places, there to build up cities anew. Again and again this happened. There were other enemies—predatory kings from India who came to plunder and destroy.

When they moved out, the city populations left behind them giant waterworks, well-built, strong, and adequate. It happens that these have stood up until the present time, needing only a measure of repair. The oldtime Ceylonese have merged with the dust, but their water systems lie unused through the ages, so skillfully constructed that they can be utilized even in our 20th century. Amazingly, 2,000,000 persons can be supplied with water in this arid region, merely by

patching up a section of the old viaducts, lakes and canals. No new engineering has been necessary.

Says Hardy: "I have seen technical assistance projects in many lands and under many different conditions, but this one is in a class by itself." So much for the oddity of those conditions in Ceylon. But Hardy properly draws deductions which affect technical aid as a method. "Each time I visit Asia," he declares, "I become more convinced that the type of technical assistance rendered by F.A.O. is what the under-developed countries of the world need and want."

Co-existence

The recent statement made by Pandit Nehru, in the House of People, has clarified the issues in India's Foreign policy in a remarkable way. We are putting it on record below:

Mr. Nehru said that co-existence assumed non-interference in each other's affairs. The alternative—another war—might lead to "co-destruction."

He said that the Indo-China settlement at Geneva had given rise to a feeling of security, or "a lesser feeling of insecurity," and the world was moving towards less fear and suspicion and gradually towards some settlement.

Any approach to the question in the way likely to be adopted at the proposed S.E.A.D.O. conference in the Philippines might arouse these fears and suspicions and thereby encourage a feeling of insecurity.

Referring to the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, he said they had discussed frankly and freely the different political and economic systems in India and China, how far they could come into conflict with each other and how far each country would tolerate and not interfere with the other. "These talks led us to a large number of common approaches, in spite of such differences we might have in our countries as how to solve our respective problems. It was not only a pleasure but I profited by this meeting considerably, and I believe it was of some advantage to the Prime Minister of China also to have stayed for a few days in India and to have had frank talks with us and a fleeting glimpse of India as it is and a grasp of something of the mind of other countries of Asia."

Some other Asian countries entirely agreed with the approach in the joint statement issued by the Chinese Prime Minister and himself and the joint statement of the Burmese and Chinese Prime Ministers. "It is an important thing, this gradual growth of an area of peace in South-East Asia."

Since the House debated foreign policy last, many developments had taken place which might all together be referred to as "the crisis of our time." It could be viewed from many angles. Viewed from the continent of America it would have one angle, from the middle of Europe another angle, and from the middle of Asia it would have yet another angle. But however different might be the facets, in its totality it was the same.

Referring to the Geneva conference, Mr. Nehru said that the Indo-China problem had in a sense become "an epitome of the crisis of our time." The conference on Asian problems was held in Europe and was chiefly dealt with by Europeans, Americans and the like. With all the respect he had for those European and American countries "it does not make the slightest difference because we must have a say in deciding our destiny and Asia's destiny."

The conference at Geneva tried to discuss Asian matters ignoring what Asia thought on the matter. China which was intimately connected was there. A large number of Asian countries, principally the Colombo conference countries, were not represented at the conference, but their views were nevertheless constantly referred to. "Geneva saw the impact of realities on an unreal way of doing things. The unreal way was to forget Asia, largely speaking."

He was not saying this to criticize the work done at Geneva but rather the way countries of the West had got into considering Asian problems. No problem could be isolated and he could well understand the deep interest of Europe or America in Asian problems just as European problems were of interest to India and Asia for the simple reason that they all acted on each other. When a problem might lead to war or peace, it ceased to be a local or continental problem. But it was completely out of place and out of date for problems to be considered by certain European or American Powers, forgetting or ignoring Asia, especially when those problems were of Asia. This was realized at Geneva, and though the Asian countries were not formally represented there, to some extent their voice was heard and had a great deal of effect on the decisions there.

He praised the leading States in Geneva who came to an agreement. But behind all that was the compelling necessity of coming to a settlement or facing a disastrous war. It was not a final settlement as it did not resolve all the world's problems but it did indicate how people reacted when they had to face the reality of war and peace. They reacted inevitably for peace and "that is the healthiest sign so far as Geneva is concerned."

Mr. Nehru referred to the circumstances under which India had accepted the new responsibilities in Indo-China and to the preliminary conferences held in Delhi, and said he was glad that all that had been done so far in regard to the three Commissions had the unanimous approval of the members of the Commission. This showed that "there is a great deal of the spirit of working together." All the countries in Indo-China had also so far been very helpful to the Commission and at the conferences held in Delhi they showed "a friendliness even to each other which was rather surprising. So we have started on this work in Indo-China in a sense under good auspices."

India had taken on herself a heavy responsibility and all kinds of problems were likely to arise from day to day. In a sense, what would happen elsewhere,

in the China Seas and round about, would have its effect on Indo-China.

In Korea, he said, some progress had been made, but the situation was not a happy one. He hoped, however, that attempts to reach a peaceful settlement would continue to be made.

During the Geneva conference, Mr. Chou En-lai had come to India on a visit. China and India were the two biggest countries of Asia and each had had a very long past which touched the other in the course of history. In the present day they had both to play an important role in Asia, if not in a wider sphere. "We have, therefore, always thought it of the highest importance that India and China should understand each other and should, as far as possible, co-operate with each other. We are neighbours with 2,000 miles of common frontiers. Anyhow we are big, dynamic, vital, growing and progressive nations and we are bound to come in touch with each other in many places. That coming into touch could be either a friendly touch or in conflict. It is our desire, and I believe it is the desire of the Chinese Government, that our contacts should be friendly and that we should co-operate in as large a measure as possible."

As a result of this came the agreement on Tibet. By itself it was a minor agreement but then the five principles contained in it of non-aggression, mutual recognition of territorial integrity, mutual non-interference in each other's affairs, etc., had become the basis of a new approach to these matters.

The visit of Mr. Chou En-lai was important to us, to talk to each other and discuss matters frankly and fully. At that time the Geneva conference was going on. No one knew what the final result would be and so we had occasion to discuss those matters at Geneva as well as many other matters pertaining to Asia.

After his visit to India, the Chinese Prime Minister went to Burma and the Prime Ministers of Burma and China issued a joint statement there more or less on the lines of the joint statement issued in Delhi embodying those five principles. "I have little doubt that some other countries in South-East Asia also agree to these five principles and the approach of the joint statement."

It was no doubt true that by agreeing to follow this peaceful course they could not guarantee peace in Asia or anywhere else. But "we do throw our weight on the side of peace. It was after Mr. Chou En-lai came here that he went back to Geneva and this agreement was arrived at. While we have to congratulate ourselves on the progress made in regard to a settlement of Indo-China, I do wish the House to remember that the world is sitting all the time on some kind of an edge of a precipice and no one can know what new development or happening might upset this balance."

The word "co-existence," Mr. Nehru added, had been used and thrown about a good deal in the past few months. So far as India was concerned her whole policy was based right from the beginning on the concep-

tion of co-existence, and the idea was not new to her. "Naturally we do not wish to interfere with others in any way and do not propose to be interfered with by others."

"Naturally the consequences of this approach are co-existence. It is only when you want to interfere, or you are afraid of being interfered with, co-existence does not exist. In the world today nobody can be certain but you can make your own guess whether interference with each other can be checked or controlled or not. If it cannot be checked, of course there can be no co-existence and conflicts arise. And we have arrived at a stage in the world when a small conflict is likely to become immediately a big conflict and a big conflict a world war. There are no small stages left now so that this problem whether co-existence is possible or not is a very important one. If it is not possible then the only alternative is world war."

But whether one liked the present state of affairs in the world or not one had to choose between a policy likely to lead to war on a large scale and a general approach meant by the word "co-existence." The countries at the Geneva conference realized that the alternative to not accepting some idea of co-existence was war, which they were naturally not prepared to face.

The Geneva agreement had specifically laid down that the countries in Indo-China should be independent and they should not have military alliances with other countries or align with other countries and should more or less belong to what might be called the area of peace. There was some argument about the interpretation of the words but the general idea of the Geneva decision in regard to Indo-China countries was quite clear.

"If the Indo-China countries, or any of them, align themselves definitely with one powerful group of nations, they become a threat to the other and, therefore, a cause of conflict. On the one side, it was feared that they may be a spring-board for the actions of Communist countries and on the other it was feared that they would be bases for action against those countries. So unless you can isolate them in a military sense from these two groups you make them a cause of conflict. Therefore, this important decision was made that these Indo-China countries should as far as possible keep out of these military alliances and in a sense form part of the area of peace. How that idea develops will depend on circumstances."

The question of Goa had provided some excitement in India and infinitely more excitement in the mind of the Portuguese Government. It was extraordinary how in the last month or so the Portuguese Government had started an organized campaign in all the capitals of the world against India in regard to Goa and said all sorts of things in the course of those campaigns.

They had made it out that some military intervention was going to take place either by Indian soldiers as such or disguised as fisherfolk carrying arms. There had also been considerable addition to their formal

military force in Goa. There had been a good deal of correspondence with the Portuguese Government and on reading it one would feel bewildered, as he himself had been.

Referring to Portugal's suggestion for impartial observation of the situation and India's acceptance of the same and her proposal for a conference, he said: "During the past two weeks we have exchanged Notes after Notes and yet that meeting has not taken place." The two sides had nominated their representatives and yet they could not meet and "some excuse or other is being found by the Portuguese Government, and apparently they want us to commit ourselves in regard to these matters."

"We are not prepared to commit ourselves about anything, nor do we ask them to commit themselves. Naturally these talks between our representatives and the Portuguese Government is not going to solve the Goa problem. They are not going to discuss the basic problems of a de facto and de jure transfer of Goa. They have to be left over for future discussions. The present stage is a limited stage to discuss what is happening there now. In regard to that no commitment is necessary, nor can be made. If the Portuguese Government wants us to make any commitment giving up or modifying our ideas in regard to Goa, they are mistaken. We are not going to do that, nor do we ask them to make any such commitment. We want to proceed step by step, peacefully and gradually and arrive at some settlement."

"One thing has surprised me very much and that is the reaction of some countries to this Goa issue. Some of them, I think, were probably not fully aware of the facts because when we placed the real facts before them they admitted that they did not know them. Others, knowing the facts, have acted in a way which has surprised me."

Mr. Nehru said: "The movement for independence in India was for the whole of India, obviously including Indian State, Pondicherry, Goa and other places. It made no difference to us that in the course of history colonial forces had come and divided India between them."

The moment the protecting power in India went and the whole country became free, the *raison d'être* for Goa remaining separate ceased and "indeed it would have been in the nature of things if at that time this question had been solved."

The Prime Minister recalled that a little before or after the transfer of power, the then Hyderabad Government, which had adopted a non-co-operative line with the rest of India, had started negotiations with the Portuguese Government about Goa. This was no secret and known to everyone. Some proposals were discussed about some kind of common control for Goa.

The Hyderabad Government of that day "felt surrounded by the Union of India and was an ambitious Government and had various ideas." They wanted an outlet to the sea. At one time they thought of spreading

out up to the Bay of Bengal and later to the Arabian Sea via Goa.

Mr. Nehru said that it was no use blaming any single individual but the persons who were the moving spirits behind all those negotiations had mostly left Hyderabad and some of them had suffered adequately for it.

But the point was Portugal presumably thought that Hyderabad might be a bulwark against the Indian Union and wanted to join hands with them. Of course, nothing came out of it because other changes took place with some rapidity. "But it is interesting to see how the Portuguese Government of the day, not long ago, were discussing this problem of Goa with the Hyderabad Government when now they adopt the line that this subject is too sacred to be discussed. I refer to this only to show how at one stage, when they felt that because of the British protecting power going away their future might be uncertain, they wanted to do something."

Since then India had stated that Goa must become part of India. The historical and other necessities for Goa remaining separate were over. Nothing could keep it there.

Apart from the fact of Goa being in this country, and the fundamental fact of Goanese themselves wanting it, the major fact was that "what is called colonialism is in retreat and has to be so." "We talk about the crisis of our time and many people view it in different ways. Probably in the U.S.A. the crisis of the time is supposed to be Communism versus anti-Communism. It may be so to some extent. But the crisis of the time in Asia is colonialism versus anti-colonialism. Let us be quite clear about it." (cheers)

A wise step was taken in Burma and India. In Indonesia there was some trouble but it was solved to some extent. One could see the difference where this trend of modern history had been recognized and there had been a peaceful change-over and friendship between them and the countries which had till then dominated them. It was in this larger context of the freedom of countries that they should see this problem of Goa.

He could understand the Portuguese, having a soft corner in their hearts for the days of Portugal's grandeur. But that did not justify in any sense, logical or otherwise, the Portuguese adopting a policy today of holding on to Goa against the wishes of the people of Goa.

"One thing I deeply regret and that is the way the Portuguese Government has brought the Church into the picture, thereby trying to make this a religious issue which of course it is not." The topmost Catholic leaders in India had expressed themselves quite clearly on this issue not only of religion and Catholicism in India but of Goa itself and had supported the freedom movement in Goa.

Christianity had come to India long before it went to Portugal or to Europe. He would like members to remember that Christianity was not a foreign religion but as much an Indian religion as any other. It had

been in India for the last 1,908 years, especially in South India. There were some five million Roman Catholics in India. In matters concerning their freedom of religion, conscience, etc., they themselves had said that they had full freedom. So it was a matter of deep regret to him that this religious bias was being given to this purely political question of Goa.

If the British had to withdraw from India and had to come to a friendly settlement as they did, it was extraordinary for anyone to imagine that any small foothold on the coast of India here and there could continue under colonial domination. It was absurd.

The argument that Goa was part of Portugal needed no answer and the claim that the Goanese were fond of the Portuguese administration could very easily be proved.

During the last seven years or so, though India was in full sympathy with the movement of the Goans in Bombay and elsewhere, they had strongly perhaps too strongly, avoided any direct interference in the matter because they wanted to settle the matter peacefully and co-operatively. The state of affairs in Portugal was different from that in India. In one or two of his speeches the Portuguese Prime Minister had made some references to democracy. "With due respect to him I was not aware that this word was understood or acted upon in Portugal." It was not his concern what was the situation in Portugal just as it was not Portugal's concern what happened in India.

But he was interested in Goa as the Portuguese Prime Minister was. Powerful historical forces were at work. It was not the Indian Army but a powerful indigenous movement that was at work. They wholly sympathized with the movement. In Goa there was nothing like civil liberty. Newspapers could not be published and an eminent surgeon was arrested and deported because he said in a private dinner that Goa was not part of Portugal.

The only way to deal with the question was for people to talk with each other. The other way was war. "We want to settle this question peacefully and we hope to settle it but that can only be done if the other party is prepared to discuss these matters."

India Puts Its U. N. Votes on Record

The *Worldover Press* gives the following bit of interesting news:

"Disturbed by such criticisms as 'India always votes with the Communists,' or 'India never backs the United States,' Indian government researchers have compiled figures to show that such attitudes in the U.S. are not warranted by the facts.

"Citing United Nations records they assert that out of 66 votes on the question of Korea, India voted with the U.S. 32 times, and either abstained or voted against it 34 times. In the eighth session of the U.N. General Assembly, India backed the U.S. on 27 occasions, and the Soviet Union on 19 occasions. The government

statement points out that on 14 occasions, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. supported each other. The voting record, of which this is a summary, is set forth in the utmost detail, issue by issue and vote by vote."

Guatemalan Victory—For What?

Guatemala was a test, a test of democratic procedure when faced with a crisis. It was a surprise to most, when events moved in a way that was so long associated with the totalitarian countries. Now, in the aftermath, the questions remain still unanswered. The *Worldover Press* in its July 23rd issue, puts forward the following:

"Both the White House and State Department have publicly expressed satisfaction at the triumph of anti-Communist elements in Guatemala. In private, however, unless blind to realities, they must know that countless pitfalls lie ahead. The overthrow of the Arbenz regime was cleverly brought about, but in coming months nothing short of real wisdom will be required. Important unresolved issues, and their handling, will be watched by all the world and in particular by Latin Americans.

"Can true unity prevail among the various forces constituting the government junta? There are strong rival ambitions, genuine differences on aims and principles. As a Central American correspondent for *Worldover Press* reported during the revolt, the insurgent leaders were without a specific program. On steps for improvement, their statements have been impromptu, piecemeal, often confused.

"Who put up the large sums used by Colonel Castillo Armas to pay his rebel soldiery, to buy and hire planes? Who supplied the planes, certain napalm bombs, and minor armament? If Washington cannot truthfully and convincingly show that it did not give covert material aid to the revolutionists, Latin American fears will be universally augmented. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency seems definitely involved, and Castillo's money did not come out of thin air. It may be argued that all this was justified, but Latin Americans will probe with embarrassing question.

"Were the planes that bombarded Guatemala based on Nicaragua as well as Honduras? If so, was this a part of U.S. planning, and if not, did it in any case meet with U.S. approval? Every democratically minded person in Central America, overwhelmingly non-Communist, is concerned over the role played by dictators, such as Nicaragua's Somoza, who has often threatened democratic neighbor states like Costa Rica.

"U.S. spokesmen, with sincerity, have expressed hope for a reform program by the new government. And yet, after having had a hand in the overturn, they say of internal questions they 'can't interfere.' It has been plain all along that many of Castillo Armas' backers were reactionaries, as hostile to democratic reforms as to Communism. The ruling junta has already announced that illiterates will no longer be permitted to vote, despite the experience of nearby Jamaica and other countries, where illiteracy has not prevented intelligent

balloting. This move has wiped out at a stroke the fine efforts of the Arevalo government to help the long oppressed Indians to come into their own. Nearly three-fourths of the people are illiterate. The junta is clearly committed to minority rule. Will Washington remain silent?

"What will happen to the arms purchased from Communist sources? It is odd that this shipment, played up as so tremendous when in the hands of Arbenz, is now described as well-nigh worthless. Some weapons were parachuted, under Arbenz, into rural areas, where they are likely to become the dragon's teeth of new conflicts for local possession. Will they serve to foment fresh border clashes? Note that the new junta has reiterated Guatemala's old demand for British Honduras.

"What of the impact on the United Nations? Concern has been felt there, because the U.S. (knowing Russia wanted to keep the Guatemalan question in the Security Council and under veto) strove to get it into the hands of the Organization of American States. This contradicted method used on Korea, for here there was not only an attack by Guatemalans on an elected Guatemalan government, but a technical invasion staged outside the country, in Honduras. Will regional authority keep on superseding that of the world body? The French pointed out that when Thailand had just asked for peace observers, U.S. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge had said he never hoped to see the day when a small country which believed it was threatened was to be asked by the U.N., 'What's the hurry?' Yet on Guatemala, however understandably, the U.S. took an opposite position. The end of this precedent is not yet.

"Millions of non-Communist Latin Americans have shown alarm at the U.S. handling of Guatemala. The press, of all shades, has been outspoken. *W.P.* correspondent Victor Alba, interviewing in Mexico many refugees from Latin dictatorships, along with intellectuals and informed professional people, found criticism widespread. Yet he reports a discernible pro-U.S. feeling that once did not exist. On this a new fellowship could be built by renewed economic and cultural co-operation. Will Washington overcome its recent neglect, and show a real awakening?"

The Question of Formosa

Writing under the heading "Co-existence, Chinese Style," the *Spectator* (August 20) says: "It might seem odd that the conference to prepare a treaty on the defence of South-East Asia should be announced from Washington at a moment when Mr. Chou En-lai was toasting the Queen and his British guests were tucking into their melon stuffed with fruit. But this is a kind of sequence that, in this uncomfortable age of 'co-existence,' we must get used to—without getting confused by.

"The Chinese, for their part, have kept matters absolutely distinct. Just a few days before the exotic East-West banquet the Chinese Prime Minister delivered his report on foreign affairs to the Central

People's Government Council. In this he said: 'Only by liberating Taiwan from the rule of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek, only by fulfilling this glorious task, will we achieve the complete unification of our great motherland, will we complete victory in the great cause of liberating the Chinese people, will we further safeguard the peace and security of Asia and the whole world.'

"He went on to dare the Americans to stop him. Last Tuesday (August 17) President Eisenhower accepted the dare, and the effect may be that things will jog along without much new activity on either side.

"The point at issue is that, though Chiang is undoubtedly making himself a nuisance (and not only to the Chinese Communists) in the China Seas, Chou En-lai would make more sense of his own doctrine of co-existence if he recognized Formosa as falling within the American sphere of influence—in rather the same sense as Northern Viet-Nam is now within the Chinese sphere of influence—than by breathing fire at Washington over the heads of the British Labour delegation in Peking.

"This is why the creation of SEATO is an essential accompaniment to co-existence, Chinese style. So long as the Chinese are intent on expanding, the remnants of non-Communist Asia will only be safe if they are defended, first, by their own efforts and, secondly, by a Western guarantee of their integrity."

Time and Tide (August 21) says: "The situation as regards Formosa is a striking lesson on the folly of leaving Anglo-American differences unresolved, of failing to reach an agreed overall view of the world situation and the strategy which should derive from it.

"The British, under Mr. Attlee, took the view, after the victory of the Communists on the Chinese mainland, that the right thing to do—whether it was pleasant or not—was to recognize the *fait accompli*. As regards Formosa, the Labour Government took the view that it was geographically part of China and should sooner or later revert to it. It is an arguable view.

"The Americans looked less at Formosa than at the world situation of which Formosa is part. And when they looked at it against the background of the world situation, it was with a practical rather than a legal eye. If it is the purpose of Communist States, as Communism roundly proclaims it is, to destroy the free States of the world and replace them by Communist dictatorship, using in the process all means up to, and including, war, then to be bound by narrow legalism and to hand over to a Communist State another vantage-point—which would make the defence of the Far East and of Australasia much more difficult—would be folly.

"This, in a sentence, is the basic difference between the British and the American approach. It is further complicated by consideration of what fate the Formosans would meet if ever the Chinese Communists got control there. There can be little doubt what it would be at the hands of a Chinese Commu-

nist Government which boasts it has 'liquidated' two-and-a-quarter millions of its own nationals."—*L.P.S.*

Industrial Policy of Pakistan

Promotion and encouragement of private enterprise was the structural edifice upon which the industrial policy of Pakistan was now being based, reports the *Pakistan News*.

During the switch over of an economy hitherto basically agricultural to one which envisaged greater accent on industry, Government had sought to act the principal investor. Reaction of private enterprise to that policy of the Government was very encouraging.

The Government-proposed Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation had become the sheet anchor of home industry. The Corporation had helped to organise and set up many large-scale new industries; and had invested a sum of approximately sixty crores of rupees in the industrial enterprises of the country. Thirty-seven major industries had been considered for regulation, development and planning. Those were concerned with arms and ammunitions for war, cement, coal, electrical equipments, heavy chemical, heavy engineering industries for construction of aircraft, ships, locomotives, wagons, automobiles, agricultural machinery, iron and steel, mineral industries and others.

In the industrial planning of Pakistan top priority had been given to the development of power. Special emphasis had been laid on the industries dependent upon reconstruction and development of agriculture and upon the promotion of medium and small cottage industries. It had been sought in the first place to manufacture locally the products of the country's readily available raw materials, in particular jute, cotton hides and skins, sugar-cane and tobacco, etc.

The industrial policy of the State was directed to make the field for the private entrepreneur as attractive as possible. Pakistan welcomed foreign capital seeking investment from a purely industrial and economic objective and not claiming any special privileges. Government's policy was that nationals of Pakistan be given option to subscribe at least 51 per cent of all classes of share capital and debentures in the 13 industries concerning cement, coal, cotton, spinning and weaving mills, fish-canning and fish oils, generation of electric power (other than hydro-electric), glass and ceramics, heavy chemicals and dye-stuff, minerals, preserved and prepared foods, power, alcohol, ship-building, sugar, and tanning and leather. In other industries Government wanted opportunity to be given to Pakistan nationals to subscribe at least 30 per cent of all classes of share capital and detention. But if indigenous capital was not forthcoming in required quantity foreign nationals might, with Government approval, subscribe those shares. The essential condition was that the nationals

of Pakistan must be allowed to participate in the administrative and technical services and training facilities should be provided to Pakistan nationals by concerns that wished to establish themselves in Pakistan. In cases where foreign firms asked for trading facilities in Pakistan, Government's policy was to ask for subsidiaries to be registered in Pakistan. Government also provided facilities for the remittance of reasonable proportion of profits to countries from where capital was drawn.

The *Asian Review* of London gives, in an article on "The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation," the broad outlines of the progress up to date. They include the new paper mill, begun in 1950, at Chandraghona on the Karnaphuli river, about 25 miles from Chittagong. This project is estimated to cost Rs. 5 crores and will produce about 30,000 tons of paper per annum. As yet the production has not reached full capacity. Besides that, there are two paper-board and straw-board factories at Nowshera (N.-W. F. P.) and Rahwali (Punjab).

In jute there are 11 mills of 6,250 looms under construction at a cost of 16½ crores. Of this the P.I.D.C. is investing 6½ crores. Two of the Adamjee Jute Mills at Narayanganj, of 1,000 looms each, are producing over 40,000 tons of jute textiles. It is estimated that within two years all the 6,250 looms will be in production, with an output of 200,000 tons of a total value of 22 crores.

The cement plants at Daudkhel (Thal) and at Hyderabad (Sind) are being set up with Canadian and New Zealand money mainly.

Besides the above, the P.I.D.C. plans to set up three woollen mills in Baluchistan, Waziristan and Thal at a cost of 50 lakhs each. Ten sugar mills of 8 to 9 thousand tons capacity, a small caustic soda and chlorine plant complete the picture for the present.

Sterling Convertibility

The signs are multiplying that the convertibility of sterling may prove possible early. In September Mr. Butler is likely to go to Washington to attend the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and the matter will be discussed there with the Americans and with most of the Finance Ministers of the Sterling Commonwealth. Thereafter action may follow quickly. By far the most striking development in recent months towards achieving sterling convertibility has been the great stride made by the City of London to recapture its former supremacy as an international monetary centre. During the war and immediately after it, the disparity of financial strength between the United States and the United Kingdom had widened alarmingly with yawning dollar gap. The inconvertibility of sterling for non-residents as well as residents, and the whole paraphernalia of exchange control, with its

blockings and its segregation of capital from current transactions had weakened the position of sterling as an international currency. The wartime sales of British foreign securities, the loss of reserves, the growth of both short and long-term overseas liabilities, the post-war physical economic controls, the continuance of State trading and the submergence of the free commodity markets—all these handicapped sterling convertibility.

But sterling has survived as an international currency and has regained its strength and influence which may favourably compare with its pre-war position. The mechanism and the tradition of international banking inherited from the past by the London money market has greatly helped sterling to recover. London's close integration of financial institutions of every kind—banks with branches or agencies all over the world, the acceptance houses, the discount market, the bullion and foreign exchange dealers, insurance brokers, the shipping and commodity markets—is one unequalled by any other financial centre in the world.

The second reason for the resilience of sterling is the continued allegiance owed to it as the basis of currency by a large section of the world, and this is an indispensable ingredient in sterling's strength. This association with sterling springs partly from tradition and habit; but it is also a testimony to the adaptability and flexibility of the sterling system. Although Britain, the banker of the sterling area, is now a net debtor on capital account and her overseas liabilities payable at sight and at short notice greatly exceed her immediately available assets, the use of sterling as basic currency and the confidence on London as the banking capital of the sterling area have not been impaired.

This continued hegemony of the sterling area is being attributed to the growing accumulations of larger sterling balances in London. In the words of late Lord Keynes,—when you owe your banker one thousand pounds, you are at his mercy; but when you owe him a million he is at yours. This dictum clearly applies to the position of the present-day sterling area—Britain being a heavy debtor to the sterling area countries on account of the accumulated sterling balances, holds the position of supremacy not only among the sterling area countries but in the world in the sphere of monetary transactions. Although for the last fourteen years sterling was not a freely convertible currency, yet it has been more freely converted into the goods and services of international trade than any other currency. It is often said that half the foreign trade of the world is done through sterling.

The year 1953 was a turning point in the post-war history of sterling. From that year London re-emerged as a great financial centre. The major commodity markets have been freed, including those for cereals and cotton in which dollar trade is important, and for this freedom in dealing was withheld so long. Many of these freed commodities, including copper and coffee, are not subject to restriction on re-export. A real foreign exchange

market has been reopened in London where the operators are again dealers for their own account and not agents of the Bank of England and accordingly can exercise their technical knowledge freely. With the grant of freedom in arbitrage facilities, London has regained to the full the share in foreign exchange business that it enjoyed before 1939. Further, a free gold market once again operates in London and the use of sterling in transactions between non-sterling countries has been greatly extended and the various schedules of sterling held by non-residents have been reduced to only a few. With the extension in the use of international sterling, foreign bankers and merchants now find their working balances in London rising and this received a great impetus from the reopening of the London gold market. Between July 1953 and April 1954, United States industrial production fell by 10 per cent. Between those dates, the sterling area gold and dollar reserves rose by 19 per cent. Arbitrage movements of short-term funds have been encouraged by the new facilities and new confidence in the London money market. Rumour was rampant that sterling would be allowed to break from its moorings and rise above its present upper gold point of \$2.82.

But what the sterling convertibility would really mean and what advantages or dangers would follow it? One thing is certain and it is that so long as the exchange control is maintained, sterling convertibility would not mean much. Sterling convertibility would be only a technical step towards the abolition of exchange control. But full convertibility would demand the removal of import quotas and the freeing of the travel allowance. The initial aim is apparently only the introduction of "non-resident convertibility," that is to say, a state of affairs in which non-residents or foreigners resident outside the sterling area will in general be allowed to convert into dollars any sterling earned by them in the future by current trade. For the ordinary citizens of the sterling area countries, the non-resident convertibility will have little direct effect. They will continue to be hemmed in by the same exchange and import restrictions as now obtain. This sort of convertibility will have no direct effect on India's trade with America and other dollar countries. Americans who earn sterling are of course allowed to turn it into dollars already. It will have no direct effect on India's trade with members of the sterling area; they will continue to maintain a voluntary check on dollar spending as is now being followed and they will be allowed to purchase dollars from the common pool in London when they want to. The only direct advantage from the non-resident convertibility will be enjoyed by the forty-odd countries of the transferable account area—countries in Western Europe, southern South America, behind the Iron Curtain and a few other countries such as Japan. Free convertibility of sterling will enable them to use their sterling to buy dollars from the central pool in London openly and without restrictions.

Another effect of convertibility will be the liquidation of various payments mechanisms that were developed during the period of inconvertibility, of which the most important is the European Payments Union.

Iranian Oil Settlement

An agreement was reportedly reached on August 5 between the Government of Iran and a consortium of eight major oil companies of the world. That agreement ostensibly solved the three-year-old dispute between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (subsequently between the British Government) and the Government of Iran over the nationalization of Iranian oil in 1951.

The agreement, which was to run for twenty-five years with provisions for three five-year extensions, provided for the formation of two operating companies to operate the oil fields and the Abadan refinery in Iran. Those two companies—one dealing primarily with exploration and production of oil and the other with refining—were to be organised by the consortium. The companies would be registered in Iran with their operating headquarters there and would be incorporated under the laws of the Netherlands. The companies would have seven directors each—two to be named by Iran and five by the consortium.

According to the *Reuter*, the agreement required the consortium companies to pay the National Iranian Oil Company for all oil required for export and sell the crude oil and the products exported. Products for Iranian home consumption would be available to the National Iranian Oil Company at substantially their cost.

The agreement also provided for the settlement of the claims for compensation by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company against the Government of Iran for nationalizing the Abadan refinery. Accordingly, the Iranian Government would pay to the A.-I. O. C. a sum of 25 million sterling in ten annual instalments, commencing from the 1st January, 1957.

The consortium was formed in London on April 10 this year when agreement was reached between eight major oil companies to reopen the flow of Iranian oil to world markets. It consisted of five American companies, who would between them hold 40 per cent holding in its shares, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company with another 40 per cent holding; the Royal Shell Dutch and Companies Francaise des Petroles, who would between them hold the balance of the shares. The five American companies were, Standard Oil, Gulf Oil, California Oil, Texas Oil and Socony Vacuum Oil Companies. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company would receive payments from the other members of the consortium for the 60 per cent interest distributed among them.

The reaching of the agreement on Iranian oil was an event of major international importance, because, as a special correspondent of the *Times* wrote in February, 1953, the problem of Persian oil was not simply a question of the relationship between one Sovereign State (Iran) and the company operating on its territory (A.-I. O. C.). It had become, to quote him, "a major international issue affecting the foundation of the international oil structure, the role which British interest will play in that structure and the balance of payments for the United Kingdom, for the Commonwealth, and for Europe."

Since 1950 and more particularly since the time of the nationalization of Iranian oil in 1951, several attempts at a settlement proved infructuous. The present agreement was generally considered as a victory of American diplomacy—as the names of five major American oil companies on the consortium would also appear to suggest. According to Sri K. Balaraman, New York correspondent of the *Hindu*, it was generally conceded that the U. S. President's Special Representative in Iran, Mr. Herbert Hoover (Junior), had played an important role in the settlement of the Iranian oil dispute. He writes: "Only future historians can say if the United States had anything to do with the overthrow of Dr. Mossadeq as the Communists have been charging. However, a high American official once told me after Dr. Mossadeq had been overthrown that the world would perhaps never know how close Communists came to taking over Iran and if the pro-Shah revolution had been delayed even by a few days Iran might have become an Asian Czechoslovakia."

B. Storin writes in the *New Times* that the ratio of Iranian and consortium representatives on the board of directors of the two companies proposed to be established by the agreement enabled the consortium to make whatever decisions it liked and completely ignore the wishes or opinion of Iran's representatives.

"But apparently," writes Mr. Storin, "the consortium wants more than that. For under the new agreement all matters pertaining to the technical management of the Iranian oil industry will be handled not by the board in the Netherlands, [He says that the company would be incorporated in the Netherlands while according to the *Reuter* the companies would be incorporated in Iran under the laws of the Netherlands.—Ed., M. R.] but by the consortium's London headquarters' where Iran will have no representative whatever. The London headquarters, for example, will be responsible for the appointment and dismissal of technicians of all categories, including plant managers, well superintendents, etc. This will give it effective control over every aspect of the industry, and the company organized in the Netherlands will be no more

than a "front" for the five U. S. corporations and A-I. O. C., which will be free to run Iran's oil business to suit their own ends."

France and E. D. C.

The French National Assembly was to discuss ratification of the European Defence Community Treaty on August 28, four days later than had been originally scheduled. In view of the failure of the Brussels talks between France on the one hand and other signatories to the treaty on the other to reach an agreement on the modifications of the Treaty suggested by France it would be interesting to recall the factors behind French reluctance to ratify the Treaty embodying a proposal originally put forward by the French Premier, M. Rene Pleven in 1950.

The reasons for French reluctance to ratify the European Defence Community Treaty has been summarised in a pamphlet issued by the Comite France Actuelle which was organized by a group of French businessmen with the object of assisting Americans to understand France and French problems. It is stated that the original French proposal for a European Army, or the Pleven Plan as it came to be called, had been intended to serve two purposes: "(1) it was to be a further step towards European unification beyond that taken by the Schuman Plan (which has now led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community); and (2) it was designed to meet the American pressure for the rearmament of Germany by providing a mechanism through which German military resources could be put to work in the defense of the five Western World without the danger involved in re-establishing a German national Army."

In the long period of negotiation since the Pleven Plan had been put forward, its basic concept had been considerably altered. The EDC Treaty (as signed by France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) did not provide for the creation of any European political authority to which the Army would be responsible. "The original plan had called for the incorporation of military units from the participating countries at the lowest possible organization level (conceived of as the combat team); under the present draft of the Treaty the national integrity of military forces is maintained through the level of the division so that the degree of integration is drastically limited."

During the past seventy-five years France had thrice been overrun by German armies. Therefore many Frenchmen were repelled by the suggestion of a European Army in which they or their sons might have to take orders from German Officers. Some Frenchmen feared that the European Army would come to be dominated by Germany and that a re-armed Germany might be tempted to regain her

Eastern Territories by force and that, through the European Army, France might find herself an unwilling partner in such an adventure. So the French people were divided over the acceptance of the EDC.

The proponents of the EDC saw it as a means of bringing about German rearmament, which they regarded as inevitable, in a way which best guaranteed that German military might would not be again used against France. It was looked upon as a step, although an imperfect one, toward the creation of an ultimate European federal union—and perhaps ultimately of an Atlantic Community; and as a means of safeguarding the defence of the Western world.

The opposition to the Treaty (and it included Frenchmen ranging in political conviction from the followers of General de Gaulle on the right to the Communists on the left) proceeded from the following considerations:

Many regarded the European army as an unworkable arrangement for organizing an effective defense against possible Communist aggression;

Others were moved by patriotic reasons to deplore the disappearance of the French army and its glorious traditions;

Some feared that since, under the EDC the French Government would not have full authority over the army, it would prove difficult for France to police and defend her overseas territories, such as, North Africa (this bore some relation to British reluctance to join the EDC because of Commonwealth commitments).

Many—and that was perhaps the strongest basis for objection—feared that the influence of the French army units and the French command within the EDC would be overwhelmed by the greater influence of Germany. It was also believed that France, weakened by the continued drain of the Indo-Chinese war, would not be able to hold her own militarily within the framework of the European army.

Still other Frenchmen did not believe that the establishment of the European Defence Community would, in fact, lead to unification of Western Europe; they believed that the proposal was put forward out of order, that it should, in fact, be preceded by the adoption of a political authority, since otherwise it created a military force responsible to no single political power.

It is noted that the British promise to maintain a force on the European continent and similar assurances from President Eisenhower had strengthened the supporters of the EDC while undoubtedly the chances for its ratification had been weakened by a concentrated attack, led by the followers of General de Gaulle on one hand, and the Communists on the other.

"Obviously the question is one on which Frenchmen can hold differing views from motives equally sincere and patriotic," it concludes.

French Cost in Indo-China War

The Comite France Actuelle estimates on the basis of figures furnished by the Ministere des Etats Associes (Bureau Militaire) that the total French cost in the war in Indo-China, which had flared up in 1946, amounted to 5,478,860,000 dollars up to the end of 1953, while the total aid received by France under the Marshall Plan is estimated at 3,849 million dollars up to the end of 1952-53. Based on the invoices of equipment and supplies received American aid to Indo-China is valued as follows:

Year	U. S. aid to Indo-China (dollars)	Cost of Indo-China war (dollars)
1952	328,570,000	1,282,860,000
1953	354,290,000	1,171,430,000

It is added that American help in Indo-China increased greatly in 1954. In addition to financial help, other aid was given France in the form of delivery of American material.

The French army had committed 26 per cent of its entire officer force to the Indo-China war. The number of casualties had been agonizingly high for France; for the past four years France had lost as many officers as regularly graduated from St. Cyr, the French military academy.

The Case of Dr. Otto John

Dr. Otto John, Chief of the West German Intelligence authorities and head of the office for the Protection of (West German) Constitution, left his hotel in West Berlin on July 20 and crossed over to East Germany of his own accord. Dr. John said in his first broadcast speech from East Berlin on July 23 that his decision for leaving Western Germany grew out of his conviction that some "striking action is necessary in order to appeal to all Germans for an initiative for the reunion of Germany." He also referred to the growth of Nazi influence in the West German administration in a Press Conference in East Berlin on August 11. He declared that during his visit to the United States of America in June he had found "hysteria and preparations for war" and had become convinced that the American slogan for the Germans was: "Germans to the front."

The desertion of Dr. John, writes the Berlin correspondent of London *Times*, had caused great "dismay" in Western Germany, flowing "partly from an inevitable wave of moral insecurity which such an event sets in motion and partly also from the fear that he may tell his new hosts enough to destroy any system of security information from the Soviet zone which the Federal Republic may have been able to build up." (*Statesman*)

The *Times* in an editorial on August 12, under the caption, "A Personal Tragedy" writes that the reasons for Dr. John's going over to the Communist

camp appeared to be more personal and indeed pathological and less political and ideological. A man with Dr. John's anti-Nazi liberal post could not be blamed for watching with anxiety the return to public offices of former Nazi officials. But to react in the way Dr. John had done was a gesture of despair, since by working in East Germany Dr. John would not be escaping the former Nazis, whose return to public offices had been sanctioned by Communist authorities.

The newspaper adds: "If the causes of Dr. John's desertion are personal, its consequences will clearly be far wider. Coming at a time when Dr. Adenauer faces resumed Russian pressure for German unity on Communist term and, even from within his own ranks, a noticeable increase in interest in the Russian offer, the example of a senior officer seeming to swallow the Russian bait, can only serve to weaken the Federal Government."

The newspaper thinks it important for that reason to "emphasise the essentially unrepresentative and subjective nature of his decision. It is a personal tragedy, with roots in the German past," writes the *Times*, "and should not be seen as a pointer to tendencies of political developments in Germany's future."

An appraisal of the Communist reaction was provided by the Communist columnist Jan Marek, who in an article in the *Cominform Journal* on August 20 sarcastically refers to Dr. Adenauer's statement that Dr. John's defection was not of much importance and writes that it was characteristic that Dr. John's statement that there were supplementary secret agreements attached to the EAC treaty had been denied by Adenauer five days before that statement had been made.

Election of New President of U.N.

The new President of the United Nations would be elected when the General Assembly met on September 21 next. The United States of America had nominated Prince Wan Waithayakon, Foreign Minister of Thailand, while Britain and several Western European countries had indicated their approval of the candidature of Dr. Van Kleeffus of the Netherlands.

By convention a representative of Western Europe was to be the next President. India, however, had hardly anything to choose between the two.

Writing about the U. S. decision to support Prince Wan, the *Hitavada* points to the fact that the accession of Thailand to the Presidentship of the U. N. was not likely to arouse much enthusiasm among the free and uncommitted nations of Asia, though it might be a natural inclination on the part of the U. S. Government to oblige a pliant ally.

Thailand, the paper writes, was completely under

U. S. influence. She had already received 150 million dollar worth of U. S. aid in the post-war period. Recently there had been an agreement for sending U. S. military equipment to Thailand to the tune of \$3 million. Already there was a 200-man U. S. military mission in the country.

University Presses in the U.S.A.

Mr. Victor Reynolds, President of the Association of American University Presses, writes that over the past 85 years, since 1869 when the first American University press had been established at Cornell University, the University presses of America had established themselves in the minds of American people as substantial publishers concerned with books of merit. According to Mr. Reynolds, the American University Presses had accounted for the publication of about ten per cent of the 12,000 new titles and new editions brought out in 1953.

The University presses were non-profit enterprises owned and operated under the aegis of Colleges and Universities. Their activities covered a wide range, though undoubtedly publication of scholarly books and monographs was considered as their most important duty. The largest presses in the USA were those at Columbia, Chicago and at Harvard followed by those at California, Princeton and at Yale.

The relatively well-established presses spent about 10 per cent on advertising. When a book was such that substantial sales could be expected, the University press shared that good fortune with the author on a standard royalty basis.

Viewpoints on International Affairs

Discussing and comparing the differing viewpoints held by Britain and the U.S.A. on international affairs, especially in relation to Communist China, *The Times* (August 5) says: "It is a mistake to minimize these differences since they are the outcome of tradition and geography and will recur. They are part of the raw material with which the Anglo-American alliance must deal, not a reason for despairing of the alliance's vitality."

"American condemnation of Communist China represents the firm conviction that Chinese Communists, and probably their Russian colleagues also, are people outside the borders of civilized law . . . To attempt to reach formal agreements with them as at Berlin and Geneva is probably at best a waste of time. The only form of co-existence possible is the vigilant aloofness which the Roman Empire maintained against the Goths, Picts and other tribes beyond the *limes*."

"The British view, while no less wary of Communist intentions and no less ready to resist a clear case of Communist aggression, tends to oppose the concept of

a world divided between the sheep and the goats—countries with which it is possible and impossible to make agreements. . . . Some of the most durable of British agreements, such as those with France in 1904, Russia in 1907, have sprung out of conflict. On this reasoning co-existence can be something more than negative avoidance of war. Both points of view can claim to be practical and based on commonsense."

After declaring that the two attitudes are the outcome of two distinct historical traditions and that both have "their obvious dangers," *The Times* ends by saying: "In the case of China, it should be possible to probe beyond emotions and discover a solid strategic ground where the real interests of Britain and America coincide."

"That such a ground exists cannot be doubted. Americans who think that Britain is soft towards China may have noticed how sternly the House of Commons heard the news that China was ready to shoot rescue planes without warning. And the British people who think that some Americans are keen to have war with China may have noticed how swiftly those Americans drew back the other day when Dr. Rhee suggested marching against China."

Defensive Alliance in the Balkans

The "treaty of alliance, political co-operation, and mutual assistance" signed at Bled, Yugoslavia, on August 9 by the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia formalizes a situation which has, in fact, existed for 18 months. It is, none the less, important.

It was during 1952 that the menacing attitude of their "Cominform" neighbours convinced the three Governments that some form of defensive co-operation between them was essential. The outcome was the "treaty of friendship and co-operation" signed in Ankara on February 28, 1953. This was decisive. It provided for close and regular consultation between the signatories. There were clauses on economic, technical, and educational co-operation. And there was agreement for consultation between the three General Staffs.

On the military side, the result has been that defensive plans for the contingency of possible attack from the north have been worked out jointly. There is no common command, no "integration" of the three armies, as in the case of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in Western Europe. But, for example, the Greek "order of battle" and mobilization plans are now based on the assumption of co-operation with the Yugoslavs in the defence of Macedonia and the Vardar valley and with the Turks in the defence of Thrace.

There has thus been for some time what one may call a *de facto* defensive alliance. But none of the three partners had given any formal pledge to come to the assistance of another in the event of its being attacked. They have now done so. The alliance is formal as well as *factual*.

In its drafting, an obvious difficulty presented itself. It was easy to deal with the contingency of direct aggression. The formula is based on the pattern of the Atlantic Treaty. Aggression against one will be considered as aggression against all. The three pledge themselves that they will, "individually or collectively, render assistance to the party or parties attacked . . . including the use of armed forces which they shall deem necessary for efficacious defence."

But there is another possibility. Greece and Turkey, but not Yugoslavia, are members of NATO. Therefore a case might arise in which Greece and Turkey might find themselves involved in war, as a result of their obligation to come to the assistance of some other NATO member which had been attacked. But Yugoslavia would be under no such obligation.

The solution is a familiar one. Yugoslavia agrees that in such a contingency the three would "consult each other on measures to be taken . . . to meet the situation which would have thus been created in their area." More could not have been expected. The Greek and the Turks are very satisfied. So are the NATO countries.

But even so, the overall position is still complicated and not satisfactory. There are now, in free Europe, two defensive systems, two defensive alliances. One is NATO, the other this new Balkan system. Greece and Turkey form the link between them.

But there is still no machinery of consultation, no provision of any sort for any kind of eventual military co-operation between two systems. Any planning for such co-operation would, for obvious geographical reasons, primarily concern Yugoslavia and Italy. Because of the Trieste dispute, their relations forbid it. And that involves a dangerous weakness in what is again, for geographical reasons, a particularly vulnerable area—the area of the historic "Ljubljana gap."

Fortunately, the prospects for Italo-Yugoslav agreement on Trieste are better than they have ever been. There are still some stubborn points on which a compromise has to be found, and is not easy to find. But the need for agreement is an imperative one. And without being over-optimistic, one may hope that the next few weeks will see a settlement at last.

It should not be overlooked that the two treaties—of Ankara and Bled—do more than create a military alliance. They also provide for co-operation in other fields, political, economic, and cultural, between the three Governments—one of which is Communist, the others emphatically not Communist. This should provide a practical demonstration that not merely "peaceful co-existence" but fruitful collaboration is perfectly possible between countries which have radically different social and economic system—provided that they can rely on each other's peaceful intent, tolerance, and mutual respect.

S. E. Asian Defence Conference

The Times (August 16), commenting on the decision to hold a conference at Baguio, Philippines, in September

"to strengthen the fabric of peace" in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific, says: "It can be taken for granted that Communist planners in the East are already looking beyond Laos and Cambodia to whatever opportunities lie to hand in Siam, Burma, and Malaya."

"Siam and Burma will come increasingly into the limelight, and next month's conference will have to examine the threat to the two great rice granaries of South-East Asia, with their wealth of natural resources. The prize is a rich one."

"As Burma holds the key to India, so Siam guards the gate to Malaya and Indonesia. Malaya, rich in rubber and tin, is at least as vital to the British Commonwealth as Manchuria's industrial complex is to China—and as vulnerable. With the recent changes in Indo-China, Siam now feels the influence of Communist power pressing closely round her borders. Nature offers no promising defensive line on which her armed forces could halt aggression, even with outside help."

"Three or four years ago the outlook in Burma seemed bleak. Today the picture is much brighter. U Nu's popular Left-wing Government is able to compete with Communist programmes and promises on equal, and even superior, terms. The republic has not won its independence from Western rule in order to become a satellite of China. Burma's fixed aim is to remain genuinely free of obligations to any single Power."

"This attitude of self-reliance seems naive, and even suspect, to many Americans, but it is sincere. Burma renounced much-needed American aid last year, and has resolutely stood apart from membership of any Far Eastern defence organization, because she is determined to steer an independent course between the rival groupings."

"At the same time, she has been impressed by Mr. Eden's efforts at Geneva, and her ties with Britain are growing stronger. Some link between a future South-East Asian security organization and Burma, of an economic (as opposed to military) nature, is not impossible, particularly if assistance can be funnelled through the Colombo Plan."

The Times continues: "Siam, having enjoyed full sovereignty much longer, is less sensitive about accepting help from others. She squarely places her trust in the United Nations and welcomes the shelter of Washington's wings. But Siam, too, makes a fetish of her independence. Field-Marshal Pibul has been more than willing to accept an American military mission and economic aid; he is unlikely to permit American or other foreign units to enter Siamese territory unless the Communists openly invade his country."

"Whether invasion comes will depend mainly upon the capacity of the Siamese Government to prevent unrest at home, particularly in the north-east. Outside Bangkok, people show little interest in national politics and are, generally, contented. Siam is a rich country by Asian standards, and there is no reason why living standards should not rise steadily provided that she can

find markets for her agricultural products. The key to security here, as in Burma, is economic viability.

"For the free world, the stakes involved in Siam and Burma are large. Neither can be protected by military means, as Western Europe is protected within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the most important decisions to be taken this autumn will not be matters for the generals.

"It is probably desirable that a strategic reserve of Allied ground, naval, and air forces should be organized somewhere in the background, with a modest international headquarters, as an instrument of retaliation or rescue should the Communists openly make trouble in either country. That they will attempt it by subversive means is almost certain.

"The free world's aim must, therefore, be to ensure that each outbreak can be detected and dealt with promptly by the government concerned, and that neither poverty nor economic strain breeds discontent and hesitance. A defence organization, as such, is not the answer to this kind of problem."—L.P.S.

Commonwealth Development Finance Company

The Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd. came into being on the 24th March, 1953, with a share capital of \$15 million following the announcement of its intended formation in the communique issued by the Commonwealth Economic Conference in December, 1952. The share capital was divided into 8,250,000 'A' ordinary shares subscribed by 91 industrial, mining, shipping and banking companies and firms in the United Kingdom, and 6,750,000 'B' ordinary shares subscribed by the Bank of England. In short, the company was an instrument of private enterprise formed with Government approval with substantial participation by the Bank of England, which was represented by one Director on the Board. The company acted on close co-operation with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The main objects of the Commonwealth Development Finance Company (CDFC), states a memorandum attached with the first annual report of the company, "are to provide or procure financial facilities of all kinds for the development of the natural and other resources of any part of the Commonwealth. The role of CDFC is primarily to help the financing of development undertaken by private enterprise. CDFC does not, therefore, propose to take itself a direct part in such development, and special emphasis is laid on the provision of expert management by those already engaged in the enterprise concerned." Other conditions the fulfilment of which would enable applicants to ask for financial assistance from the CDFC were that the applicants should provide "satis-

factory evidence that they had provided a reasonable amount of money out of their own resources, and in appropriate cases had raised as much as could be reasonably expected through the normal market channels and were still unable to raise the necessary capital within the area in which the development was taking place and that their projects offered reasonable prospects of being remunerative.

The memorandum further states that the CDFC would tend not to invest too big a block of its funds in extremely large-scale projects, such as were unlikely to yield a return for several years and were probably better suited for Government finance.

"Public utilities and hydro-electric schemes are at present considered appropriate fields for CDFC participation only in certain conditions; principally that the projects must not only contribute to the development of resources in the area but must clearly and specifically assist in the improvement of the balance of payments of the sterling area. Financing of transport, communication, harbour boards and similar statutory undertakings would not normally be regarded as suitable for CDFC participation." As to investment in other development corporations CDFC considered it to be best for itself and the corporation concerned to invest separately but in agreement in a particular project as was the case with the Sui Gas Transmission Co., in which the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation as well as CDFC was investing.

From the first annual report of the Commonwealth Development Finance Company it appears that up to the 31st March, 1954, the Company had invested or negotiated the investment of approximately \$5 million in three major Commonwealth Development projects. A sum of £1 million had been subscribed to the equality of the Sui Gas Transmission Co. Ltd. in Pakistan. A loan of £2 million had been made to the Electricity Supply Commission of South Africa. Terms had been agreed in principle for a loan—the contract was to be completed shortly—of £1½ million, with provision for an increase to £2 million over the next two years, to the South African Industrial Cellulose Corporation (Pty.) Ltd.

Other applications received during the year had proved unsuitable for detailed consideration. The report says that generally it might be said that suitable applications had not yet begun to come forward in the volume which might have been anticipated. This could partly be explained by the ignorance of the functions of that new organization by potential borrowers, and partly by the fact that sound development projects were already to a large extent being financed through other channels, whether by Government finance, or through normal market channels, or through corporate investment in overseas subsidiary companies.

SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(1) Introductory : Preamble

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I

In this article and the articles that will follow, I propose to deal with some of the salient features of our Constitution. I may, however, state here at the very outset that in these articles I shall not always use the term Constitution in a narrow, technical, and legalistic sense, meaning by it only the legal elements in it. Occasionally, I shall use it also in its usual sense, implying by it both its legal and non-legal (though not illegal) elements. As I have shown before, in this *Review*, in detail in another connexion,¹ the Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone. It is made up of what Professor Wheare² has rightly described as "constitutional rules of strict law" and "non-legal constitutional rules." What Maitland³ has called "rules of constitutional morality, or the costumes or the conventions" of a Constitution, make up a substantial part of it. However, the context will indicate in what sense the term Constitution has been used by me in any particular place.

II

PREAMBLE

I shall first of all deal with the Preamble to our Constitution. Before, however, I do this, I shall refer to an interesting fact. In his recent work⁴ entitled *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, which he has presented to "the reader" as "the testament" of his "old age," Professor Ernest Barker has printed the Preamble to our Constitution after the Table of Contents. In explaining his reason for this he has said in his Preface to the work:

"It seemed to me, when I read it, to state in a brief and pithy form the argument of much of the book; and it may accordingly serve as a key-note."

This is, indeed, a high tribute from a very distinguished person to the political wisdom of the authors of our Constitution. I am not, therefore, surprised that a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava,⁵ should speak of the Preamble in such enthusiastic terms as follows:

1. See my article entitled "Position of the President of India" in *The Modern Review* for June and December, 1950, and also for June, 1951.

2. See K. C. Wheare, *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, 4th Ed., pp. 1-5.

3. See his *Constitutional History of England*, p. 398.

4. First published (Oxford University Press) in 1951.

5. East Punjab : General.

6. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 18th November, 1949.

"The Preamble is the most precious part of the Constitution. It is the soul of the Constitution. It is a key to the Constitution. It is a proper yardstick with which one can measure the worth of the Constitution. All the 395 articles of the Constitution have to be measured with the yardstick of the Preamble and such provisions as stand the test of the Preamble are good and others should be taken as worthless. The fact is, Sir, that our Jawaharlal is to us, what his name suggests, a precious jewel. It is no surprise therefore that the Preamble which was drafted by him is also a jewel set in the Constitution. It is a superb prose poem, nay, it is perfection in itself. It is why my honourable friend Kamath failed to introduce his God into it, for in a perfect thing there is no scope for addition or alteration."

Now, what does the Preamble say? It solemnly declares:

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;
and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

In our CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this CONSTITUTION."

It may legitimately be asked in this connexion: What is the value of this Preamble so far as either the provisions of our Constitution or their interpretation are concerned? This leads us on to a legal point. According to *Marwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*,⁶ a leading authority on the subject with which it deals:

The Preamble of a statute "has been said to be a good means of finding out its meaning, and, as it were, a key to the understanding of it; and, as it usually states, or professes to state, the general object and intention of the legislature in passing the enactment, it may legitimately be consulted to solve any ambiguity, or to fix the meaning of words which may have more than one, or to keep the effect of the Act within its real scope, whenever the enacting part is in any of these respects open to doubt."

But the preamble, it is added, "cannot either restrict or extend the enacting part (of a statute), when the language and the object and scope of the Act are not open to doubt."⁸

7. See the Tenth Edition (1953, pp. 44-49) by G. Granville Sharp and Brian Galpin.

8. See *Ibid.*

We also find in Justice Story:⁹

"The importance of examining the preamble, for the purpose of expounding the language of a statute, has been long felt, and universally conceded in all juridical discussions. It is an admitted maxim in the ordinary course of the administration of justice, that the preamble of a statute is a key to open the mind of the makers, as to the mischiefs which are to be remedied and the objects which are to be accomplished by the provisions of the statute . . . It is properly resorted to where doubts or ambiguities arise upon the words of the enacting part . . .

"There does not seem any reason why, in a fundamental law or constitution of government, an equal attention should not be given to the intention of the framers, as stated in the preamble. And accordingly we find that it has been constantly referred to by statesmen and jurists to aid them in the exposition of its provisions."

He has added,¹⁰ however, writing in the Context of the American Constitution, that "the preamble never can be resorted to to enlarge the powers conferred to the general government¹¹ or any of its departments."

"It cannot confer any power *per se*; it can never amount, by implication, to an enlargement of any power expressly given. It can never be the legitimate source of any implied power, when otherwise withdrawn from the Constitution. Its true office is to expound the nature and extent and application of the powers actually conferred by the Constitution, and not substantively to create them."

Judges of our Supreme Court also appear to act on this view of the preamble of a statute as well as of our Constitution. Thus we find in the judgment¹² of Patanjali Sastri J., in *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras*, with reference to the appeal of the Counsel for the petitioner to the Preamble of our Constitution in support of a certain contention¹³ of his:

"There can be no doubt that the people of India have, in exercise of their sovereign will as expressed in the Preamble, adopted the democratic ideal which assures to the citizen the dignity of the individual and other cherished human values as a means to the full evolution and expression of his personality, and in delegating to the legislature, the executive and the judiciary their respective powers in the Constitution, reserved to themselves certain fundamental rights, . . . as in the American model . . . This has been translated into positive law in Part III of the Indian Constitution, and I agree that in construing these provisions the high purpose and spirit of the Preamble as well as the constitutional significance of a Declaration of Fundamental

Rights should be borne in mind. This, however, is not to say that the language of the provisions should be stretched to square with this or that constitutional theory in disregard of the cardinal rule of interpretation of any enactment, constitutional or other, that its spirit, no less than its intentment should be collected primarily from the natural meaning of the words used."

Again, we find in the judgment¹⁴ of Mukherjea J., in *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar*:

"I agree with the learned Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court that the express provision of an enactment, if it is clear and unambiguous, cannot be curtailed or extended with the aid of the preamble to the Act. It is only when the object or meaning of the enactment is not clear that recourse can be had to the preamble to explain it."

Further, a similar view¹⁵ was expressed by Chandrasekhar Aiyar J., in the course of his judgment in the same case. He said:

"If the scope or the meaning of the Act is doubtful, the preamble can be referred to for ascertaining its extent and purpose. But where the operative parts of the Act are clear and there is no ambiguity, the preamble cannot be allowed to control the express provisions."¹⁶

III

I shall now deal with some of the implications of the Preamble of our Constitution. Before, however, I do this, I may point out that the Preamble is, as Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar rightly stated in the Constituent Assembly of India¹⁷ (to be referred to hereinafter simply as the Constituent Assembly), "mainly founded on the Objectives Resolution," which had been moved in the Constituent Assembly by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 13th December, 1946, and adopted by it on 22nd January, 1947, and which ran as follows:¹⁸

"This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution:

(2) Wherein the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India shall be a Union of them all; and

(3) Wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and

11. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. III, Part III, pp. 327-28.

15. See *Ibid.*, p. 353.

16. Das J., expressed practically the same view in the course of his judgment in the same case. See *Ibid.*, p. 345.

17. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 23rd November, 1949, p. 834; also the Introductory Note of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to *Draft Constitution of India*, 1948, p. iv.

18. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 22nd Jan., 1947.

thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

(4) Wherein all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people; and

(5) Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic, and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and

(6) Wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

(7) Whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and

(8) This ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

It may be interesting to note here that as a mark of "the solemnity of the occasion and the greatness of the pledge and the promise which this Resolution" contained, the members of the Constituent Assembly stood up in their places, at the request of its President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and voted in favour of the Resolution.¹⁹

Let us now analyse the Preamble. As shown before, it declares in the first place:

"We the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic . . . in our Constituent Assembly . . . do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution."

Now, what is the precise significance of the expression "We, the People of India"? To my mind, the expression implies that our Constitution has been duly enacted and adopted by the People of India, acting in its aggregate and sovereign capacity through the Constituent Assembly of India.²⁰ Further, it means that the whole nation, as it were, was supposed to be present within the walls of the Constitution Hall, New Delhi, where the Constituent Assembly held its deliberations. Shri H. V. Kamath hardly exaggerated the constitutional position of the

Constituent Assembly when he said to it on 17th October, 1949, during the consideration of the Preamble:²¹

"Here we are not individuals. Here we are all the people of India. . . . All that we have done here in this Assembly has been in the name and on behalf of the people of India."

Speaking of the constitutional position of the British Parliament, Bryce²² has said:

"Parliament is omnipotent because Parliament is deemed to be the people. Parliament is not a body with delegated or limited authority. The whole fulness of popular power dwells in it. The whole nation is supposed to be present within its walls. Its will is law; or, as Dante says in a famous line, 'its will is power'."

Whatever might be the fiction of law, this description of the British Parliament would, *mutatis mutandis*, equally apply, as a matter of fact, to the position of the Constituent Assembly of India on 26th November, 1949, when it finally adopted our Constitution. And what was virtually the constitutional position of this Assembly on that day became also legally so on 26th January, 1950, under Article 379(1) of our Constitution.

I may give one more illustration in this connexion. The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America also solemnly declares:

"We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Commenting on this, Justice Story²³ has observed that "the proper conclusion deducible from the" preamble is that the Constitution "is an act of the people, and not of the States in their political capacities;" that "it is an ordinance or establishment of government, and not a compact, though originating in consent;" that "we have the strongest assurances that this preamble was not adopted as a mere formulary, but as a solemn promulgation of a fundamental fact, vital to the character and operations of the government;" that "the obvious object was to substitute a government of the people for a confederacy of States; a constitution for a compact;" and that "the uniform doctrine of the highest judicial authority has accordingly been, that it (i.e., the Constitution) was the act of the people, and not of the States; and that it bound the latter as subordinate to the people." Justice Story has also quoted in this connexion a view²⁴ of the Supreme Court of

21. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 17th October, 1949, pp. 438-39.

22. See his *American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, 1928, p. 252.

23. See Story, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 352-53.

24. See Story, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 318 and p. 353.

9. See his *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 5th Edition, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 350-351.

10. See *Ibid.*

11. That is to say, the Federal Government of the United States.

12. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II and III, pp. 197-99.

13. See *Ibid.*

19. See *Ibid.*

20. See in this connection Clause (4) of the Objectives Resolution quoted before.

the United States in *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* that

"The Constitution of the United States was ordained and established, not by the States in their sovereign capacities, but emphatically, as the preamble of the Constitution declares, by the people of the United States."

Webster, another distinguished American publicist, is of the same opinion about the Constitution of the United States. He says²⁵ that

The Constitution "is ordained and established by the People of the United States. So far from saying that it is established by the governments of the several States, it does not even say that it is established by the people of the several States. But it pronounces that it is established by the people of the United States in the aggregate. Doubtless the people of the several States, taken collectively, constitute the people of the United States. But it is in this their collective capacity, it is as all the people of the United States, that they establish the Constitution."

What Justice Story, the American Supreme Court, and Webster have said in regard to the question of the source of the Constitution of the United States, does equally apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to that of the source of the Constitution of India. That is to say, the Indian Constitution, too, is, as noted before, an act of the sovereign people of India in its collective capacity. It follows from this as a corollary that any attempt at secession from the Indian Union on the part of any section of its population or any territory thereof, will be a highly illegal act and will have to be dealt with as such. Nor has any such section or territory any "right of nullification" in respect of any law of the Indian Union which is within the legislative competence of the Parliament of India and which it has duly enacted. I, therefore, fully agree with the view²⁶—though not exactly with the reasoning—of Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India, that no State of the Indian Union has any "right to secede from it" and that the Union is "indestructible."²⁷ I feel, however, that it would perhaps have been much better and more expedient if Clause (1) of Article 1 of our Constitution had been worded as follows:

"India, that is Bharat, shall be an indissoluble²⁸ Union of States."

25. See *Ibid.*, pp. 263-64.

26. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 4th November, 1948, p. 43.

27. Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, another member of the Drafting Committee, has expressed the same view so far as the acceding Indian States are concerned, "The Constitution," he has said, "does not permit the States which have acceded to the Union to secede from it. Their association with the Union is inseparable and they have become an integral part of the Indian Union. There is no going back." See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 23rd November, 1949.

28. This word occurs in the Preamble to the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900.

A critic may, however, argue against the position we have taken in the preceding pages that the members of the Indian Constituent Assembly were not directly elected by the people of India on the basis of an adult suffrage, and, therefore, any decision taken by them in the said Assembly could not legitimately be construed as a decision "in the name and on behalf of the people of India." There is undoubtedly some force in this argument in view of the fact that the members of the Constituent Assembly were, under what is known as the Cabinet Mission's Plan²⁹ of 16th May, 1946, indirectly elected, practically, by Provincial Legislative Assemblies constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935. Moreover, the franchise for election to these Assemblies was restricted to 14 per cent³⁰ of the total population of British India. As a matter of fact, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy of India were also faced with this problem in 1946 in connexion with their proposal for the formation of the constitution-making machinery to be brought into being for working out a new Constitution for India.

"In forming any assembly to decide a new constitutional structure," they observed, "the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise, but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new constitution. The only practicable course³¹ is to utilise the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as electing bodies."³²

They adopted this course and thus solved the problem they had been faced with in connexion with their proposal for the creation of a representative Constitution-making machinery. I think that they adopted the right course in the then circumstances of India. The formation of a Constitution-making body on the basis of an adult suffrage would have entailed a considerable delay—a delay which might prove dangerous in many ways in those days.

We have, however, a precedent for this in the constitutional history of the United States. The invitation to the Convention at Philadelphia which was held "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles" of the Confederation of the United States (1781-1788), but which prepared, with an "admirable boldness," "a wholly new Constitution" in 1787, had not specified how the delegates to the Convention from the different States of the

29. See paras. 17-18 of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16th May, 1946.

30. See the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1934, London, para. 126.

31. In one version this word is "alternative."

32. See *Papers relating to the Cabinet Mission to India 1946* (Manager of Publications, Delhi).

Confederation were to be chosen. But what actually happened was that "in all cases," says Professor Munro, "the appointments were made by the State legislature, or by the governor under authority given by the legislature." "In no case were the delegates to the constitutional convention of 1787 directly elected by the people," and "many of them were sent with specific instructions to revise the Articles (of the Confederation) and do nothing else."³³

It may be argued against this view that the draft Constitution framed in 1787 by the Philadelphia Convention provided, by its last Article, for its ratification by conventions of the several States of the Confederation (i.e., by bodies to be specially chosen by the people³⁴ for the purpose), but that there is no provision in the Constitution of India for its formal ratification either by its people or by its constituent units. This is true. But it may be urged against this view that, in the first place, the position in 1949-50 of many of the so-called constituent units of the proposed Indian Union was not analogous to that of the States of the American Confederation in 1787-88; that, secondly, all the nine States³⁵ specified in Part B of the First Schedule to the proposed Constitution of India, including the State of Hyderabad, had signified their acceptance of the Constitution before it was finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 26th November, 1949;³⁶ and that, lastly, and this is most important, the participation by the electorate as well as by different political parties in the last General Election in India, which was held on the basis of an adult suffrage, indirectly established beyond doubt the acceptance of the Constitution by the people by this country.

I shall now say a few words in regard to the expression "Sovereign Democratic Republic" in the Preamble. The corresponding expression in the Objectives Resolution referred to before, was "Independent Sovereign Republic." It was changed into "Sovereign Democratic Republic" by the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly. In justification of the change Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, stated in his Introductory Note³⁷ to *Draft Constitution of India*:

"The Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly in January, 1947, declares that India is to be a 'Sovereign Independent Republic.'³⁸ The Drafting Committee has adopted

33. See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 5th Edition, pp. 30-31; also Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, 1928, Chap. III; also Ogg & Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., pp. 23-24.

34. The suffrage, according to Bryce, "was then a limited one, based on property"—See Bryce, *Op. cit.*, p. 25, footnote 2.

35. Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin, and Vindya Pradesh.

36. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 26th November, 1949, p. 683.

the phrase Sovereign Democratic Republic, because independence is usually implied in the word 'Sovereign,' so that there is hardly anything to be gained by adding the word 'Independent'."

We agree that the words "Sovereign Independent" or "Independent Sovereign" are somewhat tautological. And we should, in a constitutional document like the Constitution of India, certainly aim at some economy and precision in the choice of words. But is not the expression "Sovereign Democratic Republic" also somewhat tautological? One can understand the use of such an expression as "a Sovereign Republic," or "a Sovereign Democracy," or even "a Sovereign Democratic State." But the term "Sovereign Democratic Republic" is apparently tautological, if not also a little slovenly. Whatever may have been the etymological³⁹ meaning of the term "Republic," usage has given to it a definite signification in political terminology. According to the *New English Dictionary*:⁴⁰

The term "Republic" means a "State in which the supreme power rests in the people and their elected representatives or officers, as opposed to one governed by a King or a similar ruler."

It is true that the term also means "the State" of "Commonwealth" simply. Presumably, this latter meaning was not intended by the authors of the Draft Constitution. If they had really done so, they

37. This Note was addressed to the President of the Constituent Assembly of India on 21st February, 1948.

38. The exact form as shown in the text above, was 'Independent Sovereign Republic.'

39. Etymologically speaking, the word Republic (Res-Publica) means "the public affair," "the public thing," or, even, as Thomas Paine has said, "the public good." Therefore, in a sense, any form of government which genuinely tries to promote the public good may be considered republican. This is, perhaps, the reason why Thomas Paine has said in his *Rights of Man* (Part II, Chap. III) that "what is called a republic is not any particular form of government." And Rousseau has stated in his *Social Contract* (Tozer's Edition, pp. 132-33):

"I . . . call any State a republic which is governed by laws, under whatever form of administration it may be; for then only does the public interest predominate and the commonwealth count for something. Every legitimate government is republican."

Further:

"I do not mean by this word (i.e., by the word 'republican') an aristocracy or democracy only, but in general any government directed by the general will, which is the law. To be legitimate, the government must not be combined with the sovereign power, but must be its minister: then monarchy itself is a republic."

(It may be noted here that, according to Rousseau, that is law which 'combines the universality of the will with the universality of the object.' That is to say, it must come from the people and must look to the interests of the people. Moreover, "every law which the people in person have not ratified is invalid; it is not a law.")

What Rousseau insists on here is that the supreme power must be in the hands of the people. If that is accepted, then the form of the government is immaterial. I do not think, however, that the Drafting Committee of our Constituent Assembly or the Assembly itself used the term "Republic" either in the sense of Thomas Paine or in the sense of Rousseau. As stated in the text, it appears to have used the word in its usual sense.

40. *New English Dictionary*.

might have used the word "State" or "Commonwealth" straightway. It may, therefore, be assumed that the word "Republic" was used in its usual sense. If it be so, as is very likely, then the adjective "Democratic" seems to be rather unnecessary. According to the same Dictionary, the word "Democratic" means "of the nature of, or characterised by, democracy." And the term "Democracy" has been defined by it as a "Government by the people: that form of government in which the sovereign power resides in the people as a whole, and is exercised either directly by them or by officers elected by them." In view of this, the expression "Democratic Republic" appears to be an avoidable tautology, and there is not much to be gained, *speaking politically*, by inserting the adjective "Democratic" before the word "Republic."

But, perhaps, the word "Democratic" has been used not merely in its political sense but also in its social and economic sense. And this appears from the purposes of our Constitution as set forth in the Preamble. These purposes are to secure to all the citizens of India:

- (1) Justice, social, economic and political;
- (2) Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
- (3) Equality of status and of opportunity; and
- (4) To promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

The first three of the purposes practically occur in the Objectives Resolution of the Constituent Assembly referred to before. The fourth purpose was added by the Drafting Committee of the Assembly. Thus we find in the Introductory Note⁴¹ of Dr. Ambedkar to *Draft Constitution of India*:

"The (Drafting) Committee has added a Clause about fraternity in the preamble, although it does not occur in the Objectives Resolution. The Committee felt that the need for fraternal concord and goodwill in India was never greater than now and that this particular aim of the new Constitution should be emphasised by special mention in the preamble."

We also find in a speech of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered in the Constituent Assembly on 13th December, 1946, in connexion with the Objectives Resolution moved by him:⁴²

"Some friends have raised the question: 'Why have you not put in the word 'democratic' here (i.e., in the Objectives Resolution)?'⁴³ . . . Obviously, we are aiming at democracy and nothing less than a democracy . . . We stand for democracy . . . The House will notice that in this Resolution, although we have not used the word 'democratic,' because we thought it obvious that the word 'republic' contains the meaning of

that word and we did not want to use unnecessary words and redundant words, but we have done something much more than using the word. We have given the content of democracy in this Resolution and not only the content of democracy but the content, if I may say so, of economic democracy in this Resolution."

Indeed, democracy in the political sphere has really no meaning for the common man unless it is accompanied by democracy both in the social and in the economic sphere.

"We must," rightly says Rabindranath⁴⁴ in the course of his lecture on *Nationalism in India*, "remember whatever weakness we cherish in our society will become the source of danger in politics. The same inertia which leads us to our idolatry of dead forms in social institutions will create in our politics prison-houses with immovable walls. The narrowness of sympathy which makes it possible for us to impose upon a considerable portion of humanity the galling yoke of inferiority will assert itself in our politics in creating the tyranny of injustice."

"When our nationalists" he further observes,⁴⁵ "talk about ideals they forget that the basis of nationalism is wanting. The very people who are upholding these ideals are themselves the most conservative in their social practice. Nationalists say, for example, look at Switzerland where, in spite of race differences, the peoples have solidified into a nation. Yet, remember that in Switzerland the races can mingle, they can intermarry, because they are of the same blood. In India, there is no common birthright. And when we talk of Western Nationality we forget that the nations there do not have that physical repulsion, one for other, that we have between different castes."

"Have we," he then asks in all seriousness,⁴⁶ "an instance in the whole world where a people who are not allowed to mingle their blood shed their blood for one another except by coercion or for mercenary purposes? And can we ever hope that these moral barriers against our race amalgamation will not stand in the way of our political unity?"

Indeed, it is idle to hope that we can "build a political miracle of freedom upon the quicksand of social slavery."⁴⁷

Nor can democracy properly function in a State if there are great disparities of wealth in it.

"Political equality . . . is never real," rightly observes Professor Laski,⁴⁸ "unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality; political power, otherwise, is bound to be the handmaid of economic power."

Nor, again, can we hope for peace, harmony, goodwill, and stability in a State if there are great inequalities of wealth in it.

43. The word "Democratic" did not occur in the Objectives Resolution.

44. See his *Nationalism*, Macmillan, pp. 123-24.

45. See *Ibid.*

46. See *Ibid.*, p. 124.

47. See *Ibid.*, p. 122.

48. See his *Grammar of Politics*, p. 162.

"The most common and durable source of factions," says James Madison,⁴⁹ "has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold, and those who are without property, have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination."

Professor Laski, therefore, hardly exaggerates when he says that

"A community divided into rich and poor is, when the latter are numerous, built upon foundations of sand;"⁵⁰ that "is a society of economic unequals, gross inequalities make conflict inherent in its foundations" (*sic.*); that "the factor of consent is not likely effectively to operate in any society where there is a serious inequality of economic condition"; and that "the absence of such consent is, in the long run, fatal to social peace."⁵¹

Nor, further, should we ignore here the serious warning of Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Dealing, in the course of his concluding speech on the Draft Constitution of India, with what he considered to be the conditions for a successful democracy in this country, he solemnly warned⁵² on 25th November, 1949, that we must not "be content with mere political democracy."

"We must," he continued, "make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy."

"We must," he further observed,⁵³ "begin by acknowledging the fact that there is (a) complete absence of two things in Indian Society. One of these is equality. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which means elevation for some and degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty. On the 26th of January, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting

our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

Dr. Ambedkar laid a special stress in his speech on "the recognition of the principle of fraternity." "What does fraternity mean," he asked.

"Fraternity," he said,⁵⁴ "means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians . . . It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life . . . I remember the days when politically-minded Indians resented the expression 'the people of India.' They preferred the expression 'the Indian nation.' I am of opinion that in believing that we are a nation, we are cherishing a great delusion. How can (a) people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? The sooner we realize that we are not as yet a nation in the social and psychological sense of the word, the better for us. For then only we shall realize the necessity of becoming a nation and seriously think of ways and means of realizing the goal . . . These castes are anti-national. In the first place because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality. For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation. Without fraternity equality and liberty will be no deeper than coats of paint."

"These are," he stated in conclusion,⁵⁵ "my reflections about the tasks that lie ahead of us. They may not be very pleasant to some. But there can be no gainsaying that political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are . . . only beasts of burden . . . This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment, it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life. These down-trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves. This urge for self-realization in the down-trodden classes must not be allowed to devolve (develop?) into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster. For, as has been well said by Abraham Lincoln, a House divided against itself cannot stand very long. Therefore the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspiration, the better for the few, the better for the country, the better for the maintenance for (of?) its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. That is why I have laid so much stress on them."

The importance of these observations, their obvious sincerity, the position of their author in the Indian society, and the solemnity of the occasion on which they were made, are our justification for quoting them at length here. We may also note in this connexion that Article 38 of our Constitution has laid down that

49. See *The Federalist*, No. X.

50. See Laski, *Grammar of Politics*, p. 176.

51. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, 1948, p. 174 and pp. 186-87.

52. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 25th Nov., 1949.

53. See *Ibid.*

54. See *Ibid.*

55. See *Ibid.*

41. Dated 21st February, 1948. See foot-note 37 above.

42. See *Independence and After: Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru* (1946-1949). The Publications Division, Govt. of India, p. 319.

"The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life."

And under Article 36 of the Constitution, taken along with Article 12 thereof, the term "State" here "includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India."

Now, going back to the question of the justifiability of the use of the word "Democratic," we may say that, in view of what we have shown above, particularly with regard to the purposes of our Constitution, there may be some justification for the insertion of the word "Democratic" before the word "Republic," if, as is very likely, the word "Democratic" has, as hinted before, been used not merely in its political sense but also in its social and economic sense.

IV

I have dealt above with the main implications of the Preamble to our Constitution except with regard to one point. Before, however, I take up this point, I may say a word or two in regard to the questions of formal termination of British rule in India and inauguration of the Republic of India. As I have stated in another place,⁵⁶ at a solemn ceremony, held on 26th January, 1950, in the Durbar Hall of the Government House at New Delhi, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, India's last Governor-General, read a Proclamation announcing the birth of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India as contemplated by the Constitution of India adopted by our Constituent Assembly on 26th November, 1949, and by this very act laid down his own office as Governor-General of India and His Britannic Majesty's Representative in this country. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was then sworn in as the first President of the Indian Republic.

The Proclamation which Shri C. Rajagopalachari read as the last Governor-General of India, ran as follows:

"Whereas the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic, adopted, enacted and gave to themselves on the 26th day of November, 1949, in their Constituent Assembly the Constitution of India;

"And whereas it has been declared by the said Constitution that India, that is Bharat, shall be a Union of States, comprising within the Union the territories which were hitherto the Governors' Provinces, the Indian States and the Chief Commissioners' Provinces;

"And whereas this, the 26th day of January, 1950, has been fixed for the commencement of the said Constitution;

"Now, therefore, it is hereby proclaimed that on and from this, the 26th day of January, 1950, India, that is Bharat, shall be a Sovereign Democratic Republic, and the Union and its component units, the States, shall exercise all powers and functions of Government and administration in accordance with the provisions of the said Constitution."

Thus this Proclamation formally ended British rule in India and, along with it, the office of Governor-General of India. Moreover, it formally inaugurated the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India on 26th January, 1950, and thus snapped the link that had hitherto existed between this country and the Crown of England. Regard being had to all this, it is difficult to agree with those people who maintain—let us hope, honestly—that in view of its continued membership of what is known as the Commonwealth of Nations, India is still a Dominion within the British Commonwealth. We really wonder how this view can be seriously held by anybody after the formal termination of British rule in India and the public inauguration of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India, on 26th January, 1950! The Republican Status and the Dominion Status are incompatible expressions. We, therefore, fully agree with those who maintain that India is a Sovereign Republic in the same sense in which, say, France or the United States of America is a Sovereign Republic. It is completely free to determine its own foreign policy as well as its domestic policy in any way it likes. Thus, it has, as a Sovereign State, "a right to live its life in its own way, so long as it keeps itself rigidly to itself," and does not interfere with the similar right on the part of other States to live their life in their own way. Mr. Allen, the American Ambassador to India, has been reported⁵⁷ to have said in New York on 29th April, 1954, that Mr. Nehru's refusal to permit American planes to fly over India on their way to Indo-China "did not come as any surprise because India has followed a very strict policy of prohibiting troops or military supplies flying across her territory. He (Mr. Nehru) invoked this ruling against the Dutch six years ago and against the British⁵⁸ in Malaya.⁵⁹ He has repeatedly said to Parliament⁶⁰ that he will not permit anybody to violate India's neutrality. This does not mean I condone this action, but I expected it." This is a proof of the sovereign status of India as a political entity. Moreover, India owes no allegiance to the British Crown today; nor has it anything to do with the sovereignty of the British Parliament now. And this has been the position ever since the 26th of January, 1950, the date of the commencement of the present Constitution of India.

57. See *The Statesman*, Calcutta, of 1st May, 1954.

58. The italics are ours.

59. Pandit Nehru has officially been the Prime Minister of India since the 15th of August, 1947.

60. At New Delhi.

In this connexion I may briefly refer to the Agreement reached at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in London in April, 1949. In an article entitled "The Commonwealth Agreement and India," published in a previous issue⁶¹ of this *Review*, I have dealt with what then appeared to me to be the true nature of the Agreement so far as India was concerned. I do not propose to repeat here what I have already said in that article. I should only like to say that I still adhere to my views as set forth in it. I agree that there is some difficulty in reconciling the status of India as a sovereign Republic with the position of the King or the Queen of England, as the case may be, as the Head of the Commonwealth of Nations of which the republican India is a member, along with others the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth has not, however, been changed by the Agreement and who, therefore, still owe allegiance to the (British) Crown. And in this respect the Agreement has created, so far as the Indian Republic is concerned, a rather anomalous position. But this does not imply that India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, purely on a voluntary basis and certainly as a matter of political expediency,⁶² means that it also continues, even after it has publicly, solemnly, and unequivocally declared itself to be a sovereign Republic, to be a part of the *British Empire*, or that it, in effect, still remains a *Dominion*. Such a view is, to my mind, perverse and, speaking constitutionally, definitely wrong. As we have stated before,⁶³ the Head of the Commonwealth has, under the Agreement, only symbolic status and has no constitutional functions so far as India is concerned. The Agreement has no legal implications; nor is the Commonwealth a Super-State. The Headship of the Commonwealth, it has been rightly held, "is only a courtesy arrangement devoid of any constitutional significance." India can secede from the Commonwealth whenever it wants to do so. Nothing can prevent it. There is no legal, nor even a moral, bar to it. What really matters is the interest of India and nothing else. Thus the Agreement has provided for a free association, and for occasional consultation, for mutual advantages, between the

61. See *The Modern Review* for February, 1950.

62. "I think," said Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru on 17th May, 1949, in connexion with Pandit Nehru's motion for the ratification of the Commonwealth Agreement, "there can be no greater mistake than imagining that because our status is equal to that of any other nation, our stature, our political position in the world, is also equal to that of the bigger and more advanced nations. It is obviously to the benefit of the Commonwealth that India should continue to be a member of it; but it is no less obvious that India's economic, defence and scientific interests require that she should remain in the Commonwealth at least for some time."—See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 17th May, 1949.

Also see in this connexion the speeches of Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Mr. Frank Anthony in the Constituent Assembly on 17th May, 1949.

sovereign Republic of India, the United Kingdom, and the Dominions, without any commitment whatsoever on the part of this country. Nor is India tied, as a result of the Agreement, to any Power Bloc or, as is often alleged by some people, to the "chariot wheel of British Imperialism." As Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru said⁶⁴ in the Constituent Assembly on 17th May, 1949, "India knows what her interests are and has the courage to pursue a policy even in opposition to that of stronger nations." This has been amply demonstrated on several occasions since the Agreement was reached in April, 1949.

Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, therefore, was perfectly right when he said⁶⁵ in the Constituent Assembly on 17th May, 1949, in connexion with Pandit Nehru's motion for the ratification of the Commonwealth Agreement:

"India is to be a Sovereign Independent Republic, both in her internal affairs and external relations. The Crown will have no place whatever either in the internal relations or in the external relations. The President of the Union will represent India both in the internal spheres and in external relations. We do not require any credentials either by or in the name of the British Crown for transacting our business with foreign countries. In matters of war, in peace, in trade relations, we will be masters of our household. There will be no economic entanglements of any kind. So far as the Dominions are concerned, both India and the Dominions are at arm's length. India will be entitled to pursue a foreign policy which is suited to the best interests of India."

Again:⁶⁶

"The republican status of India is in no way affected at all in the external sphere or in the internal sphere and the position of the President (of India) will in no way be affected. . . . Supposing the King of England visits India, he will not get any kind of priority or precedence over our President. Our President would be the representative of India and the King of England will have no sort of precedence over him in spite of the fact that he may be the link of the Commonwealth of Nations within the limits of India or in any other place. In other places, including the Dominions and England, the President will have the rank of an independent sovereign."

Finally:⁶⁷

"I am also quite clear on this point that so far as India is concerned, there is no commitment of any kind. . . . The point to note is that we have no commitment to enter into any power bloc. . . . Under these circumstances, I think to have friends with whom you can discuss things without any commitments is a great advantage, unless you want to live in isolation in the complicated world of the present day."

63. See my article in *The Modern Review* for February, 1950.

64. In connexion with Pandit Nehru's motion for the ratification of the Commonwealth Agreement, see the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 17th May, 1949.

65. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 17th May, 1949.

66. See *Ibid.*

67. See *Ibid.*

56. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. LXVIII, Serial No. 131, p. 70.

Nor should we ignore in this connexion that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself stated in the Constituent Assembly on May 16th and 17th, 1949, in support of his motion for the ratification of the Commonwealth Agreement.⁶⁸ Among other things, he said:

"India by becoming a Republic goes outside the Crown area completely . . . So far as the Republic of India is concerned, her Constitution and her working are concerned, she has nothing to do with any external authority, with any King, and none of her subjects owe any allegiance to the King or any other external authority . . . There is no law behind the Commonwealth. It has not even the formality which normally accompanies treaties. It is an agreement by free will, to be terminated by free will . . . The King has no functions at all. He has a certain status. The Commonwealth itself, as such, is not a body, if I may say so; it has no organization through which to function and the King also can have no functions."

Further:

"Apart from certain friendly approaches to one another, apart from a desire to co-operate, which will always be conditioned by each party deciding on the measure of co-operation and following its own policy, there is no obligation. There is hardly any obligation in the nature of commitments . . . the King has no functions at all . . . We join the Commonwealth, obviously because we think it beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain there, because they think it is beneficial to them. It is mutually understood that it is to the advantage of the nations of the Commonwealth and therefore they join. At the same time, it is made perfectly clear that each country is completely free to go its own way; it may be that they may go, sometimes so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. In the world today where there are so many disruptive forces at work, where we are often on the verge of war, I think it is not a safe thing to encourage the breaking up of any association that one has . . . Politically we are completely independent. Economically we are as independent as independent nations can be. Nobody can be 100 per cent independent in the sense of absolute lack of inter-dependence . . . India has to depend on the rest of the world for her trade, for her commerce and for many sup-

plies that she needs . . . the Commonwealth does not come in the way of our co-operation and friendship with other countries."

"Finally," Pandit Nehru declared, "in the world context, it (i.e., the Commonwealth link) is something that encourages and helps peace, to what extent I do not know; and, of course, it is a thing which in no way binds this country down to any country. It is open to this House or Parliament at any time to break this link, if they so choose. Not that I want that link broken. But I am merely pointing out that we have not bound the future down in the slightest. The future is as free as air and this country can go any way it chooses. If it finds this way is a good way, it will stick to it; if not, it will go some other way and we have not bound it down."

On another occasion, Pandit Nehru said:⁶⁹

"The Republic of India has nothing to do with England constitutionally or legally. Of course, there are normal bonds that exist between two countries that have mutual dealings in the economic or cultural sphere . . . I do not think our membership of the Commonwealth has affected our policy in the slightest . . . It is open to us to be associated in an alliance with any country. We have avoided alliances which might entangle us . . . Our association with the Commonwealth is remarkable in that it does not bind us down in any way whatsoever and, if I may repeat, it has not done so during the last two or three years either. It has given us certain advantages without our having to accept any liabilities in return . . . Our membership of the United Nations is a far greater limitation than our association with the Commonwealth of Nations. In fact, the latter is almost an airy association, because it is not written down on paper or in any constitution or anywhere else; so long as we wish to be there, we can remain there."

These views of Pandit Nehru as India's Prime Minister as well as the views of Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar as quoted before, are entitled to our respectful consideration. Notwithstanding the anomaly previously referred to, the nature of the Commonwealth is, as I have said before,⁷⁰ that of a mere alliance, without any commitment, for mutual advantages, between the sovereign Republic of India, the United Kingdom and the Dominions. It is, to my mind, nothing else.

68. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 16th and 17th May, 1949; also *Independence and After: Speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru* (1946-49), pp. 265-91; also my article "The Commonwealth Agreement and India" in *The Modern Review* for February, 1950.

69. In the course of a speech in Parliament (the House of the People) on 12th June, 1952, on India's Foreign Policy. See *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches, 1949-1953*, pp. 218-23. (The Publications Division, Government of India).

70. See my article in *The Modern Review* for February, 1950.



REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN GUATEMALA

By Dr. H. L. SAXENA

THE Eisenhower-Dulles Administration in the United States of America has just succeeded in supplanting a pro-Communist Government in Guatemala, the biggest of the five States forming Central America. Whether this change will prove to be a lasting one appears to be very doubtful, if we go into the past history of this small State, which is full of revolutions and counter-revolutions at very frequent intervals.

Central America, which is the connecting link between the two continents of North America and South America, has a very hoary past, and a great history. Like the rest of the Americas, this part of the Western Hemisphere was also inhabited by its aboriginals, now generally covered by the general term "Negro," generally used by the Whites for all dark-skinned races, from the Latin word *niger* meaning "black." It has had a sufficiently advanced culture and civilisation of its own, known as Maya, a linguistic term which included a large number of tribes speaking different dialects spread over a wide area. The high level of its culture is characterised by proficiency in architecture, stone-carving, pottery and textile arts in its earliest phases. It possessed an elaborate hieroglyphic script as well as a complicated calendar of its own.

GUATEMALA CONQUERED

Guatemala, which forms the most important State in Central America, was in its original form called Quauhtematan, a name probably of Aztec origin, meaning the "Land of the Eagle." It was ruled efficiently and well by the aboriginal inhabitants of the country for several centuries before Christ, but this rule came to an end when some adventurers from Spain under Pedro de Alvarado conquered it between 1522 and 1524 A.D., and the Spaniards uprooted the ancient Maya culture altogether within a short time. Now the religion of the people as a whole is Roman Catholic, although the population is only one per cent White. According to the preliminary figures available of the 1950 census, the total population of Guatemala was 2,787,030, of whom 66 per cent were of the original Maya descent, 33 per cent mixed Indian and Spanish blood and 1 per cent white. The official language is Spanish, though many speak their Indian dialects, numbering about 18. The total area of the State is 45,452 square miles.

DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS

Central America was discovered by Christopher Columbus while on his voyage of discovery of India. After he had discovered North America, he skirted the whole of the eastern coast of Central America in the hope of thus succeeding in finding the strait to the China Seas which he believed existed just beyond the

barrier of the Great Continent of America which he had only recently revealed to the people of Europe.

On this voyage, in 1502, Christopher Columbus founded Costa Rica as the first European Colony in Central America, and he left behind his brother, Bartholomew Columbus, in command; but, soon after his departure, the people there revolted against this foreign domination and dispersed the Colony, compelling those who escaped to rejoin Christopher Columbus. But Costa Rica was reconquered in 1513 by Pedro Arias de Avila for Spain.

In 1522 Hernando Cortes led an army into Guatemala from Mexico in the north through the jungle wilderness, but it was only his lieutenant and representative named Pedro de Alvarado who could conquer this territory. He was stoutly opposed by the people of the highland and a terrible battle was fought near Quezaltenango between the local people and the Spaniard foreigners, but in this battle the local people were defeated decisively.

The conquest of the other Central American provinces was largely perfunctory, little opposition being encountered excepting on the Caribbean coast, where the Carib people were virtually exterminated by the White men from Spain. The whole region from Mexico in the north to Panama in the south was thus made part of the viceroyalty of New Spain or Mexico. It was later re-organised as a captaincy-general of Guatemala, which included the whole of the present-day Central America and a portion of Mexico.

Central America declared itself independent of Spain, with little bloodshed, on September 15, 1821, and almost immediately thereafter it came under the domination of the Emperor Iturbide of Mexico and became part of his Empire. But, the Mexican Empire was overthrown two years later, when the autonomy of Central America returned to its own people, the Mexicans retaining the former Guatemala territory now incorporated in the recognised national boundaries, long regarded as a Guatemalan "irredenta." The name Guatemala was then applied to the region formerly included in 10 of the 15 provinces, i.e., Chiapas was retained by Mexico, and the provinces of Honduras, San Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica became separate States.

CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

A Central American Union was then formed on July 1, 1823, including all the five States as provinces. It was at first dominated by the conservative elements of Guatemala, including the clergy and Spanish administrators. But this Union could not last long, as a bitter struggle developed between the Guatemalan conservatives led by Rafael Carrera, who

wanted his State of Guatemala to secede from the Union, and the Federalists or Liberals led by Francisco Morazan, of Honduras, who stood strongly for continuance of the Union.

Morazan became dictator of the Federation of Central America in 1832 and continued in that capacity till 1842. While in this post, he resorted to force to maintain the Union after 1838, when Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica seceded. But, in the following year, Carrera came to power in Guatemala and he withdrew his State from the Union in 1839, thus leading to its dissolution. Morazan tried to reduce Guatemala to submission, and a battle ensued between him and Carrera, in which Morazan was defeated and forced into exile. He, however, returned shortly afterwards and once again tried to revive the Union, but was captured in the attempt and exiled in Honduras in 1842.

INDEPENDENT GUATEMALA

Carrera then continued as Dictator of Guatemala until 1851, and as President thereafter till his death in 1865. During this long period, he restored the power of the Church, and suppressed Liberalism and union throughout Central America. In 1851, he defeated the Federalist forces from Honduras and Salvador at La Arada, near Chiquimula, close to the Honduras frontier. The struggle for the domination of Central America went on, with Carrera supporting the conservative and clerical forces. At one time, he was supported by Costa Rica and Nicaragua as well, and he occupied San Salvador in the course of a campaign which resulted in his becoming the dominant figure and virtual power behind the governments of all the five Central American States.

After his death in April 1865, he was succeeded by Gen. Cerna. But liberal elements of Guatemala grew in strength after Carrera's death and in May, 1871, President Cerna was deposed, followed shortly afterwards by the exile of the archbishop and the Jesuits. And, in 1873, the Liberal leader, Justo Rufino Barrios was elected President. He was a militant advocate of the Central American Union, and he revived efforts to reform the Union in 1876. He sought to impose it by arms when his peaceful overtures failed. He accordingly invaded Salvador in 1885, but was killed in battle on April 2, 1885.

He was succeeded by Gen. Manuel Barillas, who quickly made peace with Salvador and the other three Central American States. In 1892, General Jose Maria Reina Barrios was elected President, was re-elected in 1897 but was assassinated on February 8, 1898, when the Vice-President Morales assumed the Presidentship. But Manuel Estrada Cabrera was elected as President later in the same year, and he continued in office by frequent re-elections, until April 1920, when he was forced to resign in the face of a revolutionary movement which had spread to the National Assembly.

TRIBUNAL OF ARBITRATORS

In 1902, a move of considerable significance in Central American history took place, when representatives of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras and Salvador met at Corinto in Nicaragua and set up a Tribunal of Central American arbitrators for the settlement of inter-State disputes by peaceful means.

Four years later, in 1906, Gen. Manuel Barillas, ex-President of Guatemala, invaded Guatemala, and soon Salvador, Costa Rica and Honduras were arrayed against Cabrera, with Nicaragua inactive but unfriendly. The situation soon assumed serious proportions, and a war between Guatemala and Salvador appeared imminent, but the U.S. President, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Mexican President Diaz, intervened and saved the crisis.

This was followed by a fresh treaty being drawn up, this time between Costa Rica, Honduras, Salvador and Guatemala, according to which the Presidents of the United States and Mexico were accepted as umpires in any future inter-State disputes. This was signed on September 15, 1906, at San Jose in Costa Rica. But Nicaragua did not become a party to this pact, and its President, Jose Santos Zelaya, declined to join it.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

In 1907, President Zelaya of Nicaragua got involved in a controversy with Honduras in connection with revolutionary activities in the ill-defined borderland between the two States. Nicaragua was prepared to have arbitration by a commission of Central Americans under the Corinto Plan, but Honduras wanted arbitration by the American and Mexican Presidents under the San Jose Plan. As no agreement could be arrived at, the situation grew serious and even Salvador and Guatemala were getting involved in it. The situation was ultimately saved by the active intervention of the United States, following which the first Central American Conference was convened at Washington on November 13, 1907, when representatives of all the five States were present. At this Conference, a general treaty of peace and amity was signed. This included a clause that recognition be withheld from revolutionary governments until the State suffering the revolution had been reorganised by constitutional means.

Another important decision of this Conference was the creation of a Central American Court of Justice, consisting of one Judge from each of the five States. This Court came into being on May 25, 1908 and was first located at Cartago in Costa Rica, but it was later shifted to San Jose.

NAVAL BASES FOR AMERICA

This Court continued to function smoothly until 1916. In this year, Nicaragua entered into the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty with the United States, according

to which Nicaragua ceded to the United States in perpetuity the right to build an inter-oceanic canal following the channel of the San Juan river and granted to the United States the right to locate naval bases at the Corn Islands in the Caribbean and on Fonseca Bay on the Pacific.

The terms of this Treaty were objected to by Honduras and Costa Rica, the latter contending that its right to the mouth of the San Juan river had not been given due consideration and that the Fonseca Bay naval base would constitute a threat to her peace and sovereignty.

The dispute then came up before the Central American Court, when Nicaragua tried to maintain that its treaties and relations with other powers were beyond the purview of the said Court. But this contention was not accepted by the Court by a majority of four to one. Nicaragua thereupon withdrew from the Court, and it ceased to function thereafter.

EFFORTS FOR UNION REVIVED

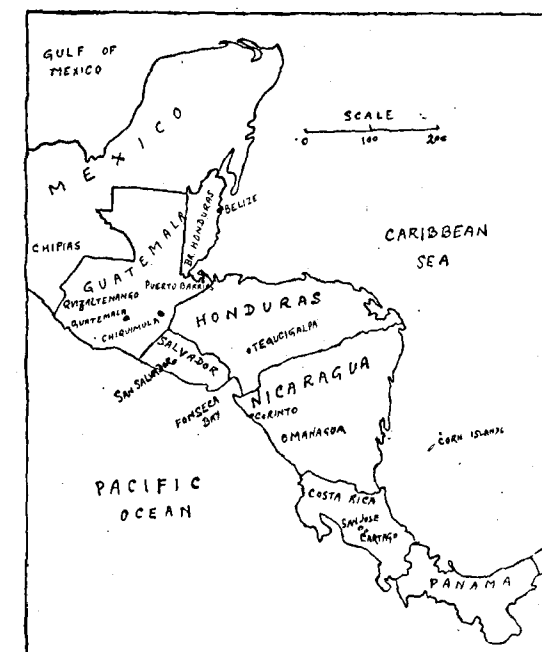
A revolutionary movement then grew up in Guatemala, which forced Cabrera to resign from the Presidentship of the State, as it had spread even to the National Assembly. This revolutionary upsurge led to a movement for Union and as such it became a movement against Cabrera personally, and it was confined solely to the capital. The National Assembly then elected Carlos Herrera as the new President. Being a conservative and unionist, he drew up a pact of union, to which Guatemala, Salvador and Honduras agreed to adhere, but this was immediately followed by the overthrow of the new Guatemalan Government on December 7, 1921, by the Liberals, resulting in the complete failure of the plan for Union.

In March 1922, Gen. Jose Maria Orellana was elected President. Under his able administration up to his death in October 1926, the country progressed in stability and peace. It was during his regime that another Conference of the Central American States was held in Washington in December 1922, when a series of fourteen treaties and conventions was drawn up. One of the most important of these was a general treaty of peace and amity which provided for the non-recognition of governments coming into power by revolution or *coup d'etat*. Though the United States had not signed this treaty, it announced its intention to adhere to its principles.

REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA

But serious developments took place in Nicaragua in 1924, when in the elections held under laws framed by an American expert but without the American supervision which had been planned, the Conservative leader there, Gen. Emiliano Chamorro, who stood for the presidentship, was defeated by the Coalitionists, Solorzano, an anti-Chamorro Conservative, being elected as President, and Dr. Juan B.

Sacasa, leader of the Liberals, becoming Vice-President. Chamorro alleged that the elections had not been fair, and on this basis, he carried out a successful *coup d'etat* on October 24, 1925, when Loma, the fortified hill overlooking Managua, was captured, and the resignation and departure of the Vice-President Sacasa was forced, followed soon afterwards by that of the President Solorzano as well. General Chamorro then assumed the Presidentship of Nicaragua, but the United States refused to recognise it. But Washington at the same time refused to recognise the claims of Dr. Sacasa also to be declared President, on the ground that neither was he in his country nor did he control power.



This brought about the criticism that with Washington's effort to eliminate the right of revolution as the escape-valve of oppressed peoples, there should go a corresponding provision by Washington of the assurance of fair elections at which the majority might express itself, and that Washington should support the legitimate succession when imperilled. But the policy of supporting legitimate governments was declared an impossible development of the situation enunciated in the case of Washington's refusal to help Vice-President Sacasa.

Following the death of President Orellana of Guatemala in October 1926, Gen. Lazaro Chacon was elected President, and the peace and prosperity of the State continued as before. But, on December 16, 1930, this government was overthrown as a result of a *coup d'etat* executed by Gen. Manuel Orellana. Being unable to secure recognition from the United

States, he had to resign and in February 1931, Gen. Jorge Ubico was elected President, and he continued in this office till 1943. Under his rule, Guatemala successfully emerged from the economic depths of the worldwide depression of 1929 and the following years and underwent many material improvements, notably in highway development, and made great advance in education. But Ubico's reign was a rigid dictatorship, characterised by repression of civil liberties.

PROBLEM OF BRITISH HONDURAS

In 1939, there was an agitation in Guatemala for the annexation of British Honduras on the ground of the British failure to comply with the boundary treaty of 1859, but the controversy was suspended for the duration of the war at that time and it was re-opened in 1945.

At the outbreak of the World War II, Guatemala declared neutrality, but in 1941 it declared war on Japan on December 8, and on Germany and Italy on December 11.

REVOLUTION AND PLOTS

On October 20, 1944, a successful revolution took place, as a result of which a triumvirate consisting of Major Francisco Xavier Arana, Captain Jacobo Arbenz and Jorge Toriello functioned until March 15, 1945, when Juan Jose Arevalo became President, following the assemblage of a constitutional convention on January 10, 1945, which remained in session until its labours were completed and a new constitution creating a semi-parliamentary government, granting women's suffrage and guaranteeing freedom of assembly, speech and press was signed on March 11. President Arevalo included in his Cabinet all the three members of the preceding triumvirate.

A number of plots against this government were reported during 1945. On January 23, the triumvirate decided to break diplomatic relations with the Franco regime in Spain, thus becoming the first American country to take such action, and the Arevalo Government granted recognition to the Spanish Republican Government-in-exile organised later in Mexico in September 1945. Soon after assuming his reins of office, the Arevalo Government established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government by an exchange of notes in Washington, D.C., on April 19. On May 22, an agreement was signed between Guatemala and the United States, following which the latter sent a Military Mission to Guatemala and in August following a number of technical advisers arrived from Washington to assist in the solution of problems of price control, finance and reform of statistical methods.

PLOTS AGAINST GOVERNMENT

In connection with the plots against the Government, a large number of arrests were effected in February, 1945, while the constitutional convention was in session. Early in April following, the consti-

tutional guarantees were suspended for 30 days, and arrests were made once again of members belonging to parties opposed to the administration. On June 19, further activities by three opposition political parties were put under ban. Constitutional guarantees were once again suspended in October, with the state of siege lasting two months and about sixty persons being taken into custody. A number of people charged with complicity in the several plots were exiled during the year 1945, and the government also confiscated certain property granted in previous years to the ex-President Jorge Ubico and members of his administration. In September, President Arevalo forbade union activities and labour agitation among farm workers, due to the unrest which followed the passage of a new labour code. A few days earlier, a Labour Congress had been held in August, according to whose decision the national labour organisation joined the Confederation of American workers, C.T.A.L.

The government passed on February 25, 1945, a decree according to which 75 per cent of all pay rolls was to go to Guatemalan nationals only. And, on April 21, a law of economic emergency was passed which penalised speculation in essential goods and authorised control of rents, prices, imports and wages.

LEANINGS TO THE CENTRE

But leanings of the leftist Arevalo administration towards the Centre which began later in the year 1945 continued throughout 1946. In January 1946, the Revolutionary Action Party chief, Jorge Toriello, the foremost exponent of expropriating foreign businesses, was expelled from the Cabinet, and a previous ruling nationalising the air line Aerovias was declared illegal by the Congress.

But the government continued to press its reform programme in the face of a strong conservative resistance. In July, the Congress decreed that at least 85 per cent of the employees of all companies be nationals, and in September, it appointed a committee to revise existing contracts in the interests of national sovereignty. An endorsement by President Arevalo of Mexico's 1938 oil expropriations during a border meeting with the Mexican chief executive led to the speculation in October that the American-owned United Fruit Company's vast holdings would soon be expropriated but the government officially denied it, and it suppressed with a strong hand a serious labour trouble in the Company's banana plantations, when 15,000 workers went on strike and paralysed the entire northern division of its operations for three weeks. On October 31, the government brought it to an end and compelled the workers to negotiate for a wage settlement. Constitutional guarantees continued in force all through the year 1946, and frequent anti-government demonstrations were countered by others, participated in by labour

and student groups, which endorsed the government's policies and charged the disgruntled clergy with Spanish Falangist connections. A ten-day strike in the textile mills in Guatemala city secured for the workers a 40 per cent. increase.

The Government reasserted its sovereignty over the territory of British Honduras during 1946, but agreed with Great Britain to submit the dispute to the judgment of the International Court of Justice of the U.N.O., on condition that the case be judged on its equity rather than on its purely legal merits.

CABINET DISSENSIONS

The year 1947 proved to be quite a stormy one for Guatemala, specially due to Cabinet dissensions, as a result of which it had to be reorganised twice, once in January and again in June, and drastic political measures had to be adopted by the administration.

In January, the Arevalo administration secured bigger majorities in the congressional elections, which led to a big public demonstration in March protesting against the new electoral law under which the elections were held.

On March 4, the Ministry of National Defence cancelled all licences for carrying firearms. The Aliens Act was modified on March 16, giving the President greater authority to deport foreign agitators. And, a new law was enforced on April 30, which imposed stringent censorship on public expression through the press and radio. The death penalty, affecting persons attempting to overthrow the government, was abolished by the Congress on September 13. But, on September 17, constitutional liberties affecting freedom of press and assembly were suspended by Presidential decree following the discovery of an alleged plot to overthrow the government. Two soldiers and a civilian were arrested and the attempt was effectively throttled. Thenceforward all opposition was crushed with a strong hand with the help of new legislation restricting political activities considered by the government as dangerous to public security. President Arevalo denied in October the charges that the Communist Party was behind the attempt.

On May 25, 1947, a revolution took place in Nicaragua, following which the elected President, Leonardo Arguello, was removed and Benjamin Lacayo Sacasa became temporary President. This new government in Nicaragua was denied recognition by the Arevalo administration in Guatemala in June, and in July, diplomatic relations were suspended with the Trujillo administration of the Dominican Republic.

President Arevalo's left-wing administration in Guatemala continued its drive for social and economic reform during 1948, but not without the impairment of political liberties, as the rightist opposition

kept the government on the alert for reactionary movements all through this year. In January, the government decreed that lands along the two coasts for a distance of about a mile inland were public property, subject to expropriation by the state with compensation to the title-holders. The President's attempt to suspend the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press for 30 days, on February 23, was vetoed by the Congress. In July, the labour code was amended to allow farm workers to organise unions, and legislation was introduced in the Congress to enact for the first time an income-tax law and measures for the control of housing construction and rent. To redress the country's balance of trade, the government doubled the duties on imports from countries with which Guatemala had unfavourable trade relations.

At the close of the year, a clandestine grenade factory was discovered in the capital city, along with facts relating to an armed movement intended to capture the chief harbour town of Puerto Barrios. This resulted in the suspension of all personal liberties for a month from November 30 to December 29, and Col. Marciano Casado and Manuel Orellana Cardona, the rightist party leader, were arrested and charged with conspiracy.

The diplomatic impasse between Guatemala and Great Britain regarding the sovereignty over British Honduras almost reached breaking point in February, when a British cruiser with troops abroad arrived off the coast of the disputed province. Guatemala protested against the presence of the warship, and on March, 8, it closed its border with British Honduras. The situation was, however, eased by the withdrawal of the British cruiser on March 14, but the issue of sovereignty still remained unsettled.

MORE CONSPIRACIES

In the year 1949, two more attempts at revolt again against the Arevalo administration, bringing the number of such attempts at 20 during his regime, were made, though both of them failed.

There was a slow-down strike in the United Fruit Company wharf by the workers at Puerto Barrios and banana harvesters in Tiquizate in the beginning of the year and they reached a crisis in February, when the company had to suspend its activities, resulting in unemployment for 10,000 workers as well as in paralysing shipping at the chief Pacific port for several weeks. The dispute was settled on March 7, through government mediation, when the workers were awarded higher wages and a collective contract.

Of the two uprisings of the year, the first took place on April 7, when 200 armed men seized five towns near the Mexican border and sacked the customs offices. The government described this as

mere banditry, and its troops suppressed the revolt and regained the towns within two days, and the insurrectionists were almost all either killed or captured.

The other and much more important revolt began on July 18, when the Chief of the Armed Forces, Francisco Javier Arana, the most potential political rival of President Arevalo, was assassinated. It was rumoured that Col. Arana had been plotting a *coup d'etat*, but he was assassinated by reactionaries for having refused to lead an insurrection. The Guardia de Honor garrison rebelled, but was subdued within 24 hours, after a loss of 50 lives. Labour unions, student organisations and large numbers of other citizens aligned themselves with the government during the crisis, and it survived without any difficulty. In December, a military court sentenced fourteen of the accused insurgents to various terms of imprisonment ranging from two to ten years.

ANOTHER SWING TO THE RIGHT

In 1950, the administration of President Arevalo had to pass through a series of political crises, including an abortive revolt and a presidential election, as a result of a slight swing of the government to the right.

On July 20, 1950, the Conservatives organised a big demonstration to commemorate the assassination of Col. Arana, but this was broken up by military and labour elements, when three persons were killed. The suppression of this demonstration brought on another demonstration by the university students, who held the Minister of the Interior responsible and demanded his resignation. Labour, business and professional elements joined in a general strike in the capital and some of the oppositionists demanded Arevalo's resignation. On July 24, the government suspended several constitutional guarantees and imposed a state of siege, but these restrictions were removed within two weeks.

The Arevalo Government cut itself off from the Communists by banning the party's Weekly Newspaper, in the month of September, and shortly afterwards, a Communist school was closed down. About 40 students were arrested for trying to continue their classes in this school. But the Minister of the Interior, who had ordered the closure of the school, was forced to resign by the Congress, following the passage of a vote of No-Confidence against him. By October, government pressure to eliminate Communist influence was being extended to the labour unions as well.

Elections for the Presidentship of Guatemala were to be held in the second week of November. On November 5, some adversaries of the Arevalo administration attempted unsuccessfully to seize the military base of La Aurora, said to be in preparation for a

general revolt, but the movement was crushed with seventeen persons being killed.

In the election, held from November 10 to 12, the administration's Revolutionary Action Party came out successful with a wide margin, Col. Jacobo Arbenz being elected as the new President to succeed Arevalo. This party also secured 19 out of the 24 seats in the Congress for which biennial elections were held, thus tightening further its grip in the Congress.

A NEW LEFT-WING COALITION

During 1951, labour unrest and mounting Communist influence occupied the attention of Guatemala. On January 23, the Communist leader, Jose Manuel Fortuny, announced the formation of a new left-wing coalition called the National Democratic Front, comprising the Popular Liberation Front, the National Revolutionary Party, the Workers Party and the Communist Party, while the President-elect, Col. Arbenz, issued a statement on February 15, pledging continued Guatemalan friendship with the United States, and attacking the rumours as malicious which said that he intended to expropriate foreign and domestic capital.

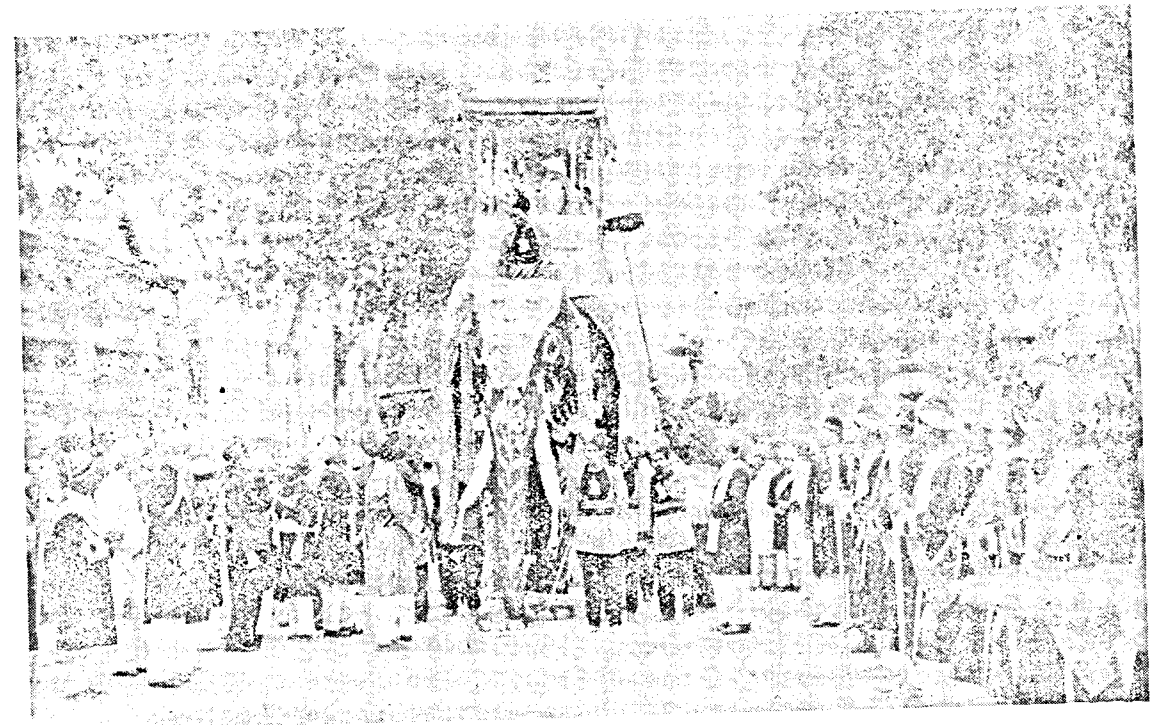
On March 15, Col. Arbenz, then only 37 years of age, was inaugurated as the new President, the youngest Latin-American head of a State till then. Labour disorders were the first big crisis which faced the new administration. Unrest among the workers resulted in April in an 11-day railway strike which ended with unions still demanding that President Arbenz should press for revision of all contracts with foreign firms operating in the State. On June 22 was observed the first anniversary of the founding of the Communist Weekly paper, the *Octubre*, which was attended by about 2,000 persons. Anti-Communist riots swept Guatemala city on July 11 and 12, as demonstrators called upon President Arbenz for assurances of his anti-Communist position. On this, Arbenz suspended the constitutional guarantees on July 12 for thirty days, as he regarded it a subversive plot under the pretext of combating Communist activities.

On July 19, four political parties supporting Arbenz announced the formation of a Democratic Alliance to intensify the revolutionary process typified by the former President Arevalo. The announcement said that the alliance was neither pro-Communist nor anti-Catholic. But, on August 31, Communists seized control of the pro-administration National Renovation Party, which was one of the four forming the Alliance.

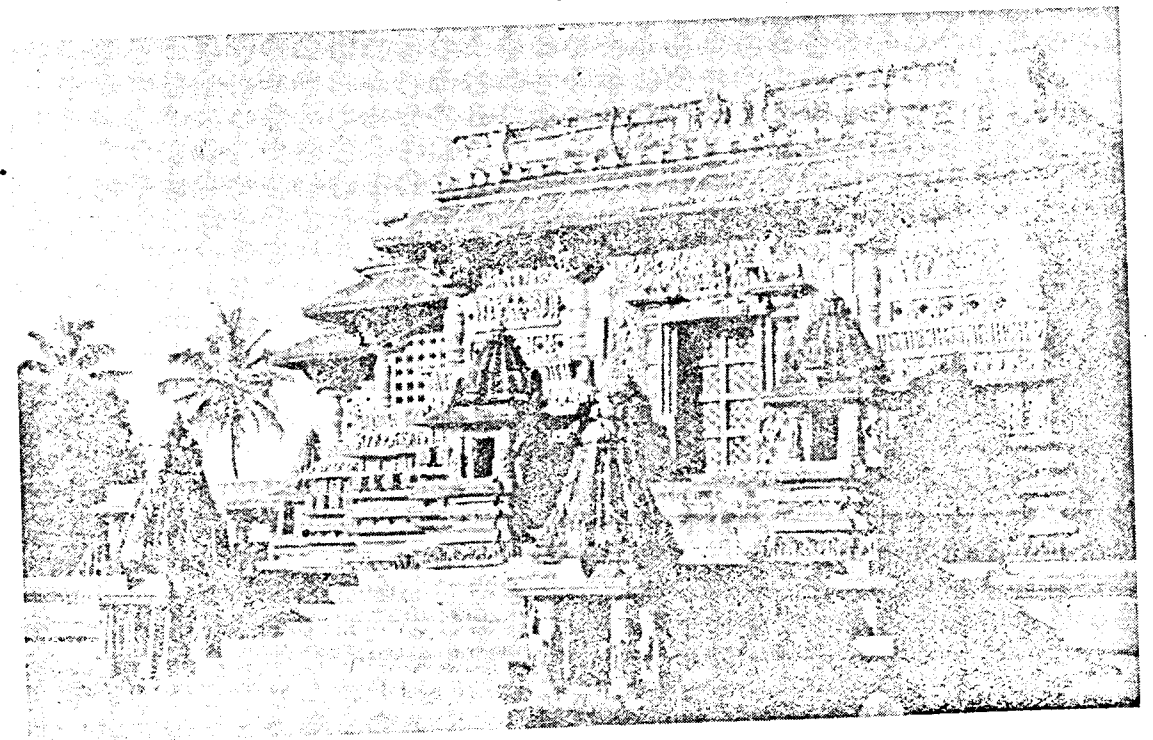
INCREASING COMMUNIST ORIENTATION

The year 1952 saw increased Communist orientation of the policies of the Arbenz administration, as a result of which the United States firms doing business in Guatemala faced new difficulties. The

MYSORE

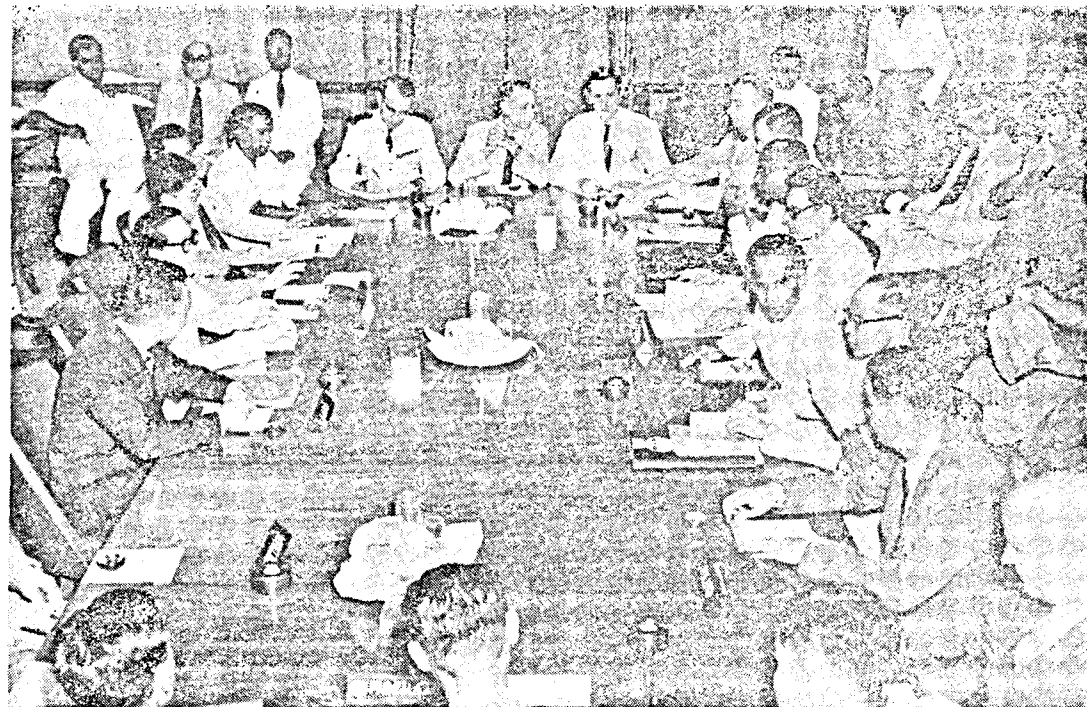


Dasara procession

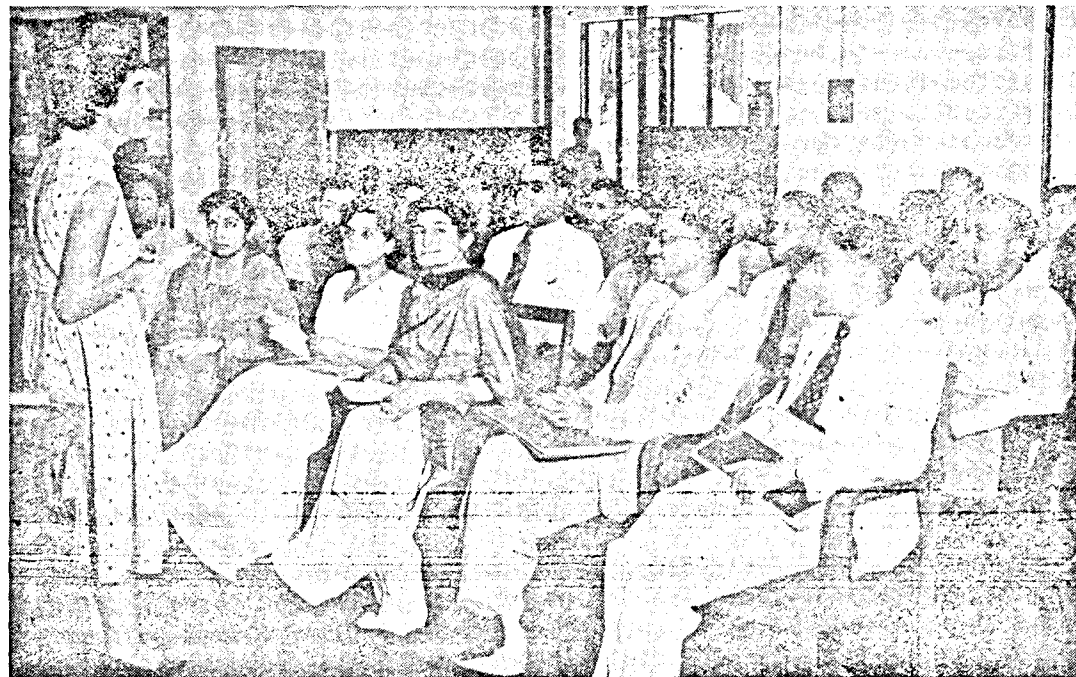


Chennakesava Temple at Belur

Courtesy : Government of Mysore



Representatives of the Governments of Canada, Poland and India—members of the International Commission for control and supervision for Indo-China—held a brief meeting in New Delhi on August 5



Twenty-four scholars from throughout India left Bombay, on June 30, aboard S.S. Strathnaver for the United States for a year's post-graduate study and training in U. S. Universities

United Fruit Company was ordered in January to pay 500,000 dollars in back wages to 3,700 employees who had been laid off after a hurricane had devastated the Company's Pacific coast banana plantations in September 1951, and it was stipulated in the order that the Company's 25 million dollar investments in Guatemala would be embargoed if the order was not obeyed. The Company challenged the ruling and on February 19, a labour court set March 5 as the date for auctioning off a portion of the United Fruit Company's properties in the country. On March 3, fires ravaged the banana fields at Tiquisate, virtually completing the ruin of the Company's plantations on the Pacific coast. At length, the Company agreed to pay 650,000 dollars in back wages, to extend its union contract for three years, to reinstate the laid-off workers and to rehabilitate the damaged plantations, whereupon the scheduled auction of its properties was cancelled by the Arbenz government. The Company then resumed operations in Guatemala on March 17.

A month later, the Pan-American Life Insurance Company, incorporated in New Orleans, which had been doing business in the State for the previous thirty years, had to withdraw from there, as it said it was unable to comply with the government's restrictive insurance law.

On June 18 was passed an agrarian reform law designed to sub-divide landed estates larger than 225 acres. It provided for reimbursement of dispossessed landowners during a 25-year period.

In the mean time, illegal anti-Communist demonstrations were held throughout the country on March 23, when about 30,000 persons were said to have been present in Guatemala city alone. On April 10, two trade unions, representing about 80,000 workers, announced that they would not take part in the May Day labour rally, as it would be Communist-inspired. Luis Arenas and Luis Vallardes, two anti-Communist trade union leaders, were arrested on October 29, on the charge of having insulted President Arbenz.

This Communist influence in the Arbenz administration continued to increase all through 1953 and the earlier part of 1954, making it almost impossible for the American-owned United Fruit Company to reap the huge profits it had been getting in the past. 233,973 acres of its land had already been expropriated by the administration under a land reform programme and it was facing the expropriation of 174,000 acres more in the near future. The United States had protested against the quantum of compensation offered to the Company.

AMERICA'S PLOT

Some time back, the Arbenz Government charged the United States of plotting an invasion of Guatemala through Nicaragua, and it charged the

United Fruit Company with supplying arms to the plotters.

The leader of these plotters was Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, who had been in opposition to the Arbenz administration since July 1949, following the assassination of Col. Arana. At the time of the Presidential election of 1950, he had been the leader of the abortive uprising against the administration on November 5, when he had attacked the base of the First Infantry Regiment on the outskirts of the capital with a force of seventy civilians. He was then arrested and imprisoned in the central penitentiary. But, in June 1951, he succeeded in tunnelling his way to freedom and took refuge in the Colombian legation, and from there he was safely conducted outside the country, and he made Honduras his headquarters.

From early this year, Col. Armas had been busy collecting forces in preparation for an invasion, calling his rebel organisation as the anti-Communist Front of Guatemalans in Exile, with headquarters in Tegucigalpa in Honduras.

To forestall this attack, the Arbenz administration proposed to the Honduras Government last month that the two States sign a treaty of amity and non-aggression, but without success. The government also purchased 10 million dollar worth of arms from Communist countries of Europe. The United States protested against this purchase, and Col. Armas charged the administration of supplying the arms not to the Guatemalan army but to a "fifth column that is soon to extend its radius of action against the democracies of this Continent."

ARMY OF LIBERATION

It was on June 17 last that reports filtered out of Guatemala that the army had called on President Arbenz to make a firm decision on his attitude towards Communism. At this time, Col. Armas was reported to have asked his followers in Guatemala to have faith in him and that he would very soon be with them. And, on June 19, reports were received from New York that an anti-Communist "army of liberation" had seized about one-third of the territory of the State within 24 hours of a powerful attack by land and sea.

The Foreign Minister of Guatemala, Senor Guillermo Toriello, at a press conference, accused the United States of an "absurd and criminal campaign" against Guatemala. He described the invasion as the culmination of a well-laid-out plan.

The Guatemalan Charge d'Affaires in Washington, Senor Alfredo Chocano, asked: "Where did 10 P-47 (Thunderbolt) and other planes of U. S. manufacture come from? These are the planes which have been bombing and strafing various places in Guatemala."

Speaking before the U. N. Security Council,

the Guatemalan delegate, Dr. Eduardo Castillo Arriola, declared: "Guatemala is being invaded by international forces under the treacherous guise of exiles." He said that the invading army was "part of an illegitimate international organisation," and asserted: "We have been unjustly accused of being a threat to the other countries of the continent."

Pitted as the Arbenz administration was against the United States in reality, the resistance could not last long and it collapsed. On June 26, President

Arbenz had handed over charge of his office to Col. Carlos Enrique Diaz and left the country. Col. Diaz was arrested three days later, being replaced by a military junta of five led by Col. Elfege Monzon. And on July 8, Col. Armas was elected President of the State's military junta. And, Communists are being hunted wherever found.

Thus has culminated a significant counter-revolution in Guatemala. How long this will continue it is too early to say.

RATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

THE term 'Rationalisation' in modern economic science implies modernisation, scientific management and industrial monopoly. It essentially means a rational and scientific approach to industrial problems. There is, therefore, no question of anybody being against rationalisation of industry as such. Nobody wants to plead for a mediæval and reactionary outlook. All of us desire that industrialisation in India should take full advantage of technology and scientific progress in the modern world.

It must be realised, however, that the content of rationalisation would vary from country to country and from region to region even within a country. For example, the idea of rationalisation in the United States of America, where labour is scarce and capital abundant, would be basically different from that of India where labour is abundant and capital scarce. A machine that may be of great use and advantage in America, may be completely out of place in India where the fundamental question is that of providing employment opportunities to millions of people who are without work for several months in the year. Even in India, conditions differ from region to region.

It is very wrong to think that the Gandhian School of Thought is against all mechanisation and rationalisation. Gandhiji was not against machinery as such. What he was against was the "craze" for machinery and labour-saving devices in a country like India where people suffer from "enforced idleness." We all know that Gandhiji wanted to improve the existing spinning wheel and offered substantial prizes for the improved varieties of the *charkha*. A number of new small spinning machines are now being devised in different parts of the country. In response to the recommendations of the International Planning Team, the Government of India have decided to establish four Regional Technological Institutes for the development of small-scale industries. No reasonable person can be against such improvements in organisation and technology. But I would plead for a rational approach even in our enthusiasm for rationalisation and modernisation. If

we do now show discrimination in the use of machinery in India and try to mechanise the existing small-scale and village industries indiscriminately, we shall be doing more disservice than service to the cause of industrial progress in the country. For instance, take the *bidi* machine. If such machines are allowed to be introduced for the manufacture of *bidis* in India, about five lakhs of workers, out of the total of six lakhs, will be thrown out of employment. Mechanisation in this sphere at this stage is, therefore, uncalled for and definitely injurious. Similarly, we should try to improve the village *ghanis* for increasing their yield and output rather than establish oil-mills for the purpose. In the case of hand-made paper, we may improve domestic small-scale manufacture by using mill-made pulp in place of hand-pound pulp. It may be desirable to introduce electric power in certain small-scale and village industries. But the basic idea ought to be to improve per capita productivity or the productive efficiency of each worker rather than to displace human labour by the introduction of improved machinery. A sewing machine is a typical example of useful rationalisation in a country like India. It increases the efficiency and productivity of a worker without displacing his manual labour. I wish that more machines of this type may be manufactured in India for lightening the labour of our workmen and augmenting their capacity to supplement their meagre incomes.

We are all for increasing the efficiency of labour and production; but our aim should be to increase not merely the mechanical efficiency but the economic efficiency as a whole. Our objective should be: Full employment plus maximum production. Mere production at the cost of employment will be definitely harmful. At the same time, attempts to employ more labour without increasing productive efficiency will also be suicidal. Rationalisation of industry in India, therefore, should mean a serious attempt to balance the advantages of fuller employment and technological improvements. I am confident that both the Government and the industrialists in this country will follow a policy of cautious and discriminate rationalisation for the real welfare of the masses.

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

By VICTOR S. D'SOUZA,

Reader in Sociology, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar

THE problem of minorities is a problem of adjustment and not one of securing recognition of their special status and safeguarding their interests, for, if the minorities are recognised as such and are treated differentially either by granting them special favours or by withholding their rights and privileges, it would only result in perpetuating their problem. In a nation where there are minorities, group tensions are bound to occur some time or other, disturbing the political balance and the unity in the country. In an ideal democratic state, therefore, minorities should not exist, and this is possible only in a secular state which alone can provide facilities for the merger of the minorities into the larger community that is the nation.

Lest I should be misunderstood, let me first make clear the concept of minorities. In a country or nation where there are different religions professed, different languages spoken and where there are people belonging to different races, groups of people may segregate themselves on the basis of their common religion, common language or common physical features. The segregation is accentuated by group prejudices as, for instance, when the members of a particular religious group disparage the religion of another group, or the members of one racial group regard the members of another racial group as inferior. Now the existence of differences among people and among groups of people is a normal phenomenon. As a matter of fact social life is as much dependent upon differences as on similarities between members. But when people become conscious of these differences they form themselves into groups. Sometimes the differences are of a temporary nature, as in the case of political parties, and as soon as the differences disappear, the groups which are based upon such differences also dissolve. But when group differences are permanent, when there is no possibility of the groups being merged with one another in any foreseeable future, it is then that we have minorities. Such groups are called minorities, not merely because of their smaller size, but because, on the basis of their physical and cultural characteristics they are singled out for differential and unequal treatment, and because they regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.

However, any particular minority should be viewed in relation to the peculiar historical circumstances within which it has emerged. The Hindus in India are a majority group, but in Pakistan they are a minority. The Hindus of Pakistan have been reduced into a minority group literally overnight owing to the partition of the country. On the other hand, the

minority status of the Muslims of India which was so much accentuated during the British regime obviously on political grounds, suddenly disappeared in Pakistan. It is therefore not the specific characteristics, whether religious or linguistic or racial, that mark a people as a minority but the relationship of that group to some other group in the society in which they live.

As I said, minority groups may crystallise out of religious, linguistic and physical differences. Sometimes groups of people may find themselves in the position of minorities owing to certain historical prejudices as in the case of the Jews. Discrimination against the Jews or Anti-semitism has a long history behind it. Although racial, linguistic and religious prejudices have contributed towards the formation of this attitude of Anti-semitism in the past, its continuance at present cannot be justified on grounds of any of these differences except on the basis of historical prejudices. However, such instances are few and far between and most minorities are formed mainly on differences based upon religious, linguistic and racial grounds.

Although differences, religious, linguistic or racial may be found in any society, whether they will result in the formation of minorities will depend upon the nature of the particular society. Some societies may provide much scope for the formation of minorities, some less, while in others minorities may not crystallise at all. Then again some societies may give rise to religious minorities, some to linguistic and some to racial, and we may also come across societies where two or all of these different types of minorities are found. On the whole the formation of minorities in any nation is dependent upon its social structure. After all the minority groups are but an aspect of social stratification. It is a fundamental principle of social life that any society will be characterised by some form of social stratification based upon status. It may be in the form of class, caste, ethnic group, minority group or a combination of some or all of these. Even the most determined efforts of the Communist countries in creating classless societies, we are told, have only resulted in the formation of a new type of classes. While the fact of social stratification is inevitable, the social stratification of the form of minorities is most harmful to the wellbeing of any society. However, it is possible to alter the structure of any society and consequently it should also be feasible to avoid the formation of minority groups and wherever there are minority groups they could be integrated or assimilated into the larger society.

For us in India, although our constitution does

not recognise the minority status and rightly so, the problem of minorities is none the less real. The religious minorities such as the Muslims, the Christians and the Parsis are only too apparent. But these are not our only minorities. In the wake of the redistribution of States on a linguistic basis we will have linguistic minorities too. And under the present circumstances when the caste system is fast losing its former significance, each caste group may be considered a separate minority. So in our country any individual may be regarded as belonging to some minority group or other, and most of our social ills today may be attributed to this irksome minorities problem. If all these minorities could eventually be integrated into one large wellknit society, it would be the greatest boon our country can ever hope for. Of course, the achievement of such a result could not be so easily done as the integration of the Indian princely States into the Indian Union. I say the integration of the Indian princely States was easier, because even though this problem was in itself a stupendous one, yet in comparison with our present task it was easy enough. But certainly it is possible and even practicable to assimilate all these minorities into one compact society if only we would try to comprehend this problem and take appropriate measures.

Perhaps, we shall be better able to understand our own minorities problem on the background of the knowledge of a similar problem in the United States of America where a comprehensive study of such a problem has already been made. No other country in this world has had to face such acute group problems as the United States of America, for, practically all the people of the United States are members of different immigrant groups. And yet America has been greatly, though not fully, successful in solving its minorities problem by providing suitable conditions for the assimilation of the different ethnic groups. By the way, ethnic group is a group which regards itself or is regarded as having a foreign culture and which is segregated from the rest of the society.

Social stratification in America is based upon an open class system. The American classes are most mobile and it is possible for an individual belonging to a lower class to rise to a higher class by virtue of his natural talents and enterprise, and the aspiration of the American common man to become one day the President of the United States is not based upon mere fiction. The American society is usually divided into six classes: the lower lower, the upper lower, the lower middle, the upper middle, the lower upper and the upper upper classes. Now social classes are based upon status and the various classes are arranged on a gradation of status, the lower lower class having the lowest status and the upper upper class the highest. In America, status is usually functional. The greater the worth of a person to society the greater is his

status. When status is functional, when the higher worth of a person or a class having a higher status is recognised, there is no scope for discrimination between persons and between classes, for discrimination comes in only when equals are treated unequally. So the American classes are a stable system giving rise to no conflict between the classes.

In the United States, when a new ethnic group immigrates it retains its group character for some time. But gradually members of the group each according to his worth, are severally assimilated into the different social classes and finally the group dissolves itself entirely. The integration of the ethnic groups is easier in America because there class prejudice is at its minimum. But ideally speaking ethnic groups are most easily assimilated into societies in which social stratification does not follow class or caste lines, for however good the conditions in a class- or caste-ridden society some prejudices between classes or castes are bound to prevail. Such ideal conditions, we are told, were obtainable in the pre-Communist China. In China, owing to the tremendous importance given to the family organisation nobody cared about the class or caste distinctions. A person was identified with such and such a family and not with such and such a class or caste. This, coupled with the peculiar culture of China moulded by the undogmatic and unorthodox religions of Tao and Confucius made it extremely easy for any foreign group of people to get itself assimilated into the Chinese society. And actually conquerors after conquerors, immigrants after immigrants who came to China mingled freely with the original inhabitants and became merged with the Chinese people. Probably, in no other country except China can we find the happy phenomenon where in the same family members may be found following different religions—some Taoists, some Confucianists, some Buddhists, some Christians, some Muhammadans, all living as brothers and sisters, parents and children in the real literal sense. You can, therefore, imagine the tremendous significance of social stratification for the integration of ethnic and minority groups.

Therefore it is clear that in order to understand the problem of assimilation of ethnic groups and minorities in a particular society we must always examine the lines of social stratification in that society.

In India, society is stratified castewise and caste is based on differences determined at birth, differences which cannot be changed by individual achievement whether economic, professional or political. So it is impossible for the members of a particular group or caste to climb to some other caste. Thus if an ethnic group is found in India it will not be possible for its members to become assimilated into the various castes, but the group as a whole will have to be assimilated into the Indian society. The group will be given a function and a status mutually acceptable both to the

group and to the other castes and it is integrated into the whole caste system. To give you a typical example, when some Arabs, Jews and Syrian Christians came and settled down in Kerala they became an important part of the population of the region. But there was no way of assimilating them into the other castes. So the native people tried to integrate these foreigners into their society by recognising them as a separate caste. There were already the four principal orthodox castes and they called this new caste Anjuvarnam or the fifth caste—indeed a marvellous way of securing social unity!

So the caste system in India served a great purpose in solving the minorities problem in the past. But the caste system has long since lost its real function. The caste system is effective in maintaining unity and amity among the different groups only so long as each group accepts its rank and function, respecting the groups above it and commanding respect from the groups below it in social rank. But as soon as the lower castes perceive the irrationality of their inferior status which is determined by birth and not by function, and revolt against the caste system, the stability of the social order sustained by that very system receives a jolt. Thus the caste system loses its integrative function and hence its significance. And that is, in fact, what is actually happening in India today. The diffusion into a caste society of democratic ideals of equality have given rise to feelings of discrimination and to agitation for equalisation of rights. The hold of ceremonial and ritualistic observation which has been enforcing the observance of caste distinctions is rapidly weakening, and the persistence of the caste system today only adds to the heightening of group tensions.

Then again, the caste system in India is based on religious grounds and the people of other religions which do not advocate this system, when they become increasingly conscious of their religion would not like to be integrated into this system. Hence, so long as the caste system continues, the other religious groups will have to remain as separate minorities.

Thus, in India, the caste system, while it has rendered real service in the past, has become today the greatest source of political weakness. And the passing away of this decadent system would undoubtedly be the greatest step forward towards the assimilation of the religious and caste minorities into the Indian society and would contribute towards the unity, peace and happiness among the Indian peoples. Happily, today all forces are moving in the right direction. Educated persons of good will, no matter to which caste or religion they belong, all are one in decriing the outmoded caste system and all want that society should reorganise itself in some other suitable form. The new type of economy based on industrial and co-operative systems strengthened by the community planning projects will go a long way towards

dispelling caste prejudice and minorities complex. The wisdom of our politicians in declaring India a secular State and the gesture on the part of minorities in forgoing their privileges of special protection will accelerate the process of integration of the diverse peoples into one unified society.

While the conditions are now favourable for assimilation of the different minorities, it must be borne in mind that each minority has its special limitations and each requires conditions for assimilation different from those required by the others. Let us again turn to the American society to have an idea of the special limitations of the different ethnic groups. In the United States not every one of the ethnic groups is assimilated with the same ease. It has been observed that the ethnic groups which are nearest to the common American type in point of language, religion and race are most easily assimilated and those which are farther removed with regard to these characteristics are less easily assimilated. The language of the Americans is English and the ethnic groups speaking English such as the immigrants coming from England are more easily integrated than the non-English-speaking groups e.g., the Greeks. Secondly, the religion of the majority of the people is Christianity and even among Christians the Protestants predominate. So the ethnic groups professing the Christian religion are more easily assimilated than the non-Christians, and among Christians themselves the Protestants are more easily assimilated than the Roman Catholics. But when we combine religion and language, religion is a more potent factor in the valuation of the Americans. And when there are two groups one speaking English and professing a non-Protestant religion and the other professing Protestantism but speaking a non-English language, the latter group though it speaks a different language, by virtue of its favoured religion, is more easily assimilated. Thus on the basis of language and religion it has been noticed that the ease and rapidity with which the different ethnic groups are assimilated into the American society follows a definite descending order. Topmost on the scale are the English-speaking Protestant groups and lowermost the non-Christians who do not speak English.

It must, however, be pointed out that although the time taken by the various ethnic groups for complete assimilation into the American society varies, they are all eventually assimilated sooner or later, i.e., in some foreseeable future and they do not remain as minorities on account of their cultural characteristics alone. But the racial prejudice in America is more potent than religious or linguistic prejudices and many of the ethnic groups which may be regarded as minorities in the United States owe their misfortune to their racial characteristics.

The dominant people of the United States, the

people that matter, are those of the Caucasoid or the white race, and the Ethnic groups belonging to the Caucasoid race, especially if they happen to be light Caucasoids, find it most easy to be absorbed into the American society. Racial prejudice in America is directed most against the Negroes and the American Negroes, although their culture is the same as that of the American whites, yet they are rated even below the other ethnic groups belonging to altogether different cultures. It would appear that the American Negroes will not be assimilated into the American society in any foreseeable future, and today the Negroes remain the largest minority group in the United States of America.

All these conclusions which are based on scientifically observed facts show that the formation and assimilation of ethnic and minority groups in any society follow a certain set pattern. The pattern, of course, is different for different societies and it is based upon several other factors also, too numerous to be mentioned here. In India, where social, political and economic conditions are very much different from those in America the situation with regard to the minorities is also different. Whereas, in America, minorities are based mainly upon racial differences and not on cultural characteristics, here in India the situation is the other way round. We have mostly religious and linguistic minorities. The racial prejudice somehow has not become our obsession. But this may be due to centuries of race inter-mixture that has been going on in India, and not to any of our special virtues. As a matter of fact when we ponder over the term Varna which is applied to caste in India we are inclined to think that the caste system might have first arisen in India owing to race prejudice itself. And even today where there are opportunities for contact with people of altogether different physical features, we may come across group segregation on the basis of physical characteristics. If you care to go a few miles into the interior of the jungles of the North Canara district (Bombay State) you will find there a group of people called Siddis. They are supposed to be the progeny of Negro soldiers through local women. Anyway there is no mistaking about their Negro features—the kinky hair and the thick lips. Their black colour of course is a little diluted by local blood. Now, among the Siddis there are people following three different religions. There are the Maratha Siddis (Hindus), the Muslim Siddis and the Christian Siddis. But the Siddis as a whole are a group by themselves. For, the other Marathas do not mix with the Maratha Siddis, the other Muslims do not mix with the Muslim Siddis and the other Christians do not mix with the Christian Siddis. On the other hand, on all social functions the Siddis of different religions mingle with one another very freely. Here we truly have a minority,

a miniature minority based upon physical characteristics. For after all, however, broadminded we may be difference in physical characteristics is a factor to be reckoned with. However, the problem of racial minorities does not loom large upon the political horizon of India and that is why perhaps we are sometimes prone to talk complacently about the prevalence of racial prejudices in other countries.

Whatever that may be, it is here important for us to realize that the problems of each minority group have to be studied separately. Let us take for a typical example, the Muslim community, the largest minority group in India. In America, it has been observed that one of the factors retarding or accelerating the rate of assimilation is the number of members constituting the ethnic group. When the numbers are many the group finds it difficult to give up its identity. The same difficulty is encountered by the Muslims of India who constitute four crores of the total Indian population. They have also a special psychological difficulty in that there is a Muslim State bordering India. Again—and this is very important—the Muslims of India speak the Urdu language which is for the most part peculiar to the Muslims alone, and this is further complicated by the fact that Urdu is also the National language of Pakistan. I am not quite conversant with the situation in North India but in South India Urdu is spoken only by the Muslims and as a matter of fact Urdu is popularly known as Musulmani language in the south. So the Muslims of India are at the risk of being considered not only a religious minority but a linguistic minority as well.

Under these circumstances, if I may express my humble opinion, there are two possible ways of assimilating the Muslims so far as their language is concerned. In India it has already been decided to have Hindi as the official language, which also bids fair to become the national language. But excepting for their scripts the difference between Urdu and Hindi is a matter of degree. If therefore this difference is tried to be minimised the group prejudice against Urdu will be lessened to that extent and, what is more, it may also ultimately induce the Muslims to change their script. Unfortunately on the other hand there is a section of Sanskrit Pandits which is endeavouring to Sanskritise Hindi more and more, thus widening the gulf between Urdu and Hindi interminably. And let me tell you, the efforts of that section are not at all calculated towards the best interests of our country. It is not for nothing that even Mahatma Gandhi than whom no man had the interests of our country more at heart, had once advocated that the official language of India should be written both in the Devanagari and the Persian scripts; and just the other day in connection with the Devanagari Script Conference held at Lucknow,

our beloved Prime Minister made a fervent plea for the retention of the Persian script which he said, besides serving as a link with western Asia, was part and parcel of our life.

The other way is for the Muslims themselves to abandon their Urdu language, i.e., the Persian and Arabic influence in their language together with its script and make Hindi their mother-tongue. But may I ask you, could such a course be practicable? All the religious literature of the Muslims of India is written in the Urdu language. Although an Indian Muslim reads his Quran and recites his prayers in Arabic, he understands his religion in Urdu, and just as Arabic is sacred to Muslims in general, Urdu is important for the Muslims of India. Even those Muslims of India who speak a different language recognise Urdu as their religious language. Thus the Muslims will not be able to give up their Urdu language at least for some time to come and therefore this second course is impracticable.

Thus every minority has its own special problems but the larger interests of our country demand that all group prejudices should disappear. But I do not in the least mean to say that the differences upon which the minorities are based should be eliminated. The solidarity of our nation does not demand uniformity. What is required is that conditions should be created and maintained under which the different minorities should feel themselves at home in the whole society and participate freely and spontaneously in the social life of the country. All kinds of coercion, whether physical, social or economic, of one group by another should cease, and the minorities should come out of their physical and cultural aloofness and expand their community sentiment. That way and that way alone the progress of our nation would seem to lie.*

* Speech delivered at the Rotary Club, Dharwar, on the 6th December, 1953.

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BHUDEB MUKHERJI

By SURESH CHANDRA DEB

THREE fellow-students, Bhudeb Mukherji, Madhusudan Dutt and Abdul Latif, were talking of what they would like to do in the future. The last-named said that he would like to be a high Government official; the second said that he would like to be a poet, and the first said that he would like to be a teacher, and serve his people by bringing to them the light of new knowledge, consequent on British connection, and influence their conduct.

Their ambitions were fulfilled. Abdul Latif became a Deputy Magistrate, rose to be the Prime Minister of Bhopal, and after retirement founded the Central Mahomedan Association at Calcutta, which pleaded for "special" consideration of Muslim feelings and interests. Madhusudan became one of the greatest poets of modern Bengal; and Bhudeb started life as a teacher in the Calcutta Madrasa; became Head Master of the Hooghly Normal School that prepared boys for getting into the Education Department as "trained" teachers; he became Inspector of Schools and his services were so much valued that there was a chance of his acting as the Director of Public Instruction in the Presidency (1877); but owing to the opposition of European Inspectors of Schools and Professors, this could not happen as Richard Croft was persuaded to withdraw his application for leave (sick leave). When Bhudeb became an Inspector of Schools in the Presidency of Bengal

which then comprised Bihar, Orissa and Assam, he initiated measures for the revival of local languages—Bengali, Bihari (Hindi), Oriya and Assamese, as the case might be. These efforts were the result of deep thinking since the days of his Madrasah experience (1849). He became intimate with Muslim thought and culture; he appreciated the values of Islamic society, as he valued his own. He was as appreciative of Christian thought.

He never subscribed to the popular belief that Muslim rulers had been all and always oppressors of their Hindu subjects trying to suppress the latter. In a biography of his I find the following:

"It was because they (the Muslims) came to rule over India that India had an all-India language—Hindi, that there had developed a special kind of architecture, and manners and social amenities had been improved and enlarged."—pp. 15-16.

In 1862, he worked hard to give shape to the purposes of the then Secretary of State for India with regard to the enlargement of primary education in certain districts of the Presidency. In 1869, he was deputed to report on the state of primary education in the North-West Province (now the United Provinces). About his report, Sir Ashley Eden spoke very highly calling it "a gem of a Report."

In 1877, he was put in charge of 11 districts in Bihar and Orissa to re-organize their primary educa-

tion. At this time he suggested to the authorities that the Persian script should not be required by Hindu boys in Bihar and the Nagri put in its place. The Government accepted this suggestion. Even some of the Kayasthas were opposed to this change. His arguments were elaborated thus:

"The Muslim boys should learn Hindi as the language of common education; Urdu as the language of their religion; and English as the language of the State. Why should a Bihari boy be compelled to learn and use Urdu? Once a State-language it had been, and with the fall of Muslim power, it should change. In the near or distant future English rule will be withdrawn from India. Would it be possible or politic to continue the same high place for English?"

This change was hailed by Bihari Hindus, and one of them, Ambika Dutt Vyasji, broke out into song which is translated below:

"Glory to Government! May it prosper!
It has driven the *Javanic* script:
And allowed the introduction of Nagri.
I worship Bhuvan Dev (Bhudeb)
He went to the *Lat* and helped to remove a
great grievance.
Glory to his intelligence, glory to his arguments;
The people will sing his praises as long as the
sun and the moon shine."

Bhudeb had very high hopes of the future of Hindi. In his essay on "Social Matters with Special Reference to Language" he had written:

"With the increase in the cultivation of knowledge, it will be a special feature of the local languages adopting words from Sanskrit and adapting these to their special needs. As this went on, our local languages will be coming nearer to one another, and an all-India unity will be developed in the near future."

This idea of quickening all-India unity was the inspiring motive of the activities of Bhudeb's long life. The Hindus formed the majority community in India, and their culture and civilization have made India what she is. Islam and Christianity having established themselves in India, the action and reaction of these three cultures enabled Bhudeb to build up a synthesis of immense value. His contemporaries had by 1850 regained their balance, and from that time on, the awakening in India's self-respect progressed, and during the last quarter of the 19th century, the cultural awakening coincided with the quickening of political consciousness. Bhudeb lived to see his people making steady progress on lines he had indicated in his various writings.

Bhudeb's life-long efforts to recreate an *elite* in Indian society who would by their conduct be able to lead the masses to re-capture their political and

social self-respect which was Swaraj was inspired by this noble ideal. The foundation of the Visvanath Fund (1894) occupied the last years of his life after retirement from service in July, 1883. This Fund enabled *pundits* to complete their studies in the various Shastras.

Bhudeb left this mundane world on the 12th of May, 1894, surrounded by his dear and near ones. He had personally given directions how his mortal remains should be carried to the Ganges; how the funeral rites were to be performed; and had set apart a sum of Rs. 5,000 for his *sraddha* ceremony.

Bhudeb was born on the 12th of February, 1825, at 57, Hartuqi Bagan Lane in North Calcutta. His father Visvanath Tarkabhusan was a scholar who reminded his contemporaries of one of the ancient Rishis.

Bhudeb was born at a time when Western education through the English language had taken firm root in Bengal and threatened to prevent the special values of Eastern society—Hindu and Muslim. The first generation, known as "Young Bengal" repudiated their culture, took to foreign ways. In this environment Bhudeb grew up. But he was saved from scepticism by the example of his father and saintly mother. Their training bore fruit as we know from the volumes that Bhudeb wrote on Hindu Sociology, Hindu Family Life and Indian History. Therein we find words of ripe wisdom, balanced and enriched by his wide knowledge of Islamic and Christian thought.

By ordinary standards, Bhudeb was an orthodox Hindu following the traditional ways of his ancestors. But he consciously felt that all was not well with Hindu society. In his *History of India Re-created from a Dream*, he gave expression to his real ideas. If the caste system was modified and the *antyajas*, the people outside the pale of Hindu society, were purified by proper education, and water served by them was taken by all, a great Hindu society would develop. By following this system, the Marhattas under Sivaji transformed the sweepers (the caste of the Holkars), the shepherds (the caste of the Gaekwads) and the Kahars (the caste of the Sindhiyas) into Kshatriyas and rulers of States with Brahmans as Ministers.

For the best testimonial to the memory of Bhudeb Mukherji, I quote Sir Roper Lethbridge:

"Vidyasagar was the very ideal of a high-minded, benevolent and intellectual Brahmin of the old school; Kristodas (Pal) the model of the kindly, clever, versatile man of the world; but Babu Bhudeb in his later years seemed to me to combine some of the best qualities of both these great men."

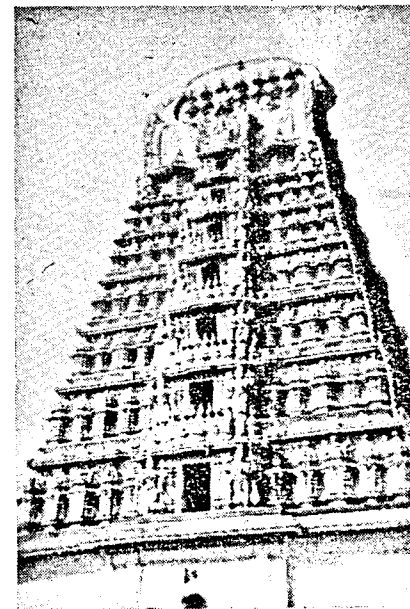
MYSORE—THE CITY OF EASTERN SPLENDOUR

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

SITUATED in the proximity of the Chamundi Hills and blessed by the bounty of gracious Cauvery river, enjoying a lovable climate and a great cultural heritage, Mysore is a little city of endless charms with its gardens and beauty spots, institutions and industries, and is flooded with historical monuments which bring inspiration to its inhabitants and visitors from all parts of the breathing world.

Lying 2530 ft. above sea-level, the city offers all the charms of the tropics to its population of 2 lakhs. The never-failing monsoon rains enrich the land which produces all kinds of crops and fruits. Outside the city there are thick forests of sandal-wood and timber which provide excellent opportunities of big game-hunting. The gold mines and mines of other minerals, plantations and food crops have all added to the prosperity and economic stability of the region.

Unlike Bangalore, the city of Mysore is less crowded with imposing buildings, beautiful roads and busy traffic. It is the home of schools and colleges and large and small scale industries. The Chamarajendra Technical



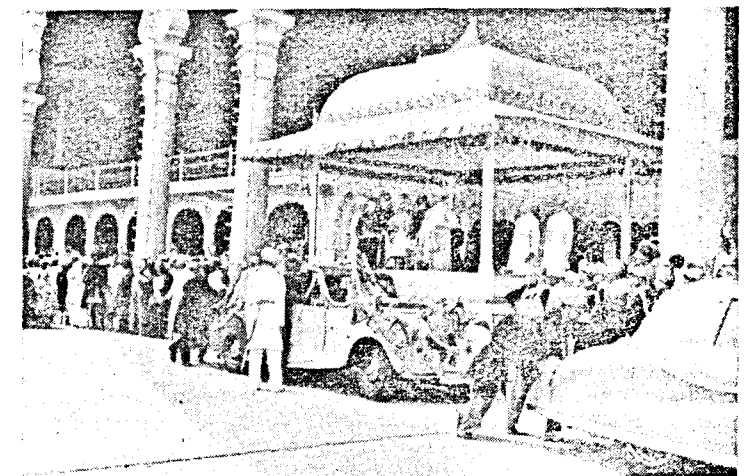
Upper portion of Chamundeswari Temple



The great Nandi at Chamundi Hills

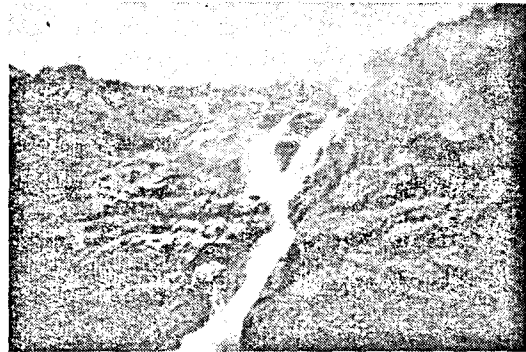
Institute, the Maharaja's and Maharani's Colleges and the Good Shepherd Convent are some of the many "temples of education" drawing huge crowds of students from far and near. The University and Oriental libraries have a good collection of books for the

Mysore has had an eventful history with many legends attached to it. Having found its traces in the reign of Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., it has seen the rise and fall of three leading dynasties of the south: the Kadambas, the Hoysalas and the illustrious kings of Vijayanagara. It later became a play-thing in the hands of the power-crazy Hindu and Muslim monarchs whose fortunes were linked with it. Since the defeat of Tippu Sultan in the year 1700, it has once again seen a Hindu dynasty with benevolent rulers who continued their reign till the dawn of India's independence. In spite of this constant political transformation through the ages, Mysore has been fortunate to possess several great works of art and sculpture.



H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore performing the Pooja during Dasara celebrations Courtesy: Government of Mysore.

illumination and recreation of the brain. The sandalwood and the silk factories are located right in the city and are bringing out excellent products while giving employment to thousands of people. The general all-round improvement in the fields of education and industry is due to the keen interest evinced by the State Government and the untiring efforts of Sri M. Visvesvaraya, the Grand Old Man of Mysore.



Sivasamudram Falls

A typical characteristic of the ancient Indian cities is the possession of a number of temples erected by the art-loving kings of the past. Mysore is no exception to this general rule and has some of the finest shrines displaying the creative genius of the master-builders. The floral decorations and the Nandi at the great temple on the Chamundi Hills are decidedly the most wonderful. Proceeding a little further from



Gersappa Falls

the city, the Chenna Kesava Temple at Belur, with its delicate carvings on the outer walls and figures of smiling girls laden with ornaments, is easily one of the best-known shrines in the whole of India. The 58 feet tall statue of Sri Gomateshwara at Sravanabelgola is striking for its "magnificent proportions and marvellous serenity," and is the largest colossus in the whole world. Bopanna, the great bard, has praised it in these words: "Maya, Indra and the lord of serpents are

unable to draw a likeness, to take a full view or praise this matchless form of wondrous beauty O Gomateshwara Deva! How fortunate are those who worship your lotus feet with fresh wild flowers!"



A typical Mysore girl

Courtesy : Government of Mysore

Among the grand constructions of the recent past, the Maharaja's palace should be named first. Constructed in Indo-Saracenic style, with many lofty portals, frescoes and the richly decorated pillars, it has been acknowledged as one of the best palaces in India. Similarly the Jaganmohan palace and the Lalita Mahal are some of the chief points of interest.

Hailed as India's "Garden City," Mysore is the land of fairy parks. Who on earth can ever forget the serenity and lasting charms of the Brindavan Garden? Lying at the foot of Krishnaraja Sagara, known also as Kannambadi, perhaps the second largest artificial lake in the world, this garden is indeed a "paradise on earth," and unfolds the mysteries of the Invincible. Illuminated on all Saturdays and Sundays and during festive occasions like Dasara and Christmas, it becomes the haunting ground of the people who are lulled to behold the spray of waterfalls and fountains reflecting a thousand colours. Stretched at ease on the flowery beds,

BOAT FESTIVALS OF KERALA

while gently caressed by the mischievous breeze, one often feels if one is really breathing on the face of this earth with so many uncouth and prosaic objects all around! Even the great bards cannot vividly describe or do justice to the irresistible charms of the Brindavan Garden.

An account of the Mysore Dasara Celebration seems necessary since it has achieved a world-wide reputation. During this time of the year the city is overcrowded with visitors who face the serious problem of accommodation. But they are happy going round the well-decorated city and visiting the Exhibition which surveys the progress of the state as a whole. The happy Kannadigas, the colourful Coorgs from the adjacent state and several others from elsewhere can be seen here displaying the latest fashions to which they have lately been susceptible. The Dasara procession, which passes through the main streets with the Maharaja seated in a golden "howda" on the elephant, is a bewitching spectacle of pomp and eastern splendour. The whole city is illuminated and looks enchanting with handsomely dressed people whose faces are radiating joy.

The ambitious policy and proposals of the Government of Mysore and the motherly attitude of the Central Government are striving hard to add much more to the

fortunes of the city. In the course of years yet to be born, Mysore may become more wonderful and the very



The writer

idea of visiting it may be a fascinating and happy embarrassment.

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BOAT FESTIVALS OF KERALA

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

THE most outstanding and truly national aquatic festivals in Kerala, the land of several navigable streams and picturesque backwaters, are the Annual Boat Races held on the broad waters of the principal rivers in Central Travancore. Though in honour, and for the convenience, of distinguished personages who visit the State, boat races are conducted with great eclat on the Vembanad and Ashtamudi lagoons, these made-to-order regattas betray the absence of the genuine feeling and true atmosphere of the real boat festivals. To witness in full the real grandeur and feel the overwhelming national importance of the boat races they must be seen in their natural and picturesque environment in the waterlogged areas in central Travancore. Boat races form the most colourful and significant of the pastimes and sports during the *Onam* festival, the festival of spring and plenty, in parts of the State lying close to rivers. During the *Onam*, the festival *par excellence* in Kerala, in the month of August-September, when, close upon the harvest, peace and plenty permeate all over the land, majestic, spectacular boat regattas are held as the visible and moving expressions of consummate joy. The *Onam* is a season of sumptuous eating and drinking too when prohibition does not hold sway, of hilarious playing, of warm days and pleasant nights. National festivals of great importance and popular appeal, the picturesque

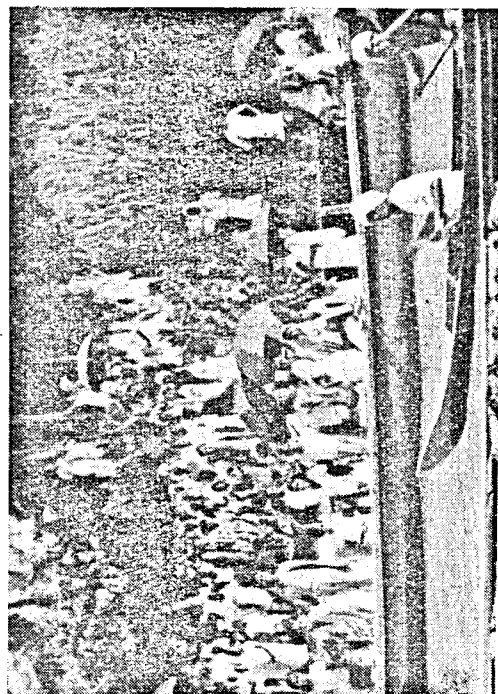
boat races held during the merry *Onam* season are thrilling sights, in which the art, music, culture and literature of a great nation combine to form a lovely and unique form of enjoyment wherein more is meant than that which meets the eye.

The annual boat races, held at Aranmula, and Champakulam in Central Travancore, are the pre-eminent and typical of the boat festivals in Kerala. On the river front of the Vaishnava Temple at Aranmula, ninety miles to the north of Trivandrum, idyllically situated on the left bank of the River Pampa in Central Travancore, the famous Aranmula boat race is held every year on the *Uthratathi*, the fourth day after the Thiru Onam. The Aranmula boat race is, in fact, a part of the *Onam* festival. A health and bathing resort during summer months, Aranmula is famous for its temple, boat race and Aranmula metal mirror. On the *Uthratathi* asterism, the colourful regatta is held at Aranmula, amidst all-pervading mirth and nature's splendour. It is at once the oldest and most celebrated boat festival in Kerala which continues to attract spectators from far and near. Kith and kin separated by distance and various preoccupations join at old family houses during the festival season. Friends meet to exchange gay and grave thoughts and join in merry-making.

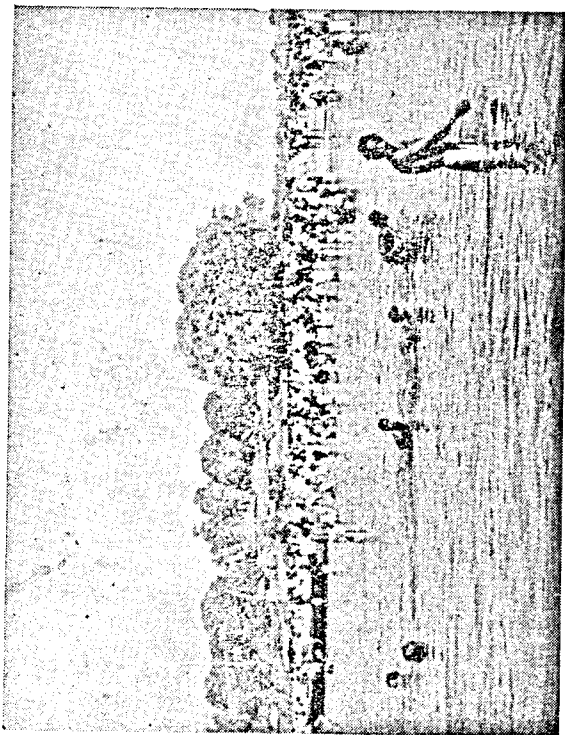
Tradition says that the boat regatta at Aranmula



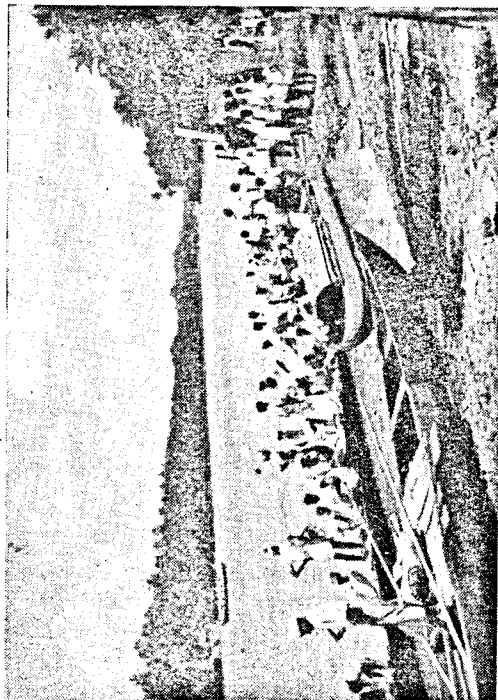
A river scene near the boat regatta site at normal times



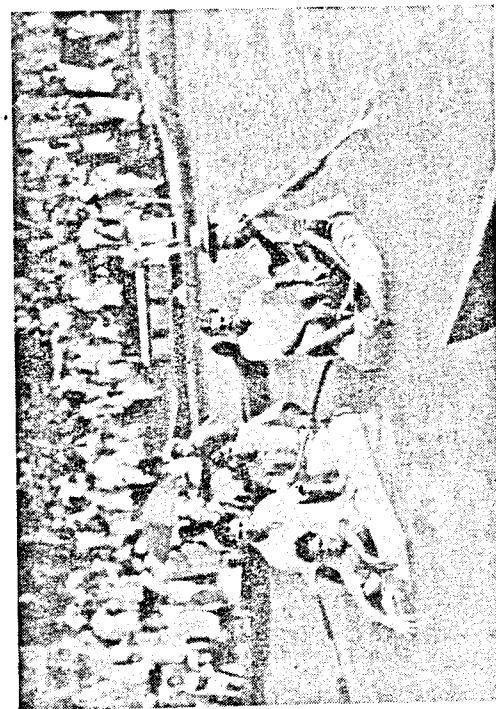
Crowds of people from far and near watch the boat race, some from the banks of the river and others in small canoes



Arammala—bathing and summer resort on the River Pampa



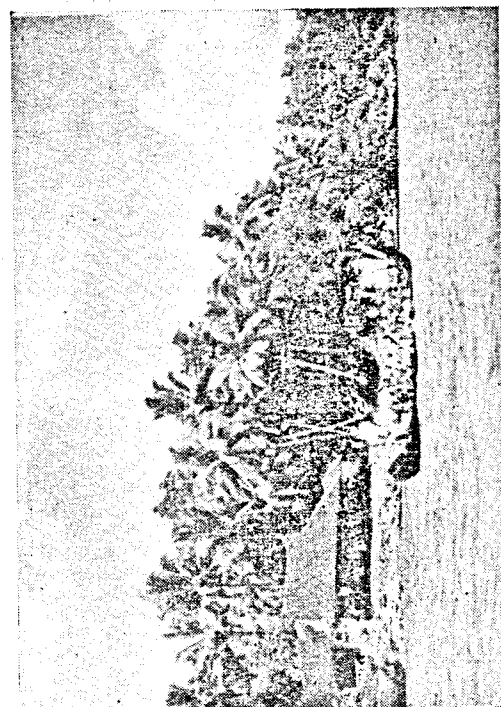
A *Chundan* (snake boat) is seen, with its crew snatching a rest, on the way to the site of the boat race



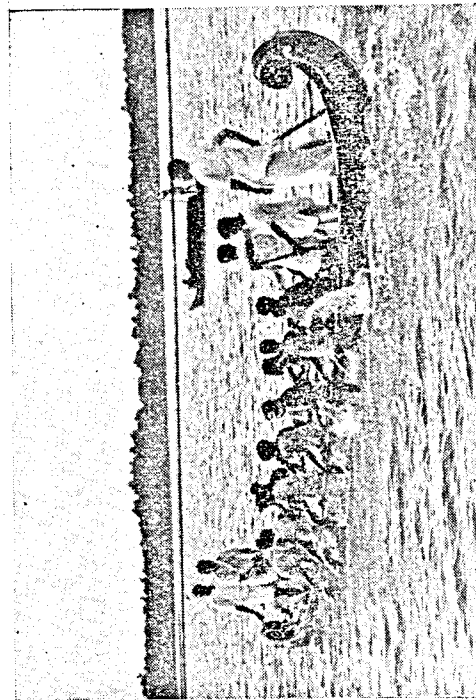
Youthful visitors going about in small rubber boats and cheering the crew



One of the race boats in action

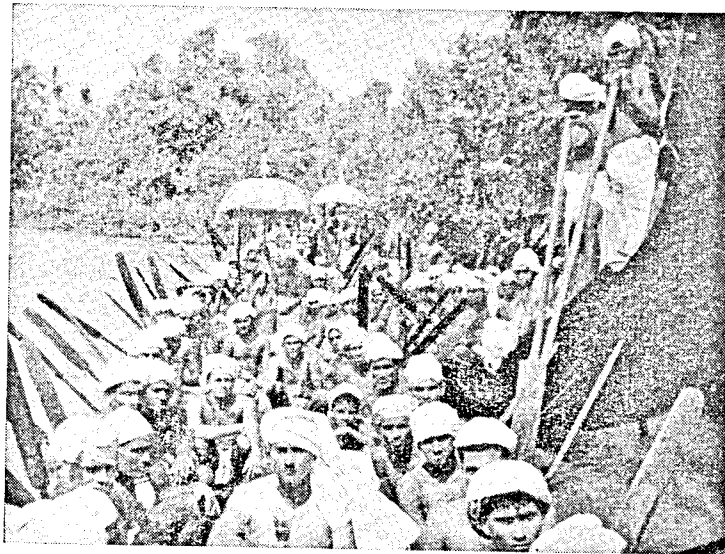


A snake boat (*Chundan*) nearing the goal



One of the winning boats nearing the goal. A typical *Chundan* boat is seen in this picture

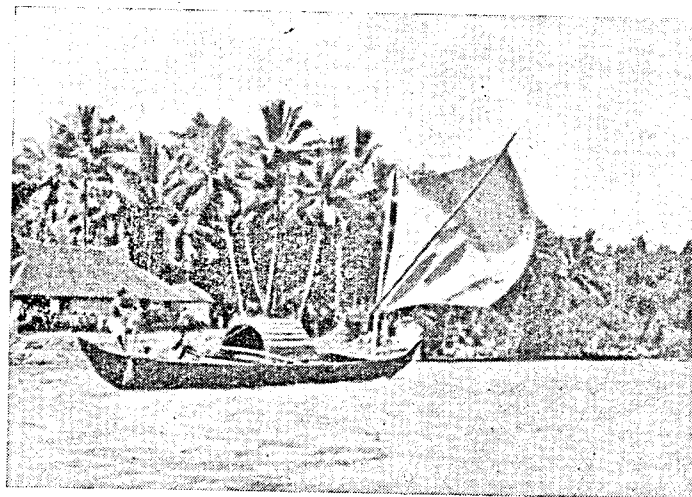
is held every year in commemoration of the crossing of the Pampa river by Arjuna, one of the Pandava brothers. The story goes that following a long period of penance and austerity, Arjuna was on his way back to his native city with the image of Sri Krishna. When he reached the northern bank of the river Pampa, he



A close-up of one of the prize-winning snake boats

found it in high floods. The great warrior stood aghast. A low-caste, poverty-stricken Hindu offered to ferry Arjuna across the swelling river in a fragile canoe. Arjuna was all joy and thankfulness. On crossing the river Arjuna installed the image of Sri Krishna (Sri Parthasarathi) he was carrying, at the spot where the present temple stands. To honour the timely service rendered to Arjuna by the lowly boatman, boat races have ever since been conducted on the river in front of the temple. The truly national character of the boat race is witnessed in the joy-imparting fact that though the Aranmula boat race originated as a purely Hindu festival, and is associated with temple, the participants in the regatta include members of all classes and communities inhabiting the neighbourhood of Aranmula. A healthy and loving rivalry exists between the different communities towards making the regatta an unprecedented success. Here is the finest flowering of co-operative enterprise, actuated not by profit-making motives, but solely inspired by warm human understanding and love of sport.

During the Aranmula boat race, the banks of the river for a distance of about three miles would be one seething mass of humanity. Visitors who have come in small canoes and boats, will be clustering round the race boats. Elaborate police arrangements are called for to maintain peace and order, for occasionally in the unrestricted mirth and enthusiasm characteristic of such occasions, and enlivened by intoxicating beverages, rivalry between the crews of different racing boats might, with the least provocation, assume an alarming shape. Passions mount up and cool down with amazing quickness during such jubilant occasions. Not infrequently old feuds and rivalries are renewed. The boat race at Aranmula is not conducted for any prize or reward but the crews consider the regattas as a fitting and grand occasion for enjoyment, and also as an act of adoration to *Thiruaranmula Appan*, the presiding deity in the temple. All the rowers of the different varieties of boats are sumptuously fed by the temple authorities before the commencement of the race. At the finish of the race handsome rewards are also awarded. The race commences in the afternoon. Popular belief is



Sails made of home-made mats are fixed to the *vallams* (canoes) and they, manned by a couple of boatmen, glide along

that the deity himself graces all the participating boats with his presence at the time of the beginning of the race. The people at and nearabout Aranmula have such implicit faith in the infallible efficacy of taking part in the regatta as a means for the conferment of health and wealth for the rest of the year that no one dares to

belittle the importance of the festival. The pious folk believe that the god never fails to inflict condign punishment on doubters and detractors who pooh pooh at the religious significance of the boat race.

Associated with an act of gratitude and divine worship, sanctified by national custom, adored by popular will, and lovingly fostered by successive generations, the Aranmula boat race, the most spectacular boat festival in Kerala, forms the subject-matter of two poetical works in Malayalam language, namely, Vilvattathu Raghavan Nambiyar's *Aranmula Vilasam*, and Perumpara Vasudeva Bhattathiri's *Uttarittathi Charitham*. Kunchan Nambiyar, the greatest poetic wit of Kerala, has put it tersely that the charm and majesty of the boat race at Aranmula, on the lovely Pampa River defy description.

Rev. W. J. Richards, one of the earliest Westerners to witness the Aranmula Boat Race, has described the scene, as follows, in his book *Native Life in Travancore*:

"Aranmula, 18th August at 5 A.M., finds us opposite the great temple steps, on which an immense and excited crowd stands, some holding long lighted cressets which are reflected in the water making a weird appearance in the grey light of morning. The river is alive with canoes, big and little, which are objects of great interest to those on the bank. There goes a stately racing boat with its prow nine feet out of the water and manned by a hundred rowers, besides a large number of singers, standing up, and keeping time with hands and feet to the plash of the oars. These boats are reported, when full, to contain 200 persons each. How proudly they stand, how exultingly they sing, how gracefully they sway to and fro! Mark the feathering of the oars, and the musical motion of the paddles stretched far from the boats and brought to the water at the end of a circular sweep. How fine the boat looks ornamented at head and stern by plates of burnished brass and large silver-headed nails, which they call 'bubbles'! This is Onam, the great festival season of Travancore, and these are high caste people performing their national boat game. These five great boats abreast make the air ring with their songs as they glide in state down the river. If we could but wait till next Monday, the 23rd, we should see twenty-five together."

Various types of boats, all home-made out of indigenous materials, are used in the boat races, ranging from the magnificent snake boat (*Chundan*) nearly a hundred feet long and with 150 rowers, to the smallest one which measures 16 feet and accommodates a dozen crew. The boats are scooped out of single tree trunks, usually *Kadampu* and *Anjili* (*Artocarpus hirsuta*). A lot of skill, labour, time and money, go into the making of these boats which are objects of envy and wonder from ages past. The most popular varieties of racing boats are called *Chundan*, *Churulan*, *Odi*, *Paranthuvalan*, and *Iruttukuthi*, and each differs from the other in the shape of the helm and prow and capacity to accommodate crew. The differences in the construction of the remaining parts of the boats are not, however, very pronounced, though the build naturally varies with the boats intended for the placid waters of rivers and lakes, and the vessels

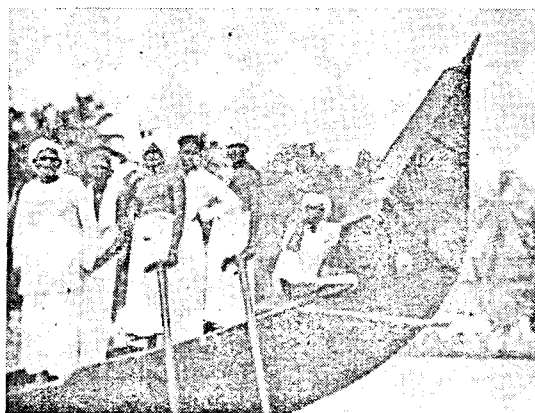
which have to ply over the open backwaters where waves and currents have to be encountered. Easy and swift manoeuvrability is the principal concern with the making of boats which race over rivers and lakes. The cut water is reduced to the minimum in these boats. Their prows and helms are raised considerably high and the streamlining is equally horizontal as well as vertical. The *Chundan* and *Odi* are such racing boats. In the construction of boats intended to negotiate open backwaters, care is taken to see that the cut water descends almost to the keel and top-heaviness is avoided by keeping the helm and prow quite low. At either end, the gunwale is curved up to prevent waves dashing in, as in the *Churulan* type of boats. The prow and helm of these boats are of identical build to facilitate easy manoeuvring.



One of the Kara Pramanis photographed in a moment of tense anxiety during the boat race

The *Chundan* (snake boat) variety of race boats is usually 38½ to 48½ *koles* (one *kole* being equivalent to 24 inches) long and accommodates 100 to 150 persons. The *Churulan* boats vary in length from 12½ *koles* to 20½ *koles*, and their crew ranges from 10 to 36. The *Odi*, also called *Cheru Chundan* has a length of 28½ to 32½ *koles*, and have 40 to 60 rowers. The length of *Paranthuvalan* varies from 28½ to 32½ *koles* and accommodates 28 to 36 rowers. The *Iruttukuthi* has also the same length as that of *Paranthuvalan* but it could take in sixty persons. Small variations in the length and capacity of the different types of race boats are met with in the boats constructed in various localities.

Of all the race boats the most imposing, picturesque, and costly is the *Chundan*, snake boat. The stern of the snake boat rises about 15 feet from the water level, and is embellished with exquisite ornamental designs in burnished brass and wood. The extent of elaborate and expensive ornamentation indicates the wealth and eminence of the owner of the boat. Long and narrow, the snake boats cut across the waters with majesty and grace. Only a few individuals, only the wealthiest landlords, own snake boats for they are very expensive, costing a few thousands. The majority of snake boats are owned by *Karas* (part of a village), the cost of construction and maintenance of the boats being met by the *Karakars*, people of the locality. In the regattas, the different *Karas* owning arce boats enter, and with determination strive their best to knock off the prize. The competition is austere and keen, in spite of the mirth and revelry enveloping it.



At the helm of a snake boat

The race boats in use in Kerala have much in common with the war canoes of the old American Indians, the Maoris of New Zealand, and some of the aboriginal tribes of the tropical countries, especially in regard to the shape and build and the manner and contrivances of propulsion. The striking similarity of these country crafts of different types of non-white races, is an intriguing subject of study, so full of historical and ethnological interest. It seems certain that originally the race boats served as war canoes of local chieftains. The ancestors of the present race boats must have played important roles in the territorial expansions of, and maintenance of peace by, the old chieftains of the principalities of Chempakasserry (Ambalapuzha), Kayamkulam, Thekkumkoor (Changanacherry) and Vadakkumkoor (Kottayam). It may be that the present annual boat races had their glorious origin in the annual fleet reviews, with which in course of time traditional secular and religious associations came to be linked; and that with the disappearance of maritime warfare, and consequent on the liquidation of the petty principalities and their absorption into the

State of Travancore, the grand, imposing fleet reviews took on the role of picturesque, national pageants, reminding past glories and achievements.

Dressed in spotless white cloth, with white head gear gracefully tied, the leading men of the *Karas* take their places in the race boats. The helmsmen, gay, experienced and confident, stand on the tall stern of the boats, with paddles in their hands. It is astonishing to watch how these veterans nonchalantly perch on to the high stern, without losing balance, when the snake boats gleam across the waters throwing silver spray. The long, graceful snake boats are launched by dozens into the broad river amidst songs and loud cheer. Red and green silk umbrellas, resplendent with gold and silver brocade, and brightly coloured flags waving merrily in the breeze, are carried by some of the *Kara Pramanis* (leading men of the locality) who take their places of honour in the boat. In rows, one behind the other, sit the rowers with paddles. Songsters, pipers, and other folk occupy every available inch of space within the boat and lustily cheer the rowers. The oarsmen putting every ounce of their energy into their deft strokes which splash gleaming spray, the race boats shoot forward like foaming horses, while the large crowds of spectators from either bank send up a chorus of loud and continuous cheers. The voice of the rowers too breaks out in spirited songs. Heard in a true oriental atmosphere, these songs assume a military character, in spite of the normally peaceful dispositions of the rowers and other participants.

Several boat songs of high literary and musical charm have been specially composed for being sung during boat races. The loud singing of the boat songs by groups of people, each knowing his part perfectly, joining in just at the proper moment, without any hitch, provides delight and encouragement to the rowers and lookers-on. The best known *vanchipattu* (boat song), a classic in Malayalam literature, so full of lyrical charm and high poetry, is Ramapurathu Variar's *Kuchela Vritham*. Interesting and intriguing are the circumstances in which this boat song came to be composed by a poverty-stricken poet and sung before a sovereign. Ramapurathu Variar, a poet liberally favoured by the Muse, but emaciated by poverty, was advised by his friends to pay his respects to the then Ruler of Travancore, who had come to the Vaikkam temple for worship. When the poet reached Vaikkam on foot, greatly tired and actually starving, to his absolute disappointment and agony, he saw that the Maharaja was about to embark on the royal boat on the return journey to the capital. The haggard and pity-evoking appearance of the poet caught the searching eye of the Ruler, a patron of arts and letters. The Royal Master summoned Variar to get into the boat which the poet did with alacrity. On being told that Ramapurathu Variar was an indigent but devoted scholar poet, the Maharaja commanded him to sing a suitable boat song to the accompaniment of which the oarsmen could row, without feeling fatigue.

The poet began to sing the story of *Kuchela Vritham*, Kuchela's visit to Sri Krishna. The story was, indeed, most appropriate, for Variar like Kuchela was the poorest and neediest human being, and the Maharaja, like Lord Krishna, was blessed with all wealth, pomp, and power. The story goes that the song *Kuchela Vritham* which began to be sung at Vaikkam, ended when the royal boat reached the Trivandrum landing ghat. The Maharaja realised the plight of his subject, the modern Kuchela, and proved himself to be a veritable Sri Krishna by honouring the poet with riches and awards. *Kuchela Vritham*, a short, exquisite narrative lyrical poem, sung in the row boat tune, is the most popular and heart-touching of the boat songs in vogue. With 32 *matras* in each line, this boat tune conforms to the metre of the other popular paddle boat tunes which too have 32 *matras* to the line. The tune is full of life and vigour and well suited for the purpose.

Kuchela Vritham was composed in the first half of the tenth Century M.E.

People of Kerala are by nature fond of festivals. Witty and humorous, the Malayalis react with rare calm philosophic outlook and fortitude to changing vicissitudes of fortune. Their national festivals wield considerable energising, integrating and entertaining influence. In their festivals, so full of colour and charm, and abounding human appeal, Kerala art and culture live and speak a direct and popular language. "Festivals, when duly observed, attach men to the civil and religious institutions of their country, it is an evil therefore when they fall into disuse." Bearing in mind these words of Southey, it is the duty of every Malayali to keep alive the national festivals of Kerala among which boat race is the top-ranking one.

(Talk broadcast from All India Radio, Trivandrum)

Photographs by K. P. P. Tampi

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RELICS OF JAHANGIR'S REIGN

By U. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.,
Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer

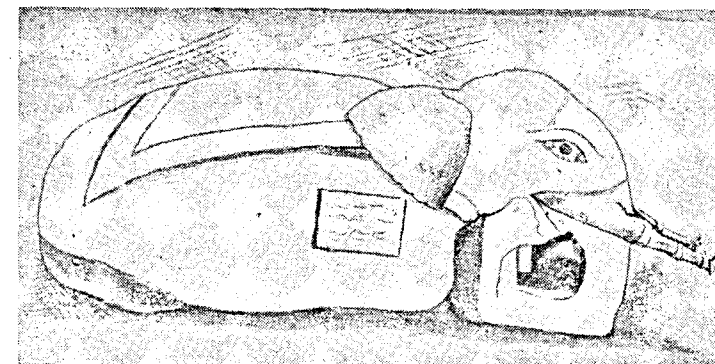
NEAR beside Ajmer to Kishangarh road there is an old *baori* (stepped well) in the Gangwana village (District Ajmer) at a distance of about 8 miles from the city of Ajmer. Some years ago I discovered in that well, attached to a side wall, an important and hitherto unknown Persian Inscription in course of my exploratory tours as Curator, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. Gangwana which is so much associated with the Mughal Period of Indian History possesses also other relics of antiquarian interest.

The inscription under consideration is incised on a long stone slab measuring about 6 feet in length and 15½ inches in width. It has 12 lines of writing. At the end of this epigraph there is an effigy of an elephant nicely executed. The date can be clearly found out from the last line as A.H. 1024 (=1615 A.D.). From this date it seems that this stepped well is of the time when the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) was reigning.

The object of this new inscription from Gangwana is to record the construction of a *Sardaba* by one Gaj Khan. The following reading of lines 1-3 and 11-12, though imperfect in many respects, may be of interest to some scholars of Persian who may like to take up this hitherto unknown Persian epigraph for

proper editing in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*:
SEE TEXT

A word regarding figures of elephants assignable to the time of Akbar and Jahangir. Both these Emperors are credited with carving elephants "with masterly skill and true to nature." In Rajasthan "nearly every



Hati-Bhata
(Jahangir's Elephant, Ajmer)

stronghold of importance had its Elephant Gate ('*Hatipol*'). Even at Ajmer there stands one such colossal elephant made of black marble bearing the date A.H. 1022 (=1613 A.D.). Tradition had it that due to his really artistic taste Jahangir had shaped out of a huge natural rock at Ajmer (jutting out of earth)

the true religion and however useful and necessary the observances and ceremonies may be, they forfeit their spiritual value when they are divorced from the spirit. It is a matter of deep satisfaction that the Vedic religion and Buddhism, the two great religions that India produced, were noted for the freedom of thought, that is yet in a nascent state in Europe. Read the Upanishads and you will be surprised to see a bewildering variety of tenets, theories and practices. But this difference did not lead to religious feud, state control, censorship or persecution by the rulers. However deep and wide the divergence of the creeds and practices might have been they were allowed to flourish side by side. The Buddha appeared in a time noted for the emergence of various prophets and exponents of religious and ethical dogmas which were sharply opposed to one another, and the rivalry among them and their followers was too keen and pronounced. But they did not receive opposition either from the rulers or from the leading sections of society. About one thing the State and legislators were adamant in their attitude. They would not allow any faddist to upset the social order, laws of the State and established usage and custom, unless they were found to be obnoxious and detrimental to the well-being of the nation. The overall effect was not insalutary, as the theories which were morally and intellectually weak were superseded by stronger ones and the intellectual progress of the people of India registered a high water-mark. As the legacy of the past intellectual fermentation we have got the six major schools of philosophy on the side of orthodoxy and the Buddhist and Jaina schools of thought, which still arouse our admiration and stimulate our logical faculties. The differences of philosophers and of the followers of diverse religious persuasions have not spelt a disaster, because in India these have remained purely spiritual forces without any political affiliation or socio-economic repercussion. Religion becomes a prolific source of danger when it becomes an instrument of political self-aggrandisement and economic exploitation. We have had the bitter taste of the baneful effects of religious differences harnessed to power politics and of the propagation of alien creeds.

It cannot be denied that in the history of mankind professional religion frequently allied itself with powerful sovereigns or political confederacies and became an engine of persecution of the opponents. Political jealousies, rivalries, greed, vanity and self-love are the perpetual weaknesses of men and nations and they have been responsible for the untold sufferings of mankind in the past. But when they succeed in securing the support of religion and thus the alliance of God in the prosecution of their nefarious plans, they become a thousand times more dangerous. Religion then opens the gates of hell and by deaden-

ing the conscience of the tyrants and putting a spiritual veneer upon their base brutal instincts, it induces the moral degeneration of the persecutors and by depriving the victims of the necessary amenities of life and freedom of expression hastens the downfall of the latter. It becomes a terrible scourge, because it is apt to rouse the perversest form of fanaticism, which deprives greater and greater gratification, the more horrible the injury it succeeds in inflicting upon the weaker and less organized peoples and countries. If religion be summed up in these creeds, the sooner it is abjured and condemned, the better for the present and the future development of mankind.

Is it then our conclusion to place a universal ban upon religion and banish it to the limbo? Russia has been making an experiment in this line and we are yet to know whether it has succeeded or the results have been such as to justify the enterprise. All attempts in the past to demolish God have only ended in the installation of a new divinity in the place of the older ones. Buddhism and Jainism do not believe in a personal God as the creator of the world or dispenser of justice. They believe in the natural efficacy of the moral law to produce its own consequences and no intervention of a spiritual agent is deemed necessary for the purpose. So worship of God is only waste of time and labour. But what has been the result? The promulgators of these faiths have been deified and are worshipped by the faithful. The instinct to worship is as primal and as ineradicable as the animal instincts which make for self-preservation and race-preservation. So there is no escape from it. It is there and the more we try to abolish its sway the more powerfully it comes back putting on a disguise which will not deceive even a casual observer. There is every likelihood that Marx and Lenin will be worshipped as gods in the near future. So mere denunciation of religion will not do. The catalogue of the sins of religion may be inflated beyond calculation, but ultimately it leaves the human mind cold and unaffected. You may change gods but cannot do without one or the other. Call it *Maya*, Superstition, Original Sin and what not, but one cannot be rid of it. Cheap condemnation will defeat itself. The source of religion is to be traced to the inherent constitution of the human mind.

The irrepressible impulse and urge of the human mind for self-improvement and dissatisfaction with the *status quo* and conquests over ignorance are the augury and guarantee for infinite perfection, nothing short of which will satisfy man. The ambition of man is infinite. It cannot be dismissed as a delusion and mockery. The progress in knowledge achieved up-to-date and the continuous recession of the past frontiers of knowledge afford an assurance that the limits to human intellectual advance are neither stationary nor insurmountable. The better and nobler minds are not

prepared to own defeat. In every field man is not satisfied with his achievements or the legacy of his ancestors. In the ethical plane the overall progress of mankind has not perhaps been commensurate with the intellectual strides. But here also he will not bow to the inevitable. The goal is yet distant, but distance lends enchantment to the view and will not stifle man's aspiration and will to conquer. Our ambition, though not consciously articulated, is to be perfect in every plane and this gives the assurance and hope, if not logical or mathematical demonstration of immortality and after-life. The croakers and philistines in every age have poured ridicule upon man for his foolhardiness and folly in his chase after the will-o-the-wisp. But they have failed and will fail. Man is not satisfied with bread and butter and creature comforts. In these days of food problem and the mounting prices of essential commodities, which have made our existence a continuous source of vexation and dishonour, the slogans and seductive addresses of the advocates of the new cult of materialism may have a temporary success with the poor and the down-trodden. They exploit the social injustice and the ineptitude, engendered by inexperience and sudden accession of power of the rulers, which are the stumbling blocks in our country. But the basic immoralism and impiety of the new creed are its clay feet and it will crumble to pieces, as soon as a new adjustment of socio-economic forces will liberate the people from the thralldom of economic misery. But we must not sit idle and follow the policy of drift trusting to a natural turn of the scale in the opposite direction. The scale has to be turned only by the collective goodwill and persistent efforts of the progressive sections of mankind. We must be on the alert at home and in schools and colleges so that our boys and girls may not fall an easy prey to the mercetricious propaganda of the agents and evangelists of the dangerous creed. Self-complacency will only add to the strength of the enemy.

The victories of our ancestors over the materialists in the past are no guarantee of an easy success in the present struggle. The opposite forces are more organized and the technique they follow is far more effective and powerful than in the past. Besides the alliance of materialism with the economic forces and the frayed temper caused by social injustice with the apparent sanction or inaction of the professional custodians of religion has made it a formidable force. The wages of our past sins are coming home to roost. We must make amends for the past delinquencies which we have inherited together with their wealth from our ancestors.

What should be our *modus vivendi*? Neither by preaching the mildewed dogmas, nor by pandering to the baser instincts of the people, nor by appeal to the prophets of the old can we hope to survive the

onslaughts. We shall fail to save religion by the old tactics, which succeeded with the intellectually backward peoples in the past. The rivalries of religions must cease. I cannot understand why there should be this overpowering zeal for seeking converts? Proselytizing religions have been the worst criminals in the past. If you have a good idea, a more efficacious way of regenerating the weak souls, give it freely to all. You are all welcome in this holy mission. Enlighten the ignorant, help them in ameliorating their conception of godhead and elevate them to a better and higher moral level. But that does not necessitate the change of name, dress, mode of living and eating and the consequent uprooting of the beneficiary from the national *milieu* and social moorings. What is necessary is the spiritual upliftment of the less fortunate and not his metamorphosis into an alien pattern. What we need is saints and spiritual giants, whose holy life and teachings will stimulate our love for holiness and not paid or professional missionaries, who by conversion of the masses by physical force or economic temptation will create inseparable cleavage between the new proselytes and the followers of the traditional mode of life.

Our experiences are too bitter in this regard. The Karens and the Buddhists in Burma cannot unite into a nation because religion stands in the way. The Muslim converts from among the Hindus have been hypnotized into the belief that they are a nation apart and have nothing in common with the Hindus. Religion has been a source of dissension and disunity and its baneful influence is not at an end. The reason of this woeful state of things lies in the vanity and the megalomania of the *soi-disant* prophets and their followers. Instead of scattering blessings they have showered curses and the escape from their clutches is now sought in the cap of no-religion, which is born under extremely powerful auspices and is manifesting the fanaticism far more ruthless and unscrupulous and uncompromising than all past religious movements. Religion, if it is to be a source of happiness and blessing, must renounce all political affiliations and alliances and must not aim at sabotage of social heredity. If there are problems of society, state or economic organization, the solution must be the task of social reformers, political thinkers and professional economists. Religion must stand aloof and avoid entanglement in the turmoils of controversies and bickerings, which are bound to be passing phases. Social conditions will change, and if religion be committed to a particular socio-economic pattern it will become an obsolete force, or what is worse, will seek to perpetuate the pattern which has become a misfit.

There is no doubt that religion will have its repercussion on the social consciousness because the human mind does not live in watertight compart-

ments. But let the influence be free and spontaneous and not engineered. For God's sake let us desist from the fatal and futile course of action, which may have been followed by the past generations, of confounding the things of God with the things of Caesar. *Religion is the pursuit of spiritual values* and reaches its consummation in the realization of Truth. *God is Truth* and our innate love of truth and allegiance to truth and goodness are our true worship of God. If any particular religious denomination discovers a new truth or a new approach to truth, let it make a free gift of it without stint or reserve and without exact-

ing the price of national humiliation, which ceremonial conversion entails. Let the holy saints of all countries and nations seek to convert the soul and follow the example of the scientists and philosophers whose life is a dedication to the pursuit of truth and who impart their discoveries without stipulating a cruel departure of the beneficiary from his national *status quo*. It is in this way alone religion can be a perpetual incentive to progress and the goal will be reached when man will attain the full stature of the divine which is his ultimate destiny.

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AUSTRIA—THE LAND OF MUSIC

By DR. MISS INDIRA SARKAR, M.A. (Cal.), D. Litt. (Paris)

THE music of Austria is born out of its landscape, it is deeply rooted in the hearts of its people. There is a special magic in the air, which bewitches the musician as well as the poet. Several hundred years of development have prepared the way for Austrian music. Already in the twelfth century, we find Reimar von Hagenau stating that all the people of Austria, rich and poor alike, are fond of dancing and playing the fiddle. Walther von der Vogelweide, a very famous minstrel, sang his loveliest songs at the court, and Neidhart von Reuenthal played for the common people and urged them on to dance.

In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we find the Austrians building up the musical life of Europe and the best composers played at the Austrian court. The establishment of the Viennese Court Chapel for Music, under the patronage of Maximilian the First, enabled Austria to occupy the central position in the musical creativities of the times. Important men like Heinrich Isaac, Ludwig Senfl, Paul Hofhaimer, the greatest organist of the day, brought glory to Vienna and helped in the development of spiritual music in Austria which budded forth the finest blossoms in the whole world.

Both the nobility and the common people took delight in religious musical works and its maintenance was encouraged very warmly even to this day. All great men, working in the realm of tones, in the Catholic country of Austria served the "Musica Sacra." The instrumental Church-music was a real product of Austrian talent.

During the seventeenth century, we find that the operas, the oratorios and the cantatas were introduced, and in this domain, the Italian composers like Cesti, Coldara and Bertali carried away laurels at the Austrian court. It laid special importance on luxurious settings of opera pieces. The Habsburg kings like Ferdinand

III, Leopold I, Joseph I and Karl VI were known to be lovers of art and music. The masterly achievements of many talented composers and musicians, which played an important part in the history of Baroque music, took place during their rule. Among the well-known musicians, during the time of Leopold I, mention may be made of Johann Joseph Fux, who composed more than 18 operas, 10 oratorios and many religious works. He paved the way for Gluck and the followers of the Viennese classical school of music.

Along with the Baroque drama, which was greatly appreciated by the upper circles, we find popular elements, like ballets and singing comedies being introduced, for the enjoyment of the masses.

With the death of Karl VI, a turning point took place in the history of Austrian music. Maria Teresia ascended the throne, after the death of her father, and had to face many financial burdens. She introduced simplicity and austerity in court-life. This brought about the disappearance of the luxury and pomp of the Baroque opera in Vienna. The Court Theatre was converted into a National Theatre. It was directed by a private person and gave access to everybody, be he rich or poor. Italian and German operas were performed in it alternately, as well as French singing plays and ballets.

At this period, the spiritual tendency in Europe turned towards the popular and the simple in poetry, music and art. The Italian and Austrian composers had to adapt themselves gradually to the new influence. Italian musicians, like Scarlatti and Salieri, and Austrians like Gassmann and Dittersdorf worked in the new light and laid the foundation for the Sonata and the Symphony form of music. This eventually reached its high-water mark in Viennese classical music.

The composer, who bridges the transitional period in the opera, between the Baroque spirit and the simple tendency in classical music, is Christoph Willibald Gluck.

He was of the opinion, that the musical and the dramatic were inseparable in works of art and were to form one complete unity. Gluck, as conductor of musical programs, toured all over Europe. In London, he met Handel and in Paris Rameau. Here he studied the happy combination of ballet and choir. These foreign contacts stimulated his spirit. The Viennese Court had already recognised him as a composer for the theatre and chamber-music pieces. The Pope had presented him with a medal. At this stage, Gluck wanted to introduce a classical reform in music. To this period belonged his works like "Orpheus," "Alceste," "Paris and Helena," "Iphigenie auf Tauris." He was crowned with success in Austria and Paris. At the end of his rich creative life, we find three great masters, viz., Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven coming into the lime-light. They proclaimed a new epoch in music and Austria finds herself again the olympic champion in the art of tone and music.

At about this time, we find Joseph Haydn, the oldest Viennese classicist, working at the court of a prince. He came to Vienna at the age of eight, as a choir boy. He had already learnt to play the piano and the violin at that tender age. He began to compose early in life, to the great anger of his music teacher, who turned him out into the street. One cold November morning, he was picked up by a Church singer, half-frozen and half-famished. He had lost his voice and had to struggle for eight long years, giving tuition to young boys, and thus earned his daily bread. He, however, feverishly sat down to compose with great enthusiasm. It was in the house of Count Farnberg, where some musical soirees used to be held, that the string-quartet of Haydn came into existence. At the age of thirty, Haydn was confided with the task of conducting the princely orchestra in Eisenstadt. He was connected with this work for more than thirty years and during this time, his musical talent rose to great heights. He became the creator of the classical string-quartet and the early form of the classical symphony. After the closing down of the orchestra in Eisenstadt, he returned to Vienna. He made two interesting trips to England. For this tour, he specially composed twelve princely symphonies. In Oxford, he was bestowed with an honorary doctor title. Thanks to his stay in England, he composed there "Die Schöpfung" (The Creation) and "Die Jahreszeiten" (The Seasons). Five days before his death in 1809 he played the national hymn of Austria once more, which he had composed himself. Haydn's great urge to create gave to the world one hundred symphonies, numberless chamber-music pieces, piano concertos and sonatas, twenty-four operas and many pieces to be played during Mass Service in Churches, which are of great merit, due to their popular spirit and their simplicity. It may be said that sonatas and symphonies are the creations of Haydn. A musical world had been created. Through instrumental music, Haydn became the inventor of the classical style in

music, which was to be perfected fully later on by Mozart and Beethoven.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born in Salzburg in 1756. Wonders are always happening in the world, though the cases are few. At the age of four, Mozart first wrote his piano concert and at five, he composed minuets. All on a sudden, he also started to play on the violin and no one ever knew, when he first started playing that instrument. His father organised concert tours with his son and gifted daughter, Nannerl, and both children toured the whole of Germany, England, Austria and Italy giving performances. Everywhere Mozart was received with the same enthusiasm and was proclaimed the "wonder-child"! At the age of seven, he printed his first sonata, which was published in Paris and soon after, his first symphony followed suit. Joseph II ordered him to compose an opera, which turned out to be "Bastien and Bastienne." With fourteen years of age, Mozart became concert-master at the orchestra of the Archbishop of Salzburg. The Pope gave him a medal. He was showered with honours from all sides. His operas increased, only his financial position never improved. Again at the age of fourteen, Mozart became a member of the Philharmonic Association of Bologna. He mastered the violin, the piano and the organ. Mozart followed his first visit to Vienna by a second one and this time he cut off all connections with the princes and the courts and accepted no more help from them. He wanted to be a free composer and not a slave of courtly whims and fancies. This stage marked a turning point in the life of Mozart. He now wrote his immortal masterpieces, viz., "Die Entführung aus dem Serail" (The Abduction from the Seraglio), "Die Hochzeit des Figaro" (The Marriage of Figaro), "Don Giovanni" and "Die Zauberflöte" (The Enchanted Flute), etc., But his pecuniary position remained as miserable as before. In 1788, he wrote his three great symphonies one with its strong differences in theme, the other known as the tragic symphony of Mozart and the third, commonly called the Jupiter Symphony, full of glory and victorious power. This hard work brought Mozart's life to an end. Before his death, he wanted to hear once more his "Enchanted Flute." After his death, very few friends attended his funeral. He was buried in a collective grave. Once, an old woman wanted to visit the grave of Mozart and the grave-digger was unable to say, where it was to be found in the huge cemetery. So little was taken note of this great genius. One really has to wonder, if later generations can ever make good that which contemporaries have overlooked, in the way of celebrating and recognising the merit of their great men. Mozart is now immortalised all over the world and especially in his homeland—Austria.

The way was now being prepared for the rise of Ludwig van Beethoven. At the age of sixteen, he came to Vienna, in order to become a pupil of Mozart. The latter noted the talent of the boy and remarked that Beethoven would one day make the whole world speak

about him. He was the son of a drunkard and was born in 1770. His childhood was spent in great distress and misery. At the age of twelve, he composed his first piano variations and sonatas. His mother died of tuberculosis and thus early in life, Beethoven was faced with great hardships but he was determined to stand the struggle of life boldly and not be totally overpowered by it.

At the age of twenty-two, Beethoven again came to Vienna. The landscape and atmosphere of Vienna were responsible for inspiring this titanic giant of music, with melodies and tunes, throughout his life. The Vienna woods, the vineyards of the neighbouring villages and the pastoral greenness of the country-side were sources of inspiration to him. About Beethoven's work must be said, that his music was a unique realisation and a unique confession. It was a transitional movement from hell to heaven. It was harmony in the midst of chaos.

His work, "Eroica," was an heroic piece of music. The dark, unearthly and powerful element can be traced in the fifth symphony. The sixth symphony known as the "Symphony Pastoral" was filled with a note of sweetness. In the ninth symphony, we find the note of joy expressed, at the conquest of obstacles. No other man has composed works similar to those of Beethoven. Some pieces like "Cariolan," "Egmont," "The third Overture of Leonore," "Fidelio" and the "Missa Solemnis," which is the crowning piece of all Church-music ever written, remain unparalleled in beauty and grandeur in the world of music. Beethoven was sought for by many publishers and was paid handsomely for his compositions.

But already at the tender age of twenty-six, Beethoven noticed that he could hear a buzzing sound in his ears. A shrinking of the ear-nerve had set in, which ultimately led to complete deafness in later years. What could be more tragic in life, than for a great musician, not to be able to hear his own music? In his writing entitled "Holy Cities Testament" we get an insight into the agony of his soul. He writes: "Oh you people, you think that I am violent and ironical, you do me wrong. You do not know the secret which makes me appear to you so. My heart and soul are always filled with gentle feelings of friendship. I am always ready to face difficulties. But just remember that since six years an incurable sickness has befallen me . . . Born with a fiery and lively temperament, I have to withdraw from society early in life and lead a lonely existence. What a humiliation it is for me, when others hear a flute from afar and I cannot hear it, or some one hears shepherds singing in the meadows and I cannot hear anything! Such experiences almost drive me to despair, very little remains for me in order to put this miserable life to an end. Only she—Art holds me back."

Soon Beethoven could not hear anything and everyone was compelled to make him understand by writing. He was too proud to admit his sickness. He could

not hear a single tone and yet he wanted to conduct the performance of his ninth symphony in 1824. He was unable to hear a single sound and the orchestra was obliged to follow the signs of his baton. Great was the applause after the second movement, but he could not hear the cheers of the people. The singer on the stage made signs to Beethoven, that he should turn round and bow before the audience, who were roaring with enthusiasm. In the year 1827, Beethoven breathed his last on a stormy night and left a mourning world around him to lament his loss and miss his departure.

Among the great crowd, that took part in the burial of Beethoven was also Franz Schubert. After the burial Schubert went into an inn and drank a toast to Beethoven. A second toast was drunk to the successor of Beethoven. Little did Schubert realize, that he himself would follow into the glorious footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. Some nineteen months later he died,—the great prince of songs,—hardly thirty-one years old. Schubert was a dreamer. He had a short span of life and Vienna was the place, where he composed songs of all kinds, many Mass music pieces and symphonies.

Schubert was born in 1797. He learnt to sing, when quite a little boy and was introduced into the boy-choir at the age of eleven. At this age, he began to write his first music pieces, against the wishes of his father. At the age of twenty-one, Schubert gave up his post as a teacher and devoted himself entirely to the writing of music. His friends looked after him in a touching manner and introduced him to people, got his pieces printed and found him a dwelling place. Many musical soirees were organised and Schubert composed new items and played them before his enchanted audience. The Biedermeier form of music found its perfection in the music of Schubert. He has written more than six hundred songs, six Masses, thirty pieces of chamber-music, four hundred piano pieces, seventeen stage compositions and nine symphonies. Next to Beethoven, this instrumental dramatist also found himself to be an instrumental lyricist. Schubert's pieces breathe the atmosphere of his times. Noted among them are "Erlkonig" (Erl King), "Gretchen am Spinnrad" (Gretchen at the Spinning Wheel), "Forellequintett" (Trout Quintet) and "Wanderer Phantasie" (The Phantasy of a Wanderer).

At the age of twenty-six his health began to deteriorate, without any hope of improvement. He resigned himself to his lot. He gave his first concert, in the year 1826 and that year was also marked, by his sudden death caused by typhus. His "Unvollendete Symphonie" (Unfinished Symphony) remained untraced for over half a century. It was the music of sorrow and joy of life. Unfinished is also the appropriate word for the untimely death of Schubert. Schubert is very popular. When his pieces are played, then every one recalls the life of a great musician, who dedicated himself at the altar of

music. Austria is rich in brilliant sons, who devoted their lives to the glory of music.

With the death of Beethoven and Schubert, we find the period of transition, between aristocratic and popular music completed. Many academies were founded in Vienna, in the domain of song and music, in order to awake and expand the desire in the hearts of the people, to sing and compose music.

A new period is now ushered in, with the appearance of Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauss. They are the fathers of popular and gay music in Austria. Their waltzes and menuettes, polkas and marches, thrilled all music-lovers of Vienna and their melodies were hailed by people in all corners of the globe. In 1825, Johann Strauss junior was born to Johann Strauss senior. Both the father and the son were great composers. But the son became more famous than the father and got the title of "Walzerkönig" (The King of Waltzes). Although, forced by his father to learn book-binding, Strauss junior ran away from home at the age of fifteen. He played the violin in the famous Lanner quartet. At the age of nineteen, he conducted his own orchestra, playing his own compositions. He became an open rival to his father and surpassed him with sparkling success. His waltzes like "Morgenblätter" (Morning Leaves), "Wiener Blut" (Viennese Blood), "An der Schönen Blauen Donau" (On the Beautiful Blue Danube) and the "Kaizer Walzer" (The Emperor's Waltz) are all world-famous. He travelled extensively all over Europe and America, conducting his music. In Vienna, Strauss junior conducted his orchestra, consisting of more than three hundred men. Sometimes, he even gave more than ten performances, in one single day. He wrote five hundred pieces, among them fourteen operettes including "Eine Nacht in Venedig" (One Night in Venice) and the "Zigunenbaron" (The Gipsy Baron). His music too belonged to Viennese Biedermeier art. No other land can claim to have given so much joy to lovers of music like Austria.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, three new stars appear in the musical horizon of Austria, viz., Brahms, Bruckner and Wolf. Johannes Brahms was born in 1833. He came to Vienna in 1852, where the charm and atmosphere of the place kept him rooted until the end of his life. He followed into the footsteps of Beethoven. His admiration of the Austrian scenery, inspired him to works, which were composed on the shores of the Kärntner lakes, in Styria, in Salzkammergut and in the surroundings of the Vienna woods. Viennese popular songs and Viennese waltzes inspired his own creations, which include four symphonies, over two hundred songs, many pieces for chamber-music and orchestra-pieces. He died in 1897 and left a vacuum in the music life of Austria.

Anton Bruckner was born, in 1824 as the son of a village school-teacher. He too began his life as a choir-boy and finally became a teacher of music in Linz, where he

taught for twelve years. His compositions were so highly appreciated, that he was called to the Conservatory of Music in Vienna and was awarded the title of Doctor of Music, from the University of Vienna. He did not try to philosophize or express some ideas in his music. He composed music for the sake of music, art for art's sake, as we may say. His music came from the heart of his deep, religious temperament. His music resembles the festivity and the mystery of the Catholic Church. He came into contact with the works of Richard Wagner. Bruckner formed the transition between the classical and the romantic period of musical compositions. He died in the year 1896, and he had to his credit nine symphonies, three great Masses and numerous pieces for Church-choir.

Hugo Wolf was the creator of numberless songs filled with a unique sensitiveness. He was always in great tension and his emotions swayed from joy to sorrow. His music too expressed these sentiments. In less than half a year, he had put more than three hundred and fifty poems to music. His opera "Corregio" is well known as also his poetic symphony "Penthesilea." Being of a nervous temperament, he found himself in an asylum at the age of thirty-seven. His life was full of hardship. He had to face great difficulties in the domain of money. All these things soon led to the breakdown of his health.

In the twentieth century, we find in Austria, Franz Lehar occupying the most important place in music. Others are Gustav Mahler, Franz Schmidt and Richard Strauss.

In recent times, every one has heard the names of Wilhelm Kienzl, Julius Bittner, Franz Schreker, and Arnold Schonberg. Future historians of music will some day also write about these great masters of modern times.

After making a rapid survey of all the great composers of Austria, in the past and the present, we must conclude that this country is really the land of music par excellence. Every Christmas Eve, all Christians celebrate this day by singing the beautiful hymn of "Stille Nacht Heilige Nacht" (Silent Night Holy Night) in their homes and churches. The music of this hymn was composed by Franz Gruber and the text to it was written by Josef Mohr. Both these men, the musician and the poet, are also Austrians. There is no doubt, that Austria is a wonderful country for art, music and culture. She attracted the best talents in music from all over the world to its metropolis, including those from Germany, Italy and France. She excelled in great musicians of her own as well. There is something in the air of Austria, which brings forth music. Even in future years, she will continue to delight the whole Western world, where her music is highly appreciated and loved, by creating new pieces and melodies.

ABANINDRANATH TAGORE A Tribute to His Memory

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

TODAY is a red-letter day in the history of Bengal, in the history of Indian Art, nay, in the history of Asiatic culture, for, on this day, 83 years ago was born in this city Abanindranath Tagore, a nephew of Rabindranath Tagore, who was destined to re-kindle the flame of Indian National Art, which had ceased to burn for many decades and which Indians had forgotten under the de-nationalizing influence of British dominion in India.

To re-discover the threads of old Indian Art at a time when the whole of Bengal was under a black shadow which shut out all lights, to recognize and understand the age-old spiritual ideals of Indian culture, was itself an achievement worthy of a great seer, worthy of a great pioneer. To General Cunningham belongs the credit of discovering the key to the interpretation and understanding the edicts of Asoka and his message of peace at a time when all Indians had forgotten the language of Mauriyan Prakrit.

To Abanindranath belongs the credit of deciphering the old vernacular language of Indian visual art which all Indians had completely forgotten and when all Indians were suffering from the inferiority complex that *Indians had no Art of their own*, and, that Indians must learn how to express ideas in forms and colours through the imported and borrowed languages of European Art. He not only recovered the lost language of national Indian art, but also helped the Indian nation to recover its self-respect, to realize and value its forgotten spiritual treasures, imbedded in the various schools of Indian painting, still surviving in the brilliant records of the many phases of the Art of India.

At a critical moment of the nation's history, Abanindranath raised the standard of revolt against the fetish of Western culture and the slavish imitation of Western forms of art and gathered round him a select, if not, a numerous host of followers, who shared his belief in the unique possibilities and the future of the language of Indian art. The torch, rekindled from the dying sparks of a glorious past, he held above his head and called upon others to follow, and those who had eyes to see and ears to hear did not hesitate to respond to his call. The stream, that had lost itself in the desert sands of a period of perverted ideals and misdirected enthusiasm to imitate the manners and methods of European art, began to flow again in an ever-increasing volume. The lost threads of a glorious tradition were picked up at last and the long history of Indian painting was resumed again and began to be written in a new and brilliant chapter of new achievements.

To study the language and the various idioms of Indian painting, he started to make a unique collection of the surviving masterpieces and to piece together from

these relics the outline of the old history of Indian painting. As a connoisseur of art of refined sensitivity and of liberal sweep and insight, it was possible for him to recognize new beauties and sterling qualities in all creative works of ancient masterpieces, then despised and neglected by the art-snobs as incompetent and insignificant. By his intensive studies he discovered a highly developed, but a wholly original aesthetic language, recorded and exemplified in the old masters of the East, which was equal, in a different way, to the Art of the West. In this new discovery, equal in a different way to the Art of the West, Dr. Tagore anticipated by several years the discoveries of the English critics, Laurence Binyon and Roger Fry.

This, the assembling together of a set of typical master-pieces of the old and forgotten art of ancient India, afforded a valuable group of materials and apparatus for the study of the unique and original qualities of Indian Art, a study of which gave him valuable data and instruments for building up not only *the new art of today*, but also for indicating the path of *the newer art of tomorrow*.

Tagore claimed that the traditions of Indian Art were not dead forms but were surviving as a living language with a rich vocabulary capable of further developments and new adaptations and new formulations to meet the demands of modern India, her new outlook and ideals of life. He, therefore, sought the materials for the development and formulation of a new language of Indian painting, not only in the old Indian masterpieces, but also in the works of European Art, principally in adopting and utilizing European principles of composition and division of spaces. He was not, therefore, a mere Revivalist of old or archaic traditions, but a champion of new forms, based on the foundations of old; for his appreciation of the values of old traditions did not mean a return to the past, nor an exclusion or rejection of modern influences from the West, nor an unwillingness to undertake new experiments in new ways of expression, putting the basic languages of Indian painting to new uses and new applications.

In 1903, Tagore painted his first two miniature pictures in oil, in the new and eclectic language formulated by him. Exhibited at the Exhibition of Indian Art at Delhi Durbar, under the titles: "Last Days of Shah Jahan" and the "Capture of Bahadur Shah," they earned warm praise and a silver medal in appreciation of the fact that the old Art of India received a new birth, and the technique of the old Moghul school had received a new development. Years of strenuous experiments followed in the illustrations of legends of Radha and Krishna and of various topics of Pauranik and Buddhist legends, presenting old and hackneyed topics in new formulations and new techni-

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ques. The products of this period were published in colour-plates in the pages of the famous art journal, *London Studio*, and were acclaimed by European connoisseurs as very commendable attempts to develop old traditions in new and vital presentations. His illustrations of 'Buddha and Sujata,' 'Abhisarika,' and the illustrations of "Meghaduta" created quite a sensation in the brilliant demonstrations they gave of a new development of Indian painting.

He now brought together a group of disciples whom he initiated into mysteries of the principles and practice of the language of Indian painting. These new disciples were Nandalal Bose, Surendranath Ganguly, Asit Kumar Haldar, Samarendranath Gupta, Hakim Khan from Lucknow, and Ventappa from Mysore, an enthusiastic group of sincere workers who helped to build up a "New School of Indian Painting," working ceaselessly under the direction of their Guru and the leader of the new movement.

In 1914, at the invitation of an Art Society in Paris, Tagore and his disciples sent choice examples of their works for exhibition at the great European centre of Art, where the foremost critics and connoisseurs of Europe gathered to heap on them a unanimous verdict of warm and reverend tributes. The reputation of the new school was built in a day, and Reuter telegraphed to the Calcutta dailies the news of the success, which was flashed in blazing head-lines: THE TRIUMPH OF ABANINDRANATH IN THE EXHIBITION OF INDIAN PAINTINGS IN PARIS.

Modern Indian culture was on that day placed on the map of the World's Culture. Commissions came thick and fast from many publishers in England to the members of Tagore School, to illustrate books on Indian subjects. The house of Harrap published several paintings by Tagore and

his disciples to illustrate the *Hindu and Buddhist Myths* and the *Studio* published a series of illustrations from Omar Khayyam by Abanindranath, which proved a magnificent success.

This brought about a change in the outlook of the British educational authorities in India, who came forward to replace the English Principals in the Government School of Art by appointing in their places the disciples of Tagore. Thus Samarendra Nath Gupta went to take charge of the Mayo School of Art at Lahore, Asit Kumar Haldar was appointed the Head of the Government Art School at Lucknow and Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury took charge of the School of Art at Madras. In this way the movement that began in the city of Calcutta spread all over India, establishing the claims of indigenous Indian painting as the legitimate and valid method of expressing Indian ideas and Indian sentiments through the national language of Indian Art.

A second laurel from Europe came to Tagore and his group of disciples, in another triumphant exhibition, held in Berlin in 1923, earning a chorus of admiration from the German critics, who made the significant remark that "in these new creations India has recovered her own spiritual consciousness enslaved and obscured by the depressing condition of a foreign domination."

In recovering the Indian mind from the domination of a spiritual slavery, Abanindranath played a greater role than those who worked to achieve political freedom. India still owes to this spiritual prophet, the great champion of National Art, a memorial worthy of Indian Art, and worthy of India and her great spiritual destiny.*

* A talk delivered at the All-India Radio, Calcutta Centre, on the 21st August, 1934.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Rajeswar Das Gupta"

I have read with surprise Sri Indu Bhusan Chatterji's communication in the June number of *The Modern Review* in which he has denied that he is the writer of the article on the late Rajeswar Das Gupta published in the issue of *The Modern Review* for September, 1953.

Sri Chatterji has tried to damn the late Rajeswar Das Gupta with faint praise or I can say his praise is acidulated with scorn.

Whether the late Rajeswar Das Gupta was a pioneer in the field of agricultural research is a matter of opinion. But I have to remind him that the late N. G. Mukherji's valuable works were all written in English whereas my father's were written in Bengali; besides he has to his credit: (1) the invention of the "Rajeswar Plough," (2) the introduction of the deep well system for irrigation and (3) the researches regarding the building up of an improved breed of Bengal

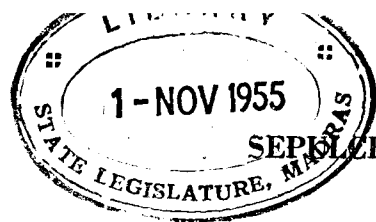
Cattle in the Rungpur farm and many other achievements which have been appreciated by experts and agricultural workers.

If seniority is to be regarded as the title to be called an "expert" or even "pioneer" why reject the claims of men like the late D. L. Roy, Dwijadas Dutt, Girish Chandra Bose and B. Chakravarti?

Regarding my father's career in the Sibpore College, agriculture was not a subject in the General Course of study and he must have taken agriculture as a special subject. There cannot be any question of misleading the reader.

I deplore the thread of an attempt to belittle the article that runs through the remarks. And I hope it will not be necessary for me to trace that attempt to its source.

J. C. DAS GUPTA



SEPULCHRAL URNS OF ANCIENT SOUTH INDIA A Pre-historic Antiquity

By J. A. KOILPILLAI

INDIA has a civilization which dates from remote antiquity. It traces back to a period during which the art of recording the events of the day was unknown. Hence there are many unwritten chapters of ancient Indian history. Our knowledge of this period is drawn from very scanty materials. No doubt archaeology lends a helping hand to the historian. Even then the result is far from satisfactory, as we have very few finds of the ancient past—I mean pre-historic period—which could yield reliable information to the student of history. It is the object of this article to gather some facts about an ancient relic which is subject to the above limitation.

In modern India we are quite familiar with the different ways of disposing of the dead. But in ancient South India a race of people followed a different method the traces of which are not to be found at the present day. Archaeologists have brought to light evidences of this strange mode of sepulture in pre-historic South India. These consist of large earthen jars containing human bones in advanced state of decay. The sizes of these urns vary with the age of the persons whose remains are found in those jars. The largest was about 11 feet in circumference and the smallest between four and five feet. These burial urns have been found in many parts of the Tirunelveli District in the Madras State especially in Adichanallur, Korkai and Kayal which are sites of historic importance. These urns are found in scattered places as well as in clusters. Generally they occur at the sites of buried towns. Historians are puzzled by these interesting finds as they do not afford sufficient data to establish the identity of the persons whose remains are interred in this curious way.

These urns are large, one-legged, elongated, globular earthen pots. They are narrow at the neck and they swell out towards the middle and terminate at a point at the bottom so that they can keep the upright position only when they are surrounded with earth. These urns have flat conical covers on the preservation of which depends the condition of the contents. The mode of interment remains a mystery. The neck of the urn is so narrow that the body must have been reduced in bulk either by dissection or by pounding before it could be passed through the narrow mouth. But such an unseemly manner of dealing with the dead body can hardly be imagined even in that remote period. Another

theory is that the body was burnt and that the bones were placed in the urns subsequently. But no traces of calcination have been noticed in the urns. In some of these jars were found highly polished vessels which had the appearance of black glaze and the decay of the blackened vessels seems to have given rise to the theory that the bones had been calcined. But there is no reason to think that cremation was then in use. The only other possibility appears to be that the entire jar was divided into two parts and that the dead body was placed in the lower part and that the upper part was subsequently fitted with the other and cemented so artistically and perfectly that the dividing could not be detected. This is not improbable as the earthen vessels found in the urns show unmistakable skill in workmanship.

In only few cases do the urns contain complete bones of skeleton. Many urns contain a skull or part of it or some other part or bones of the skeleton. From that Mr. Rea draws the conclusion that the people in those days followed the modern system of interring a selection of the bones. But this view overlooks the fact that there were no traces of bones in some urns and that in others there were only fragments of the harder bones the rest being little more than a mass of earth. Therefore paucity of complete bones of the skeleton was perhaps due to decay. In addition to human bones small earthen vessels and husks of rice and millet are found in most of the jars. A number of such urns in Adichanallur were examined by Mr. Rea. In some cases iron implements and weapons, vessels and personal ornaments in bronze were found. In a few instances gold diadems were discovered. This last must surely have been limited to persons of rank and importance. Dr. Caldwell concludes that the object in view in placing vessels in the urns was that the ghost of the departed might be supplied with ghosts of eatables and drinkables together with the ghosts of suitable vessels for eating and drinking in the other world. At any rate some of the implements found in the jars indicate that they were used for sacrificial rites.

The people who live in the neighbourhood of the places where these urns occur know nothing about the people by whom this mode of interment was practised or of the period in which they lived. There is however a legend current among them about the people who were buried in those jars. It is said that in *Treta Yuga* people used to live to a great age.

Though they grew old they did not die. The older they grew the smaller did they become. They became so small that it was found necessary to keep them out of harm's way. Their fellow creatures achieved this object by placing them in the little triangular niches of the walls of their houses. At length the younger generation lost patience with their ancestors and placed them in earthen jars and put with them their vessels containing food and drink and buried them in a sort of cemetery near the village. This is purely a myth and it seems to be a confession of ignorance rather than a reasonable explanation. Such a wild theory has been invented, perhaps in order to explain how the body was found in a jar with a narrow neck and why vessels of daily use were found in the jars. Anyway this theory is falsified by the fact that the bones found in these urns were clearly those of normal beings and not of pygmies.

The name by which these urns are called in Tamil does not throw much light about their history. Dr. Caldwell says that this name assumes three forms: (1) *Madamudakkattali*, (2) *Madamadakkan-dali*, and (3) *Madamatan-dali*. He explains that the meaning of the first two forms is the same, viz., the tali or large jars which boils over. The idea is that the little people who were placed in them used sometimes to come out of the jar and sit about as if they had boiled over out of them. But this theory is too absurd and fantastic to deserve any serious consideration. The third form of the name is used by the common people of the neighbourhood. Dr. Caldwell says that the term "*Madonmatta*" is sometimes used in Tamil to mean "very large." The important characteristic of these urns is their great size. Hence, we may safely assume that the name current among the common people merely draws attention to the principal feature of those jars—their large size. Thus etymology does not help us much in solving the problem.

The only points that can be regarded as certain are those which have been ascertained by the internal evidence of the urns. It is clear that the people who were buried in them were neither pygmies nor giants but men of ordinary stature. The skulls were similar to those of the men of the present time. The teeth were worn down by eating grains. When one of those finds was discovered, Dr. Fry, Surgeon to the Resident of Travancore was present, and he pointed out that the molar had been worn down by eating grain and that the edges of the front teeth had been worn down by biting some kind of parched pulses. In another jar opened by Mr. Stuart and Dr. Jagor at Aditta Nallur (Tirunelveli District) a head of millet was found. The grain had disappeared but the husk remained.

These unknown people must have lived in villages, the jars being found not one here and

another there, but arranged side by side in considerable numbers as would naturally have been done in a cemetery or burial ground. Most of the sepulchral urns occur either in the immediate vicinity of buried town sites or in the midst of broken pottery and ashes. This circumstance is significant and it can not be explained as a coincidence. It is reasonable to suppose that the race of people whose dead ancestors were buried in the urns were suddenly attacked by a powerful enemy and the entire race was wiped out without leaving a single individual to transmit the history of their civilization. There is no reason to think that they were the ancestors of the people now living in the same neighbourhood, as no trace or tradition of such a strange mode of sepulture has survived to the present day. It appears fairly certain that they were aliens. Who those aliens were and where they came from it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty. Dr. V. A. Smith says that jars similar to these urns occur in Babylonia where they were coated with bitumen in the inside. The Indian examples substitute for the bitumen a black smear, a false glaze. This fact seems to indicate that pre-historic South India was connected with Babylonia. Or it may be that a band of Babylonian merchants settled in South India and formed a separate community and flourished in a high state of civilization, and were ultimately destroyed by their enemies. The objects found in the urns represent the people in a comparatively advanced civilization. They required and made certain vessels for culinary and domestic purposes. These vessels show considerable skill in the art of pottery. These people were acquainted with the value and use of metals.

Whatever the religious tenets of those people it can not be doubted that they firmly believed that human existence is not limited by the tomb. The practice of depositing various objects with the dead presupposes a firm belief in a future state where, they supposed, such objects would be required for use. This conception of the future was cast in the pattern of the present and hence they believed that whatever is necessary, useful, and ornamental in this world would be required in the next. This conception of the future is neither that of Hinduism nor that of Buddhism and hence it forms another link in the chain of evidence that the religion of the people who used the urns were neither the one nor the other, but anterior to both. The conclusion which seems to be most probable is that this race of people were aliens, that they professed a religion which is not current among the people of the neighbourhood and that they were in an advanced state of civilization and that they were living in peace and plenty and that they were so effeminate that they could not withstand the sudden onslaught of more warlike races.

A SURVEY OF BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD

By RAGHBIR S. BHATIA, M.A. (Econ.) (Indiana University, U.S.A.)

SINCE the early part of the nineteenth century, Britain has been one of the most important capital exporting countries. Not only have British foreign investments played an important role in India, but they have also shaped the economic development of various other countries. This paper traces the rise of British investments abroad, their geographical distribution, and their supreme importance in the British economy itself.

During the 18th century, England was probably a net debtor country.¹ But the centre of gravity of financial power, which had been moving from Italy to Portugal and Spain, and from there to Paris and Amsterdam, had now moved to London. From 1815 onwards, capital began to flow outwards from England in large quantities. The profits built by commercial enterprise, the English lead in the industrial revolution, the wars on the continent of Europe, gave England almost a monopoly of financial power for over a generation, and even until the First World War there was no centre that could challenge the supremacy of the financial citadel in London.

From small amounts, the British capital flow rose, with considerable fluctuations, until, in the year immediately preceding the First World War, more than £175 million every year was being invested abroad.² The outstanding capital in foreign countries had grown from £100 millions in 1825-30 to £3763 million in 1913.³ The First World War resulted in a decrease of the capital outstanding abroad by about 25%, but subsequent investments, although they did not compare with the rates attained before the First World War, had raised the investments to £3640 millions in 1932.⁴ Immediately before the First World War, about half the capital saved was being invested abroad. The foreign investments comprised about one-fourth of the national wealth of England. The percentage rise in investments abroad was much faster than the growth of domestic capital.

Such phenomenal growth in capital flows in time started a reverse movement in the income on foreign investments and this income grew by leaps and bounds. The income rose from about £50 millions in the early eighties to over £200 million in 1913-14.⁵ The year 1929 brought

in an income of £230.9 millions after which, because of the depression, the income fell in 1934 to £159.2 millions. The average return on capital investment in 1929 was 6.2 per cent; in 1934 it was 4.7 per cent.⁶

Looking at the growth in income from another angle, the income from investments abroad formed an increasing proportion of the British national income until the First War. It has risen from 4 per cent in the eighties to 7 per cent in 1903 and 10 per cent at the beginning of the First World War. "When it is remembered that this is entirely an income from ownership, while the estimates of national income include the return for all forms of labor, its importance as a source of new capital becomes evident."⁷ In 1937 *The Economist* wrote:

"At present, the income from that capital [invested abroad] represents about one-twentieth of our total national income. But this is hardly a true estimation of its relative importance. Now that a high proportion of our means is spent on services of all kinds, a large part of the national income represents the taking in of each other's washing, whereas the income from overseas is tangible and net. A truer picture is given by the statement that something like one-quarter of our total imports are delivered to us, gratis, by foreign and Empire countries as a tribute upon the capital that we have lent them."⁸

There are two aspects of British investments which are extremely significant. First, the British investments have gone very largely to the Regions of Recent Settlement, such as the United States, Canada, Argentina, New Zealand, etc., and to the Empire countries. These two classifications are, of course, not mutually exclusive. Secondly, although there are few forms of enterprise in which British capital has not participated, foreign investment has taken place largely in the form of public debt and the building of public utilities, especially railways.

After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, British capital flowed mainly to Europe for the reconstruction and economic development of that region. Countries such as France and Belgium borrowed heavily from Britain. The first railroad in France was laid with British capital. But within a generation or so, these countries began to save enough for themselves.

As their financial institutions strengthened and as

the prospects for British capital began to grow dimmer, it turned its face towards the primary countries and the Empire where the virgin soil abounded in new opportunities. Apart from the very heavy investments in countries such as the United States and Argentina, it is the Empire countries that became the recipients of British capital. Not only was the political security greater in the newer regions, but the rewards were higher, with the result that, although the flow of British capital increased rapidly, the absolute amounts invested in Europe declined. But the striking increase in Empire countries is evident from the following figures. In 1880 about 20 per cent of British foreign capital of a total of £1,150 was invested in the Empire; in 1913 about 47.3 per cent out of a total of £3,763 millions, and in 1929, 56.6 per cent; and the proportion has been rising since then.⁹ In India the proportion of total investment rose from 10.2 per cent in 1913-14 to 14.4 per cent in 1930.¹⁰ In spreading their investments over many parts of the world, the British have refrained from putting too many eggs in one basket. In this respect, there is a considerable contrast with the French investments which did not flow in a very marked manner to their colonies or for the development of the primary countries. Most of the French investments were concentrated in Europe.

About 60 per cent of the French investments were in areas where their political ends were being served.¹¹ For example, a considerable portion of French investment consisted of lending to Russia where it only served to feed the war machine of the Tsars. Naturally, France burned her fingers when the inevitable disaster came. She lost 55 per cent of her investments in the First World War. Because of the unscrupulousness of the Paris issuing banks who recommended issues most profitable to themselves, "the French rentier—the most cautious of capitalists and the most credulous—was content with a gilt-edged return on securities in which no self-respecting gambler would have dabbled."¹²

On the other hand, the British issuing houses have expertly and wisely guided investments in directions which not only avoided the pitfalls into which the French investors were led, but brought great benefits to the British economy.

It is worth noting that it was not high profits alone which guided British investment mainly into the Empire countries. Some of the laws passed in Great Britain were also responsible to some extent for channelling capital flows in that direction.

In the first place, for the non-self-governing colonies, "the Crown Agents acted as issuers for the vast bulk of loans raised by the Colonial Empire. Although the loans were secured solely upon the revenues of the

borrowing colonies, the fact that they were sponsored by this centralised Imperial organ, responsible to the Home Government, gave them a credit status far higher than a single colony could command."¹³

Moreover, the Crown agents were also the purchasing agents for the colonies, and their actions naturally resulted in direct exports of goods from Great Britain to the countries receiving the borrowed funds. Although capital exports must lead to the export of goods or services ultimately in one form or the other, the link between foreign investments and exports must have seemed to investors and industrialists as direct and tangible. In the case of India it was the Secretary of State who was responsible for the purchase of commodities. The Under-Secretary of State for India said, in 1923, that 95 per cent of the borrowed funds spent abroad had been spent in Great Britain.¹⁴ The self-governing countries of the Empire had a free hand, but they, too, had financial and purchasing agents in London of their own choosing.¹⁵

Secondly, there was the Colonial Stock Act of 1900. According to this act, the securities, duly registered in the United Kingdom, of the British colonial and Dominion governments which observed the applicable Treasury Orders, were made eligible for inclusion among the "trustee securities." The loans of the Indian Government had been previously similarly privileged because their issue was subject to the control of the British Parliament. "By acquiring 'trustee' status, securities became purchasable by trust bodies and institutions whose choice was restricted closely and whose security holdings were considerable. This provided a strong market for colonial and dominion bonds within which the bonds of foreign governments could not compete. In addition the safeguards imposed by the Treasury orders augmented the confidence felt by investors."¹⁶

Another significant fact concerns the character of British investments. It has been a characteristic of foreign investments of other countries, as well as of the British, that a high proportion of these has been in the form of fixed interest bearing securities, national and municipal. Furthermore, a very high percentage of investment has taken place in railways and other public utilities. Sums, which in the first place were obtained through government securities, have been again invested largely in public utilities. In 1913, 22.9 per cent of the British foreign capital was invested in government securities, and 40.6 per cent was invested in railways. About 5 per cent was invested in other public utilities, such as electric light and power, gas and tramways, telegraphs and telephones. In the Empire countries, about 45.5 per cent was invested in government securi-

1. C. K. Hobson: "British Oversea Investments, Their Growth and Importance," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. LXVIII, *America's Changing Investment Market*, November, 1916, pp. 23-35.

2. Herbert Feis: *Europe—The World's Banker, 1870-1914*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930, p. 11.

3. Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Problem of International Investment*, London: Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 115.

4. Staley: *War and the Private Investor*, op. cit., p. 525.

5. Feis: *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

6. "British Capital Abroad," *The Economist*, CXVIX (October to December, 1937), p. 362.

7. Feis: *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

8. "British Capital Abroad," *The Economist*, op. cit., p. 363.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

10. Staley: "War and the Private Investor," op. cit., pp. 11-12 (The 1930 estimate includes Ceylon).

11. Royal Institute of International Affairs, op. cit., p. 125.

12. A. K. Cairncross: "Did Foreign Investment Pay?", *The Review of Economic Studies*, III, (1935-1936), p. 69.

13. "British Capital Abroad," *The Economist*, op. cit., p. 364.

14. Feis: *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

16. *Ibid.*; op. cit., p. 93.

ties, and about 25 per cent in railways, so that less than 30 per cent was invested in other fields.¹⁷

In 1934, 43.9 per cent of the total British investment abroad was in the form of government and municipal securities, 23.8 per cent in railways, and 5.1 per cent in other public utilities.¹⁸

Since tremendous sums, obtained by borrowing countries through fixed interest bearing securities, have also been spent on public utilities, it is quite obvious that this field has been one of the primary objects of foreign investment.

Public utilities require tremendous amounts of capital, and it is natural that the economically retarded areas and the new regions, lacking capital resources, should depend on outside aid for this field of development. Secondly, for the opening up of new areas, or for the purpose of economic development of densely populated countries, or for "exploitation,"¹⁹ or political penetration, or for carving out spheres of influence, investment in public utilities, is basic and prerequisite.

What has been the importance of foreign investment to the British nation?

First, these investments have meant a tremendous source of income. This income has been much greater than could have been obtained if these investments had been made at home. The reason why these investments were made abroad in the first place was because the prospects for profit were much brighter in foreign lands than at home.

Secondly, foreign investments have provided employment. If resources invested abroad had even partially, lain idle, the result at home would have been unemployment for these which were otherwise employed. Moreover, capital flows gave a decided fillip to the export industries. These conclusions have become much more obvious with

the development of the Keynesian theory. Previously, it was supposed that capital export would lead to contraction or deflation in the capital exporting country. But this result is not necessary when the capital exporting country is suffering from unemployment. If the funds used for capital export are not at the expense of consumption or investment expenditures, but come through the activation of hoards or through the creation of new money, then the export of capital would lead to income expansion in the capital exporting country.

Thirdly, foreign investment provided some kinds of reserve against emergencies. For instance, during the First and Second World Wars, the liquidation of foreign securities was a very important means of obtaining badly needed resources. In the First World War, the liquidation of investment to the extent of 25% took place, while in the Second World War about 45% of foreign investments were liquidated.

Fourthly, foreign investments opened up new areas, made possible a tremendous increase in raw materials and food which Great Britain imported in increasing quantities to feed her industries and her workers. Thus, investments in Canada and the United States made it possible for new wheat acreage to be brought into cultivation. In Argentina beef production, and in New Zealand dairy products were made possible by foreign investment. The cheap import of such products into Great Britain brought about a tremendous increase in the standard of living of her workers.

Fifthly, the extension in the markets for the manufactured products made possible various economies in industries catering to exports. Foreign investment was responsible for bringing about international specialization, concentration of manufacturing in Great Britain, and a large increase of income in that country which would not have been possible otherwise. But it is worth noting that Great Britain did have to make a sacrifice to achieve international specialization. Agriculture became more and more unprofitable as Great Britain freely permitted imports into the country. From 1874 to 1900 the land under wheat cultivation was reduced from 3.6 to 1.8 million acres.²⁰

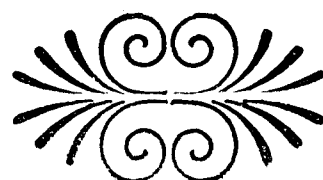
Thus, as a result of foreign investments, Great Britain gained in more ways than one.

17. Royal Institute of International Affairs, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

19. Perhaps the best definition of exploitation with regard to colonial areas is that given by Lord Malcolm Hailey: "The use of foreign capital amounts to exploitation when the administration has given concessions which fail to ensure to the revenues of the colony an adequate return for assets conceded: or when it has alienated native lands to an extent which deprives the native population of areas necessary for their normal development; or when it has assisted foreign trading interests to acquire a portion which prevents natives from taking part in building up the trade of the country or when it has assisted capitalists and settlers to recruit, or allows them to employ, labor on inequitable terms" (*The Future of Colonial Peoples*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. 21-22).

20. Sir Arthur Salter: *Foreign Investment* (Essays in International Finance, No 12, Princeton: International Finance Section, Department of Economics and Social Institutions, Princeton University, February, 1951), p. 4.



Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE BLUE ANNALS, Part I: By George N. Roerich. *The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series*, Vol. VII. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. 1949. Pp. xxi+397. Price Rs. 20.

The Blue Annals (or to give it its full title, "The Blue Annals, the Stages of Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet" written by a learned Tibetan monk between 1476 and 1478 A.D., is one of the most important works of Tibetan historical literature. Together with the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-che (written in 1322 A.D.) it forms the principal source-book of all late historical compilations in that land. But although it has been known for more than a century and has been utilised by scholars from the late Sarat Chandra Das (in 1881) down to Prof. G. Tucci (in 1933), it has not so far been translated into any European language. The present translation covers the first part (comprising the first seven out of the fifteen books) of this volume, the books dealing successively with the beginning of the Buddhist doctrine and its early spread into Tibet, the later spread of the doctrine, the early translations of *Mantrayana Tantras* into Tibetan, the propagation of "the new Tantras" and the spread of the doctrine of the Sa-skya-pas sect, the biography of Atisa and his spiritual lineage, the biography of two other Tibetan teachers and the propagation of the Madhyamika, Nyaya and Maitreya systems, and the preaching of the Tantras in Tibet. In the Introduction the author has given us valuable discussions about the sources of the work and its chronology and he has carefully verified its lists of early Tibetan kings (from the seventh to the ninth century A.D.) in the light of the T'ang Annals and the Tibetan chronicles from Tun-huang. In the body of his work the author has evidently spared no pains to ensure the accuracy of his translation and in particular the restoration of the original Sanskrit names. On the other hand, we cannot but regret that he has made no attempt to discuss the numerous references to the literary works and their authors in this volume. He has failed even to add an Index of names and subjects to guide us through this work. Nevertheless we are grateful to him for opening up to us in part a very large mass of material bearing especially upon the Buddhist Tantric literature and its incorporation into the literature of Tibet by the labours of Indian and Tibetan scholars. It will be as such a very useful supplement to the two Tibetan chronicles published so far, namely, *Pag Sam Jon Zang* of Sumpa M Khan Po (ed. Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1908) and *The History of Buddhism* of Taranatha (tr. into German by Anton Schiefner, St.

Petersburg, 1869). The publication of the second part of this work is eagerly awaited.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SARVODAYA (The Welfare of All): By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Shri Bharatan Kumarappa. *The Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-9*. Pp. 200 + viii. Price Rs. 2-8.

Sarvodaya is the latest contribution to social philosophy. The idea originated with Gandhi. He read *Unto This Last*. Of it he wrote, "I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin." The word Sarvodaya owes its origin to Gandhi. And all his actions were directed to the achieving of the ideal it represents. His life came to an abrupt end soon after the attainment of political Swaraj. Naturally, Satyagraha was the potent word then. Had he lived to work for the second stage of our Swaraj, i.e., the fashioning of a new economic order, the word Sarvodaya would possibly come to represent that endeavour and mission.

To carry forward his work the Sarvodaya Samaj was started in Wardha, India, in March, 1948, by his followers. And eternal credit goes to them that they had not linked the name of Gandhi to the organization. For that prevented (and he expected as much from his followers) a church growing up in his name.

Sarvodaya is a mighty word. It has come to stay. And it will sway the mind of men. It will be the watchword of the common man's freedom which remains to be wrought. Vinoba is the exponent of the Sarvodaya ideal. Gandhi gave Sarvodaya its background. Vinoba to make the picture complete has given it the foreground. As a good appreciation of the background is a necessary condition to the adequate appreciation of the foreground, the book under review is a welcome publication.

Part II contains selections from the writings of Vinoba and a few other close associates of Gandhi, calculated to show how Gandhi's idea regarding Sarvodaya are developing.

The two parts together will give the readers a well enough comprehensive idea.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE AESTHETICS: By Dr. Pravashivan Chaudhury. Published by the Visva-Bharati. Price Rs. 5.

The book under review is a collection of ten papers dealing with different problems in aesthetics and published in various journals at different dates. The author has made an honest attempt at a comparative study of the aesthetic theories of different thinkers by pitting them against one another whenever

necessary and thus he has been successful in bringing out the merits and demerits of the theories of the different thinkers so well-known to the students of aesthetics. In this handy volume Dr. Chaudhury has discussed both Indian and Western aesthetics. Avinavagupta, Anandavardhan and others of the old Indian *Alamkarikas* have been frequently referred to and discussed. It is really gratifying to note that Dr. Chaudhury has presented their views in modern terminology and as such has made them accessible to the English-knowing people. Of course, this is no pioneer work. It is an addition to what have already been done by Dr. Pandey and others.

The book is well-written but the author could have done even better if he had taken more pains in adhering to his standpoint steadily. A few inconsistencies in the work may be briefly noted here. In his paper, *A Sketch of a Theory of Poetry*, he remarks that 'a poem is a communication of an (?) universal sentiment' and in the next paragraph he writes that the 'objectivity and universality of poetry is relative to human mind.' If there are such things as universal sentiments and poetry is an expression of such sentiments, could we call the universality of poetry 'relative to human mind'? In Chapter II, Dr. Chaudhury writes: "Feeling as enjoyed or apprehended becomes aesthetic relish (called *rasa* in Indian aesthetics). The objective counterpart of it is the end of art, its meaning or beauty." Has aesthetic relish its counterpart only in beauty? Dr. Chaudhury has inadvertently missed the sublime and the grotesque.

If we overlook such minor defects, the book as a whole is quite interesting. The paper entitled "A Vedantic Aesthetics" is quite up to the mark and shows the author's insight into the fundamentals of ancient Indian aesthetics. The last chapter devoted to Rabindranath Tagore's aesthetics may evoke criticism. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not point out that Dr. Chaudhury's presentation of Tagore's views and the comparisons offered are sometimes misleading. We do not accept his defence of Tagore as against Croce, and his dogmatic remarks, such as, "It would suffice for our purpose in this essay to remark that Tagore's concept of expression is far richer than Croce's and far more comprehensive," hardly bear scrutiny. However, the book may be recommended to the serious section of the reading public as a stimulant for further thinking and research.

SUDHIRKUMAR NANDI

SANSKRIT COMIC CHARACTERS: By J. T. Parikh, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, M. T. B. College, Surat. The Popular Book Store, Tower Road, Surat. Price Rs. 2.

Sanskrit literature is not, as is usually supposed, exclusively full of grave and serious matters. It has also its lighter aspect—its rich store of wit and humour. We have in the book under review an interesting study of this aspect as reflected in the character of the Vidushaka in Sanskrit drama. Characters of Vidushakas as depicted in the works of well-known dramatists like Asvaghosha, Kalidasa, Harsha and Rajashekhara are analysed and the special features of each pointed out in separate chapters devoted to particular authors. The learned writer is conscious that besides the Vidushakas there are other interesting characters, comic and humorous, in the vast range of Sanskrit literature, but he has left them out for later consideration. We hope he will

soon come out with a companion volume incorporating a study of these characters and give us in future a comprehensive work dealing with the element of humour in Sanskrit literature as a whole.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THE PHILOSOPHY OF UNION BY DEVOTION: By Sri Jnanananda Abadhuta. Second Edition. Published by Mahanirvan Math, 113 Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta-29. Pp. 214. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is an English translation of the author's Bengali book named *Bhakti-yoga Darsan*. The English rendering is faithfully done by Swami Nityapadananda with notes covering 54 pages at the end. The author was a contemporary of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and visited the latter often in the Kali Temple at Dakshineswar. Swami Jnanananda who was a great mystic and experienced spiritual ecstasy even during the life-time of Sri Ramakrishna is mentioned as Nityagopal in the *Ramakrishna Kathamrita*. He is the author of a number of Bengali books on religion and the founder of a religious sect.

The first edition of the book was rightly appreciated by eminent persons and prominent periodicals. A good many appreciations and reviews extending to eighteen pages are collected at the outset of the book. This book consists of twenty-six discourses of the author which are short but substantial. Devotion is dealt with in them from the Vedantic standpoint. As an ink tablet is diluted in the water of the pot, observes the author, so the individual self is merged in the Supreme Self by means of devotion. The enlightened author speaks from his personal realisation that Samadhi is indeed attained by Bhakti-yoga. The book is instructive and adorned with the pictures of the author and the translator.

A PLAY OF THE INFINITE: By Rohita Mehta. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras-20. Pp. 304. Price not mentioned.

The author, who is the General Secretary of the Indian section of the Theosophical Society, has to his credit several books on socialism, psychology and theosophy. His book titled *The Intuitive Philosophy* appeared in 1950 only. The present book is a commendable attempt to illustrate the application of that philosophy to the problems of the individual life. The thoughtful author rightly regards practical mysticism as the New Impulse needed to-day by the world for individual as well as social regeneration.

This book is divided into fourteen short chapters and very elegantly written throughout. In the eleventh chapter the three escapes from our limitations are discussed and found ineffective. The author who seems to be a practical aspirant shows clearly that neither submission nor suppression nor sublimation can enable us to escape from our limitations. It is the practice of mysticism which underlies all religions and called Intuitive Philosophy by him, can alone raise us above our weaknesses and solve our problems. In vain do we adopt other methods for the longed-for riddance. A spiritual or mystical outlook in a real sense is the precondition for the solution of our life's problems. The more this outlook takes hold of us and influences our daily life, the more clearly do we see the way out of the impasse, and enjoy the play of the Infinite in us.

This book will be a very useful guide to those who want to understand and solve the problems of life that face us day to day.

SWAMI JACADISWARANANDA

THE STORY OF TWELVE YEARS: By E. W. Aryanayakam. Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram (Wardha). Pages 16. Price four annas.

The first institution of Basic Education was opened at Wardha in April, 1939, and in these pages there is a short account of its progress throughout India during next twelve years. 'Nai Talim' as Basic Education is called has come to stay, and the establishment of Rural University on November 1, 1952, has given a complete shape to post-Basic education. As wrongly understood it is not an education for the child only but for the whole man and woman and for life and as such it is divided into four parts, viz., Adult Education, pre-Basic Education (for children under seven), Basic Education (for children seven to fourteen) and Post-Basic Education for adolescents who have completed basic education. Gandhiji's new society based on universal brotherhood and sympathy, free from exploitation and equality, is expected to be built upon the foundation of this 'New Education'; so persons interested in social reform through education will find this brochure illuminating.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN: Commerce Association, Meerut College, Meerut. Pages 106. Price Re. 1-8.

An analytical survey of the plan for the benefit of college students.

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN: By B. M. Bhatia. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi. Pages 44. Price Re. 1.

Prof. Bhatia presents a critique of the final First Five-Year Plan to the students of Economics, showing its merits, shortcomings and possible modification for improvements with a final appeal for public co-operation on the ground that although a Congress party plan, its success will help economic rehabilitation of the masses to a certain degree.

THE CHINA DEBATE—WHOM SHALL WE BELIEVE?: Pages 50. Price four annas.

MIND MURDER IN MAO-LAND: Pages 57. Price four annas.

The above two pamphlets are edited by Shri Sita Ram Goel and published by the Society for Defence of Freedom in Asia, Calcutta, as a part of the propaganda against Communism. Quotations are informative for the readers to draw their own conclusions.

COMMUNISM AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN INDIA (A Christian interpretation): Edited by P. D. Devanandan and M. M. Thomas. Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5, Russel Street, Calcutta-19. Pages 88. Price not mentioned.

This is an examination of Communist theories, ideals and practices in the light of Christian theology and philosophy. The editors besides depicting Communism of Russia, have given a history of Communism as it developed in India and have opined that much needed social revolution in India may be attained without Communism which preaches Atheism and violence besides preaching a false philosophy of materialistic interpretation of history.

DAWN OF FREEDOM: Information and Publicity Department, Vindhya Pradesh, Rewa. Pp. 123.

Sixth Annual Report of Vindhya Pradesh since the attainment of India's freedom on 15th August, 1947. An illuminating presentation of the State's progress under self-government. Well printed and illustrated.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

PARABHUTA DEVATA: Translated by Amalendu Das Gupta. Published by Prachi Prakashan, 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 380. Price Re. 1.

This is a translation of the well-known English book *The God That Failed* being contributions from six eminent persons of different nations who were once Communists or sympathetic towards Communism. According to each of them, Communism as an ideal for human emancipation has utterly failed and its philosophy has proved false. Besides, its dictatorship has degraded humanity and free thinking. The Bengali translation of this popular publication deserves to be widely read by the public who are interested to know the philosophy and the working of Communism. The translation has been nicely done and an introduction is added to the book from the pen of Tarasankar Banerjee, eminent Bengali writer.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

PRITHVISE SAPTARSHI MANDAL: By Sampurnananda. Published by Prasad Parishad, Kashi, August, 1953. Price Rd. 1-8.

The author who is a member of the U.P. Cabinet is well known for his writings on philosophy and science, and he has already to his credit a number of contributions in Hindi language. This is, however, his entry into a new field. He has written in a story form the excursion of four friends from the earth to the heavenly bodies like Chitra and other planets, where the growth of life has passed through many phases and which our scientist can just glimpse into but no more. This is something new in Hindi literature, though similar excursions are there in European languages. Jules Verne being the pioneer in the line. In the book under review Shri Sampurnanand has described a travel lasting through seven years in which crores of miles had been passed over. This is beyond our imagination, but it is a leap into the dark in more senses than one. We do not know when there will be any such aeroplane as is described in the first few pages, but if the scientist is allowed free scope in imagination, there is no reason why he should put a limit to human capacity as known so far. The author, we are told, will be quite satisfied if people at least learn to look up above the shining sky which we seem to have forgot. The jacket contains a beautiful map of the road traversed by the friends.

After all, the period described is between 2028 and 2035 A.D. Let us hope there will be some one among us who will live to see the day described in the book.

P. R. SEN

SHIKHSHA SIDDHANTA KI RUPA REKHA: By Saryu Prasada Chaube. Narayan Prakashan, Agra, Pp. 328. Price Rs. 4.

A very useful book for teachers and school managers and for those qualifying themselves as education-graduates. For, within the compass of eighteen short chapters, the author associated with the teachers' training department of a college in Agra, has covered a large ground: the aim of education, the teacher, the scope of the school, curriculum, maxims and methods in education, several project-systems, aids to education, harmony in education, examinations, kindergarten and Montessori methods, and Basic Education scheme of Wardha. A

suggestive bibliography is given at the end of each chapter. Perhaps, it is the first work of its kind in the field.

EK HAZAR VARSHA BAD: By Kaka Gadgil. Ranjit Printers and Publishers, Delhi. Pp. 184. Price Rs. 3.

The Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil, Minister in the Central Cabinet, popularly called "Uncle" Gadgil, is indeed revealed in these reminiscent and "rancou-teur" essays (translated from his original collection in Marathi under the title of *Sal Gudast*) as delightful writer with a mine of democratic sympathies and humour like those of Charles Dickens and Charles Lamb. As he writes of the hard life of a hotel-boy, of the "violent" opposition of the passengers in a fully-occupied railway compartment to his "non-violent" entry through one of its windows at midnight, of the patriarchal peasant who felt fully compensated and, consoled by the re-incarnation (as he believed) of his son, killed by a bullet during the "Quit India" movement, in the shape of his posthumous grandson, and other incidents, the reader weeps, laughs, learns and is made a little more human.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) MAHATMA TOLSTOY: By R. N. Pathak. Thick card-board. Pp. 168. Price Re. 1-4.

(2) MAHAVIR: By Ratilal M. Shah. Thick card-board. Pp. 129. Price six annas.

(3) GOSWAMI TULSIDAS: By Bhikshu Akhandanand. Thick card-board. Pp. 128. Price six annas.

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature in 1949.

They are models of short biographies and present an impressive picture of all the three great men who were more of saints than others. Mr. Manu Subedar, a thinker, a litterateur and a businessman, who is the Director, so to speak, of the concern is by instinct attracted towards subjects and topics, which are likely to prove popular and is anxious to supply books on them at the very cheapest of prices. Unqualified success is his reward.

(1) SHAMALNA CHHAPPA: By K. K. Shastri. Pp. 160. Price ten annas.

(2) ONE HUNDRED BHAJANS: By Munishri Nanchandraji. Pp. 64. Price six annas.

(3) MIRAN BAINAN BHAIJAN: Pp. 78. Price ten annas.

(4) NARSINH MEHTANAN BHAIJANO: Selected and edited by Sri Harsiddhabhai Divatia. Pp. 80. Price ten annas.

(5) KABIRINI SAKHIO: By Shastri H. M. Jain. Pp. 80. Price four annas.

(6) DOHA RATNAVALI: By Rewashankar M. Purohit. Pp. 62. Price three annas.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad, with thick paper covers in 1949 and 1950.

The first four out of these six collections contain devotional poems and songs, excepting the second which contains such poems selected from Hindi also. They present to the reader in a collective from the Bhajans of well-known old 'devotees' of God, like Shamal, Narsinh and Miranbai. Their verses are in the mouth of every Gujarati man or woman, literate or otherwise. The Sakhis (couplets) of Kabir are reproduced with their Gujarati translation. Ratnavali, the model wife

of Tulsidas, who taunted him into becoming a devotee of God instead of herself a mere woman, has written many Dohas, two-lined stanzas, advising Indian girls and women how to behave. The cheap price of the publications make them popular.

K. M. J.

SANKHIPATA JEEVANKATHA: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: Abridged from the Gujarati version by Manibhai B. Desai. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. March 1954. Pp. 253. Re. 1-8.

This is an abridged version of Panditji's life which was rendered into Gujarati by no less a person than Mahadeb Desai. The author of this abridged version has been eager to share his enjoyment of such a life with millions of his countrymen who may not appreciate the beautiful literary style of the original and of Mahadevi's version, but would be greatly benefited by a dip into the waters of the Tribeni—the life of Pandit Nehru, the struggle for freedom and the rise of the Indian masses under the lead of Mahatma Gandhi. For the new generations, for students and for ordinary readers, such an abridgement will have its value—thus argues the author of the abridgement, and the reviewer acknowledges the strength of the argument.

The forty-four chapters into which the book has been divided one each of moderate length, suitable for the purpose which the author had in view, and the Pandit's photograph and the index at the end enhance the value of the book.

P. R. SEN

BOOKS RECEIVED

A PICTURE AND PROGRAMME OF POST-BASIC EDUCATION: Edited by Marjorie Sykes. Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha, M.P. Pp. 126. Price Re. 1.

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 15. Price four annas.

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 16. Price four annas.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA: By L. C. Gupta. Atma Ram and Sons, Delhi. Pp. 53. Price Re. 1-4.

SOVIET ECONOMY—FACTS AND FICTIONS: Arun Bose versus Amlan Datta. Translated from Bengali by Jayanta Banerji. Pp. 32. Price two annas.

ASPECTS OF SOVIET ECONOMY: By Jayanta Banerji. Pp. 56. Price eight annas.

Both published by Samajvadi Sahitya Parishad, 35, Gora Chand Road, Calcutta-14.

COMMUNICATIONS IN INDIA: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Illustrated. Pp. 48. Price eight annas.

INDIA BOUND AND FREE: By P. K. Anantanarayan. Publisher, S. Viswanathan. Pp. 56. Price twelve annas.

THE CHINESE PEASANT: Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, No. 33: By Chen Han-Seng. Pp. 31. Price six annas.

BISHOP GRUNDTVIG—PROPHET OF THE NORTH: By Leonard S. Kenworthy. Nalanda Publications, N. M. Tripathi Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. Pp. 14. Price four annas.

MITHILA—A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC: By Laksman Jha. Published by Mithila Mandal, Po. Laheriasarai, Darbhanga, Mithila. Pp. 24. Price eight annas.

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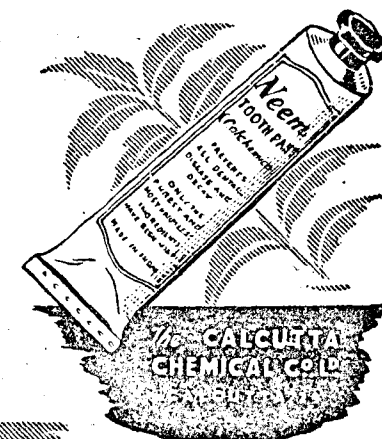
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Consumer in the Economy

K. K. Sinha writes in *Vigil* :

In the economic sense we all may not be producers of goods and services, but are all consumers. We need food, raiment and other necessities of life and are constantly buying one thing or the other. We have to. Given this fact, the producers are producing all varieties of goods and services and trying to sell these to us. There is sometimes competition between them and some times not. But it is our common experience, that we as consumers exert little influence on these producers directly as regards the volume, quality and design of production and for all practical purposes we have little choice but to accept what is offered to us. Thus we are faced with a peculiar paradoxical situation, namely, that while production is taking place to meet the demands of consumption, the consumers have little control over or voice in the matter of production or distribution directly.

The above statement is of course an over-simplified version of the actual situation. But there is a substratum of truth in it. The main motive of production has become, not meeting the growing demands of consumption, but earning profit. The purpose of production-endavour is not primarily human use, and that is why we sometimes find artificial scarcity of goods created in order to keep prices high.

Then there is another danger facing the consumers. With an effective growth of the trade union movement, the "bargaining power" of the workers in a given unit of production increases, and this increases the cost of production of the goods. The consumers' interests here are inadequately safeguarded. The only automatic check is the market. But with the growing influence of organised producers, the market price itself is influenced by them, while the consumers are seldom organised and have little say in the matter.

In recent years the State has been increasingly interfering in the economic affairs of society in the name of safeguarding the interests of consumers. When there is acute scarcity of goods (or of a particular commodity), the State controls price and movement and even organises rationing. But the State acts so only in acute situations. We have had sufficient experience of price controls and rationing to come to the conclusion that they are irksome, bureaucratic and not always effective. Further, these being State organised, become amenable to political and party influences. A "foreign" factor is thus introduced in an essentially economic problem. The party-in-power acts in the name of the people and here the stabilising or balancing influence is not the price-market, but the vote market. That is essentially a political consideration, not economic. And if the vote market itself is influenced or controlled by the party machinery or by the very nature of the governmental system such as dictatorship or ineffective parlia-

mentary democracy, the actual consumer may again find himself helpless.

Then there is the other alternative of State ownership of the producing centres in the context of a planned economy. In this case, the state as owner of the factory or industry is as arbitrary, if not more, in fixing prices as the private owner, but here even the saving grace of a market, however ineffective it may be, is absent. In other words even the semblance of an economic adjustment mechanism disappears. That is to say, the entire economy, or the nationalised sector of it is politicalised. Thus the consumer is merged in the voter. This means again that instead of being also an economic entity he becomes entirely a political unit. And if he has to exert himself as an influence in that field, he has either to join a political party or take his wee-bit chance once in five years, during the general elections.

A development often cited as an encouraging and favourable factor from the standpoint of the consumers' interests is the growth of the consumers' co-operatives. This, however, is extremely insignificant in our country and does not appear to touch even the fringe of the problem. On the other hand, where such co-operatives are growing, such as in Madras, Bombay or U.P., it is noteworthy that much of the growth is due to the fact that the co-operatives are almost extensions of the Department of the State concerned. Instead of being an organised popular movement from the bottom, they are imposed and extended from the top and maintained by various kinds of State aids and supports. This peculiarly characteristic nature of our "successful" co-operative movement (I thereby do not want to minimise the pioneering and enterprising work done by our co-operators) has tended to bureaucratised it and made it almost a part and parcel of the State apparatus. Thus its effectiveness as an organised voice of the consumers is extremely limited.

Thus we find that the consumer as an economic unit in the total economic organisation of society is atomised and ineffective. And yet all the other factors of production and distribution in the economy depend on the prosperity or otherwise of the consumers. The attempt to exercise the voice of the consumers more and more through the State, that is politically, has been experimented upon in various ways in different countries now for sometime but the net result has not been satisfactory. New chains of problems have arisen and made the situation more baffling.

Is it not then time to think of the consumers in the economy as an independent unit and evolve a mechanism and a pattern, so that this basic factor of human consumption increasingly plays an effective role in the growth and operation of the economic system of the community?

The Self-Renewal of Civilization

In an article in *The Aryan Path*, M. A. Venkata Rao, offers in the ancient Indian scheme of society a prescription for ensuring the saving of our present civilization from the decline which has overtaken civilizations in the past :

To realize that modern civilization is not the crown of all past civilizations but only one among the numerous experiments of man in the historical laboratory of culture is the beginning of wisdom in social thought. Professor Toynbee considers 21 major civilizations of which history has some record. Spengler considers a smaller number for the purposes of his reflections on the career of civilizations—the Egyptian, the Græco-Roman, the Magian, the Indian and the Chinese. Theosophy extends the panorama to vast periods of prehistory from which a core of saving knowledge has been preserved and handed on to historic civilizations. It is clear that the evolution of culture is not in the nature of linear progress. Spengler's point of view that each major, fully formed culture or civilization has an organic career of its own with well-marked phases of formation, growth and decline, is a fertile hypothesis.

The most urgent problem today is to discover how the present civilization, which in some 800 years has had a full career and seems now to be destroying itself, can renew itself.

Spengler offers no hope of the possibility of escaping the doom to which civilization seems to be subject. But it should be possible to extract from an analysis of historic social systems vital ideas that will give clues to how our civilization can survive and assure for itself a future of stability if not of continuous progress.

Nowhere are such clues more clear and more convincing, if freed from defective traditional interpretation than in the *sanatana dharma* (eternal wisdom) of India.

The collapse of civilization, whether catastrophic or gradual, is ultimately traceable to the loss of the vision of truth and to moral failure.

The influence of Marxism today flows from the partial truth it embodies, namely, that the ruling classes everywhere employ truth as a handmaid to subserve their class interests and block the road of progress for the submerged populations.

The peril facing the current civilization stems from two sources. One is the inability of liberal democracy as developed since the French Revolution to see the inadequacy of political equality and of parliamentary institutions to assure by themselves the conditions of the good life for the underprivileged. Militant trade unions, with their ideology or irreconcilable class war, are the natural result of the failure in insight of the democratic rulers in the present world. The second source of the crisis is the opposite extreme of regarding the truth of Communism as absolute and final. There has been little effort by social thinkers on either side to rise above class interest so as to envisage the elements of value in both doctrines in the disinterested spirit of truth. The scientific attitude so loudly proclaimed is absent from social thinking.

The social teaching of *sanatana dharma* shows a way out of this difficulty. What is lacking is a class of people set apart in society to pursue truth for its own sake. Society in the ancient scheme respected and supported such a class of truth-seekers, the best of whom would become Seers and Sages.

Present-day investigation and scholarship seem to show an unprecedented love of truth in the educated classes. But the truth that *sanatana dharma* has in view is ultimate truth, not particular masses of facts in the several sciences. Narada is represented as having become a master of all the sciences and arts in existence—the four Vedas, astronomy, animal lore, language and grammar, economics and politics. But still he was not satisfied. He sought instruction from Sanatkumara and learnt from him the higher knowledge of *Atma* or *Brahma-vidya*, in the light of which his previous lower learning—the *apara-vidya*—acquired vital meaning. The technologies is not enough for social pilogage.

The sciences have to be pursued in the spirit of ultimate philosophy, and all partial truths related to the whole of reality.

This is what Plato had in mind in prescribing a training in dialectic over and above the particular sciences for his "guardians." This Platonic insight is identical with that of Indian thought, which holds that rulers should be *Rishis* like King Janaka of old, representing not their own class of *Kshatriyas* but the highest interests of all. Hegel points out (though not with reference to Indian thought) that the true meaning of a "classless society" is: one ruled by a class without class interest or, rather, by one that sees its own interest in the harmony of the interest of all classes.

The class of *Rishis*, *Brahmanas*, *Sanyasis*, was expected in the *sanatana dharma* to devote itself entirely to the discovery of truth in a synoptic spirit, to harmonize or synthesize the conflicts of religions, sciences, arts, classes, dogmas, politics and economics. Their function in society was analogous to that of the flywheel in the machinery with which it operates.

A civilization may exhaust its capital of truth after an epoch of triumph and achievement. But, Spengler to the contrary notwithstanding, civilizations need not perish, like mortals, of old age. For the social organism is not completely parallel to the physical. The members of society are spiritual beings in whom the vision of the universal organism can become consciously incarnate.

A class of truth-seekers not warped by national, class, economic, religious, dynastic or personal interests has the role of opening new vistas of truth, gaining new visions of possible perfection. Today such a class, if recognized and allowed to rise to the height of its stature, should be able to offer a new synthesis of the truths of nationalism and internationalism, of

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the great religious systems, Eastern and Western, of Marxism and Liberalism and of the other pairs of extremes troubling the world-mind. The larger truth living in their personalities and issuing powerfully in their expositions and advice would have a compelling power. It is only in this way that civilizations can escape the mortal lot of individuals.

Many thinkers are today turning in this direction for hope. Henri Bergson was persuaded that the best mystics might become vehicles of the *elan vital* and carry the race to the next higher level of universality in social life and morality. They would gather a band of likeminded men who would devote themselves to piloting the ship of humanity. Professor Toynbee points to the lesson of past civilizations in which, time and again, a "creative minority" emerged to help them tide over a hard time. In India Gandhism fostered the creative minority that won national independence. But today the field of truth has to embrace the world as a whole.

The second insight of *sanatana dharma* or ancient Indian social philosophy concerns the way in which such devotion to truth is to be achieved by individuals. It requires wholeheartedness, single-mindedness, purity of aspiration, freedom from divided ambitions. Such traits cannot be developed if the whole of society is pervaded by worldly ambitions. The conviction of Plato that, in the long run, only a perfectly ordered society could foster perfect individuals is endorsed by Indian social thought and is incorporated in its ideal social institution.

To foster a leading class of persons who will find their deepest satisfaction in the pursuit of truth and its realization in society, the whole structure and spirit of society needs to be permeated with the spirit of truth and righteousness.

Two grades or levels of *dharma* or righteous living are recognized in Indian thought—*pravritti dharma* and *nivritti dharma*, which may be broadly characterized as the way of pursuit and the way of liberation. Like Plato's "guardians", the leading class in society will pursue the *nivritti marga*, the higher spiritual way, the way of disinterested service. Like Plato's "guardians", again, they will put aside all thought of personal pleasure but will take joy in the service of society and the contemplation of truth. Some of them will be full *sanyasis* (ascetics) without a family of their own and some will be householders living in the spirit of *sanyas*. Even Vasishtha, who lived a married life, is reported once to have claimed to be a *nitya brahma-chari*.

The genuine pursuit of the higher life, in its intellectual, emotional and practical spheres—science and philosophy, art and religion, family and State life—is accompanied by full satisfaction. The leading class will have their minds and imaginations occupied and held by the satisfactions of truth and beauty and righteousness. It will be natural and easy for them therefore to resist the solicitations of sense and egoism and to maintain self-control.

As for the question how such a class is to be found, Indian sociology endorses the Platonic answer that it will be forthcoming if the psychological climate of ordinary life favours its growth. Society will get the leaders it deserves. If it honours millionaires more than thinkers, it will obtain a plethora of millionnaires. If it honours soldiers more than others, it will

be ruled by soldiers, and so on. If only one standard prevails throughout society, the aim of "getting on," of wealth and conspicuous consumption, as described by the American sociologist Thorstein Veblen, all superior, energetic persons will pursue this goal, irrespective of their divergent talents and endowments. This pouring of divergent capacities into the same dominant channel of salesmanship, "delivering the goods," etc., is corrupting the present acquisitive society. Those with a love of truth are not finding the opportunities or the prestige which their role in society demands.

Hence Indian thought has recommended a pluralist system of social ideals. Different classes should advance along the line of their own inherent genius and fulfil themselves by divergent paths or vocations. The highest class is that devoted to truth—cosmic, universal, eternal—which is above all finitude. The next administrative and military class, corresponding to Plato's "guardians," will find their highest good and satisfaction in the translation of truth into law and practice and the rules of social behaviour.

This scheme will maintain a certain demarcation between different functional groups, so that different vocational ideals can prevail therein without causing frustrating imitation of one group by another. And there will be the added advantage that corruption in one group will not automatically spread to others.

Such a class of truth-seekers was expected in India to maintain itself on alms received or in pastoral and agricultural settlements in the forests called *tapovanas* or *ashramas*.

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This *ashrama* ideal is one of the greatest contributions of Indian culture and civilization to human thought and progress. It can be realized today through contributions and endowments, in modern terms, if the contributors refrain from calling the tune.

Modern societies have accepted old-age pensions for workers. It would not be difficult similarly to provide for the material needs of truth-seekers. If their function is recognized, their maintenance will follow spontaneously. Modern society needs to put the highest class of synoptic thinkers and rulers first in the ladder of rank and precedence. They will best serve society by devoting themselves primarily to truth. Even *sanyasis* who do nothing but contemplate will exert a healthy influence by showing by example that this life's values are not all.

To ensure the prevalence of this ideal, the Indian lawgivers so regulated the lower stages or levels of worldly life as to prepare the ordinary member of society to advance, in and through the process of decent living, to the higher way. *Pravritti marga* or the way of pursuit is charted in such a way as to facilitate the gradual incorporation in life of the higher universal values of the spirit. To this end, they laid it down that *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas*, administrators and traders, should pursue their calling in accordance with *dharma*. Also, study and contemplation are enjoined on all of them, though only the *Brahmanas* will devote themselves wholly to these pursuits.

If an element of science and contemplation is included in the daily life of administrators, traders, industrialists, artisans and workers—as we may extend the scheme now to these last—they will be enabled to recognize the value of persons in whom truth speaks with an unequivocal voice. The limitation of wants and the pursuit of desires within the limits of *dharma* as well as the practice of some study and contemplation as a part of the daily routine in addition to the vocational work will spiritualize the social climate.

Such a society will respond spontaneously to spiritual ideals and leaders. Only such a society will enable the philosophers or sages to rule or to influence rulers in the right direction. The central problem that exercised the great mind of Plato, namely, how to enable truth-seekers and Sages to acquire prestige and power in society and the State, has been solved in principle in the Indian social scheme: Sages will not seek power but society will be so organized as to facilitate the discovery and recognition of them when they appear. And a course of discipline is laid down both for Sages and ordinary persons.

The Indian scheme of *varna* (which it would be preferable to call *varga* now to avoid misunderstanding) *ashrama dharma* contains the creative secret of the Phoenix of civilization arising from its own ashes ready for a fresh career. It will also, if applied betimes, halt the process of decay and enable our civilization to redirect its energies towards renewal and recovery.

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The Royal Academy

The annual Summer Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts will be on view at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, until the middle of August. During the winter months, important exhibitions of works by the established master of Britain and other countries are staged in the Royal Academy's galleries. Horace Wyndham writes in *The Indian Review* :

It was in December, 1768, that a document, officially known as the "Instrument of Foundation," brought into being the Royal Academy of Arts. King George III, who signed this document as "patron, protector, and supporter" of the Academy, is known to have been subject to fits of insanity—which seems to provide some explanation of the fact that Benjamin West, whom he appointed as Court Painter, extracted from him £30,000 for pictures that would not now fetch as many shillings.

George III nominated the original members of the Royal Academy. Two of them were women: Mary Moser, a water colourist, and Angelica Kauffman, who helped to decorate St. Paul's Cathedral and Somerset House. It was not until 1922 that a similar distinction was conferred on another woman, Mrs. A. L. Swynnerton; and in 1936 Dame Laura Knight was elected a full Academician.

The first President of the Royal Academy (P.R.A.) was Sir Joshua Reynolds. The success of this distinguished and fashionable portrait-painter aroused the jealousy of some of his colleagues, but he was the right man for the post, and while he was at the helm the Academy established itself firmly in the artistic life of the capital. The annual number of works to be exhibited soon rose from 136 to 780, and the receipts from a beggarly £700 to £3,000, with a balance of £12,000 tucked away in the funds.

Thomas Gainsborough was another of the original members of the Academy, and quarrelled with most of his fellow R. A.s. In one year he sent a batch of twenty-six portraits, with instructions as to how they should be hung. "If," he informed the Council, "they are hung above the line, never more, whilst he breathes, will he send another picture to the Exhibition. This he swears by God!" A tactful Council saw that his wishes were met.

The Royal Academy has not always occupied its present home. Its first one was in some auction-rooms in Pall Mall. In 1780 the annual exhibition was transferred to Somerset House on the banks of the Thames, and in 1836 accommodation was provided in a portion of the National Gallery. In 1867 the Academy acquired the Burlington House premises it has occupied ever since. As the rent was a "peppercorn" one and the lease was for 999 years, it is likely to remain in Piccadilly for some time to come.

The two biggest events of the year at Burlington House are the Summer Exhibition of the work of modern artists, and the Winter Exhibition which is usually devoted to a particular artist or school.

For the Summer Exhibition, about 11,000 offerings pass before the Selection Committee every year. There is room in the galleries for only about 1,500 works, so that the average aspirant may regard the exhibition of his picture in the Academy as a considerable achievement. The decision of the Council is notified by the colour of the card that is forwarded to the artists—yellow for acceptance and the all-too-common buff for rejection.

In theory, if a rejected picture is not removed from the Academy premises within twelve months, the Council have a right to sell it. But, as such works would have small chance of fetching very much, the auctioneer's hammer is not often employed. One would-be exhibitor, on being officially informed that unless he took it away, his offering would be sold, wrote back: "Glad to hear it. I hope it will fetch a good price."

The day before the Academy doors open to the public there is held a "Private View." This is regarded as a social function of the first importance; and, as such, is attended by leading representatives of the worlds of society, fashion, art, literature, science, sport, and finance. Cameras click in the courtyard, and gossip-writers scribble down names for their columns. In essence, the occasion does not seem to have changed very much since it was depicted by W. P. Frith in his "Private Views" which was hung in the Academy of 1881 and is now in the Tate Gallery.

The Private View is preceded by the annual Academy Banquet which is held in the newly-hung galleries. One of the speakers this year was Sir Winston Churchill, an honorary Royal Academician.

The "Summer Exhibition" at Burlington House is the artist's shop window; it is in fact, the only Exhibition where an artist can offer his works for sale without paying any fees or commission. It is worth noting in this connection that the Royal Academy has always been financed entirely by the entrance fees and other proceeds of exhibitions (such as the sale of catalogues), and has never received any Government subsidy or grant.

At almost every Summer Exhibition the newspaper critics designate one of the works on view as the "Picture of the Year." The one that attracted the biggest crowd is said to have been Frith's "Derby Day," and a rail had to be erected in front of it to keep off the pressure of sightseers. "I found them smelling the canvas like bloodhounds," wrote the artist. This picture is now in the National Gallery. When Oscar Wilde saw it there, he struck an attitude and remarked, "Wonderful! is it all done by hand?"

James Whistler did not have a lofty opinion of the judgment of the Selection Committee. "Some of the pictures on the walls of Burlington House," he declared, "should be hung in the Burlington Arcade." But the Academy has always thrived on controversy. The opening of the Summer Exhibition is as eagerly awaited as ever, and for the next few months one of the most reliable of London's conversational gambits will be "What do you think of this year's Academy?"

Copying in Examinations

Social Service Quarterly writes editorially :

In some of our States the evil of copying in High School and College Examinations is growing and it is not possible to ignore the moral consequence of such a state of affairs. Copying and other underhand tricks are natural evils that follow the type of examinations we hold in this country. Examination has become not a device for learning, but it is a stamp of certain qualifications. It is the examination and its results that determine the quality of our teaching and students and teachers are naturally anxious to pass by hook or by crook. We still hold the view that education is a preparation for life. We lay great stress on acquiring information. We care more for results and not for the process of giving training, because the assessment of results is easier than studying the process. Cramming naturally crept in and the work of learning became dull and tiresome. Leakage of question papers became common. After the end of the World War II there is considerable deterioration in the moral standard and schools cannot escape the general corrupting influences prevailing in the public. Recently many institutions came into existence. They have to depend mainly on the income from the fees of pupils for their finances. The Government grants are only 30 per cent and therefore these schools become anxious to increase their income by admitting more pupils than they can properly look after. These ill-equipped pupils are tempted to try shorter cuts to pass examinations without working hard.

Whatever causes may have led to the present deteriorating moral standard, it is necessary to find out a solution of the present situation. The method of assessing the fitness of pupils should be changed. Examinations should not be mere tests of the memory of pupils, but should test the training which they have received. Their power of thinking and observation should also be assessed. Importance should also be paid to the day to day work which a pupil has done in his institution. Certain questions may be set to pupils in which they are allowed to use their text-books. Besides these remedies, a careful revision of the courses of studies which are suggested by various Commissions should be undertaken with a view to make education more interesting. Another improvement which is overdue is to spend more money on schools and colleges from Government grants. Schools and colleges are finding it extremely difficult to keep things going and overcrowding is the only remedy open to them to keep things running properly. Colleges are receiving such poor help from Government grants that they find it difficult to run the working efficiently. The Bombay State paid no Government grants to some colleges this year, because in the eyes of the Education Department the finances appeared quite satisfactory. This is a sorry state of things. Let us all try to improve this situation by becoming more serious about this subject of education.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Final Curtain

Manfred A. Carter writes in *Unity*, January-February, 1954:

We read some comforting articles about the Atom bombs, but we also read that our army is planning to use them, if necessary, in Europe, or in the East. Planes and rockets are ready now! Our play is drawing to a close. The old plot of power ideas comes to its conclusion. We near the final curtain. There must be a new play, or darkness.

There is a creeping terror abroad in the land, fed by hot straws in the wind of public information. Little unrelated incidents add up to horror. In 1947, *Mortuary Science*, a publication for undertakers, said that dead bodies after bombing would be radioactive and that morticians must wear lead-lined clothes. Mourners would have to file by quickly. The army booklet, *How to Survive an Atom Bomb*, denies this and says that it will be safe to handle those who have been affected. But what if the new bombs are worse? The thought still haunts us.

Dorothy Burns of New Jersey died nine months after alleged radioactive poisoning in atomic research. She filed suit for \$200,000, but died before the courts acted. A meeting of scientists was held, at Upton, New York, to try to determine the legal period of liability for injury from atomic energy, but how can that be measured which may go on for generations? And what of partial injury? A California biologist has harvested the third generation of corn descended from seeds exposed to the air burst at Bikini. He reports that the frequency of gene mutations is "extremely high." What of future generations of people, exposed like that corn?

Scientists still poke around those experimental ships, labeled dangerous when brought to the West coast after atomic explosions. We are told it was fortunate that the fish which contaminated other fish were not of a migrating kind. There are so many hints of lingering evils that we cannot be easy in our minds about the brevity of atomic explosions.

A subconscious fear haunts our cities, so that a sewer explosion in Brooklyn causes a panic. The Red Cross estimates that it would need half as much blood, plasma for one bombed city as was needed for the whole of World War II. There is a creeping terror abroad in the land but we are told to pretend it is not there.

Plans for civilian defense are haltingly instituted. We are told that bomb shelters cost too much, that decentralization is bad for business. We must have business as usual, even in the Armageddon of science. We may yet have universal military training, but our wealthy men must not be limited to \$25,000 a year income. Planned co-operative communities are taboo, even though America would be paralyzed without our great cities. Russian economy only needs a few steps back into agricultural life. She would miss her cities far less than we. We are not told that sufficiency of Geiger counters has ever been produced. The army booklet tells of gallant civilian crews who would wade

into the rubble for heroic rescues, but as yet those crews are on dead paper in office files. There are not enough doctors and there will be less, especially if we draft the pre-medical students for gun fodder. Apparently we think of this as a war of offense because America has escaped so long, but the conditions change. Old thinking no longer applies, yet many of our leaders are old men and cannot see the new day.

We frequently read of new speed devices. Our bombers fly around the earth nonstop. Russia has 350 bombers that can reach any part of the United States without refuelling. We read of rockets that go over fifty miles in the air and travel at three thousand miles an hour. Speed shrinks the world. The walls of space grow thin. Then we read a quiet announcement that work on the H-bomb has been successful. There seems to be a new "Hinge of Fate" and it creaks like a radio thriller door, but we cannot turn it off by a twist of the dial. We cannot stop its opening by a casual prayer.

These unrelated stories in the news frighten us but we are used to newspapers. What of the men who know? George Earle, former diplomat, tells Congress: "I don't believe there is better than an even chance that 10 per cent of us Americans will be alive five years from now." One scientist says that 45 million of our people can be wiped out in a single night. That is nearly a third of our population. Twelve of the greatest scientists tell us in a joint statement that one H-bomb can wipe out the largest city in the world and poison the air. Professor Einstein, who started it all with a mathematical formula, says that the H-bomb can destroy all life on earth, and his committee has tried to raise half the price of one A-bomb to inform the public of its danger. These scientists tell us that there is no defense. Glen Martin, airplane manufacturer, says that the United States has developed a radioactive cloud that "kill anyone who comes in contact with it." He says that it is effective over a much larger area than the atom bomb and "it might make the area it touches radioactive for an indefinite time." He says that the cloud is spread by wind and that its use requires a sure knowledge of the weather or it might backfire on its users. Those who have planned picnics by the weatherman are no sure they want to trust him with the safety of the world! These are not the words of preachers or poet or other dreamers. These are practical men, men who leave the prayers to dreamers. But what is practicality now?

We have been further terrified by such articles as "Hiroshima, U.S.A." in *Collier's* by our own Army booklet and that of England. The comforting text has unwritten lines for those with imagination, but the facts are bad enough. Eye witnesses tell of Hiroshima long after. Anyone who is going to write his Congress man to use the bombs right now on poor peasants in China ought first to read one of these vivid pictures of what even an A-bomb can do. It is not the sudden death at the center which frightens most of us, but the lingering effects of burns, polio, tularemia, parrot fever, psychological gases, and radiation itself. Horror can

be tided to a bomb which is worse than explosion. These are the lingering terrors of the unknown. It is terror enough to make even an unbeliever pray, how much more a Christian, but after he has spoken his mind for peace, and the means for peace. In Eliot's poem about murder in the cathedral is a line, "Clean the air! Clean the sky! Wash the wind." It is a great deal easier to do that, in a literal sense, now than after an atomic war. If what we read is true, we live in an hour of desperation. It is time for new thoughts about war and peace.

There is much Christian prayer about the H-bomb but not too much clear thinking. Confusion of utterance and evasiveness show this. The Federal Council side-stepped it. The Southern California Methodist conference voted down an appeal to outlaw the H-bomb, but some men there must have thought of it. Reports of city and state programs of prayers for peace come in but not many clear-cut resolutions or programs.

In 1945 the President said, "The atomic bomb is too dangerous to be loose in a lawless world." If that is true of the atomic bomb how much more of future terrors. And yet the only morality of our day seems to be morality of power, and many church people pass the danger off as something which cannot affect them because they are Christians. There were Christians in Hiroshima, too!

It is much easier to pray that God will take it away than to be distrusted as subversive realists. The gradual dominance of the bombing airplane seems to have submerged the power of humanitarian morality, but has it? Is there a submerged power of love and comprehension which we have not released? When the Amsterdam Conference suggested that there were higher laws than either Capitalism or Communism, a newsmagazine headlined it as "Flurry at Amsterdam." The men who rule us now would like to reduce the church to a minor agency of comforting morale and to prevent it from being a determiner of world policy. Prayers that only comfort encourage this attitude. Fond parents put a Testament in a soldier's pocket to keep away bullets. It would be quite a miracle that would save him, in the path of a rocket bomb, and a Bible on the living room table will not take the place of a bomb shelter. Even the shelter is of questionable value. Prayers for personal safety are obviously futile in the target of obliteration bombing. Personal piety is not enough for these days. Cosmic sins demand cosmic repentance. There are Christians enough to change the world, if they were led. If the few fearless journals had the circulation of popular magazines they could do this, but meanwhile we are left to word-of-mouth geometrical progression. What the people say is sometimes as potent as what they read. We cannot leave it all to God. He needs human hands and minds. Our world is ruled too much by yapping radio commentators and their masters but there is a higher power. In one

of Benet's stories, he says, "Now we followed a hairy general to an unknown battle over the rim of the world." Who shall rule America, the general or the citizen, the army or the church, Wall Street or Main Street? There is a power in our common humanity, waiting to be released.

The H-bomb is a nightmare. It has not yet been seen. Bacteriological warfare might be worse, with its lingering deaths. I am more frightened of a teaspoonful of vanilla, with a million germs in it, than of sudden death by explosion. These are not separate perils, they can easily be combined. There is a chance for truth and culture to rise from barbarism, but there is no rising from sterile, uninhabited sand.

Better to live in a police state, than to police the world with H-bombs. Bertrand Russell says that is the only way peace can come to the world through force; but the Holy Alliance of the last century could not enforce brotherhood, even on a weary world. There can be World Government but it must be on the basis of reason. Police may control minorities, not populations. Force alone is not strong enough.

The Army booklet complacently states that it would take a million A-bombs to destroy the earth. The potential of atomic energy is said to be one thousand times that of the A-bomb. Even by the army's figure a thousand times a thousand makes a million. A thousand Super-bombs can depopulate the earth.

The H-bomb spells world suicide, and Americans are trying to make it. Is there no reason left? If we are all going to die what difference does it make if Russia pulls the trigger first or we do? If two duellers are in a gas chamber, it is not the first shot but the ultimate explosion that counts.

Some of us say that we should stop making the H-bomb right now and make peace. We talk about blood-thirsty Russia while we prepare the final cyanide pill for the world! This is not reason. This is not honor. This is insanity, and it has an end in universal death. When the H-bomb is released some of us will be complete instead of partial pacifists, but it will not matter then. That will be the universal curtain call—a curtain of radioactive mist sweeping the world. They tell us if an A-bomb comes we must fall on the ground and cover our faces and not look up. That is what we are doing now when we pray and leave it all to God. God has power, but there must be a new play and a new plot and a new purpose. Otherwise the H-bomb is the final curtain for us all.

The new plot for the new play has a theme of understanding. It tolerates differences. It does not trust force. Let us move on to the new theater. Let us pray for the new world.

Yes, pray that God will control the H-bomb. But first join in some resolution that outlaws it right now. Send a letter to your Congressman. Cheer for civilians not for generals, for the people not for corporations,



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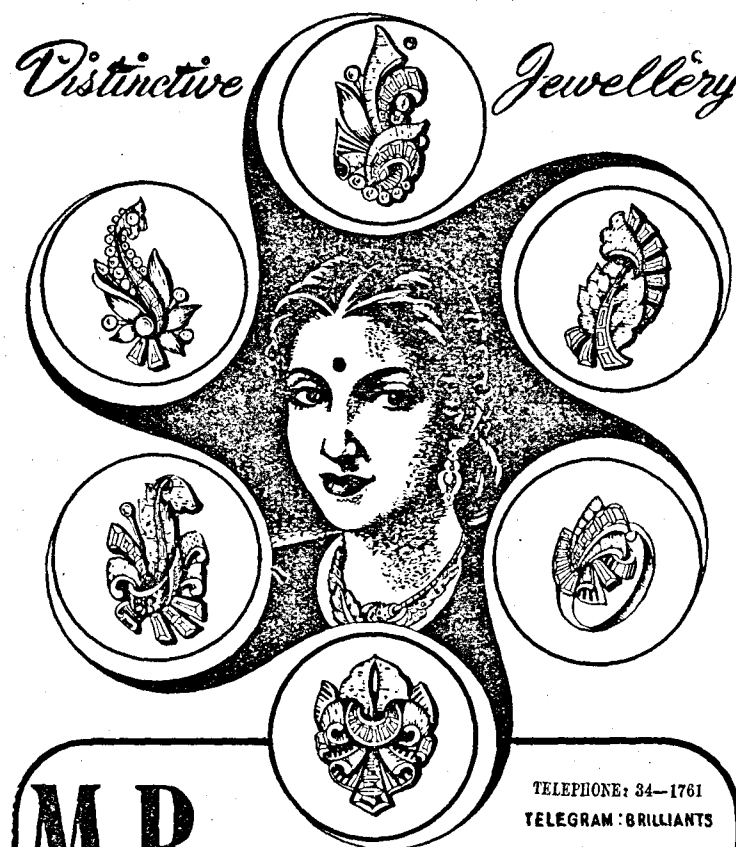
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and remember there are still people in Russia and China, people who want what we want and do not know how to get it.

Yes, pray, but not for comfort. Pray with the agony of straight thinking in an insane world. Pray after you have resisted. Pray for the strength to break up old thought patterns of a lifetime and look at the facts. Pray for courage to speak when it costs something.

Perhaps God will save a remnant somewhere. He has before in history. He does not guarantee that every praying person will be in that remnant. We cannot pray God's help until we live God's law. All the minor sins are as nothing compared to the sin of universal death. This is the final curtain for our form of civilization. Let us move on to the new theater. Let us have a government of the world, a world church, and world peace.



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Albert Einstein FIGHTER FOR PEACE

Albert Einstein, one of the intellectual giants of mankind, was 75 years old on March 14.

Born in Germany in 1879, as a child he showed no signs of being an infant prodigy. Indeed he was backward in learning to talk and his parents feared he was abnormal.

At 16 he failed in the Entrance examination of the Swiss Federal Polytechnic School in Lurich.

On the basis of our present school entrance system, it may well be that the youthful Einstein would not be considered sufficiently intelligent to obtain admission to a grammar school.

RELATIVITY

Yet it has been Einstein who has probed more deeply than any of his contemporaries into some of the most fundamental problems of science.

In the 19th century many scientists believed that all the fundamental laws of nature were already known. The future task of science was to fill in the details.

Few suspected that many of the existing theories rested on very insecure foundations.

Among the defects of these theories was the supposition that space and time were absolute, something like the grid lines ruled on a map.

The first shattering blow to such ideas came in 1891, when the famous Michelson and Morley experiment showed that it was impossible to measure the speed of light relative to absolute space.

The problems which this presented baffled the great scientists of the day. The correct answer was discovered by Einstein in 1905.

His idea was that space and time could only be understood in terms of moving bodies, in terms of real happenings. Absolute space and time, divorced from matter do not exist.

ATOMIC

A famous equation based on Einstein's theory is the basic equation of atomic bombs. It is also the equation which shows how all man's requirements for fuel and power can be met.

In all his many contributions to science, Einstein's approach is always that the processes of nature can be mastered by man and understood in a rational way.

One may disagree with some of Einstein's philosophic ideas, just as one may disagree with some of his ideas on Zionism or world government, but one cannot fail to be moved by the profundity of his scientific thought and by the sincerity of his humanism.

Dr. Theodor Herzl A MAN AND HIS DREAM

Michael Miller contributes this feature article in the *News from Israel*:

On July 21, the people of Israel commemorated the 50th anniversary of the death of a man who has been variously described as Father of Political Zionism, Modern Prophet or Modern Moses. Whatever people call him, it is unanimously agreed that Dr. Theodor Herzl was a most remarkable individual, perhaps the greatest since the days of the Bible.

He was born in Budapest in 1860, and at 18 he left for Vienna with his parents and there, after taking a law degree, entered journalism.

In 1891 he was appointed Paris Correspondent of the leading daily newspaper in Vienna, and was thus given the opportunity of gaining a deep insight into the political life around him and of developing that keen, political acumen which was to stand him in such good stead as the leader of the Zionist Movement.

The more Herzl delved into the political and social problems of this stormy period, on the threshold of the twentieth century, the nearer he drew to his people. The famous trial of the Jewish officer in the French Army, Captain Dreyfus, completely transformed Herzl's entire outlook. This trial, which was a mere pretext to intensify anti-semitic activities and to even further incite the Paris mob in their demonstrations and wild outbursts of "death to the Jews," stirred Herzl to his very depths and made him deeply concerned about the position of Jewry in all European countries. Suddenly, whilst sitting in his hotel in Paris, deep in thought, an idea flashed through his mind. The only way to free his long-suffering and down-trodden people was by the re-establishment of an independent Jewish State. This idea pursued him relentlessly, giving him no peace and consuming him like a flame. "Standing, walking, lying down, in the street, at table, during the night, when it wakes me from my sleep," thus Herzl describes the feverish desire to write, which seized hold of him in those days in 1895. It was as if he heard "Eagles' wings rustling over his head."

Before long, his book *The Jewish State* made its appearance throughout the Jewish world. Overnight the author became the natural leader of the Jews who dreamed of the return to Jerusalem.

The political experience which Herzl had acquired in his early years strengthened his belief that he must attract the masses, since without a mass movement no ideal can be realised. He decided that the time was now ripe for the convening of a Congress which would, in the future, serve as a permanent platform for the deliberations and decisions of the Zionist Movement and, at the same time, serve to demonstrate to the nations of the world the strong will and desire to solve the problem of Jewish homelessness.

The First Zionist Congress assembled at Basle, in Switzerland, on August 29, 1897. The deliberations of the Congress and, even more, Herzl's appearance and oratory, made a tremendous impression on the Jewish world. The Zionist Movement grew daily and Herzl was readily acknowledged as its distinguished leader and as the moving spirit in all its activities.

Herzl at that time proved to posterity what a great prophet he was, for in his diary he wrote after the first Congress:

"If I were to sum up this Congress in one word—which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle

In the period before and during the First World War Einstein was a resolute opponent of imperialism and of the militarisation of German science.

The Nazis attacked Einstein's theories as "Jewish science" and claimed that they were intended to give support to Bolshevism. His books on the theory of relativity were publicly burned in front of the Berlin State Opera House.

IN EXILE

Driven from his native Germany, he sought refuge in the United States in 1933. But he did not escape from persecution.

In September 1950 Congressman John E. Rankin described him as an "old faker" with a "Communist front" record.

In April 1951 he was "named" by the Un-American Activities Committee as a supporter of "subversive organisations." There have even been stories of renewed book-burnings.

The Development of atomic weapons has been of great concern to Einstein. It was he who first wrote to President Roosevelt in 1939, warning that the Nazis were probably developing atomic weapons and suggesting that such research should be initiated in the U.S.

OPPOSED COLD WAR

Later he stated that if he had known the consequences he would have had nothing to do with the atom bomb program. Again and again he has explained the unspeakable disasters which will ensue if atomic warfare takes place.

He has resolutely opposed U.S. cold-war policies. He states that the policy of "security through superior military power" has led to:

"The concentration of tremendous financial power in the hands of the military; militarization of youth; close supervision of the loyalty of citizens . . . ; intimidation of independent political thinking; the indoctrination of the public by radio, press and school; a growing restriction of the range of public information under pressure of military secrecy."

FOUGHT WITCH-HUNT

He has unflinchingly opposed the witch-hunt. He has said that anyone called before Congressional committees ought to refuse to testify even if it means jail.

He has always supported the persecuted and oppressed. Before the Rosenbergs were judicially murdered he wrote to President Truman: "My conscience compels me to urge you to commute the death sentences."

Above all he has been a resolute fighter for peace. He said:

"We scientists believe that what we and our fellow-men do or fail to do within the next few years will determine the fate of our civilization."

"And we consider it our task untiringly to explain this truth . . . and to work . . . for understanding and ultimately agreement between peoples and nations of different views."

World peace would be more secure if more scientists were to endorse Einstein's word.—*Tribune, Ceylon News Review.*

I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this today, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in 50 years, everyone will see it."

Fifty years later, on November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly voted in favour of the establishment of a Jewish State in part of what was then Palestine.

But we are anticipating. Let us go back fifty years and see what Herzl did to realise his dream.

From the outset he understood the importance of gaining friends and supporters for his project among the statesmen of the great nations. He first entered into diplomatic negotiations with the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid II, who was the ruler over Palestine and Syria. On the occasion of his first visit to Palestine, he met Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany. At a later date, he went to St. Petersburg, capital of Russia, where he was received by the Russian Minister of the Interior, and also to London where he met Joseph Chamberlain.

In his novel, *Old-New Land*, Herzl drew a picture of what Palestine would be like once an independent Jewish State had been re-established there. He says of the city of Haifa:

"Great ships lay anchored in the roadstead between Acco and the foot of the Carmel. Behind this fleet they discerned the noble curve of the Bay. . . . Thousands of white villas gleamed out of luxuriant green gardens. All the way from Acco to Mount Carmel stretched what seemed to be one great park. The mountain itself, also, was crowned with beautiful structures. A magnificent city had been built beside the sapphire blue Mediterranean. The magnificent stone dams showed the harbour for what it was: the safest and most convenient port in the eastern Mediterranean. Craft of every shape and size, flying the flags of all the nations, lay sheltered there."

Of the Valley of Jezreel, then covered with malaria infested swamps, he wrote:

"They had reached the extensive plain, which was thickly sown with wheat and oats, maize and hops, poppies and tobacco. There were trim villages and farmsteads in the valley and on the hillsides. Cows and sheep grazed ruminatingly in succulent meadows. Here and there great iron farm machines gleamed in the sunshine. The whole landscape was peaceful and joyous."

He even prophesied the development of the country's natural resources, and has made one of his heroes say:

"What was formerly the most barren, the most lifeless part of our country is now the most productive. In the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea there is bituminous lime from which we produce the best asphalt in the world. You know . . . how important phosphate is in the manufacture of artificial fertiliser The artificial fertilisers which we have been able to produce in such great abundance have, of course, contributed immeasurably to the progress of our agriculture."

Faced with the intensified persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe, Herzl came to the reluctant conclusion that the Jewish people, groaning in so many countries under the burden of their exile, must have a refuge, even if it be only a temporary one. He negotiated with the British Government about territory for Jewish

settlement in the vicinity of Palestine, namely, El-Arish in the Sinai Peninsula. Later the British Government recommended Uganda in East Africa for this purpose, but the proposal evoked great opposition, despite Herzl's assurances that the proposal was for "a temporary shelter" only.

Such was the position when the sixth Zionist Congress opened in Basle—the last which Herzl was to attend.

At this juncture it was discovered that Herzl was suffering from a serious heart complaint. In the middle of 1904, Herzl was compelled to take to the sick bed from which he never rose. He died on July 3, 1904, the twentieth day of the Hebrew month of Tammuz, which corresponds this year to July 21.

This remarkable man became wedded to his dream at the age of 35 and died at the early age of 44. In this short period of only nine years, this brilliant journalist, with his magnetic eyes and captivating personality, opened the doors not only to the palaces of Emperors and Princes, but to every humble Jewish home throughout the world. His clarion call to his people was answered throughout the years by generations of pioneers who made their way to their ancient homeland, fulfilling the biblical prophecy: "I shall build thee and thou shalt be built."

Though he did not live to see independence, except in his dreams, his grateful people half a century later re-buried his mortal remains on a hill overlooking the Holy City of Jerusalem, which today is the capital of the Jewish State.

America Adopts Ashram Idea

New York: Borrowing a practice widespread in India, some 1,400 Americans plan to spend their summer vacation this year at *ashrams*.

As individuals or in family groups, they will travel to six *ashram* sites in widely separated sections of the country. The pilgrimages will take place in July and August in surroundings of great natural beauty.

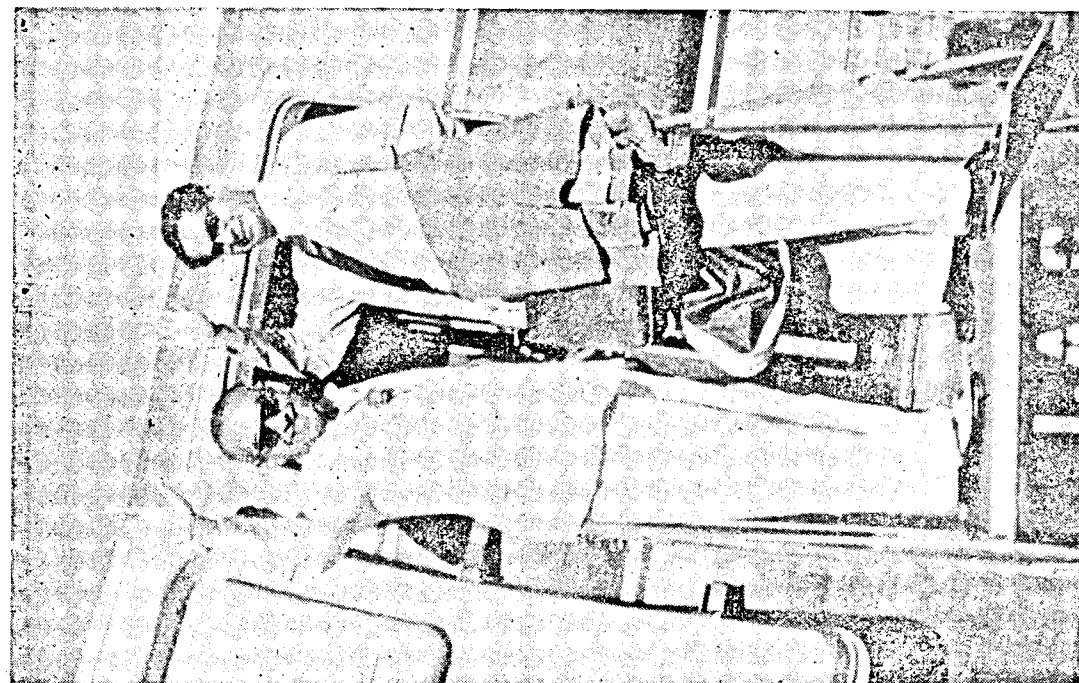
Pilgrims will gather in groups of 200 or more to spend a week in quest of spiritual repose and understanding through prayer, meditation, and unhurried talk.

Borrowed from the Hindus of India and adapted to Christianity in this country, the *ashrams* are sponsored annually by the National Council of Churches through its joint department of evangelism.

"Now in their 15th year, the American Christian *ashrams* make a unique contribution to the religious life of Americans," said Dr. H. H. McConnell, field secretary for the National Council Department and *ashram* director. "They are international, interdenominational, and interracial."

Ashrams will be held in Virginia, Wisconsin, New York, Texas, California and Oregon States.

As in past years, Dr. E. Stanley Jones, former missionary to India who introduced the *ashram* to this country, will be on hand at each retreat. Joining him as members of *ashram* "faculties"—lecture and discussion leaders—will be some 25 Christian leaders in the United States and abroad.—*American Reporter*, July 7, 1954.



Sri M. J. Desai and Sri D. P. Parthasarathy, Government of India's Delegates for the International Commissions for Control and Supervision for Vietnam and Cambodia respectively, left the Palam airport at New Delhi for Indo-China on September 2



A tenth century sandstone group of Shiva and Parvati from Khajuraho, one of the twelve antiquities sent by the Government of India for the proposed National Museum of Singapore

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NOTES

The Parting of the Ways?

To-day we stand at the crossing of the two Ways of Life, individually and as a nation. In verity, the whole world is at the cross-roads. And beyond the crossing both the paths end in *culs-des-sacs*. Artificial walls and barriers have been erected along both by the two warring camps, like the Siegfried and Maginot lines, and between them lies the uneasy pathless terrain of the No Nation's Land, across which may play the cross-fires of World War III at any moment. Korea was but a straw-in-the-wind, just a minor indicator of the end-reaction.

Which way to proceed? Standing still is impossible in a nation's life, there can only be progress or retrogression. A static condition means decadence for sure, as we, of all the nations of the world, should know, having rotted in slavery for seven centuries as a punishment for attempting to shun progress by isolating ourselves from the world outside.

To be sure, we do not want war. But, who does, excepting perhaps the few besotted Jingoists, who have neither the capacity to realise what World War with atom-fission weapons means, nor the scientific knowledge to grasp the fact that it would be impossible for one-half of the world to remain unscathed, if the other half be scorched and razed by H. bombs, unless all the winds and tides of the earth could be frozen into immobility. The poor, innocent Japanese fisherman, who has just died a horrible death from the effects of the death-ash wafted by the winds of the Pacific, has given the final testimony by his life.

To be sure, with some few of us—particularly amongst the elect—Non-violence is not merely a creed, but a Way of Life, a Faith, to be embraced

unto death. But is it not equally true that with the great majority *Ahimsa* is merely a shibboleth, a party slogan, to be mouthed in unctuous accents, so that the puissant One be pleased? Indeed, is not *Ahimsa* being used as the cryptic "open sesame" for the treasures of the forty thieves? Else why should there be so much intrigue, corruption, jealousies and jousting for power within the Congress? Even if the whole of the Congress were true believers in *Ahimsa*, it has further to be shown whether the country as a whole subscribes to this one Party, one Man, authoritarian dictum regarding the destiny of the hundreds of millions of the Nation, "This way shalt thou proceed and no other, for beyond lieth *Hinsa*!" Should the Rest, the remaining three hundred and fifty odd millions, then proceed on to the Valley of Death without reasoning why or making reply, like Tennyson's Six Hundred?

For unreasoned, unquestioned *Ahimsa* may end in death, surrender and oblivion for the whole nation, as it did for the peoples of the Indus Civilization of the Mohen-jo-Daro horizon. Let us, therefore, come down to earth, and ask for the news and presages of the way ahead.

We desire amity and friendship with all Nations. That is reasonable and understandable, provided we clarify our standpoint of view to the world, in measured terms and with unambiguous words. *Neutrality* is a vague and confusing expression, with meanings ranging from isolationism to hermaphroditic impotence. The first means decadence, resulting in enslavement, as was historically our fate, and the other abject surrender and oblivion. *These are the inexorable axioms of history.*

The world of today understands but two ways of



SAKUNTALA, ANASUYA AND PRIYAMBADA

By Satindranath Laha

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

life, the Authoritarian and the Democratic. The one is a legacy from the dim past of humanity, when all mankind lived in small isolated bands led and directed by patriarchs. The other is traceable in the West from the sages and leaders-of-men in Judea and in Greece. In the East the democratic tradition is not so clear excepting in the philosophical discourses of great sages.

Mussolini, Hitler and then Stalin had rebled the tracks of authoritarian way. The older democracies had lost and muddled the ancient traditions, in their lust for wealth and power and had degenerated into despotic colonial imperialism, and the United States was vacillating between isolationism and power-politics. This was the position in 1939. Then came the War.

The standpoint of the democracies was sharply defined during the years of the War and in the period immediately after. There was no question then, as to whether the newly formed Union of India was wholeheartedly democratic.

To-day the place of India seems to be indeterminate. The democracies of the West have aligned themselves into an armed camp, and on the other side is the Soviet group in martial array. India has refused, and quite rightly so, to enter either, and has declared herself to be neutral. This has caused one group to look askance, whereas the other has taken a realistic view of the situation.

But does that mean that we are veering away from the democratic way? Because the leader of the democracies has confused realities and bungled badly in its new diplomatic moves, does it follow that we should make confusion worse confounded?

We must realize that we have come to the crossroads. And it is imperative that we make up our minds about the way ahead. The world must be told as to what our decision is.

Is it then the parting of the ways, as between ourselves and the Western democracies? In shunning ideological wars and conflicts, are we going to step backwards into the martial arena? It is time we considered our movements, voluntary or involuntary.

We are economically backward and undeveloped in the industrial field. We have to raise the standard of living of all our peoples. Our fluid resources and technical knowledge and equipment are insufficient, though our potential is great in natural resources and man-power. Therefore we need foreign aid on a large scale, if we are to proceed rapidly. This assistance we must have on friendly terms, not as charity but as accommodation, without any conditions precedent attached beyond the terms of payment.

The U. S. Government and some great American foundations have given us aid and assistance right from the time we began our development schemes. No conditions precedent were attached. This was

accepted in the spirit it was given by all of us excepting the super-leftists of the Marxian fold and the Super-Brahmins of the Sarbodaya. Both of them saw pure power-politics in the U.S. aid, though the conclusions were arrived at in different ways.

Then came a party change-over in Washington. A very inexperienced man, with no knowledge of the East made a lightening tour of Asia and made the U.S. Government take "live-wire" and "he-man" decisions. We now witness the results burgeoning forth in rapid succession. There has been a distinct and considerable cooling-off in Indo-American amity and future relationship is being jeopardized by recriminations on both sides.

Russia has stepped in with offer of technical aid on very easy terms. There is no reason to doubt that the offer has been made in a friendly spirit, and we do not see any reason why the offer should not be considered on an amicable basis. We have no quarrel with Russia.

But let us not lose one friend in cultivating the friendship of a rival. To do that would be against the ancient traditions of the East, where friendships have always meant something more than mere lack of enmity.

The Manila Agreement

The September 12 issue of the International Edition of the *New York Times* gives, in its main editorial of the Weekly Review section, a commentary on the eight-nation agreement at Manila from which we append the following excerpts:

"The eight-nation agreement that was signed in Manila last Wednesday, 8th September, has been designated and discussed chiefly as a defense pact. The need for it arose from a common danger. It is a joint effort to devise means to meet that danger. Since the threat is military in one of its aspects, it is natural and proper that meeting the threat should also involve planning for military defense.

It is significant, however, that the accord that ultimately was reached was far broader in its scope than a mere military alliance. Indeed, the military provisions are loose and flexible and occupy only a small part of the text. This does not mean that they are unimportant. It does mean that they are only part of the picture. We earnestly hope that the military measures will never have to be employed. We hope, on the other hand, that the political, social and economic phases of the accord will be fully implemented and enthusiastically supported.

This is, both in the preamble to the pact and in the appended declaration, a joint Asian-Western commitment to the principle of self-determination. It is not a proclamation of immediate independence for all non-self-governing peoples, since it wisely recognizes that both their desires and their competence must be taken into consideration. The language

is explicit on that point. It is, nevertheless, a firm declaration of principle and that principle is that all the signatories will work toward the end of giving all peoples everywhere governments of their own choosing empowered by their free consent.

Here is the definite answer to the charge of "neo-colonialism" that has been raised by both Communists and "neutrals." With this phase of the accord, certainly, countries such as India and Indonesia should be more than ready to associate themselves, even if they balk at military obligations or ideological "alignments."

Of great significance, likewise, is the agreement upon joint action in the economic field. First of all, it implies the belief that the welfare of one is the welfare of all and that the weakness of one is the weakness of all. This surely is a milestone in the history of Asia's relations with the rest of the world. It means the principle of assistance, rather than exploitation, for those who are in need. It means the pooling of problems and of problem-solving for the common good. It means that the jobs that can best be done multilaterally will have multi-lateral machinery for the doing of them.

In the field of social and cultural, as well as economic, co-operation there is another important consideration and an opportunity for immense advancement. A natural characteristic of any colonial system, such as that from which the free Asian States have now emerged, is the orientation of the dependency upon the mother country. This is easily seen in the economic field, but it is no less pervasive in the other fields as well. The result is that some countries have had closer relations of all sorts with other States on the other side of the world than with their next-door neighbours."

"These various aspects of the treaty involve and imply a meeting of minds. This, obviously, is the greatest achievement to come out of Manila. The eight nations that met represent no inconsiderable diversity. They represent a wide range of language, institutions, culture, economic systems and political structures. But they have found an enormous common denominator in the desire to be—and to remain—free. They have recognized a common danger and are resolved upon joint efforts to meet it. This is the real meaning of the accord and the meaning that gives us the right to call it 'historic.'"

We have given a fuller commentary on the S.E.A.D.O. elsewhere in these editorials. We are putting forward the above commentary just to show that a knowledgeable section of the press in U.S.A. is still of the opinion that an amicable relationship could be maintained with us, despite our refusal to enter into any military obligations or ideological alignments.

If further proof were needed then the last minute "hedging" by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, as con-

veyed in the news appended below, should suffice. It shows that the military provisions are indeed loose and flexible as yet and cannot be readily made into an offensive and defensive alliance. The news is as follows:

Karachi, Sept. 20.—The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, said here today that the Pakistani Cabinet had not yet taken any final decision with regard to the S.E.A.D.O. treaty signed in Manila recently.

He told a crowded Press conference here that the Government was still awaiting a fuller report on the Manila conference. Sir Zafrullah Khan, he said, had signed the treaty only for transmission to the Government.

Mr. Ali reiterated that Pakistan had made no commitment with regard to S.E.A.D.O.

Asked whether he would discuss the treaty with the U.S. Administration during his forthcoming visit to the U.S.A., Mr. Ali replied: "How can I discuss S.E.A.D.O. in the U.S.A. unless we take a decision here?"

Other important points made by Mr. Ali in his Press conference were:

1.—He was not in a position to disclose whether an official letter had been sent by Pakistan to the U.N. requesting the Security Council to take up again the dispute with India over Kashmir.

2.—The World Bank mission on the canal waters dispute had not failed as reported.

3.—American military aid to Pakistan had not yet started coming in.

4.—Pakistan so far has had no negotiations on the issue of Pakhtoonistan with Afghanistan.

5.—The resignation of the Pakistani High Commissioner in India, Raja Chazanfar Ali Khan, had been accepted with effect from Oct 1.

It is evident from the above bits of news that Pakistan is not as yet sure of her ground, and this visit of the Prime Minister of Pakistan is to clear up the issues as viewed by his Cabinet. The entire question therefore is still in a state of flux. This is the time for us to make up our minds regarding the future. We cannot "wait and see" what the world decides about a dumb and vacillating nation whose leaders are in a state of trance. We have to send out our emissaries for peace and goodwill to both sides, and those who go must be persons chosen for their brains.

Bank Tribunal Award

The modification by the Government of India of the appellate Bank Tribunal Award has given rise to much controversy all over the country. We propose to examine some of the issues involved in the dispute. The foremost issue is whether the Government's action in modifying the Jeejeebhoy award is in order or otherwise. The bank employees contend that the Government action is ultra vires. A perusal of Section 15 of the Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act 1950 will clear much of the misunderstanding. The relevant section is as follows:

COMMENCEMENT OF THE DECISION OF THE APPELLATE TRIBUNAL

The decision of the Appellate Tribunal shall be enforceable on the expiry of thirty days from the date of its pronouncement.

Provided that where the appropriate Government is of opinion that it would be inexpedient on public grounds to give effect to the whole or any part of the decision, the appropriate Government may, before the expiry of the said period of thirty days by order in the Official Gazette, either reject the decision or modify it.

Where the appropriate Government rejects or modifies any decision under the proviso to sub-section (1), it shall, on the first available opportunity, lay that decision together with its reasons for rejecting or modifying the same before the Legislative Assembly of the State, or where the appropriate Government is the Central Government, before Parliament.

Much has been said about the sanctity of the Tribunal Award and its modification is being viewed and preached as amounting to illegal action. But the law is clear on the point and the Government action is perfectly within their rights. A tribunal is not a court of law. The Tribunal is a quasi-judicial body whose decision is, under the law, liable to be modified by the Government on public grounds. In modifying the award the Union Government have done nothing illegal, nor have violated any of the provisions of the law even in the technical sense. It is just the exercise of a legal right empowered by law.

The second charge against the Government is that their view that the Appellate Tribunal, after giving its award, became *functus officio* with no authority to see how its decision would affect the various interests concerned and it is the duty of the Government to do so, is incorrect. The Government view has been rightly stated by the Finance Minister: "The Tribunal had the painful duty of coming to a conclusion and, after doing so, it became *functus officio*. It had no further power to see how it was going to affect the various interests. It was for that reason that the power to modify the award was vested in the Government." The Tribunal is responsible neither to the Legislature nor to the people—but the Government is responsible to both and must view everything in wider perspective. It may be recalled that the first suggestion for a modification of the award came from the employees themselves. In a public meeting held on May 11th, 1954, under the auspices of the Patna Bank Employees Association, a resolution was adopted requesting the Government to take immediate steps to ensure that no cut in the present emoluments took place as a result of the Labour Appellate Tribunal's award which, it was alleged, would disturb industrial peace. This is precisely what the Government have done.

Another charge is that the modification of the award by Government was unnecessary because (i) although the earnings of banks have been rising, their net profits have been going down on account of the increase in the rates of interest which are paid on deposits, (ii)

they have been paying higher dividends on their shares ranging from 12 to 16 per cent, (iii) they have declined to disclose their secret reserves and (iv) their chief executives are paid very high salaries amounting to Rs. 6,500—Rs. 7,500 free from income tax per month.

The banks, however, argue that they are now faced with declining profits and as a result a large number of banks have very inadequate reserves which are much less than their paid-up capital and these are created out of net profits. The number of depositors is nearly 80 times the number of bank employees and they should have a fair deal by the payment of higher interest and they do not deserve to have their interests sacrificed unjustifiably for the sake of the bank employees. There are a few banks which pay dividends ranging between 12 to 16 per cent. Many banks have been unable to pay dividends at all, and the dividends paid by the rest of the banks vary between 3 to 5 per cent. The shareholders of the small number of banks that pay higher dividends, receive a return only of 4 to 5 per cent on their investments, as the shares have changed hands during the last 40 or 50 years at progressively increasing market prices and the present holders have purchased them at heavy premiums. Most of the banks have not been able to build their statutory reserves up to the level of their paid-up capital and they can hardly be expected to have secret reserves. A small minority of old established banks may have secret reserves in order to their credit-worthiness. The vast majority of the executives in banks receive salaries subject to income-tax and these are not exorbitant.

Mr. Giri's resignation is uncalled-for and unfortunate. He being a member of the trade union all through his life had the wrong impression that he represented the trade unions even in the Cabinet. The Congress Government represent neither the capitalist nor the labour—they represent the people and their primary duty is to look after the general interest of the people. Ours is not a government of the trade unions and by the trade unions, and Mr. Giri's misfortune is that he failed to distinguish between his role as a leader of the trade union and as a minister of a responsible government. We say this with no derogatory intent, as we are well aware of the high idealism that rules his actions.

The bank employees are hardly worse off than the large numbers of Government employees and the employees in various commercial firms. It is even incomprehensible why the bank employees should claim a special status than other employees in other institutions. The next Tribunal should go into the question in details whether bank employees are paid lower salaries than Government and commercial firms' employees placed in similar categories. If the banks really earn higher profits they should be made to extend their branches thereby creating increased employment opportunities. In India the number of bank offices per million million of population is only 26, while it is 229 in the

UK, 256 in Canada and 450 in Australia. The average deposit per head in India is only Rs. 25 as against Rs. 1630 in the UK and 4,493 in the USA.

The percentage of establishment expenses of Indian scheduled banks to their deposits increased continuously from 1948 to 1952 by over 70 per cent. Although the gross earnings of the Indian scheduled banks rose from Rs. 29.73 crores in 1948 to Rs. 34.38 crores in 1953, the net profit (before taxation and other essential provisions) steadily declined from Rs. 8.07 crores to Rs. 6.51 crores. The rise in interest rates on deposits and the increase in establishment expenses are responsible for this contraction in profit. While the interest paid on deposits increased from Rs. 6.98 crores to Rs. 8.90 crores, the establishment expenses have gone up, mainly as a result of the award, from Rs. 9.50 crores to Rs. 13.25 crores. The net profits of Exchange banks declined from Rs. 4.61 crores in 1949 to Rs. 2.62 crores in 1953 and that of non-scheduled banks fell from Rs. 42.6 lakhs to Rs. 33 lakhs.

Between 1948 and 1953, deposits of scheduled banks came down from Rs. 1,042.16 crores to Rs. 905.86 crores. The decline in deposits has undoubtedly limited the paying capacity of the banks. The number of offices of scheduled banks has shrunk from 2,963 in 1948 to 2,685 in 1953. Similarly, the number of offices of non-scheduled banks came down from 1,711 to 1,268. The Finance Minister has stated that according to his study of the position, 12 banks would have been compelled to close down 241 of their branches, involving 2,549 employees, if the Jeejeebhoy award were implemented as it stood. Banking is an industry of general service to the economy of the country. The closure of a banking office would mean withdrawal of credit facilities from that sector of trade and industry depending on it and consequently fall in employment.

Industrial Finance Corporation

The latest annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation reveals that the progress of the Corporation has been slowed down during the year 1953-54. The number of applications received was the smallest since 1948-49. The amount of accommodation sought from the Corporation in 1953-54 was slightly higher at 9 crores as compared with Rs. 8.25 crores in 1952-53, but the number of applications received declined from 74 in the preceding year to 43 this year. This indicates that fewer industrial concerns approached the Corporation for accommodation than in the previous year. This trend is further confirmed by the rise in the number and the amount of applications withdrawn. In 1952-53 only six applications covering Rs. 55.8 lakhs were withdrawn, whereas in 1953-54 as many as 11 applications covering Rs. 1.22 crores were withdrawn. This may be partly due to the availability of funds in the capital market and partly to the severe criticism made in the Parliament last year against certain aspects of the Corporation's working.

The set-back in the Corporation's progress during 1953-54 is also indicated by the fact that while in 1952-53 its profit was sufficient to pay the minimum guaranteed dividend of 2½ per cent per annum, during the year under review the required amount fell by Rs. 4.06 lakhs and as a result the Corporation had to take a subvention from the Government for that amount. The amount required for the payment of the guaranteed dividend is only Rs. 11.25 lakhs. The total subvention taken by the Corporation from the Government amounts to Rs. 30.95 lakhs. The profit of the Corporation for 1953-54 stands at Rs. 22.18 lakhs as against Rs. 23.16 lakhs in the preceding year.

During 1953-54 there was a perceptible rise in the number and the amount of loans sanctioned by the Corporation. As many as 29 applications were sanctioned as against only 14 in 1952-53. There was a steady increase in the amount of loans sanctioned from Rs. 1.43 crores in 1952-53 to Rs. 5.27 crores in 1953-54. The report under review makes a detailed presentation of the information relating to the nature of loans, the number of industries receiving the loans, the names of borrowers and the amount of loans sanctioned to them. This is in accordance with the resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Industrial Finance Corporation Enquiry Committee. There is a table indicating the extent to which the Corporation has contributed to the expansion of industry in the country by way of both modernisation of, and additions to, the existing units and the setting-up of new units.

Loans sanctioned by the Corporation since its inception to 30th June, 1954, amount to Rs. 20.74 crores.

The statement below will show the amount of loans sanctioned and the amount actually disbursed by the Corporation at the end of each accounting year since its establishment:

(In crores of rupees)		
As at	Loans sanctioned	Loans disbursed
30th June 1949	3.42	1.33
30th June 1950	7.19	3.41
30th June 1951	9.58	5.79
30th June 1952	14.03	7.57
30th June 1953	15.47	10.07
30th June 1954	20.74	12.89

Of the total amount of Rs. 20.74 crores sanctioned during the last years, cotton textiles received Rs. 3.07 crores, chemicals Rs. 2.44 crores, cement Rs. 2.35 crores, sugar industry Rs. 2.05 crores, paper industry Rs. 2.4 crores, ceramic and glass Rs. 1.35 crores, electric engineering Rs. 1.29 crores, iron and steel industry (light engineering) Rs. 1.12 crores. There was only one application for putting up a new factory, and that was from a co-operative sugar factory in the Deccan. Applications from cotton textiles, woollen, paper and silk mills were mostly for renovation, modernisation and expansion. Some

parts of the loans were to be utilised for strengthening the resources for working capital. Some applications contained proposals to repay loans taken from banks for short periods for acquiring capital assets. Fourteen out of the 43 applications came from sugar mills, aluminium, cement and mining industries. The total amount asked for by these 14 applications was Rs. 6.21 lakhs.

As regards the resources of the Corporation, besides a capital of Rs. 5 crores, it has raised funds by the issue of bonds and debentures for Rs. 7.80 crores. It has also borrowed from the Reserve Bank a sum of Rs. 1.23 crores. This is out of a credit line of Rs. 3 crores secured from the Reserve Bank under the Industrial Finance Corporation Act. The Corporation has received no deposits from the public, although it is authorised to accept long-term fixed deposits from the public. Its reserves are negligible, being merely Rs. 16 lakhs.

As regards the State-wise distribution of loans, Bombay heads the list followed next by West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madras. Up to 30th June 1954 Bombay has received loans for Rs. 4.92 crores, West Bengal Rs. 3.70 crores, Bihar Rs. 2.38 crores and Madras Rs. 1.46 crores. The Corporation has taken over the management of the Sodepur Glass Works Ltd., which has turned out to be a bad proposition. The Company has received a loan of Rs. 1.03 crores from the Corporation and was closed on 20th July 1953.

Agriculture and the Reserve Bank

Apart from the operations in the field of short-term credit for agricultural purposes, the Reserve Bank of India undertook in 1948 to contribute up to 10 per cent of the debentures floated by Land Mortgage Banks provided they were guaranteed by the Government in respect of principal and interest. In 1950 the Reserve Bank's contribution to such debentures was raised to 20 per cent. The Central Government have now set apart Rs. 1 crore out of the allotment of Rs. 5 crores for long-term agricultural credit under the Five-Year Plan for purchase of debentures issued by the Land Mortgage Banks. In this connection the Reserve Bank of India, in consultation with the Government of India, have agreed upon a scheme of joint contribution to the debentures of Land Mortgage Banks up to 40 per cent of the issue or the short-fall in public subscription whichever was less, one-half of the subscription being on behalf of the Government and the other half on account of the Reserve Bank. The Central Land Mortgage Banks using this facility have, however, to agree to dispense loans for productive purposes up to an amount not less than half of the joint subscription by the Government and the Reserve Bank within one year. So far only the Andhra Land Mortgage Bank has been accommodated under this scheme to the extent of Rs. 17 lakhs. Details of subscriptions to debentures of Land Mortgage Banks by the

Reserve Bank during the last five years are given below:—

Year	Amount of subscription (Lakhs of rupees)
1949-50	4.15
1950-51	20.00
1951-52	13.00
1952-53	16.89
1953-54	15.56

The Reserve Bank which had so long been advancing short-term loans for agricultural purposes will provide hereafter medium-term loans also. But the measures so far taken by the Reserve Bank in the field of agricultural finance fall far short of the requirements of the country. The estimated total agricultural credit requirements are placed at Rs. 500 crores and the amount of credit advanced by the Reserve Bank to farmers through co-operative banks has been only a meagre sum of Rs. 17 crores. Agricultural finance involves long-term credit and the central bank of a country is unsuited for the job. In most of the western countries there is a separate farm credit organisation for financing agricultural operations. In India the Gadgil Committee recommended for the establishment of a central agricultural bank but the Government of India did not accept that recommendation. As a result, the Reserve Bank of India is tied up with the task of supplying agricultural finance, but so far its performance in this direction is totally disappointing and agriculture suffers to that extent. The Reserve Bank is nothing but a magnified commercial bank and its role in the supply of agricultural finance is merely as a lender of the last resort, the cultivators being left to the mercy and inadequate resources of the indigenous bankers and money-lenders for the accommodation of production credit in the initial stages of agricultural operations.

S-E. Asia "Defence" Organisation

The treaty establishing the so-called South-East Asia Defence Organisation was signed in Manila (Philippines) on September 8 by the representatives of eight Governments—the United States of America, United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines. Regarding Pakistan, however, the following news has appeared in the press:

The idea of a South-East Asia Treaty had first been mooted in a communique issued after the meeting in Washington between the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden and the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles in April last. The announcement, made just on the eve of the Geneva Conference which succeeded in resolving the Indo-China problem, had evoked much concern among nations of Asia which had found expression in Pandit Nehru's statements in the Parliament on April 17 and 24.

Since then, however, there had been brisk activity on the part of U. S. Government as well as that

of the U. K. in an effort to enlist the support of the principal Asian countries behind the projected treaty. After the Geneva Agreement on Indo-China had been signed, these activities had been greatly intensified and a conference had been called to be held at Baguio in the Philippines. The venue of the conference had later on been shifted to Manila at the request of the Government of the Philippines.

Every effort had been made to induce the Colombo Powers—India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan—to be present at the Conference. As was well known only the Government of Pakistan had chosen to be present at the Manila talks and eventually signed the Treaty providing for the "collective defence" of South-East Asia.

The Treaty signed at Manila was made up of eleven articles, a special U. S. understanding, a protocol to be effective simultaneously designating certain territories to be protected and a "Pacific Charter" unanimously approved by the participating Governments.

By Article 1 of the Treaty, the signatories pledged themselves to settle all international disputes by peaceful means and undertook "to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

In Article 2, the parties agreed to work together to "maintain and develop their individual and collective security" to counter external aggression against their territorial integrity and political stability.

Article 3 speaks of the parties' agreement to co-operate with one another "in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of governments towards those ends."

In paragraph 1 of Article 4, each party recognised that armed aggression in the "treaty area against any of the parties or against any State or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety," and agreed to act in such an event according to its constitutional processes. Measures so taken would immediately be reported to the UN Security Council.

Paragraph 2 of the Article states that the parties would hold immediate consultations on measures to be taken to meet threats to the area other than by armed attacks.

Paragraph 3 provides that no action on any territory designated under paragraph 1 of the Article should be taken "except at the invitation or with the consent of the Government concerned."

A council composed of all the members was established by Article 5 to consider matters concerning

the implementation of the treaty with provision for military and any other planning as the situation might require. The council was to be so organised as to be able to meet at any time.

Article 6 provided that the parties' obligations under the United Nations were not affected and that the UN remained the paramount organization for the maintenance of peace and security. The parties undertook not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with the present treaty.

Under Article 7 any other State might be invited by unanimous agreement to accede to the treaty by depositing its Instruments of Association with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines who would inform the other parties of such accession.

Article 8 defined the "treaty area" as the general area of South-East Asia, including the entire territories of Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines, and the general area of the South-West Pacific not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The treaty area might be amended or changed by unanimous agreement.

Ratification processes were defined in Article 9. The treaty was to "enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the instruments of ratification of a majority of the signatories shall have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to each other State on the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification."

By Article 10 the treaty was to remain in force indefinitely but any party might withdraw after giving one year's notice.

Article 11 provided for the recognition of a text in French.

By a separate protocol to the treaty which was to come into force simultaneously with the treaty all the eight signatories unanimously designated for the purposes of Article 4 of the treaty the States of Cambodia, Laos and Southern Vietnam. It was further agreed that the abovementioned States and territories would be eligible in respect of the economic measures contemplated by Article 3.

The treaty was accompanied by the "Pacific Charter" approved by the parties signing the treaty. The Charter promised to strive by peaceful means to promote self-government and help raising the living standards and recorded the parties' determination to "prevent or counter by appropriate means any attempt in the treaty area to subvert their freedom or to destroy their sovereignty or territorial integrity."

Reuter adds: "The USA, in a special 'understanding' at the end of the treaty, said that it made its undertaking to act only against Communist aggression. But she promised to enter into consultations in the event of any other aggression or armed attack."

Since Britain was one of the signatories to the treaty all British territories in South-East Asia would be covered by the treaty. This meant that British Borneo and Malaya formed part of the treaty area.

Hongkong and Formosa, both geographically belonging to China, were excluded by a provision which placed them outside the treaty area.

The leading Asian countries viewed the conclusion of the agreement with great concern and, as the Indonesian Prime Minister put it before the pressmen on September 2, did not consider it as conducive to the growth of the spirit and atmosphere of peace.

The Burmese Prime Minister also declared that there was no likelihood of Burma ever joining the Treaty organization.

India's stand in regard to the Treaty was voiced by Prime Minister Nehru who in referring to the SEADO treaty deplored the "double talk" over peace. He referred to the international tendency to form pacts representing a baffling variety of relationships and compared the present pattern of international alliances to interlocking in business against which in USA and other countries anti-trust laws had been framed, and remarked that in international affairs the effects of such interlocking were infinitely worse than in business.

Dealing at some length on what he called the modern discrepancies between profession and action, Pandit Nehru went on to say that it was curious that people these days talked of peace in terms of war, nations quoted the UN Charter for acts which were contrary to its spirit and countries expressed sympathy for colonial people and joined alliances which obstructed freedom, reports the *Statesman*.

Sri Nehru referred to the interesting process of development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which, from an original idea of a nucleus of association to uphold and support each other, had spread to cover countries which were far from the Atlantic family. The objective of self-defence professed by the North Atlantic Treaty had been expanded to cover a defence of colonial interests.

It appeared odd to the Prime Minister that NATO was being invoked in connection with the Goa question. NATO had thus started reasonably, spread gradually and then became extensive in scope.

SEADO, a more recent example of this pattern, was an even more interesting development. Asian policies had been discussed and settled by nations other than Asian, and certain countries with common interests had joined together to protect others who did not wish to be protected.

It would be wrong to challenge the objective of preventing aggression but he did not think that SEADO would fulfil that objective. In his view

SEADO would increase "insecurity in people's minds."

An unfortunate aspect of modern alliances was their effect on colonial policies. As a result of an 'interlocking' of international politics colonial people now had to deal not only with one power but with a combination of powers.

All the parties in such arrangements became interested in maintaining their *status quo* but it was obvious that their efforts to "reverse the process of historical forces would not be completely successful."

Sri Nehru was speaking at a luncheon on September 9 given in his honour by the Delhi Press Association.

Soviet Government on SEADO Treaty

The Government of the Soviet Union in a statement issued on September 14 condemned the Manila Pact as being a move directed against the interests of security in Asia and Far East and at the same time against the interests of freedom and national independence of the Asian peoples.

Dealing with the composition of the conference, the statement pointed out that the initiators of the Manila Conference could just manage to drag to the conference Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan—the only countries of the region bound hand and foot to the USA by one-sided agreements of military and economic aid. "The remaining participants apart from the USA, Britain and France were Australia and New Zealand, States whose economic dependence on the Colombo Powers was well-known." But the vast majority of Asian countries kept away, from it realising the real aggressive aims of the organizers of the conference.

The pact was designed at the first instance against the Asian States. "The question whether or not a State was eligible to join SEADO depended entirely on the initiators of the treaty. In practice this meant that the composition of the grouping as well as its character would be dictated entirely by the USA."

The signatories had labelled as "subversive activity" any national liberation movement in the Asian countries, their fight for national independence and their struggle against old colonial oppression. "From this could be understood the constant attempts of the Western Powers, especially the USA, to create in Asia and the Pacific a military organization to stifle national liberation movements."

"These attempts were always accompanied by inventions about Communism and attacks on the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic."

The purport of the economic measures suggested in the treaty, the statement continued, was to convert the South-East Asian countries, which were rich in many kinds of raw materials, such as tin, oil, rubber and iron ore, into suppliers of strategic raw materials

in the war industry of the USA and its Atlantic Bloc partners.

"The new military grouping meant a bloc of colonial powers for the purpose of maintaining their economic and political positions in Asia, a position which had radically changed, especially through the historic victory of the Chinese people in putting an end to the foreign yoke, establishing a popular government and firmly setting the country on the road towards economic and cultural progress."

"The organizers of the pact were trying to drag into it, one way or another, Laos, Cambodia, and Southern Viet Nam, for the protocol referred to them. Furthermore, the fourth and eighth articles stated that signatories were empowered to extend the scope of the pact on their own consideration to any territory."

"The inclusion of these conditions in the pact betrayed an intention to hinder the implementation of the Geneva Agreement regarding Laos, Cambodia and Southern Viet Nam. This was incompatible with the obligations undertaken at Geneva."

"The name and flag of the UN were being used to cover up actions having nothing in common with the principles of the UN Organization and the preservation of peace, but were directed towards preparations for a new war."

The Other Side

The *B.I.S.* gives the following commentary, presenting the other side of the medal, from the pen of W. N. Ewer, of the *Daily Herald* of London, regarding the Manila Treaty:

When it became known that in the discussions which preceded the signing of the Manila treaty, the United States was reluctant to go so far as some of the other Governments would have wished in committing herself to armed action against an eventual aggressor in the treaty area, many people were puzzled and, indeed, incredulous. In fact, such an attitude is natural enough.

In any such negotiation, it is States which are most likely to be attacked which wish assurance of assistance to be as binding and as "automatic" as possible. It is States which are themselves not in immediate danger, but which are undertaking obligations in the general interest (and only indirectly in their own) which tend to be more cautious in the defining of commitments which they are accepting.

It was therefore, in fact, only to be expected that the U.S. Government would adopt such an attitude. And yet some people found it surprising and hard to believe. Why?

Because it did not accord with preconceived opinion—that the whole *Seato* project had been devised in Washington to provide a pretext for U.S. intervention in South-East Asia; and that it had been forced by American diplomacy upon other countries which were by no means anxious for U.S. guarantees of assistance.

But, as every scientist knows, when facts and preconceived theories do not accord, it is the theories, not the facts, which have to be questioned and distrusted. And the U.S. attitude at Manila should serve to discredit the thesis—a favourite one with Communist propagandists—that *Seato* is a mere manifestation of "American imperialism" which the other participants have been reluctantly induced to accept.

It is not the United States but the more immediately exposed countries which are more alarmed—in view of the history of the past few years—by the possibility of Communist aggression; more anxious for some system of collective security, and for assurance of maximum support and assistance in the event of attack. So, in the case of *Nato*, it was the exposed countries of Western Europe which were desirous of American support and, when it was offered, desirous that it should be both massive and certain.

Yet, again in the case of NATO, the theme of Communist propaganda is now that it was enforced by the United States on a reluctant Europe. The purpose of this propaganda is plain enough. It is as well to recall that in both cases it is contradicted by the facts.

It remains true, however, that in India, Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon there is mistrust of the whole SEATO idea; and that these countries declined to take part in the new organization. What—apart from the suspicion that an attempt was being made especially by America to involve them in "great-Power conflicts"—are the reasons for this opposition?

First, there is the belief that the creation of even purely defensive alliances is not helpful, but actually harmful, to the cause of peace. The wiser course, it is argued, is for each country to remain free from all such commitments, to obtain from its neighbours pledges of non-aggression and non-interference, and so to ensure that whatever conflicts may break out in the world it will be able to stand aside and preserve its own safety and neutrality.

The conflict between these two theses—that safety is best sought through "collective security," and that it is best sought through isolation and neutrality guaranteed by pledges of non-aggression—is an old one in Europe. And hard experience has made Europeans more than sceptical of the efficacy of the second method; especially sceptical of the value of promises of non-aggression.

Finland and Poland, for example, both had non-aggression treaties with the Soviet Union. But when the moment came for attack, those treaties were simply denounced overnight.

The thought of the free nations of Southern Asia—each isolated, separated from each other and from all the non-Asian Powers—confronting the two formidable and allied Communist empires of the north can hardly be a reassuring one.

Secondly, there has been aversion—very understandable in peoples who until so recently were under European rule—to joining an association in which non-

Asian members might seek to play the role of predominant partners. Would it not be forfeiting some of their newly won independence to accept some form of Anglo-American hegemony? Should not non-Asian Powers leave Asia alone?

That, as I say, is very understandable. But does it not overlook the fact that all North Asia is still under the rule of a great non-Asian Power? And apart from questions of security, are there not grave dangers in this insistence on the separateness of "Asians" from "non-Asians" in a free world of equally sovereign States? Is it not a relic of the "colonialism" which we should all wish to see vanish?

"A Time of Stress"

In the Weekly Review of the International Edition of the *New York Times* for August 29, the main editorial very clearly reflects the tension in World Affairs as seen in the U.S.

Four very significant paragraphs, given below, present a very considered opinion on the state of world tension, which continues even today.

One naturally thinks of the fading summer season as a period of relaxation. The holidays may be drawing to their close, but there are still a few idle days to be enjoyed, a few more deep breaths to be drawn. This is not true, however, in the world of public affairs. We are in a period of singular tension, however much it may be disguised by summer languor.

In Europe the fate of the original plan for a defense community is hanging in the balance. In Asia there is turmoil in the present and the effort to plan for the future. In Latin America there is tragedy and dissension. In this country there is the uneasy undercurrent of personal and political strife. We are not relaxed and we cannot and dare not be.

The diversity of approach to the problems in both Europe and Asia, nevertheless, gives added emphasis to the most immediate need. If we are to have unified action in defense of our freedoms, we must somehow achieve a broader unity of plan and purpose. This can come about, surely, only through the frankest possible interchange of opinion and judgment. There are large areas in which we are obviously at cross-purposes with some of our good friends, as the ill-timed Attlee-Bevan junket to Red China has so pointedly illustrated. These cross-purposes cannot be allowed to poison our basic relationship with those who are under the same stress as are we.

We cannot, accordingly, dictate to the French what they should do about E.D.C. We must work with them and urge them to work with us as partners in planning and try to resolve differences to the advantage of both partners. A solution to problems must be found not dictated. The same thing holds true of the formation of a defensive alliance for South-east Asia. It cannot be approached in a take-it-or-leave-it attitude. It must be so designed that it will attract the goodwill of those who are now indifferent or even hostile to the idea.

The same trend is continued in the main editorial of the September 5 issue of the *New York Times* International Edition. Here, naturally, special emphasis has been laid on the Manila Conference.

The world has not come to an end with the French Assembly's refusal to ratify the European Defense Community, despite the many expressions of concern that have been voiced. Planning for the defense of free men must go on, and the plans must embrace both sides of the world. It is a complex picture and problem. Attention may not properly be focused upon one area to the exclusion of the others.

At the moment, however, the spotlight has temporarily shifted to Manila, where a major conference on the defense of South-east Asia will open tomorrow. The problems there are also complex and they will necessarily have to take in European as well as Asian attitudes. It is a major function of this conference to bring together these differing points of view and the degree of accord that has thus far been reached is reassuring. This is a friendly, a constructive, conference. It is not a meeting of antagonists each trying to outwit and outdo the other. There is unity of purpose. There are differences of judgment on method and these differences can be resolved in trustful patience.

Beyond the purely military phases of the Manila discussions there must continue to loom large the questions of social welfare, economic co-operation and political progress. It is possible that the conference may be even more productive in this field than it is in the matter of defense commitments. Many Filipinos, led by the eloquent voice of General Romulo, are asking for some sort of "Pacific Charter." This should not be at all impossible of achievement, although it does not mean immediate political independence for the few remaining colonial areas in Asia, regardless of their readiness to assume the heavy burdens involved. In the case of Malaya, for example, there is an obvious need to move slowly, albeit steadily, if building is to be strong and permanent.

It is at this point that Pakistan can play a valuable role and can assist the conference to reach conclusions, especially in the economic and social fields, that will be attractive to others of the "Colombo Powers." This means making the conference more than a matter of "alignment" with one bloc or another. It means making the meeting of the minds on the problems at Manila a positive force for good in all of Southeast Asia. We believe that this is possible.

The World Tension

The *Worldover Press* for August 20 gave a review of the world situation which can be placed as a background for the editorials of the *New York Times* from which we have given excerpts above.

The British had some fun last year when the town of Haltwhistle, in Northumberland, finally announced its 20-year plan for reconstruction, and the local paper, the

Echo and Weekly News, came out with a headline: "The 20-Year Plan for Haltwhistle—Town Will Be Very Much As It Is Today." There must be many of us, however, who get to wondering whether international planning and progress might not accurately be described in the selfsame way. And yet it may very well be that the summer of 1954 will be remembered because it saw a rather remarkable number of explosive problems solved. In some cases the explosive may still be there, but the fuses have been drawn.

Hard on the heels of the ending of the world's sole major war, in Indo-China, came the agreement between the British and the Egyptians over Suez. And after that came the settlement of the Iranian oil dispute, an issue which, like the other two, was thought at one time so serious it might conceivably precipitate a world conflagration. As a somewhat sad but encouraging corollary to the Indo-China settlement, Vietnam is now to get control over its own troops—something it should have had several years before. How late, and how bitterly, imperialism learns!

It looks as if Trieste may join the other troubled areas over which contending nations have at long last come to a practical, if not an ideal, solution. This, if soon forthcoming, will be more significant than appears on the surface. It has been dangerous for nine years. Trieste under an Italian-Yugoslav agreement means not only a better outlook for peace between Italy and Tito, but it will signalize the dropping, by Turkey, of some manoeuvres to rush Italy into the Balkan alliance among Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey—an attempt, at this stage, calculated to make Tito slow to sign up on Trieste.

Perhaps the best news for the world has been the kindly brush-off given by Congress and American public opinion to the friendly, but rash and dictatorial, Syngman Rhee. When Rhee uttered his bloodcurdling cries for war, all of a sudden certain voices grew singularly hushed: the voices of those who, like Admiral Radford, Senator Knowland, et al., had been splitting the heavens with warwhoops. Faced with a precise formulation of their folly, the advocates of a "preventive war" too, grew scared and silent. Not even the shooting down of planes near the island of Hainan could make a war seem imminent. Furthermore, even to those who ordinarily harken to Communist attacks on the U.S., it was hard going to believe that Americans were itching to "start something." The net result, in fact, has been a clarification of U.S. policy.

Even on the question of Communist China there has grown up an atmosphere of greater moderation. More and more intelligent observers made it plain that, while they are not for immediate recognition of Red China and its entry into the U.N., they are willing to have China earn its way in by a greater responsibility to world opinion. The American Assembly of 60 prominent Americans whose influence is great, and which was founded through the initiative of President Eisenhower, came out with substantially that position. And the

President himself followed by using the period of "five years" as one in which there might be a vast change—if in China, then too in the United States. This at least breaks the crust of utter inflexibility.

Meanwhile, in Tunisia the lively and imaginative Premier Mendes-France has waded into a tough crisis and offered a new deal which, if not entirely supported at home, bids fair to put Tunisia on a new road and even promise an eventual settlement of grievances in Morocco. Then Washington, for once showing alertness, gave just enough support to Costa Rica to show Nicaragua's Somoza that it might be well to hold off on any program of invasion. And France is yielding to India its tiny outposts of oldtime conquest there. Things do move!

Morocco and Tunis

M. Mendes-France, the French Premier is straining every nerve to attain a solution to the extremely delicate North African problem. His latest offer goes a great deal towards showing his goodwill, though it does not, as yet, give a complete answer to the dilemma.

The *Worldover Press* for August 6 gave a background picture to the problem which is highly interesting in view of present developments. It is by Joachim Joesten, the special correspondent sent to study the problem *in situ*.

When Dr. Emile Eyraud, editor of *La Vie Marocaine* of Casablanca, was assassinated last June 30, it was an event of major portent, overshadowing other killings of a political nature. This was the first time the Moroccan terrorists struck at a top-level figure. It is a wonder that it did not precipitate a new colonial war.

Hitherto, only the most prominent pro-French native chieftains—in particular the new Sultan and the Glaoui—have been the targets of planned assassination attempts. True, there have also been a few slayings of Frenchmen, but in such cases the victims have been small fry, mainly hated police officials or civilians trapped in riots.

Eyraud was a man of different calibre. As editor of Morocco's biggest daily paper, he was also key figure of a powerful publishing combine (Mas Group) that controls all but one or two of the country's French-language newspapers, as well as several magazines. (An Arabic press virtually no longer exists, since all Nationalist organs have been banned). Eyraud was the foremost spokesman of colonial interests. He was the prime mover of "Operation Glaoui," which last August led to the dethronement of Sultan Mohammed V.

The Istiqlal (National Party) hated him more intensely than any other Frenchman in the country, and he repaid them in the same coin. In his editorials he virulently assailed the former Sultan, his supporters, and all Frenchmen who pleaded for conciliation or "appeasement." Even so, few people would have

believed the Moroccan terrorists would dare to strike down so highly placed a personality.

In North Africa, as was the case in Indo-China, the new French government of Premier Mendes-France is caught in a near-hopeless dilemma. Basically, it's the same terrifying choice between endless bloody warfare and abject surrender. Yet Mendes-France is determined to find a way out. There is, however, no Communist issue involved in Morocco, or in Tunisia, although the French would sometimes have the world believe so. If the present unrest should flare into open revolt, the Nationalists could not count on effective aid from any major power. In this respect, again, the situation is different from Indo-China. Yet they might well receive a good deal of active support from the Arab League and from Spain, which for war-weary France would make an obstacle hard to overcome.

To make matters worse, the aggravation of the Moroccan crisis has come when the French government has embarked upon its first earnest attempt to come to terms with the Nationalists. Even the Laniel government, a few weeks before it fell, retreated from its earlier uncompromising position. General Augustin Guillaume, who as Resident-General bore the principal responsibility for the ouster of the Sultan in 1953, was recalled, and last May 20 a career diplomat, Francis Lacoste, was appointed in his stead.

While Lacoste was not exactly received with open arms by either the French *colons* or the Arab Nationalists, he was generally credited with the sincere purpose of seeking a fair compromise and a way out. A month later, Mendes-France made an even more impressive gesture of goodwill; he gave the Interior Ministry to Francois Mitterand, a declared friend of the former Sultan, who had resigned from the Laniel cabinet in protest against "Operation Glaoui." Moreover, in the cabinet, a special ministry for Moroccan and Tunisian Affairs was created and a Gaullist believed to be friendly to the natives was appointed to this post.

Turkey and Syria

In the same issue of the *Worldover Press* we had the following bit of news which gives a new angle to the Turco-Arab relations.

Beirut, Lebanon (WP.)—Syrian politicians are setting up a renewed cry over the Turkish annexation of the former Syrian province of Alexandretta—an issue most students of Near Eastern affairs had long considered dormant. A number of deputies have asked that the elections for parliament later this summer should include deputies representing Alexandretta—though the Eastern Mediterranean province has not been a part of Syria since 1938 when Turkey, with approval of the French mandate power in Syria, took it over.

Alexandretta province contains the city-port of Alexandretta—now an important NATO Mediterranean naval base—and the once-famous but now crumbling town of Antioch.

Meanwhile, Western diplomats are privately worried about a trade agreement recently signed and ratified between Lebanon and the Soviet Union. The agreement gives Lebanon a market for its growing surplus of citrus fruits and other agricultural products—but, on the Soviet side, it gives Russia the right to set up a trade mission in the free zone of the Port of Beirut.

This means that goods, possibly strategic, can be purchased in the West for Lebanese account, transported to the free zone, and resold to the U.S.S.R., reshipped out of Lebanon without actually passing through Lebanese customs. The reason this procedure worries Western diplomats is that Lebanon can be a party to all this without technically violating the terms of the U.S. Mutual Security Act with regard to shipping strategic materials behind the Iron Curtain.

U.S. and Spain

A curious picture is drawn in the *Worldover Press* for August 20 regarding the U.S.-Spanish deal for military bases. It shows how complicated the European problem is.

Though more than 10 months have gone by since the U.S.-Spanish deal for military bases was signed, Dictator Franco still lags on his end of the arrangements. In international relations, however, he has been trying some fast plays, at times with assistance from the shadowy figure of world intrigue, former Nazi Otto Skorzeny.

It became known in July that Franco, while antipating military weapons and equipment from the United States, was selling mortars, shells and machine guns to Egypt, to the tune of \$3,500,000. What remained hidden in this episode, to most eyes, was the role played by Skorzeny.

For a number of years there has been in the making a strange new "axis" with the avowed purpose of driving the French and British out of North Africa. Chief props of this alliance are the Franco Government in Spain; the Arab League; the Egyptian military junta; and a tightly organized "task force" of former Nazis headed by Skorzeny and the Belgian Quisling, Leon Degrelle, with headquarters in Madrid and with influential connections in Germany and other countries.

In Madrid, Skorzeny carries on unmolested, stirring up trouble for the European democracies whenever he can. Now it comes to light that it was he, acting through a dummy outfit in Switzerland, who arranged the deal to supply Egyptians with weapons described as "ideal for hit-and-run attacks." Although British troops in the Suez Canal area will be withdrawn over the coming 20 months, the carrying out of the pact could be menaced by attacks from hot-headed nationalist extremists, well-armed. Britain protested to Spain, with faint echoes of representations by the United States. Franco promised to call off these arms exports, and to limit further ones to NATO countries.

Skorzeny's chief fame dates from his daring exploit

of September 12, 1943, when his airborne commandos snatched the captive Mussolini from Allied custody. Early this year, Skorzeny had a plan to spirit the deposed Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed V, away from his Corsican exile and take him to Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco. Had the plot succeeded, it would undoubtedly have resulted in bloodshed, perhaps open warfare, in Morocco. Even though his exile was a raw act by the French, a Sultan manipulated by Skorzeny would hardly have been a leader on which to hang the just hopes of the Moroccan nationalists.

Before that, as stated bluntly by Chancellor Adenauer, Skorzeny and Degrelle were involved in the conspiracy of Dr. Werner Neumann, which the British authorities in West Germany exposed in January, 1953. This background, and the recent activities of Skorzeny, fall into focus when it is remembered that the Egyptian army for some time has attracted a sizable number of one-time German Wehrmacht officers and military or technical advisers. Skorzeny is known to have close liaison with this group, headed by General Wilhelm Fahrmbacher.

Spain's dictatorial government is not only fishing for possible power through the Arab world, but constantly seeks new ways of getting its fine hand into Latin American politics. Franco's latest idea was a cultural pact between Spain and Brazil, which was rejected by the Brazilians when they discovered a clause providing that history text-books used in Brazil must have the Franco regime's approval.

Technical Aid from Russia

Russia is now making clear-cut proposals for assisting India in her plans for industrialisation and financial emancipation. The following news gives the whole picture in concise terms. The latest news goes to show that the steel project offer has further crystallised.

New Delhi, Sept. 18.—The impression that Russia is keenly competing with the U.S.A. in offering technical and material assistance to India has deepened with the announcement that three Russian experts have arrived to modernize the Panna diamond mining industry in Vindhya Pradesh.

This offer is the third of a series, likely to lengthen during the coming months. First came the four Russian tractors, now being tried here and in Bhopal.

They were closely followed by the alluring steel offer. Now comes the proposal to set up on extremely attractive terms a modern diamond plant at Panna and the promise to train Indians to run it.

It needs to be recalled that the development was inherent in the Indo-Russian trade agreement, signed last December.

During the course of the negotiations the question of assistance and co-operation on technical, scientific and cultural matters between the countries was discussed. The representatives of Russia stated that their

Government was prepared to render technical assistance "that may be necessary in the installation and operation of equipment that may be supplied by the U.S.S.R. to India under the agreement."

The Russian Government also expressed willingness to render technical assistance for the planning and execution of various projects in India. In the letters exchanged between M. Menshikov and Mr. H. V. R. Iengar, it is recorded that the representatives of the Government of India "express the Government of India's appreciation of the offer made by the U.S.S.R."

It was agreed that as the nature and extent of such assistance and co-operation would necessarily vary in each case, they would have to be settled by negotiation between the parties.

The recent Russian offers are a sequel to the December agreement although, at the time few took these overtures very seriously. Many people in Delhi are now surprised at the rapidity with which Russia has started making these proposals at irresistible terms.

Apart from their financial aspect the speed with which Russia claims she can install the plants is a proof of her earnestness to create a favourable impression in India.

The Russian steel plant, if the plan for it is finalized, will be in operation much before the German Rourkela factory. The diamond plant is expected to go into operation in 1956.

The Panna diamond mines, which thus spring into prominence, are the only mines producing precious stones in India. They are operated by a private company which is stated to have negotiated the deal with Russia.

Recently the company has discovered a streak, called the Majgawan pipe, which is its main source of diamonds of high quality. In addition to this promising locality, there are 22 other diamond-bearing blocks.

The company has recently secured the assistance of Indian and foreign experts in assessing the potentialities of the area. Their opinion is that the Panna region is rich in diamond ore of high quality.

"Waters of Affliction"

We have had disastrous floods in India, this year. But it seems that the gods have struck all over the Asiatic East.

Writing under the heading "Waters of Affliction," *The Times* (September 4) says: "Millions in China, Burma, Tibet, Nepal, India, and Pakistan have had cause to lament the almost unprecedented rainfall which has afflicted much of Asia this autumn. Fortunately, for the Chinese, the great network of dykes which protects the triple city of Wuhan from the Yangtse river (long called 'China's Sorrow') has so far held fast, thanks to a round-the-clock effort by every man, woman, and child who could be assembled to lend a hand. But many low-lying areas of the heaviest-cropped lands in the country are so waterlogged by rainfall that the rice

fields cannot be drained. The early crop has been lost; the middle crop is submerged; and the late crop cannot now be planted at the right time.

"On a lesser scale, much the same kind of flooding has taken place in parts of Burma. Fortunately, there is plenty of rice available from the last harvest, and in spite of all the inconvenience caused by the spread of the Pegu and Sittang rivers, the risk that the Burmese may be short of food—as the Chinese certainly will be—is small.

"Heavy falls of snow in Tibet have melted quickly, bringing disastrous floods to the country without means of controlling them. The Tsangpo and Namchung rivers rose suddenly, devastating Shigatse, the second most populous city. The old palace of the Panchen Lama collapsed, together with some 400 houses, and many valuable collections of Tibetan and Chinese works of art have been destroyed. Here, as at Gyantse, where a small fort was swept away with its entire garrison (including some Indian officials), the loss of life was considerable, especially in the lamaseries. But the floods passed away as quickly as they rose, and little damage was done to the cultivated areas.

"On the southern side of the Himalayas, there is a different story to tell. In Nepal, in East Pakistan, and in the north-eastern territories of India, the scale of the tragedy rivals that of China. Nepal's communications with India have been cut, roads and bridges have been washed away, landslides have isolated entire localities.

"Both in India and in East Pakistan the floods have reached the dimensions of a national catastrophe. From eastern Assam to western Bihar, thousands of square miles are under water. In East Pakistan, most of the Narayanguj subdivision, together with part of Dacca city and much of Mymensingh, has been affected—in all an area of 15,000 square miles. The known loss of life is so far comparatively small; but many cattle have perished, and the damage to property—dwelling houses, factories, fields, and farms—has been enormous. An outbreak of epidemics is feared.

"The Indian and the Pakistani Governments are taking vigorous relief measures; hundreds of working parties bringing food, inoculations, and clothing are already busy in the distressed areas.

"British sympathy with India, Pakistan, and Nepal in their calamity has been practically expressed by an offer of financial help. No doubt this example will be followed by other countries when the magnitude of the misfortune which has swept over much of Asia is fully realized."

The Floods in E. Pakistan

The *Statesman* for September 22 gives the following interesting report. It should be noted that since then Maj-Gen. Mirza has been removed from the Governorship.

Maj-Gen. Iskandar Mirza, Governor of East Bengal, told Press representatives at Dum Dum on Tuesday that

they would certainly co-operate with India in controlling flooded rivers that cross Indo-East Pakistani boundaries.

Meantime, he said, East Pakistan would take steps to control small rivers in the province.

Asked about the restoration of parliamentary system of Government in East Bengal, Maj-Gen. Mirza said he did not think that this would come about in the near future. He emphasized that it would be a tragedy if the people there now wasted their energy on politics.

He said that in East Bengal, every effort should be concentrated on the rehabilitation of persons affected by floods. In the next two or three months, there should be no scope for any other activity in the province. People, he said, were happy that Governor's Rule existed during and after the floods. Otherwise, they thought, they would have been in trouble. He estimated that the damage to the crops—jute, aman and aus—as a result of floods would not be more than 10%. He had no information about loss of human life.

He said that he was not unhappy about the food situation. What he was worrying about most was the large-scale destruction of huts by floods. He thanked the Indian Government for supplying East Bengal with 500 tons of corrugated iron sheets and a large number of bamboos, the latter from Tripura State.

Juvenile Crime in USA

Juvenile crime appears to be on the increase in the United States of America. Statistics collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation showed, writes Mr. Walter Lippmann in a special article in the *Hindu*, "not only a sudden increase in the number of these crimes but also in their viciousness. In a survey of 200 cities the FBI found that last year the crime rate of adults rose by 1.9 per cent while among youths, eighteen years and under, it rose by 7.9 per cent. From 1952 to 1953 the number of assaults committed by youths was doubled and there was a sharp rise in murders, rapes, burglaries, car thefts, weapons carrying and liquor violations."

Among other factors contributing to this criminal tendency among U.S. youths Mr. Lippmann lists movies and television and the comic books which were "purveying violence and lust to an intolerable degree." In this connection he points to the "close connection between the suddenness of the increase in sadistic crimes and the new vogue of sadism among the mass media of entertainment."

Our film producers and directors who have oriented themselves to the model provided by Hollywood may do well to ponder over the very cogent remarks made by Mr. Lippmann.

Portuguese Diplomacy

The Government of Portugal apparently believes in the technique of the Big Lie, at least in so far as its relations with India were concerned. Otherwise how could one explain the manifestly absurd allegations of Indian invasion of Goa and such other

gibberish? But it now appears that they are not content only with spreading lies about India in the international field. Their conduct is becoming increasingly offensive to the conventional diplomatic decorum. The high-handed treatment meted out to the Indian Consul-General was an instance on the point.

Now attention has been drawn by the *Hitavada* to another such, and indeed a far more serious, example of the objectionable conduct of the Portuguese Minister in India. In an editorial note on September 5, the newspaper writes:

"It is unusual for a Minister of a foreign State to engage himself in active propaganda against the Government to which he is accredited. But the Portuguese Minister in India issued a note to the press a few days ago attacking our Prime Minister. The press did not give prominence to it. But the fact remains that the Portuguese Minister in New Delhi is misusing his position and the diplomatic immunity granted to him. If this kind of thing happens again, the Government of India should ask Portugal to withdraw its Minister from New Delhi. When the Indian Legation in Portugal was closed down long ago, there is no justification for allowing the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi to function in an improper manner."

We fully endorse the suggestions of the *Hitavada* that the Portuguese Government should be given clearly to understand that such efforts would no longer be tolerated.

Indonesia and W. New Guinea

Indonesia has requested the UN General Assembly to discuss the Indonesian claim over Western New Guinea, or Irian as the Indonesians call it, which is under Dutch occupation and which the Dutch have refused to hand over to Indonesia.

Discussing Indonesia's claims and the efforts she had made to come to an understanding with the Dutch over the question of the transference of sovereignty over Irian, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Sunarjo writes in an article in the *Bombay Chronicle* that Indonesia very much regretted the Dutch hesitancy at the inclusion of the Irian issue in the agenda of the UN General Assembly.

Dr. Sunarjo refers to the fact that without the fulfilment of her national aspirations Indonesia could not direct her attention to economic development. On account of the continued friction between the Government of Indonesia and the Netherlands, it is pointed out, peace in Asia, Australia and the West Pacific continued to be endangered.

The Foreign Minister says that the recent political developments in South-East Asia and particularly in Indo-China showed that the postponement of the solution of vital questions of nationalism

and independence only increased the possibility of creating a dangerous political situation to the extent that peace and security became threatened.

"The completion of the territory of the Republic of Indonesia," writes Dr. Sunarjo, "to include all that of the former Netherlands East Indies is a guarantee that a basis for the stabilisation of peace in the Pacific will be laid."

Indonesia Today

The Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo is now on a visit to India. The following summary of an article in the *New Times* by Y. Yegorov throws some interesting light on the situation in that country.

Indonesia, one of the biggest of South-East Asian countries, came to be recognised as a sovereign country on December 27, 1949, following agreement at the Hague Round Table Conference between the representatives of the Indonesian people and the Dutch Government. Indonesia had however been required by the agreement to remain in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union. The union was dissolved on August 10 of this year. The union entitled the Netherlands to control Indonesia's foreign policy, station their armed forces and maintain war bases on her territory and provided many opportunities for interference in Indonesia's domestic affairs.

The dissolution of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union, notes Yegorov, was a step of great significance in Indonesia's struggle to gain unhindered sovereignty. The dissolution of the Union implied "abrogation of the military treaties imposed on Indonesia, by virtue of which Netherlands received military bases on Indonesian territory and control of her armed forces. Dutch control of foreign policy and economic relations with other countries is likewise abolished. In other words, all the juridical restrictions laid upon Indonesian sovereignty have been removed."

Referring to the economic condition of the country Yegorov writes that though Dutch capital still predominated, the Americans had made deep inroads into the country's economy. The rich oil fields of Central Sumatra were in the hands of California-Texas Oil, which had invested 70 million dollars in their exploitation. Everyday American firms extracted and exported 2,500 tons of Indonesian oil. A new form of American economic penetration was control of Dutch firms operating in Indonesia. Quoting figures published in the Dutch newspaper *Telegraaf*, the writer says that 28 American firms had established branches in Holland since the war, and 18 have 'merged' with Dutch firms. American interests had used their control of the world rubber and tin market to force down prices, thereby undermining the very foundations of Indonesia's export trade. In February, rubber had been selling at 61 cents a pound; by the close of

1953, U.S. monopoly concerns had depressed the price to 20 cents. The figures for tin were \$1.83 and 85 cents respectively.

The undertaking by the Indonesian Government to pay the debts of the former Dutch administration, which added up to the colossal sum of 4300 million guilden was a millstone on the national budget. American and Japanese competition was having a stifling effect on industry with growing unemployment as the natural result.

Politically U.S. efforts at domination over the country was not so successful. Since the attainment of independence by Indonesia, Washington had dispatched a number of military missions in an endeavour to secure war bases on Indonesian territory. In 1952, the U.S.A. could force an agreement upon the Sukiman Government of Indonesia accepting aid under the U.S. Mutual Security Program. But popular protest had forced the Government of Dr. Sukiman out of office and the plan had thus been foiled. The subsequent U.S. efforts "to draw Indonesia into the SEATO system and build military bases at 90 points on her territory" were also equally ineffectual, the writer says.

Yegorov further writes that unable to secure bases in Indonesia, the U.S.A. was eager to retain Dutch control of Western Irian where the Dutch administration, under pentagon pressure, was erecting military installations. He quotes an Antara news agency report as saying that Dutch Vice-Admiral Moorman had been sent to Western Irian to reorganise the defences of the area. "Figures made public by an Indonesian member of Parliament, Papare, show that Dutch expenditure in Western Irian increased from 89,500,000 guilden last year to 105,000,000 this year, not counting 31,500,000 in 'supplementary expenditures' and 26,000,000 in 'investments'."

Indian Delegation to U.S.S.R.

The Indian cultural delegation to USSR headed by the Union Deputy Minister for Health, Srimati Chandrasekhara and composed of notable Indian dancers, singers and experts in instrumental music found a very good audience in leading cities of the Soviet Union—Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev. Soviet press also have commented very highly about the performances of the Indian art workers.

In an article entitled "People's Poetry and Wisdom" in the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on September 5, E. Bocharnikova, Director of the Choreographical School of the State Academic Bolshoi Theatre of the USSR, writes, "We looked forward with great anticipation to the performances of the Indian artists. But what we have seen surpassed all our expectations. From the first minute all the people in the hall were overcome by thoughts and feelings

invariably born at the impact with genuine people's art."

"It is not enough to say that the art we have seen is original. It is beautiful. The Indian artists have disclosed before us the wise heart of their great people who had brought down through the ages the urge for beauty, the indestructible love of life," writes Bocharnikova.

Referring to the performance of the Indian artists the writer goes on to say that there was something in the performance of every one of the Indian artists that one wanted to see again and again. "Plasticity—this is what our young dancers should learn from the Indian dancers."

The great success of the visit of the Indian artists has been acclaimed by leading Soviet newspapers and cultural personalities as a great factor in cementing Indo-Soviet friendship. The Stalin Prize Winner Composer, I. Dzerzhinsky writes about his impressions of the performance at Leningrad: "It is hard to speak with full authority of the culture and art we had seen at the concert on the basis of the first impressions, but one thing is indisputable and one can never err on that score, it is a real, great and optimistic art."

"There is no doubt that this visit will strengthen the deep traditional sympathies of the Soviet people for the people of India."

A Tass report adds that a festival of Indian feature films would open in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and in the capitals of the Union Republics on September 23.

Pakistan and Anti-Indian Propaganda

The *People* reports that the Government of Pakistan, which had spent rupees five lakhs on propaganda against India last year, has allocated a record sum of rupees fifty lakhs on that account in the present year.

A sample of the nature of the anti-Indian rantings indulged in by the reactionary sections of Pakistani press was provided in an earlier issue of the above magazine. The paper's report runs thus: "In a recent issue of *Alaf-La*, a Urdu daily of Peshawar, has appeared a poem concerning aims of Pakistan. It calls upon Pakistanis to get ready to conquer India by sword. Some of its couplets when rendered into English mean: Is there any one who should perform the role of Abu Bin Kashmir? Bharat is trembling, I know. From the various temples must issue forth the call of Alla-Hu-Akbar. That would be our Idd day and we would not rest till such a day arrived."

"Pakistan Not One Nation"

The *Kashmir Post* reports on September 14: Mr. Mazoorul Haque covering Pakistan Parliamentary proceedings from Karachi on July 17, 1954, says: "A member of the Muslim League, Dr. Mahmud Hus-

sain, told the Government of Pakistan today that hatred between the eastern and western wings of the country, not Communism, was the root cause of the trouble in East Bengal." Dr. Hussain said in Parliament that Pakistan was not a nation in the sense, France or Britain was a nation. "Let us recognise this fact" he said during the last day's discussion on the situation in East Bengal.

The utter hollowness of the Indian Muslim being one nation irrespective of their language and cultural association, geographical situation, etc., had been pointed out long before. It is significant that recognition, though belated, of this fact is coming also from Muslim League Members of Pakistan. Better late than never.

Small Industry in Community Projects

Development of small-scale industries which forms an important aspect of the Community Project Programme is likely to receive an impetus as a result of several decisions taken recently by the Community Projects Administration. Recently, the Community Projects Administration requested Mr. Ramy Alexander, a member of the International Planning Team on small-scale industries in India sponsored by the Ford Foundation, to make a special investigation of the needs of small industries in community project areas. Mr. Alexander has underlined the problem of small industries in this country as follows: Here is a multitude of men whose livelihood depends on a market changing under their eyes—their own village—while they are unable to foresee the impacts of the change and are unaccustomed to planning in general. Some of their opportunities lie in the city and in the foreign market of which they know nothing. Their future depends not on simple improvements in the practice of their trade but on their ability to produce well-studied, sometimes entirely new, objects designed to meet very specific requirements, different from place to place, from one class to the next.

In the opinion of Mr. Alexander there are three requirements for providing effective assistance to craftsmen namely,

- (1) periodic appraisal of the problems of the individual craftsman against the particular background of his village;
- (2) finding of qualified advice for their solution; and
- (3) to help in the implementation of such advice.

Mr. Alexander says that the Community Projects Administration is the best agency which is in a position to fulfil the first requirement. The other two can also be taken up by the Administration provided the necessary links are forged. His suggestion is that at every block centre specialists with experience in production and able to make an accurate appraisal of the difficulties and prospects of work of the village craftsmen should be available for giving general guidance and assistance. Moreover, a central co-ordinating unit should be set up to keep in constant touch with the existing

specialised Institutes, and with the four regional Institutes of Technology for small industries which are proposed to be set up by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The central Institute should also keep touch with other public or private organisations that could supply information or advice required by the craftsmen. Mr. Alexander suggests that in any programme of assistance basic opportunities should be offered to all, but special encouragement should be given with discretion: in one form to a craftsman who has the making of a businessman, in a different form to another who has outstanding talent in his craft but none for business.

A scheme is under the consideration of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to establish experimental diesel generator sets in selected community project areas with a view to encouraging the use of electric power by small industries and for making such power available to them. The Ministry also proposes to set up regional advisory boards for each of the Institutes and in such boards each State is expected to be represented by two officers one of whom might be directly concerned with the community project work in the State.

The Community Project Programme includes promotion of any industry, other than large and medium-scale industries, subject to the availability of local raw material, tools and marketing facilities. For a development block consisting of about 100 villages, the allotment for small industries is about Rs. 1.25 lakhs out of Rs. 15 lakhs of the total budget. This part of the programme has not, however, been fully implemented in many areas because of the various difficulties that the project workers encounter in sponsoring a suitable cottage industry programme which will not come in conflict with the increasing competition from large-scale industries and will steer clear of the effect of urbanisation in rural outlook and atmosphere.

The Community Projects Administration has taken special steps for effectively co-ordinating the small-industries programme in the project areas with the activities of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board. Among the decisions taken are:

- (1) The Board will give preference as far as possible to community project areas while expanding the work;
- (2) While the budget of the community projects provides for granting loans to craftsmen and incurring expenditure for training the craftsmen, the Board is empowered to provide subsidies in deserving cases.

P.S.P. Facing Crisis

The differences existing in the leadership of the P. P. found a dramatic expression in the resignation of the party's General Secretary, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, on account of his views about the Executive's stand over the police firing on August last in Travancore-Cochin under a P.S.P. Government.

Dr. Lohia condemned the action of Pattam Ministry in resorting to firing and demanded the ministry's immediate resignation. He was supported in this stand

in the Executive by Sri Madhu Limaye, Joint Secretary of the Party and by two other members of the National Committee, Sri Gopal Narain Saxena and Sri Baleswar Dayal.

The resolution adopted by the P.S.P. Executive on September 5, while regretting the firing does not hold the Government responsible for that but considers that the "National Executive and indeed the whole Socialist movement, must take the blame." In view of the fact Executive firing by the police was not justified in the circumstances where stones were thrown at the police or there was a vague danger of the breach of peace. In order to cope with such situations such forms of police action as the use of water hose, tear gas, the baton or lathi should be sufficient. "The police must take greater risk and be more patient than the crowd, and the lives of the policemen and officials should never be rated higher than the lives of ordinary citizens," the resolution states.

The National Committee was of opinion, the resolution continues, "that on occasions of civil commotion or disturbance, it is the duty of members of the party including those who may be ministers or legislators, to be present and to make effort, even at personal risk, to control the situation and prevent violence." It concludes with a suggestion for a full and open Judicial Enquiry on the recent firing in Travancore-Cochin.

A special conference of the Party has been called for in November in an effort to evolve a homogeneous outlook of the leadership.

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on September 18 enthusiastically welcomes the resolution of the P.S.P. executive, calling it a "Plea for creative Effort." It however notes that on account of the "confusing context in which the resolution was adopted and also for some loose ends in the resolution itself, there is fear that this call for a recognition of new values under freedom may largely go to waste"—all the attention and energies of party members getting dissipated in intra-party controversies and tension.

Pointing to the incompatibilities between the different parts of the resolution the editorial says that the enunciation of the principles which was to guide the Government and party members in times of civil commotion, was incomplete on a crucial point in that the resolution failed to provide a positive guide by stating in what circumstances police firing would be justified.

Next the paper goes on to say that the suggestion for judicial enquiry in general and for Travancore-Cochin in particular could hardly be reconciled with the suggestion of the resolution for new values—not all of which were compatible with the 'Judicial' attitude as was seen from experience, in such matters. "The provision of a judicial enquiry will undoubtedly be some safeguard but it cannot serve the purpose which P.S.P. Executive has in view unless the outlook of the present judicial system undergoes a fundamental change and begins to be guided by a new sense of values."

We ourselves consider the resolution confusing and

utterly lacking in the assessment of realities. To condemn a government's action without a judicial enquiry, and to lay down rules for State administration on a single party basis—that is without going through the democratic process of legislation, is not a socialistic procedure.

We have failed to find any evidence of the police case being given a fair consideration. And in any case where the police plead justification, the entire matter should be placed before a judicial committee and no resolutions should be passed before the report is properly studied.

Roots of Corruption

About the State Governments under Congress Ministries there are the following comments of the *Vigil* of September 11: "We wonder whether the attention of the Central Government or the Congress President has been drawn to the form of application for iron and steel materials prescribed by the Rajasthan Government. The Rajasthan Government has made such applications recommendable by Congressmen. The form itself says so. It is unnecessary to dilate on the implications of this. In other States, they at least do not commit themselves thus in black and white."

Here the *Vigil* has condemned the procedure of a single party giving directives or recommendations on Civil Supply affairs. How can then the P.S.P. be justified in giving a single party directive in the matters of Law and Order?

Probe into West Bengal Congress

"M.G.C." writes in the *Vigil* of September 11 that the Congress General Secretary Sri Balwantrai Mehta was expected to come down to Calcutta with adequate authority for proper investigation into the affairs of the West-Bengal Congress Committee. According to the same source some gentleman from the Congress Headquarters at Delhi, satisfied after a preliminary non-official investigation that scope for further enquiry was there, had met with a very cold reception when he came down to Calcutta for a second time, after consultation with Sri Nehru, to know the official explanations of the complaints. It is stated that "short of physical assault every measure was taken to turn this gentleman out of the Congress House."

"Rafi Ahmed Kidwai—the mystery man and the unpredictable in the Congress—was then in Calcutta. He smiled at the plight of this unofficial 'surveyor' from Delhi."

Charges had been made against the State Congress Chief, Sri Atulya Ghosh, who was also editor of a Bengali daily, by one of his secretaries that a portion of the fund collected by Sri Ghosh for the Congress was being diverted to finance the said daily which was not under the control of the Congress organisation. A sum of at least Rs. 10,000 was thus being transferred every month to the daily. The writer recalls here that the Press Commission Report had referred to a new Bengali daily

receiving Government advertisements at rates higher than that received by older and more well-established contemporaries in Calcutta.

M.P. Ban on I.M.A.

The *Hitavada* in a critical editorial note on September 11, urges the Madhya Pradesh Government to withdraw the ban recently imposed on doctors in Government employment being members of the Indian Medical Association.

The newspaper points to the fact that the Indian Medical Association was a non-political body whose 1600 members represented the overwhelming majority of the country's medical practitioners. Naturally, an association of this character might differ from Government on matters of policy but it was the recognised right of service associations to differ from Government where such difference was called for.

It is "not impressed by the argument of Government that membership of IMA would interfere with discipline. No other State Government has imposed the ban; certainly not the Government of India. It must be presumed that other State Governments are also interested in discipline as much as the Government of Madhya Pradesh and when they have not felt it necessary to intervene, the fears entertained by our own Government must be regarded as exaggerated."

The Politics of Cow "Protection"

In an article in the *People* on September 4, about developments in the Uttar Pradesh associated with the agitation for legislation banning cow slaughter in that State, Sri Ramesh Chandra exposes the utter hollowness of the whole affair and lays bare the motives behind the move in an incisive manner. Referring to the situation obtaining now he writes: "Cow slaughter is non-existent in India (excepting a few towns and imagination of a few people). Six States have banned cow slaughter by law, seven have banned by law, slaughter of all useful animals including cows, in eight it is just not practised, in one, though it is being abolished voluntarily, the question of law is under consideration and awaits report of a Committee but there too, almost every local body has prohibited cow slaughter through amendment of their bye-laws."

Illustrating that the movement by any genuine concern for the welfare of the poor creatures, Sri Chandra writes: "A community at Mathura voluntarily passed a resolution against cow-slaughter; yet a few people of another community wanted to start a Satyagraha demanding legal ban on cow-slaughter. The Satyagraha was dropped at the last moment, but in the process had engendered so much heat that some incidents were reported and curfew had to be clamped down. Is this service to the cow or its exploitation?"

In our own State also the movement in the tragic loss of a life without in any way contributing to the benefit either of the cow or else. The public and the press in general taken kindly to the movement at all. This movement also reflected in the speeches of the members of the State Legislature where barring two or three members the whole of the House unmistakably indicated its disapproval of the movement.

During discussions in the Assembly one Congress member, Sri Kali Mukherji alleged that far from being motivated by a genuine concern for the welfare of the cattle the movement was designed to divert the attention of the Government from the more urgent task of stopping adulteration of foodstuffs and drugs with which it was engaged.

As reported in the *Statesman* on the 18th September, Sri Mukherji "maintained that the agitation did not have popular support and, as proof, cited the case of a jute mill director and another influential businessman, who, he alleged, had paid between Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 per head per day to jute mill and dock labourers to take part in the demonstrations staged outside the Assembly daily."

"Referring to the fact that India was a secular State, he said that 26 per cent of the population of the State (West Bengal) were persons whose religious persuasions did not debar the killing of cows. These people might be persuaded to accept the views of the majority, but they should, in no circumstances, be forced into such a change."

The leader of the Communist Party in the West Bengal Legislature, Sri Jyoti Basu urged the sponsors of the cow protection movement to realise the futility and folly of wasting their energies on such a minor issue and give up the agitation.

Sri Basu "drew the attention of the House to the dangerous practice of *phooka*. Milkmen, who were Hindus, he said, indulged in this to get more milk from cows. Another practice of these milkmen was to kill calves by starving them. It was strange that people who professed to love the cow had not raised their voice against such malpractices."

Mr Basu also alleged that "a noted businessman of the city, now supporting the anti-cow-slaughter campaign, had during the war years made much money as a military contractor for the supply of beef."

Awards and Titles

In an article disapprobative of the conferment of awards and titles by the State, Sri Maganbhai Desai writes in the *Harijan* that the Government's explanations during the discussions in Parliament about the reasons prompting them to revive the practice of conferring titles and awards, etc., could not be considered a sufficient justification of the step they had taken.

Referring to the argument that awards could be looked upon as a recognition of special merit in the field of social service, art, literature, etc., contributing to a desirable incentive in the social life, Sri Desai writes that "the argument could be accepted in a way. But it is one thing to do so at the right moment and in respect of a particular case, but quite another to make a sort of selection and publish a whole list of such awards regularly at appointed dates. The fault lies in institutionalizing the thing."

Likewise the argument that our people liked the conferment of awards in public recognition of merit did not go much further to convince him as a justification of its introduction in that the State should, in Sri Desai's view, carefully keep away from actively helping those popular tendencies which worked against our declared aims and objects.

Granting of awards was not in any way an inescapable or even a necessary duty of the State. "Nor was its absence going to hinder or spoil any of our work. Besides it puts into its hands, that is, in the hands of those in charge of the administration, a power which becomes afterwards a source of much embarrassment to them and which tends to produce in the people an urge for unhealthy competition. We have had enough experience of it during the British rule. Creation of such vested interests does hurt the true spirit of democracy while it does no good to anybody."

Neither could Sri Desai see any fundamental difference between titles and awards from the point of view of their effects on the life and the psychology of the people, and he suggests for an amendment of the relevant provision in the Constitution, which prohibited the conferment of titles, to debar such awards also.

Child Kidnapping in Calcutta

Referring to the recent arrest of a Calcutta beggar with a five-year-old boy in his bag, the *Clarion* in a pointed editorial writes that it should still all laughter about reports of child-kidnapping in Calcutta. There was, moreover, the uncomfortable fact of the recovery of forty missing children. The possibility that many more might be there still untraced made the seriousness of the matter quite evident.

"It does not require much observation," the newspaper continues, "to see the number of child beggars on our streets, and cases have not been unknown of deliberate malformation of young children in order to make them profitable objects of pity."

In conclusion, it is suggested that a step the authorities might usefully take was an investigation into the question of child beggars. "It would be helpful to all concerned to know how many of these

children have been actually born of their beggar guardians, to discover from whence they have come in the cases of 'adoption,' and to make certain that there are no villains, behind the scenes, exploiting misery and poverty that their own coffers and obese bodies may swell the more."

Labour Delegation to China

A delegation of the British Labour Party recently toured China. At a Press Conference at Hongkong on September 2 after the conclusion of the tour, the leader of the delegation Mr. Clement Attlee said that they had found China being run by Communists on principles with which they did not agree. But they had been impressed by certain definite reforms which seemed to mark a new departure in China.

"The evidence we had everywhere is that you have a Government that is incorruptible and that is genuinely working in accordance with the principles in which it believes, and that it has done some very remarkable pieces of work," Mr. Attlee said.

They had found that a lot of work had been done for the peasants and the Government seemed to be based on the goodwill of the peasant population. Asked about Russian influence in China, Mr. Attlee said, "They bank fairly heavily on Russia for supplies and so on. But I gather that, if the Chinese had any Russian personnel in to start up some industry the Russians went home as soon as the Chinese learnt all they could. I did not see any examples of Russians in control anywhere."

Reuter reports, "On Chinese domestic policy, Mr. Attlee said the mission had seen practical evidence of the Government's work 'in what I think was quite remarkable housing achievements both in Peking, Mukden and other parts.' They also saw evidence of extraordinary activity in the field of education and public health: 'I have been in many Eastern bazaars, and it was a new thing to go into markets and find no flies, no smells and everything clean'."

"Our general impression would be that the anti-pathology shown to foreign missions and churches was rather Nationalist than Communist objection to outside influence. There again it was difficult to make a final judgment."

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 4th to 17th October, 1954, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KIDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

BASIC EDUCATION—THE NEED OF THE DAY

By DR. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA,

Governor, Madhya Pradesh.

ANY country emerging from war to peace has to build its socio-economic structure anew; even during the transition from peace to war it had to build its martial structure afresh. Although India was drawn into a war which was not hers, to which she was not equal, and in which she was not willing to participate, yet the fact remains that she has received all the blows and buffets of the war, though it may have received none of its spoils—which indeed she never coveted.

While this is so and the problems of post-war recovery are incidental to all normal, independent nationalities, India has had to make its readjustments from another point of view and that altogether a different one. She had to emerge from a colonial form of Government to a self-governing form or, briefly from subjection to freedom, from slavery to independence. Whatever sacrifices India may have made during the war period and in support of war effort, were not voluntary. They were extracted from unpatriotic supporters of foreign rule who were largely interested either in a peaceful life or in a profitable life. In the processes of recovery therefore from the artificial standards of the socio-economic structure of the war-period, the class of people that counted with the British during the war-period constituted themselves either a hostile element or at least an unwilling factor. This fact has made the problems of post-war recovery the more complicated and all the more difficult.

It is thus seen that Indian Renaissance has had to struggle against both ignorance amongst masses and conservatism among classes. The age-long apathy of the East engendered by a philosophy of fatalism, coupled with the qualities of abjectness and servility, qualities fostered by the tame submission to foreign rule, has had to be combated by the nationalist forces in the land. One of the most difficult problems thus encountered relates to Education, and for a proper and full understanding of this particular issue, one has to go back over a full century and a quarter's history of Education in India. It was in 1818 that the last of the Peshwas surrendered and the rule of the East India Company emerged from the turmoils of wars. Only the lion of Lahore remained to be subdued and he had his turn a quarter of a century later. In the meantime, the Court of Directors were free upon consolidating their acquisitions and rendering unto India what was India's in the domain of culture and education. Their outlook was bigger and broader than that of the officials of the John Company in India, for all that they were concerned with was asking the Company's officers "to send more money but rule the

country well", rather, "to rule the country well, but send more money." The Board of representatives in India found a natural and inherent inconsistency in such a demand; "better rule and higher dividends" were in a way incompatible with each other. The same inconsistency was noticeable in the various spheres of administration—notably of Education.

The Court of Directors had a genuine appreciation of the culture of ancient India, its philosophy, its literature and its sciences. But in India there were both Macaulays and Trevellyans who held that "opulence and leisure" and the disinterested love of culture "which had raised England to the pinnacle of glory" was not wanted in India and what was wanted was industrious husbandmen and diligent clerks. It was glibly stated that all the literature of the Oriental countries was not equal to a single shelf of a good European library. Indeed the saying has become proverbial that "fifty years of Europe were better than a Cycle of Cathay." During the time of Lord William Bentinck and Lord Amherst, the two schools of thought in regard to Indian education had their votaries, namely, the Orientalists and the Occidentalists, and the latter won. Raja Rammohun Roy himself had cast his weight on the side of the latter and it was, truth to speak, a big weight. It was thus that not only the Western system of education, but a purely literary system, divorced from technical and scientific, came into being, held the field, influenced the Universities established in 1858 and continued to sway till the new spirit following the Partition of Bengal (16-10-1905) called for a system of National Education, unrelated and unconnected with the University or Government, being incorporated as an item of the political programme of the Congress in 1906. It was to be conducted on national lines and under national control and directed towards the realization of national destiny.

Though the change of outlook was political in origin yet it did not take long to view it correctly from a purely educational point of view. The training of the hand and the eye, the principle of learning by doing, the systems of Lloyd and Montessori—all came into prominence. Yet the movement remained only a movement of protest, not seldom mixed with politics and therefore looked upon with suspicion and disfavour by Government. Much pressure was brought upon Mahatma Gandhi by national leaders to evolve a scheme of National Education, as part of his socio-economic schemes of national reconstruction, over and above his three basic items, Khaddar, the removal of untouchability and the establishment of Hindu-Muslim unity. It was thus

that in the wake of the All-India Spinners' Association, All-India Harijan Sangh, All-India Village Industries' Association that the Hindustani Nai Talim Sangh came into being. Whatever the Mahatma touched, he turned into gold. Khaddar became the prince of village industries. Removal of untouchability became a condition per-requisite to Swaraj. The movement for Hindu-Muslim unity alone made uneven progress. Village industries constituted a part of health scheme as much as of economic recovery. Basic Education has become the key to a world-wide movement of educational reform. While these layers of foundation were being still laid, the edifice of Independent India had to be rather abruptly erected from out of the pre-existing structure by a rapid adjustment of the new needs to the old data and it is this that we are engaged in the somewhat inverted process of erection of an Independent India upon foundations made for a colonial form of Government. To understand this preposterous arrangement, we must go back to the middle of the 19th century and trace the growth of education developed as a hand-maid to an Empire.

HISTORY OF OUR EDUCATION

When the Universities were started in 1858, soon after the suppression of the rising on the part of the Princes and the soldiery in their striving for Independence, they were only the first of a series of three great institutions to be founded in India—the other two being the Councils and the Courts which were respectively brought into being in 1860 and 1861. Thus within three years of the first war of Indian Independence, the English rulers erected three new forts in support of their rule. The factories built by those who came to trade had already become forts, the watchmen employed therein became soldiers, the weapons they bore became instruments of warfare and the traders themselves became rulers. But there was wide resentment against this assumption of authority, this acquisition of administrative powers beginning with the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, this extension of territories throughout India, indeed this ascendancy over the whilom Princes of India and their States. The East India Company felt, however, that its rulership was and would be precarious unless it had an intellectual and even a moral backing behind it. The latter was never forthcoming while the former was sought to be established through the three great institutions, Colleges, Councils and Courts—a combination of sources of influence and authority which may be remembered once again in the study of the non-co-operation movement of 1921. Thus will it be seen that the British throne which took over India from the Company in 1858, began by erecting new forts—the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, instead of multiplying forts of brick and mortar, recruiting new soldiery—the graduates of the Universities—instead of expanding the army fighting on the battlefield, and manufacturing new munitions in the shape of English literature, instead of augmenting

bombs, grenades and gun-powder. The result was marvellous. A second line of defence force of indigenous intellectuals was created and it served the masters with remarkable loyalty knowing well as it did which side of their bread was buttered. The graduates became in due course lawyers practising in the various Courts and intelligent, capable, prosperous and aspiring citizens of an Empire. What was this aspiration and where should they seek its fulfilment? In the Councils, of course. Were not the Legislatures started in 1860 with real foresight? Thus did the Universities, the High Courts and the Legislative Councils afford scope in an ascending order for the intellectual talent of India to serve the British rulers.

In the jails you know the wardens do not, as a rule, beat prisoners. They get the convict warders to punish them. These are mostly convicts guilty of murder, who are dressed in spotless white, armed with a baton with its brass band and leather tail and moving about in polished boots and shining turbans and prepared to do anything at the bidding of their masters. What the British did in jails, they did in the single larger jail of India, through the subordinate Magistracy recruited from amongst Indians and prepared to act up to the behests of the British Civilians representing the Crown. All training, discipline and ambition were directed towards the working of the Empire according to set models and readymade manuals of Land Revenue, Forest, Income-tax, Local Self-Government, Military, Police, Education, Jails, Satyagraha and Lathi Charge. Indeed the graduates of the British Universities and diplomats of English Public Schools were being trained to run this vast machinery according to the manuals and were prohibited from exercising independent thinking or meddling with the mechanism before them. Their business was not to think, but to act. Some five years ago there was a Royal Commission which reported on the kind of education to be followed thereafter in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and they reported that thereafter they must teach their alumni to think unlike thitherto when they were only asked to work the manuals. That is the history of education in India. We too must teach our boys to think, to exercise their senses and faculties along with their mind and memory, to use their fingers along with their faculties. So it was that Basic Education came into being so that a new type of students fully equipped for their new citizenship might be trained and might supply the new needs of the nation. The one purpose is to train the hand and the eye of our boys and girls, train them to do things by trial and error, and learn things by doing them.

The long waiting which we did patiently and expectantly at last bore its reward at the Haripura Session of the Congress. The scheme of National Education, adopted by the Congress from the year 1906, then 1917 and finally 1920-21 onwards, continued to command some measure of popularity, but the schools

brought into existence in the hurry of controversial and pugnacious politics were not brought together under the care of one national organisation corresponding to those controlling Khaddar, Harijans and Village Industries. They were allowed to shift or even to drift for themselves and with the lifting of the triple boycott, the emphasis on national education weakened. And Mahatmaji had always been saying, whenever his attention was invited to the matter, that he did not feel that the time had come for the nation to take up the subject. It is well known that Mahatmaji had always been acting under the impulse of instinct rather than under the influence of reason or logic. At Haripura he felt that that time came, for the thing the Congress would, through the Congress Ministers then in power, have opportunities of influencing and controlling State education. It was, therefore, opportune at Haripura (1938 March) to lay down the basic principles that should guide national education. It was also obvious that instruction in basic education should be free and compulsory covering seven years and be imparted in the mother tongue and centering throughout round some form of manual and productive work, with all other activities to be developed or training to be given, integrally related as far as possible to the Central Handicrafts chosen with due regard to the environment of the child. To this end an All-India Education Board was established with power to frame its own constitution, to raise fund and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects. In this arduous task, Mahatmaji was able to enlist the whole-hearted co-operation of two eminent educationists, Shri Aryanayakam and Shrimati Ashadevi (Smt. Aryanayakam).

BASIC EDUCATION—ITS PURPOSE AND MEANING

During this transitional stage we have to work out important changes of a wide variety. The material outlook of the country has to be correlated with an intellectual agency and the control of a moral law. Education has thus to be related not only to the art of living, but to the very ideals of life. These ideals have to be restated and the means of attaining them reconstructed. It is thus that we come to regard the system of education for life as Basic Education through which the citizens of the future are to be trained, while yet they are in the formative period of their life, and trained to a purpose, the purpose of a co-operative living. Co-operation implies the whole man—not merely his physical capacities or intellectual attainments but his spiritual longings as well. When thus you build up the whole man or woman, you bring into being a duly correlated community and a well-co-ordinated society. How should we build up such a personality, wakeful and alert, thinking and intelligent, reasoning and human? Not by mere memorising, but by constructive endeavour and creative effort, by purposeful labour, so conforming to the age-old dictum that work is worship. Work is the one binding factor that brings together individuals and nations alike. Work is the pivot on which the whole plan of Basic Education revolves. The ancients contemplated and

created a whole picture, a whole fabric, a whole idol, a whole temple. The plans were not worked piecemeal by separate contractors but were the off-shoot of one architect, one brain, one skill, one synthesis. The child mind of India is sadly in need of such a composite training. When you take a lump of cotton and clear it of seed and clean it of dirt, thrash it and card it, spin the yarn and weave the cloth, a whole range of agriculture and industry, of history and geography, of economics and politics is capable of being taught, centering round the craft on hand. Here in Wardha you find a cotton centre. How did this vast tableland rising from Warangal to Wardha and Wardha to Itarsi influence the prosperity and fate of this part of the country? Cotton was unknown to the Westerners till about the thirteenth century. It was described as a fine, flossy flower when it is really the content of the pod itself bearing within it the seed.

How did cotton interest the Empire-builder and shape history? You are probably aware of the fact that the first textile mill was begun in 1851 and completed in 1853. Apparently it was an eyesore to the East India Company which, while they were exporting cotton fabrics from India till 1803 began to import 3 lakhs of rupees worth of British textiles to India in 1803 and 29 lakhs worth in 1829 while the British exported 66 crores worth of textiles and 6 crores worth of yarn in 1929—altogether 72 crores worth of cloth and yarn. All this may be true, but what is it to Basic Education? In 1853 November an interesting event took place. The Agent of the East India Company saw the Nizam and demanded a payment of 97 lakhs of rupees which the Company claimed as having been spent upon the maintenance of the troops under the Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance of Marquis of Wellesley, 1805, or in the alternative, claimed the Berars. The Nizam swore that he had maintained the troops all those years and that there was no clause relating to payment of money. The Company insisted, the Nizam dismissed the courtiers and with bare head bent himself and expostulated saying, "There are two things an Indian Prince would not part with, his titles and his territory. You, gentlemen from abroad, who are now in India and now in England, now sailors and now soldiers, now officers and now traders, cannot understand it." But the Company persisted. The Nizam prayed for time and got three instalments of which two were fully paid up and 10 lakhs was paid up as against the third. But the Company demanded all the same the Berars and they got it. Then comes the crucial point. Lord Dalhousie wrote to the Board of Directors, "Berars is only the gateway to the cotton area of Nagpur and we must have it." In February 1854, the Bhonsle died without issue and without being allowed to adopt. The British forthwith surrounded the Fort, turned out the Queens, sold elephants worth thousands for hundreds, horses worth hundreds for tens and the cows for a song. The jewellery was seized. There was a friend of the Bhonsle, Major Ousley, who on hearing of the happenings at Nagpur was rushing to the place but was seized and deported to England. Thus the cotton

area of Nagpur was added to the Berars and passed to the Company. The whole history of the British Empire in India centres round cloth. The reversal of the current has already been referred to. The destruction of cottage crafts, including cloth, was the logical sequence of the invention of the steam engine and its application to all crafts. The destruction of cottage crafts and home industries led to the depletion of the villages, where formerly the farmer supplemented his scanty produce by the yield of the sale of products of his handicraft. It was thus that the craftsman was a farmer and the farmer was a craftsman. But ere long the fact turned out to be that the carpenter preferred imported saws and chisels and destroyed the craft of the smith. The smith wore imported shoes and destroyed the cobbler's profession. The cobbler bought enamel and killed the potter's trade. The potter preferred the Manchester Mill cloth and weakened the weaver. The weaver preferred machine yarn and destroyed the spinner. When the crafts were thus destroyed, people became too great a burden on the land and the small farmer sold his land and became a lessee. Then the farmer became agricultural labourer—then he migrated to towns and became urban worker without home or family, contracted diseases, broke down in health and died. This process was still going on till August 1947 and perhaps is still going on. The whole cast of civilisation and culture, the genius of crafts and arts, the contented life of the village, the balancing of cultivation and crafts, all have yielded place to urban life, congestion, disease and death. The circle of village economy was cut. The village economy in olden times till the advent of the British people was a self-contained economy. Not merely that; by the export of hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, the channels of money were flowing from abroad to cities and from cities to towns and from towns to the villages of manufacture. After the establishment of British power, the current of trade was reversed in direction, the steam-engine invented in 1783 having developed power which began to be applied in England to the handicrafts of the day changed the whole cast of economy in respect of textiles by 1803 in which year Rs. 3 lakhs worth of mill cloth was imported from England to India. In 1829, Rs. 29 lakhs worth of cloth was imported. In 1929, that is, a century after, Rs. 72 crores worth of textiles (of which Rs. 66 crores worth was cloth and Rs. 6 crores worth was yarn) were imported. It will thus be seen that the occupations of all the artisans and craftsmen connected with hand-spun and hand-woven cloth became very nearly destroyed. All the spinners lost their cunning and calling. Likewise the weavers found it hard to compete with their hand-woven cloth with the mill-spun and mill-woven cloth imported into or latterly manufactured in India. Money began to go therefore from the villages to the towns for this cloth, from the towns to cities and from cities abroad. The current was reversed. The villages became poor and labour began to migrate from villages to towns as already pointed out. The village economy which was

functioning through the circulation of money in the village itself was cut almost at every point and contributed to this drain of money from the village to the town and thence to the city and abroad. Whereas formerly the school-master was maintaining the carpenter, the cobbler was maintaining the weaver, the weaver was maintaining the spinner and all were maintaining the farmer, the washerman and the barber; now everyone sends his money abroad and money is no longer conserved in the village. This self-sufficient economy of the village may have to be restored in a modified form.

From this pod of cotton you are able to teach the modern history and Imperialism. From the same pod, you can take the boys and the girls to the triple boycott of 1921 of courts, colleges and councils, to the revival of Khaddar and village industries, to the re-establishment of the self-sufficient village, on to Non-co-operation, Swadeshi, Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience and to Swaraj and to the Community Projects. What a marvel is Basic Education! Mahatma was not merely a philosopher and moralist, he was an educationist, a social reformer, a warrior and statesman, a nation-builder and a friend of humanity.

BASIC EDUCATION

Every Basic School scheme is naturally preceded by a pre-basic course, which keeps the pupils busy and makes them happy at the same time. Paint and brush, pencil and paper and clay and pulp come handy for making all sorts of things that the child sees and indeed handles. The hand and its movements, the fingers and their deftness are brought under full control. Almost the first lesson taught is of cleanliness. Dirt is defined as a matter out of place. The dust that gathers on the table is blown off its surface and the table is said to have been cleaned, while the dust joins its family on the floor. The dust on the floor pre-existing and now added is swept down the steps and *chabuthra* where it joins its home. To add rubbish to the rubbish heap, to put cow-dung in the compost pit, is cleanliness.

In the pre-basic school, the child makes paper boats, flies kites, makes paper bombs, paper ink-bottles, musical pipes with cocoanut leaves, dolls with rags, makes a hole in a piece of wood, rotates one piece over another, with the aid of a peg on the top one, fashions the kerchief into the shape of birds, makes betel leaf boddies in'o locks, builds houses with little blocks and so on. Later it learns to make *gur* out of palm juice, clean cotton, gin it and card it, spin and even weave.

In pottery you study clays of different kinds, their sources and preparation. Of all the crafts of the world, pottery is perhaps the most fascinating. Through folk dances and drill, rhythm and time-keeping are learnt. Through games and *asanas* you learn anatomy and physiology. The human body is an engine, a workshop, a pump, a Persian wheel, a dynamo and a chemical laboratory. Through Kathakali, tales of epics are learnt.

The daily both ensures cleanliness. Milk and milk products, food and its constituents, taste and digestibility, calorific value and vitamin content may all be taught in conversation. Domestic medicine must be picked up early in life. A mother's training to her daughters in tending children is simple and effective. Learning by doing is what the kitchen and cookery teach. The economy of the cow and its products is taught in every home by showing how the urine and dung are converted into manure. Their fuel value may be contrasted with their manurial value, the former being a fifth of the latter. A kitchen garden involves ploughing and sowing as much as a field crop. Fruit-growing is complex in that it involves a knowledge of ripening which is an art by itself. Free-hand drawing is learnt early through the Rangoli. Pencil and slate are unnecessary. Cutting animals on paper and shaping plants into birds and animals are arts by themselves. Painting with local paints is both a science and an art. The story of Ajanta paintings in an illustration in point. Glories of sculpture may be taught through the caves of Ajanta and the temples of Ellora and through the magnificent Sanchi Topes. The tombs and temples of old and the use of the marble—black, white, yellow and motley—are the proof of the illiterate Indian craftsman's magnificent culture.

The glories of an integrated life full of harmony, fellowship and good understanding must be revived by establishing village Panchayats from which will be eliminated the law's delays, the distances of courts, the doubtful justice and the waste of money incidental to modern judiciary.

RURAL ORGANIZATION

To achieve all these ends, we must divide our country into self-contained circles formed by a regrouping of our villages, each circle having a diameter of not more than 8 miles and therefore an arc of 50 square miles. Each such circle should offer amenities relating to:

Agriculture	Education
Veterinary	Co-operation,
Health	Industry

We may call them Firka centres and our object is to train young men and women to take charge of them. They must have grounding in the art of cultivation, care of animals, domestic medicine, social education, principles of co-operative credit, distribution and stores, banking and principles of administration, of justice and cottage industries. The villagers need not travel more than 4 miles to reach these amenities. If one circle has 12 big villages, it will comprise an area of not only 12 villages but also some 40 hamlets in addition—making in all about 50 units, big and small. India (with an area of 12,80,000 square miles, half of which is forest and waste land) shall then to be organised into say 10,000 units of this elementary character. Each of this unit will have 12 primary schools and 4 lower secondary and 1 agricultural middle school. Here a scheme of

basic education would train our village workers and lay the foundations of citizenship. These Firkas must be regrouped into larger or Taluqa units. These Firkas cover a Tahsil with about 150 villages and hamlets. They in turn should have

A High School	A Maternity Hospital
A Veterinary Hospital	A Tubercular Sanatorium
A Medical Store	A Co-operative Bank and Supervising Union.

Each such circle must have a co-operative store where the agricultural needs—seeds, manures and implements—are sold besides the co-operative Bank for credit purposes as also a co-operative Union for supervision. Then you have a health centre with vaccination facilities and a small maternity centre.

Next comes the still larger unit—a kind of district headquarters where you have a college, a big hospital of 200 beds equipped with anti-rabic and anti-diphtheritic sera and penicillin, also a Veterinary Hospital, a District Co-operative Bank, District Co-operative Stores, a Leper Home, an Eye Clinic, an Orphanage, a Waifs' and Strays' Home, a Widows' Home, a Home for Fallen Sisters, and a Discharged Prisoners' Society. The number of villages comprised (together with hamlets) would be 600 villages and the town interspersed would form part of the unit.

BASIC EDUCATION AND RURAL UNIVERSITIES

The great point to recognize is that education is not a department of administration nor a field of regimentation, but it is a process of building up the intellectual tissues and the moral fibre of a man just as the foods that one eats build up the tissues of the body. You have in the body blood and bones, muscles and cartilages, arteria, and veins, heart and lungs, liver and spleen. These are undergoing constant waste and need constant reconstruction. Likewise the human mind and character require constant replenishment by the aid of new ideas, new strands of education that rejuvenate the wasting elements of character and a decay in taste for the world.

"Three-fourths of the world's people today are underhoused, underclothed, underfed, illiterate—in other words, three-fourths of the world's foundation is rotten. As long as this continues you have a poor foundation upon which to build," says James Yen, a Chinese author. What the world wants is a process of education through reconstruction and reconstruction through education. The idea is sometimes expressed that "the adult education movement is dead. One does not know how to put life into it." The answer of Yen, a Chinese author, is, "They will be educated as they reconstruct their own lives." He spoke out of 25 years' experience. Our great task is, therefore, to convert the mind and dust of the village into a great human laboratory through which we can rebuild our ancient India into a modern nation.

To build an independent India worthy of the nation-wide struggle carried on for acquiring Freedom, worthy of the great Patriarch of the Nation that led the mil-

lions to victory, worthy of the future which the world has been led to look up to as a model for the nations of the world, and above all worthy of the high principles of Truth and Non-Violence which should form the very basis of the grand edifice of a world Government, these require young India to wrench itself from the cribbing and cramming traditions of the last two centuries. While preserving the integrity of our villages, we must enrich life at the base of the pyramid of Indian Nationalism by the higher amenities hitherto available only at the apex of the pyramid—so as to prevent the influx of the unsophisticated village-folks into towns and the contamination and narrowness of mind that necessarily infect them in the urban area. To this end a rufo-urban modification of our villages becomes an immediate necessity. "The social, economic and political aims" therefore of Basic Education must include:

1. A community of citizens bound together not only by intimate knowledge of one another but by a sense of intimate relationship to one another, and
2. The supplementation of agriculture by the development of cottage crafts or small-scale industries that help in building up as far as possible a self-contained unit of National Organisation;
3. The use of electricity as much as possible as a means of establishing maximum production with minimum labour.

In other words, we need to build up village communities which create capital out of credit, which will re-establish the integrity of the spoken word, and be an incentive to a process of moral rearmament that would wipe out fraud in business and corruption in personal character and re-establish that sense of unity which was sung by the poet in the simple words *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*. It is to establish a society based upon such high principles that you have to take on hand the youth of the country and mould their mind and spirit so as to keep them in tune with the outlook and purpose of the larger life of cosmonationality and universal brotherhood.

To bring such village communities into being is the task of the Rural University which builds up new educational traditions of distinctive character and meets the needs of the village populations. These constitute four-fifths of India. They are left out of account by the 29 Universities now functioning. It is they that constitute the backbone of the new democracy, that provide the wherewithal by which govern-

ments run and people are fed. Under the canopy of the rural University students *live the life* for which they are being trained. They study *economics* in the village home and the budgets of the kisan, the village teacher and postmaster. They study *engineering* not by drawing up plans and estimates, but by digging a channel constructing a road and boring a well. They study *ethics* by helping the poor and rendering succour to the needy. They will *build up their careers* by building up the village community, and arbitrating in disputes, promoting a spirit of co-operation all round and taking note of the needs of the next village in answering the needs of one's own. They will promote *education* not by specializing in any subject, but by acquiring average knowledge in subjects relating to the art of life. They study agriculture by knowing the seed and the soil, the season and the manure, the pests and their remedies. They must know the stars and planets and tell the time by their position. They promote science not by inventing how to kill but how to save.

The difficulties that confront this new scheme are obvious because the process is a hard climb-up, not an easy climb-down. It is a process of swimming up the stream, not down the flow. The form may doubtless change, but the principle must be adhered to. Every time the emphasis on any subject changes in our educational courses, the change meets with a certain measure of resistance. Revivalists are not wanting who decried the Reform but in due course the Reform itself not only becomes familiar, but even stale in its own turn and loud cries for its further change will not be inaudible. Just recall for a moment how *Khad-dar* and Hindu-Muslim unity and Prohibition developed from a slogan to a shibboleth and to a war-cry. How little do we hear them, or even hear of them. Why? Not because the vital and operative principle once regarded as an emanation from the Divine has settled down into dry formulae on dead men's lips. In any new experiment it would be incorrect to ask for a full chart of progress or even for a plan and blue-print. The way reveals itself as we march along, much like the road on a foggy morning revealing itself a hundred yards length as the meteor cuts its way through. Let us hope that pre-basic, basic and post-basic education and Rural Universities will rise not only to the level of influencing mental development but also stimulating creative faculties and helping in moral rearmament of the Nation.

AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA Its Causes and Cures

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

INDIA was a country carrying on skilled agriculture at a time when in their own unreclaimed mountains and morasses Europeans still hunted the bear and the wolf. Providence has endowed her with a wealth of actual resources and a rare aptitude for prolific and high-class husbandry. Skill is there, capacity for labour is there, arms fit for cultivation are there in plenty. Nevertheless agriculture taken as a whole has remained backward, at any rate in quantitative production. The reason is that India lacks that drop of gold, which would oil the machine, set it going and turn its wheel as a productive factor. Moreover, on the top of all these, there is a crushing debt of the agriculturists. The country is in the grip of Mahajans and Sahukars because of the traditional unthriftiness of her people. The Mahajan still has safely entrenched behind his money bags while the victims of his silver bullet lie all round in heaps.

Rural indebtedness is one of the burning and pressing problems of India. The prosperity of this country depends fundamentally on agriculture, for more than three-fourths of its inhabitants are engaged in this industry. But as a matter of fact, agriculture is not making any progress due to heavy indebtedness of the cultivators and as a result of this the Indian agriculture is backward and this stultifies all talks of agricultural improvements. An effective solution of the problem of rural indebtedness is the first step to our economic progress. The debt is unproductive, and its burden accumulated from generation to generation. A productive debt creates its own means of payment; but an unproductive debt becomes a great burden as much as the principal and interest go on increasing. Indian agricultural debt in that sense is a great curse to the cultivators. According to Wolf:

"The country is in the grip of Mahajans. It is the bonds of debt that shackle agriculture."

Estimates of Indian agricultural debts were made from time to time. No scientific and systematic treatment of the disease was attempted till the seventies of the last century when the indebtedness of the Deccan ryots, who had been the victims of great vicissitudes of fortune almost since the conquest of the Deccan, rose to such magnitude as to demand prompt legislative action.¹ The Deccan Ryots Commission in 1875, concluded that one-third of the occupants of Government Board were in debt and that the average debt per occupant was Rs. 371.² According to the Famine Commission of 1880 and 1901, at least four-fifths of the cultivators were in debt and were fast losing the

possession of their lands.³ In 1911, Edward MacLagan estimated the total agricultural debt of British India at Rs. 300 crores,⁴ while in 1923 Mr. Darling estimated it at 600 crores.⁵ On the basis of the estimates of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees, the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee in 1934 put the figure of the total rural indebtedness of India at Rs. 900 crores. During the slump the burden of debt became twice as heavy as the cultivator's income was reduced by half. Since then it has increased considerably and was estimated at Rs. 1200 crores in 1935 by Dr. P. J. Thomas.

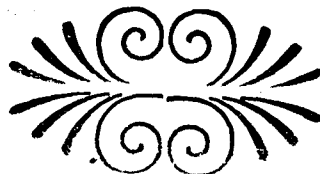
"If the total agricultural debt of British India was about Rs. 900 crores in 1929-30, it must have increased to about Rs. 1200 by 1923, and the real burden must be tantamount to Rs. 2200 crores, assuming that prices fall by 50 per cent (between 1929 and 1933), that no payment of the principal has been made and that interest payment is in arrears so that the debt has accumulated further."⁶ The immediate effect of the agricultural depression of the early 'thirties was to intensify the burden of debt and to increase it not only in real terms but also in money terms.⁷

The Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India in a recent survey of the position in 1937 notes that the burden of this indebtedness has become really much more crushing than can be judged from a comparison of the growth of its volume in rupees owing to the great depression (1929-32) attended with falling prices of agricultural produce. They put it at Rs. 1800, the annual interest on these on the lowest computation would be above Rs. 100 crores. To these may be added canal rates (about 12 crores), Central and Provincial taxation (about 100 crores), local taxation (about 150 crores) and railway freight charges (Rs. 65 crores). Precious little is, therefore, left to feed the cultivators. During the Second World War, the substantial cultivators and big landlords everywhere repaid their old debts either in full or to a material extent. For India, as a whole, the real rural debts and also the total money burden have become lighter during war years. The regions and classes that have failed to profit from the unprecedented rise of prices of agricultural produce have evidently done so because of structural defects in their economics, such as un-economic holdings.

Various estimates arrived at of the rural indebtedness may now be summarised as follows:

1. S. C. Ray: *Op. Cit.*, p. 21.
2. Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, p. 68 (f.n.).
3. M. L. Darling: *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt* (1932), p. 18.
4. P. C. Thomas: *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, (1939), p. 175.
5. D. R. Gadgil: *Agriculture Finance Sub-Committee Report* (1949), p. 6.

1. S. C. Ray: *Agricultural Indebtedness in India*, p. 111.
2. Deccan Ryots Commission Report, p. 29.



Estimated by	Year of enquiry	Amount of indebtedness in rupees	General remark
The Deccan Ryots Commission	1875	371 per occupant.	Based on analysis of 12 villages in the Ahamadnagar District (Bombay); one-third occupants of Government land in debt; debt averaged 12 times the assessment.
The Famine Commission	1880		One-third of land-holding class in deep debt; another one-third in debt; but with power to redeem debt.
Sir Frederick	1895	45 crores.	Of Madras only.
The Famine Commission	1901		One-fourth lost their land in Bombay. Less than one-fifth free from debt.
Sir Edward MacLagan	1911	300 crores.	For British India on the basis of Sir Nicholson's estimate for Madras.
M. L. Darling	1925	600 crores.	Based on the Punjab figure of 90 crores: 19 times the assessment, but taking 17 as the multiplier.
The Central Banking Enquiry Committee	1929	900 crores.	Based on Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Reports.
P. J. Thomas	1933	2200 crores.	
Dr. R. K. Mukherji	1935	1200 crores.	
Agricultural Credit Department	1937	1800 crores.	
Mr. E. V. S. Mainan	1938	1800 crores.	

DEBT POSITION IN THE PROVINCES

Let us consider the debt conditions in some important provinces. The estimates of indebtedness in various provinces as made by the Banking Enquiry Committee (in 1929) were as follows:

Year	Locality	Amount of indebtedness in rupees	Amount of debt
1929	Bombay (including Sind) ⁸	81 crores.	15 times the assessment. Average debt per land-holding family Rs. 570 and per landless family 189; percentage of families free from debt 21 in N. Gujrat, 23 in S. Gujrat, 29 in Konkan and 13 in Sind.
"	Madras ⁹	150 "	19 times the assessment.
"	Bengal ¹⁰	100 "	Average debt per family Rs. 160.
"	Uttar Pradesh	124 "	27 times the assessment. 32 per cent of tenants owed more than 2 years rent.
"	Punjab ¹¹	135 "	In 1929, as against 19 times in 1921; growth of 50 per cent in 8 years. Average debt of agriculturists Rs. 104 in 1929 as against 76 in 1921.
"	Bihar & Orissa ¹²	155 "	Rs. 129 crores for ordinary cultivators, Rs. 24 crores for landlords and Rs. 2 crores for other householders.
"	C. P. & Berar ¹³	361 "	Rs. 227 per family. Proportion of cultivators free from debt 46 per cent.
"	Assam ¹⁴	22 "	21 times the assessment; only 15 per cent of families are free from debt.

8. Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para 50.

9. Madras Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para 90.

10. Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para

11. Punjab Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para 98.

12. Bihar and Orissa Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para 22.

13. Madhya Pradesh Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para 644.

14. Assam Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para 33.

Dr. Harold Mann remarked about the Bombay Presidency:

"This enquiry into the conditions of the people of a typical dry Deccan village is disheartening. The debts are a crushing debt on the people."

He estimated that the average debt of the cultivator of a Bombay village is about Rs. 130. In Bengal, it was calculated by Mr. Jack that in the District of Faridpur 45 per cent of the cultivators were in debt, and the average debt of each family was about Rs. 121. In Bengal, during 1943-44, the percentage of families in debt increased from 43 to 66 per cent for Kisan families, 27 to 36 per cent for craftsmen and 17 to 46 per cent for all other miscellaneous classes of people. In Southern India, in the Cochin State, Dr. Slater pointed out that nearly 75 per cent of the agriculturists were in debt. Recent enquiry by Dr. Narainswamy Naidu in 1945 in the Madras Province revealed that there has been an increase in the indebtedness of the petty landlords, tenants and agricultural labourers. In Punjab, it was pointed out by Mr. Darling that only 17 per cent of the people are out of debt, and the average debt per indebted proprietor is Rs. 463. The U. P. Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee estimated the total debt of the landlords, peasant proprietors and tenants in the whole province at Rs. 124 crores, while according to U. P. Government the agricultural debt of the province has been estimated at Rs. 186 crores.

It is generally believed that the rise of agricultural incomes from Rs. 953 crores in 1939-40 to Rs. 2,660 crores in 1947-48, has enabled most of the cultivators to reduce or wipe off their debts. In Bombay, the Provincial Co-operative Institute made a survey of the indebtedness of the farmers in the Karnatak and the Deccan regions of the Bombay Province. Their enquiry revealed that during 1939-44 there was a reduction of debt in both the regions though not to the same extent. Generally, the reduction was considerable among cultivators of large holdings going up to 50 per cent while in the smallest holdings of less than 5 acres, the extent of reduction was small, in the same tracts there was an increase of debt ranging from 9 to 30 per cent. In Madras, Dr. Naidu showed that the total debt of the province which stood at Rs. 272 crores in 1939 was reduced to Rs. 218 crores in 1945 or about 20%. Per capita debt had fallen there from Rs. 51 in 1939 to Rs. 40.8 in 1945. The major part of the benefit indicated by the reduction of debt was confined to the larger and medium holders while the position of small holders remained practically the same and that of the tenants and labourers actually worsened.

In Bhuvil village an enquiry was conducted under the auspices of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. It revealed that the total indebted-

ness of the village fell from Rs. 2 lakhs before the war to Rs. 1.2 lakhs in 1945-46 and the present debt in terms of pre-war rupee value is said to be only 15% of the pre-war debt.

It is clear from the foregoing estimates that the agricultural indebtedness has been on increase. There had been indebtedness of the peasant in the past also, but it has increased appreciably during the nineteenth century with the rise in prices and land values, the establishments of the civil courts and the enactments of the civil procedure code and the enforcing of the individual rights in contracts. It is rather very striking to note that the indebtedness of the peasantry, in spite of the great improvements in communication, trade, irrigation and maintenance of peace and security, has rather increased than decreased and it apparently seems paradoxical to say that the peasants had become more prosperous prior to recent depression than before. But as history reveals, indebtedness and prosperity are not necessarily inconsistent; the only explanation of this phenomenon is that indebtedness still exists in rural India, not in spite of these improvements but just because of them. It is no wonder that the small rural farmer is in no better position today financially than he was before the war despite the steep rise in agricultural prices, but along with the rise in prices there has also been a rise in the prices of consumers' goods and also in the cost of cultivation including wages, prices of cattle, implements, etc. Moreover, not all the benefit of rising prices has gone to the cultivator.

ANALYSIS OF DEBT

The reports of almost all Banking Enquiry Committees and of various other enquiries conducted into indebtedness contain some analysis of the purpose for which and the time in which debts had been contracted. In this connection the percentages of the total debt for which it was contracted in some of the Provinces are given below:

1. Bihar and Orissa Banking Enquiry Committee gives the figures as: Repayment of earlier debt 18; social occasion 19; maintenance, house building and repairs 16½; rent 6; cultivation and purchase of seeds and manures 7; purchases of cattle and improvements 8; non-payment of interest 12; litigation, purchase of land and trade 9; unclassified 4½.

2. Central Provinces and Berar Banking Enquiry Committee gives these figures as: Old debts and loans 26.0; marriage and other ceremonies 14.0; maintenance expenses including results of scarcity and distress 7.0; land revenue and rent 4; cultivating expenses including wages of labourer, purchase of cattle, seed, manure, etc. 23.0; improved agricultural implements 1.0; field embankment and other land improvements 10.0; purchase of land 11.0; litigation 2.0; business, etc. 2.03.

3. For 141 villages in Madras Mr. Sathia-

nathan gives the following figures:¹⁵ Payment of prior debts 25.1; marriage and other ceremonials 10.5; payment of land revenue 3.3; relief of distress 6.1; agricultural expenses 10.0; improvements of land 4.4; education of children 1.4; trade 12.9; purchase of land 13.8; construction of houses 5.6; other expenses 6.9.

4. In Punjab, the Banking Enquiry Committee summarises the results of surveys of indebtedness in the five villages as follows: Purchase of cattle from 15 to 39; repayment of old debts 2 to 23 per cent; marriages and funeral 12; agricultural expenses 10; domestic expenditure and litigation varies from 2 to 13.

5. The average results of three villages in Dharwar District according to the Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee was as follows: Current agricultural needs 17.6; land improvement and purchase of land 8.0; domestic requirements 11.4; payment of old debts 20.7; trade 4.1; marriages and other ceremonials 19.4; litigation 14.8; miscellaneous 4.0.

6. Similarly the debts of 52 families of Karim-pur village in Bogra District in Bengal, for 1928-29 show the following causes of indebtedness:¹⁶ For payment of old debts 14.3; purchase of cattle and capital and permanent improvements 40.0; land revenue 21.0; cultivation expenses 18.1; special and religious purposes 5.5; litigation 0.6; and other purposes 2.4.

7. Dr. Agarwal, speaking about 1088 families in 14 villages in U. P. concludes the percentages of rural indebtedness as follows:¹⁷ Social ceremonies 37.7 per cent; domestic needs 12.5 per cent; current agricultural needs 3.1 per cent; loans for purchase of cattle 28.2 per cent; repayment of old debts 4.8 per cent.

In the broadest terms, the needs to satisfy for which finance is required could be related either to:

(i) Conduct of productive activity at normal levels of efficiency, which will mean finance directly for annual production needs such as that for livestock, implements, etc., for payment of rent, revenue and current consumption finance (that for food for the family).

Or (ii) development or conservation of resources. This would be ordinarily long term and would be raised for developing fully the potentialities of the resources of the cultivators which are left unutilised in the course of his existing current productive activity. Improvements, such as construction of wells, tanks and embankment or tree or orchard planting, would fall under this category.

Or (iii) circumstances of calamity or distress occasioned by the incidence of famine or flood or any other calamity. The requirements of such finance could be all the requirements for ordinary production needs and consumption needs.

CAUSES OF INDEBTEDNESS

(1) *The Ancestral Debt*: The most important and the chief cause of the existing indebtedness is the ancestral debt, which is handed over from father to son, generation after generation, without any equitable restrictions. Children born in debt are found making very feasible efforts to pay the debt of their fathers and forefathers. They are probably ignorant of the law that the debts of the deceased pass on to the heir only to the extent of the property inherited by the latter, and if no property is inherited, there is no liability to pay the debt, it is only a 'pious obligation'.¹⁸ The only existing facility for the redemption of this debt is the borrowing of money from one moneylender to pay off another and thus increase the debts. Many agriculturists start their career with a heavy burden of ancestral debt and drag the loan for the whole of their life, taking it to be a religious and social obligation, with the result that the burden goes on increasing and becomes hereditary. As the Agricultural Commission in India remarks:

"The Indian peasant is born in debt, lives in debt, dies in debt and bequeaths debt."

Thus an Indian cultivator takes birth as debtor, lives as debtor and dies as debtor.¹⁹ In fact, the people are so accustomed to be in debt to take it over from their fathers and to pass it on to their sons, that they accept indebtedness as a settled fact, and a natural state of life.

(2) *Sub-division and Fragmentation of Holdings*: When the holdings are small, the cultivation ceases to be economical even in the best of years and the yield from land becomes insufficient for the maintenance of the farmer and his family. On account of this reason either the farmer must go in debt or must be very industrious or must have any other source of income. In this connection it would be interesting to quote Mr. Darling who remarked:

"That to support a family upon a few acres without getting into debt requires a love of skill, industry and thrift seldom attained in a hot country. Undoubtedly it can be done just as a small sailing boat weathers a storm of the Atlantic, but unless the boat is both well-found and well-manned it will assuredly sink. In India, the farm is too often neither the one nor the other, and nature can be almost as destructive on land as at sea."²⁰

The holdings are so small and the margin of safety so narrow that any misfortune may plunge the peasant into debt from which he can never extricate himself. A series of bad years, the death of cattle or mere carelessness may lead to debt while in the best years the surplus produce is so small that the interest is paid

with difficulty and for the principal there is no scope. Indeed life is hard and bitter to the cultivator who has to depend on his few acres to support himself and his family.

(3) *Vagaries of the Climatic Conditions and Other Calamities*: India is subject to frequent failure of rains and the resultant famines. The vagaries of monsoons are proverbial. This makes agriculture an extremely precarious industry and makes the budget of the Government a virtual gamble in rains. The frequency of failure of crops is due to drought, floods, hailstorms, conflagration, or uncontrollable swarms of locusts; all these damage the agriculture and show poor results which cause endless miseries to the cultivator, having no reserves to fall back upon in times of distress, and hence he becomes a prey of moneylenders who exploits him according to his will. It has been found that in a cycle of 5 years one year is good, one bad and three indifferent (neither good nor bad). It is only in the good year that the ordinary small holder can possibly keep himself out of debt.²¹ To a farmer there is no calamity greater or more severe than the total or partial failure of crops; when the rain fails there is nothing but complete bankruptcy in store.²² In bad years he will borrow for nearly everything he wants, for seed, for cattle, for clothing and even for his food.

Frequent failure of monsoons resulting in scarcity of fodder and water and low vitality and high mortality of the livestock, and diseases like rinderpest take a heavy toll of the cattle of the cultivator. Cattle constitute the most important and costly capital of the cultivator and their loss causes considerable financial embarrassment to him and this often compels him to borrow money to buy cattle.

(4) *Ignorance and Illiteracy of the Cultivator*: To make the matter worse, ignorance and illiteracy easily give way to the multiplication of pro-creative processes and thus the population goes on increasing without a corresponding increase in the means of subsistence. Hence, to secure a minimum subsistence for himself and his family, the cultivator borrows. Prof. Wadia says:

"Having no additional source of income the ryot continues to borrow in and out of the season thinking to mitigate the heavy load of indebtedness. As a consequence the increase in rural indebtedness has been paralleled to the growing loss of economic equilibrium brought about by the pressure of population on the land and decline of subsidiary occupation."²³

Illiteracy forms one of the principal obstacles to his progress. Suffice it to say that owing to his ignorance and illiteracy, he is being everywhere

cheated both in private and public life. He easily falls into the clutches of the shrewd and intelligent moneylender owing to his simplicity and ignorance. It has been said, "The moneylender tempts to borrow, the lawyer to quarrel and the trader to waste."

(5) *Failure to Provide for Deficiency*: Agriculture is subject to the law of diminishing returns. And in absence of manures and fertilisers to check constant soil exhaustion, improved seeds and methods of cultivation, the produce of land goes on decreasing. The extreme poverty of the cultivator and the low yield of his tiny plot prevents him from providing against depreciation because it is difficult to put aside funds for depreciation of cattle and improved seeds, when so desirable things are lacking in the household. In fact, taking into account uncertainties of weather, the frequency of cattle mortality, and the fickleness of prices, agriculture, especially cereal-growing, is not a paying business, and if the Indian ryot sticks to it, it is not because it is profitable, but because it is a mode of life with him.²⁴

(6) *Small Income of the Cultivator and his Physical Inefficiency*: The income of the cultivator is very small. It is so small as to make it impossible for him to have most of the necessities for efficiency. According to the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, the average income of an agriculturist in India is not higher than Rs. 42 or a little over £3 a year. When we compare it with the per capita income of £95 in Great Britain, the contrast is startling. Two-thirds of the people usually get $\frac{1}{3}$ of the minimum requirements of food-grain. They are under-fed, under-clad, under-nurtured and the majority of them live from hand to mouth. The physical deficiency which results from these conditions makes him an easy prey to epidemic diseases, which sap his stamina and vitality and this enforced illness and weakness compel him to borrow.

It is true that in religion, in family affection and in friendship even the poor may find scope for many of the higher faculties, but the conditions which surround poverty tend to deaden those faculties. In fact, "poverty is the curse and destruction of the poor." The heart-rending conditions under which the poor helot of the soil is compelled to live on account of his chronic poverty, simply beggar description. A learned professor of an Indian University very cogently remarks, "So we are here faced with the dismal reality of the low income of our Indian agriculturists followed closely by a very low standard of living, and this is the first serious disadvantage they are labouring under."

15. Sathianathan.

16. Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, p. 72.

17. Dr. C. D. Agarwal: Reorganisation of Agricultural Credit, p. 92.

18. Central Banking Committee Report, p. 61.

19. Royal Commission Report on Agriculture, para 365.

20. Darling: Peasantry in Prosperity and Debt, p. 262.

21. Darling: Op. Cit., p. 27.

22. Baroda Banking Enquiry Committee Report, p. 34.

23. Wadia & Joshi: Wealth of India, p. 279.

24. P. C. Thomas: The Problem of Rural Indebtedness in India, p. 6.

(7) *The Moneylender and His Vicious System of Money-lending*: The agricultural capital is supplied at present mostly by the village moneylenders, Mahajans or Sahukars.

The varying importance of the different financing agencies is shown by the following provincial estimates made by some of the Banking Committees:

Uttar Pradesh: Town moneylenders 28.3; village moneylenders 5.1; landlords 39.9; tenants 13.7; Co-operatives 5.3; Government 2.0.

Madhya Pradesh: Mahajans 82.71; landlords 11.7; co-operatives 2.81; Government 2.6.

Madras: Moneylenders 31; ryots 47; Co-operatives 17, Government 3.

The agriculturists are always poor, and so usually borrow money from them who charge sometimes heavy rates of interest. It is frequently a part of bargain that the produce should be delivered to the moneylender at a certain price, which is always below the market price.

"It is usually the rankest, most extortionate, most merciless usury which eats marrow out of the bones of the ryot and condemns him to a life of *penury* and slavery, in which not only is the economic production hopeless, but in which also his energy and vitality will become paralysed and man sinks down beaten into a state of resigned fatalism, from which hope is shut out, and in which life drags on wearily and unprofitably as if with no object in view."²⁵

A large number of cultivators appear to have a running account with the *mahajan* who advances them loans, seeds, giving one seer less than the market price. When the tenant falls on evil days he would advance him rent to save him from ejection. He also lends money for the inevitable marriage and for equally inevitable lawsuits. He has, in fact at all times, the resources to which the needy agriculturists go for relief, and the consequence is that he is never out of the *mahajan's* grip, i.e., the moneylender is almost the only oasis of thrift in the vast desert of extravagance and destitution and the only source from which the credit can be had, so that he is always in the clutches of the moneylender. It is heart-rending to see the indigent and indebted peasant sell his movable property like ornaments and cattle and mortgage his land and house for the payment of Government dues and for escape from the loss of *izzat* in civil imprisonment. He is sometimes compelled to serve on the farms of the landlord moneylender like the Roman slave throughout his life for a mere pittance and coarse food to satisfy his primary wants, while his wife and children have to do *begar* work in their households. He has also to give *nazarana* and *salami* in marriages, etc., to the moneylenders.

The smallness of his loan, his irrepressibly urgent

need for it and security and his precarious financial position, leave the peasant entirely at the mercy of the *sahukar* who finding him alone and helpless asserts his influence and controls him ruthlessly and unscrupulously to the best possible advantage to himself.

(8) *High Rate of Interest*: The high rates of interest also compel the cultivators to borrow. The rates vary from province to province, but on account of the weakness of the peasant's economic position the interest accumulates every year. The rates vary from 9 to 12 per cent in Madras on secured and from 18 to 24 per cent on unsecured loans; 25 to 60 per cent in Bihar, Orissa, Assam, and Sind. The Bombay Enquiry Committee has given the *sahukar's* rates for different tracts as Maharashtra (irrigated tract) 12 to 34; Maharashtra (famine tract) 18½ to 36; Gujarat 9 to 18. The common rates on secured and unsecured loans in Bihar and C.P. are 15 to 18 and 10 to 15 respectively. According to U.P. Committee, the rate for secured loan varies from 6 to 18½ per cent (12 per cent being the most common figure) and for unsecured loan varies from 18½ to 37½ per cent (the most common rate being 24 per cent). Frequently, the loans advanced are in kind either for food or for seed usually on *Sawai* or *Deorha* rates and if unfortunately the crop fails to give the normal yield then the cultivator has to face starvation because he has to satisfy the *mahjan's* claim in full as pre-arranged. But if he does not do that then the debt shall go on accumulating on compound interest and become hereditary, for the interest is 25 to 50% or even 100 sometimes. The debtor pays the creditor but due to high rates of interest charges the debt usually soars up.

"It is not that the agriculturist repays too little; he often repays too much. It is the high rate of interest and the malpractices followed by the moneylenders that tend to perpetuate his indebtedness."²⁶

(9) *Extravagant and Improvident Borrowing*: The improvident borrowing is another fruitful cause of his indebtedness. Although the Indian peasant lives normally a most frugal and abstemious life, he is undoubtedly apt to carry on his expenditure to extravagant limits. The methods in which the peasant spends his money are extremely unmethodical and baneful. He squanders his money extravagantly in unproductive consumption like social ceremonies, marriages, ornaments, funeral rites, *svadh* ceremonies of ancestors, etc., which is often beyond the means of the cultivator. The long series of seasonal feasts, religious observances as Kathas, as well as caste dinners on auspicious occasions have stimulated family extravagance. The absence of self-help and thrift, and abundant harvests have produced the

habit of wasting long periods in gossips and have encouraged thriftlessness. All these have played an important part in fostering the growth and the mounting of debt.

In certain provinces the purchase of bride raises the question as to how far marriage is an important cause of debt. But except the Deccan Ryots Commission the leading authorities (including the Famine Commission of 1880) are against it. The Ryots Commissioner has rightly said:

"Undue prominence has been given to the expenditure on marriage and other festivals as a cause of the ryot's indebtedness. The expenditure on such occasions may undoubtedly be called extravagant when compared with the ryot's means, but the occasions occur seldom, and probably in a course of years the total sum spent in this way by any ryot is not larger than a man in his position is justified in spending on social and domestic pleasures. The expenditure by itself rarely appears as a nucleus of indebtedness."

The Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee also endorses this view. As against this view Mr. K. L. Datta says, "In a good year his (the cultivator's) ignorance and improvidence make him spend the whole of his surplus on marriages and festivities, and his extravagance on such occasions often leads him even in good years to the doors of the moneylenders. A ryot would stop at no extravagance in marrying one of his children or performing any funeral or social ceremony, to show more ostentation than his fellows." Similarly Major Jack often making more extensive and exhaustive enquiries into debt than anyone before him, came to the conclusion that the great majority of agricultural debtors get into debt through improvident expenditure upon domestic ceremonies and in particular upon marriages. It is no uncommon thing for a whole or half a year's income to be spent.²⁷ We find that the Famine Commission of 1880 regarded expenditure on marriage and other ceremonies as one of the most prominent causes of debt.²⁸ And forty years later, when a village in Hoshiarpur was surveyed, it was found that nearly 40% of the original debt of the village had been incurred for marriage and other social ceremonies.

What Sir Charles Bernard wrote of C. P. some 60 years ago is still true today:

"We see on all sides ryots or petty landholders habitually borrowing and spending sums equal to two, three or six years' income for a single marriage or betrothal."

Sir K. B. Fuller, writing twenty-two years later, went even further. "Census," he says, "is common when a ryot will admit having spent 22 years' rental

on marriage; they are not uncommon when he will admit having spent as much as 50 years' rental."

(10) *The establishment of the Pax Britannica*: The establishment of the Pax Britannica and the development of the stable and strong rule that let loose many economic forces like the extension of trade, an increase in the transport facilities, growth of towns, pushed up the prices of the agricultural lands; and the borrowing capacity of the cultivator also increased and there was a rapid increase of mortgage debt for all sorts of purposes both productive and unproductive, often beyond his capacity to pay it back. As a result of this change a large number of peasant proprietors have become landless, their property being devoured by their creditors under the safe protection of law.

"Indebtedness seems due not to the impoverished condition of the people but rather to the increased value of land which has given the zamindar greater facilities for borrowing by improving the security he has to offer. It is pointed out that under Sikh rule the agriculturist had to pay away all his spare produce and that nothing was left on which he could borrow; but with the introduction of a fixed cash assessment, the extension of road and rail, the opening of new markets and the rise in prices the cultivator, after meeting all his obligations, found himself with handsome balance on the security of which the moneylender was glad enough to lend. It is not only in the Punjab that an expansion of credit generally leads to an inflation of debt. In Nagpur and Jubbulpur, two provinces of C.P., the rise in the value of land which followed the opening up of the country by rail to the trade of the world, produced an outburst of extravagance and the standard of expenditure on marriages . . . reached a point which it was altogether beyond the real capacity of the land to bear except in very favourable seasons. In the Deccan, in sixties, a similar expansion of credit, this time due to a sudden rise in the value of cotton (as a result of the American War), led to much improvident borrowing."²⁹

More recently in Baroda and Madras debt has been increasing with the rise in the value of land, while in Burma the natural result of the rapid increase in money-income of paddy cultivators has been extravagant spending and abuse of credit.³¹ As the Royal Commission on agriculture remarks:

"Causes which the cultivator seldom understands . . . have endowed him with credit which he did not formerly possess, and he has found it difficult to resist the temptation to relieve present necessities by mortgaging his future income and even his capital."³²

(11) *Litigation*: In places where there are great fluctuations of harvest every lawyer knows that his income will contract or expand in relation to the quality of the harvest, which is a sign that the

27. Indian Famine Commission Report 1880, V. II, p. 133.

28. Indian Famine Commission Report, Pt. II, Chapt. III, para 7.

29. Jack: Economic Life in a Bengal Village, p. 120.

25. Wallf: Co-operation in India, p. 3.

26. Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report, para 63.

30. Indian Famine Commission Report, 1880, Vol. II, p. 133.

31. Burma Banking Enquiry Committee Report, p. 61.

32. Report of Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 432.

villager is quick to go off to the court when he has spare cash in his pocket. Mr. Calvert estimates that 2½ million persons attend the courts every year, either as parties or as witnesses and that these or four crores are wasted in the process.³³ In these connections not only have the pleaders to be engaged and stamp duty and process fees to be paid, but petty officials have to be propitiated, witnesses may have to be hired, as much to prove what is true as to establish what is false, and perhaps the support of an influential neighbour has to be gained, all of which consumes both time and money. Really speaking, the passion for litigation is another undesirable trait of the Indian peasant which adds to his poverty and unproductive debt.

"It is not uncommon to hear of suits dealing with the minutest fraction of an acre being fought up to the High Court and of criminal cases involving the expenditure of thousands of rupees."³⁴

(12) *Heavy Burden of Land and Irrigation Taxes:* The Land Revenue policy of the Government has also been responsible for the indebtedness. In this connection the Famine Commission of 1901 reported:

"The rigidity of the revenue system forced the cultivators to borrow while the valuable property which they hold made it easy to borrow."

Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his famous open letter in 1901 pointed out:

"Land in India is generally assessed very high, and since India is greatly an agricultural country, if the soil be so heavily taxed, the people would be impoverished. . . . Therefore unless provision for suspense and remission of revenue be made, the cultivators will be forced to borrow under conditions beyond control."

According to Mr. Darling, land revenue demand was lowered with the advent of the British rule, but it was not lowered enough to suit the less elastic system of collection. This increased the indebtedness. Thus "the heavy land assessment with its rigid procedure of collection is largely responsible for the aggravation of the indebtedness."³⁵

(13) *The Absence of Adequate Marketing Facilities:* The money economy and higher prices ruling in the market tempts the peasant to dispose of all his produce without any reserve at a cheaper price and in a restricted market, and the poor fellow has to borrow to buy his food in times of need at a very high price. The untimely revenue demand and constant harassing of the *mahajan* for payment of interest just at the time of harvest, when alone the cultivator is in a position to pay, oblige the peasant to add fuel to fire by bringing his produce for sale to an already glutted or flooded market at the end of the harvest and spell his own disaster.

The Agricultural Finance Sub-committee concluded from the sample data of the debt surveys in the past as follows:

(1) Repayment of old debt is everywhere an important factor in the contraction of new debts.

(2) A large part is played by unproductive debt. Everywhere social and ceremonial expenditure is seen to be responsible for a considerable percentage of debt.

(3) Consumers' needs and 'distress' circumstances are seen to assume an important role in adding to total debt.

(4) Debt for improvement purpose is almost everywhere of an insignificant proportion.

The evils resulting from indebtedness may be enumerated as follows:

(1) The chronic state of indebtedness has influenced the cultivators in many undesirable ways. Much of the evils from which they suffer are the results of indebtedness. The low standard of living and income and the indigence and poverty of the cultivating classes are due to it. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee writes:

"Almost the classes responsible for the low standard of living of the agriculturist and the continuous impoverishment of this class, even in areas which are blessed with good season and normal crops, indebtedness must be given a high place. This low scale of income and poverty prevent an adequate application of capital in the cultivation of land, tend to lower the physical and mental vitality of the cultivators and cause the decay and weakening of the normal fibre of the society. All these lead to agricultural inefficiency, and indebtedness, coming in the wake of these evils, aggravates them."

(2) Debts also prevent the orderly and profitable marketing of agricultural produce. The defective system of rural finance in which the money-lender is both creditor and the village trader leads to inordinate and profitable marketing. The indebtedness of the peasant to the moneylender compels him to sell his produce at a pre-arranged price and in a closed and isolated market lacking in competition.

(3) When large sums of money are borrowed for capital improvements or payments of old debts the period of repayment fixed in the bonds is not very long, e.g., it being only 3 years in C. P. The result is that the income of the cultivators is utilised more for the payment of debt than is desirable or possible and the cultivator is left with very meagre income even for his subsistence. This leads to unproductive cultivation and is very detrimental to the growth of national wealth.

(4) The indebtedness causes a loss of property and transfer land from cultivators to non-cultivators, which is fraught with grave economic and social

consequence for the future of the country. The areas held by non-agriculturists have shown an increase in recent years.

The extent of land lost in recent years by agriculturists through transfer to non-agriculturists may be understood from the following tabulated statement:

Year	Net area lost by the agriculturists in acres	Net area gained by purchase or redemption by the agriculturists in acres
1931	31,295	5,941
1932	61,415*	872
	25,621†	
1933	84,735*	3,233
	26,117†	
1934	85,144*	
	37,702†	
1935	97,376*	10,977
	94,826†	20,292
Total	344,230	41,315

* By mortgage.

† Redeemed by non-agriculturists.

The area gained by agriculturists is 41,315 acres as against 544,230 acres lost by them; the net loss to agriculturists is seen to be 492,915 acres in five years. The Marwaris, the Vaishya and other money-lending and trading communities have been steadily ousting the cultivators from their fields. Such a tendency impedes agricultural progress and breeds inefficiency. It increases the number of landless farmers. The reduction in the economic status of the peasant which results from the transfer of land to the moneylender causes inefficiency because the money-lender sublets the land at a rate which hardly leaves any sufficient profit to the cultivator to induce him to raise a good crop.³⁷ As a consequence of this inefficiency the cultivator is not able to get enough money to cultivate the field properly and to increase first-class crops. Dr. Thomas has rightly remarked, "A society steeped in debt is necessarily a social volcano. Discontent be-

tween classes is bound to arise, and smouldering discontent is always dangerous. It may not anywhere blaze out into a revolution; but recurring social unrest is worse than revolution, in that it perpetuates economic inefficiency and puts off reconstruction."³⁷

(5) The worst social and moral effect of the indebtedness is that it results in the servitude of the debtor. If the moneylender is an influential person and particularly so if he is also a land-owner. The borrower has to do free service for him when called upon to do so. In many places money is borrowed by the cultivators with the condition that they would undertake to repay or perform labour on farm and in the houses of the moneylenders until the debts are cleared, and after their death their sons are bound by the same agreements to serve. The poor debtors are not allowed to serve anybody so long as work on the moneylender's farm is necessary. In return for these services they get a customary allowance of a few pice per day, coarse food, old clothes and now and then new cloths and rewards on auspicious occasions. Their wives and children are required also to serve the moneylender for a pittance. Such systems are as *Kamiuta* in Bihar and Orissa and the neighbouring parts of the Eastern U. P. and *Panniyal* system in Madras. Something like this system also prevails in C.P. The steady transfer of land, under the load of heavy indebtedness, is turning a class of sturdy and honest peasants into a band of disillusioned and demoralised serfs.

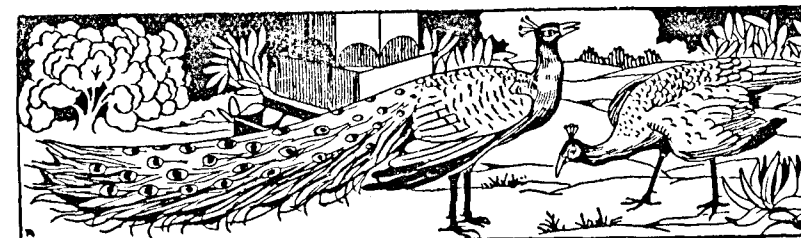
The moral integrity and probability of the Indian farmer is tottering under the growing weight of indebtedness. For the inevitability of indebtedness, from which he has not even a remote hope of escape, turns him into a dishonest debtor and inefficient farmer, thriftless head of the family and an irresponsible citizen.³⁸

(To be continued)

37. P. G. Thomas: *Problem of Rural Indebtedness in India*, p. 14.

38. R. D. Tewari: *Indian Agriculture*, pp. 251-252.

36. Central Banking Enquiry Committee Report, p. 44.



33. *Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, p. 206.

34. Darling: *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, p. 76.

35. Wadia & Joshi: *Wealth of India*, p. 280.

INDIAN JOURNALISM

Attributes of Great Editorship

By C. L. R. SASTRI

In my book on "Journalism" I had occasion to devote considerable space to thumb-nail sketches of many of the foremost editors of English newspapers, dead as well as living. I was impelled to do so for several reasons. There was, in the first place, the personal equation. I could boast of some knowledge of those editors, having, in the impressionable period of my life, studied their writing with the care and the attention that they so richly merited. They bore names that were familiar not only throughout the English-speaking world but throughout that part of the world which is reputed to be more or less civilised: on the Continent, especially, they were held both in awe and in esteem. We, in India, perhaps, cannot quite bring ourselves to understand their unique position. That is chiefly because we are not privileged to have in our midst at the moment a single figure that can bear even the remotest resemblance to those unquestioned giants, whose every word was read by the public with the closest scrutiny and weighed in the most delicate of intellectual balances. C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* and H. W. Massingham of the *Nation* (and, earlier, of the *Daily Chronicle*) and J. A. Spender of the *Westminster Gazette* and A. G. Gardiner of the *Daily News* magnoperated in their several papers at about the same time; and, though they have all passed away, their impact on the world of journalism can still be felt by sensitive souls and their contribution to it properly assessed. Scott and Massingham were each a host in himself. About Massingham's quality both as an editor and as a writer of English, "of purest ray serene," I have expressed my opinion in my book and have expressed it in no uncertain terms.

SPENDER ON MASSINGHAM

Here is Spender's tribute to Massingham in the first volume of his magnificent reminiscences, *Life, Journalism, & Politics* (Cassell: 1927):

"Most of the rewards which go with distinction in other professions are denied to the Journalist. He may spend a life-time in the most honorable public service and his name be scarcely heard of outside Fleet Street, or, indeed, outside his newspaper office. He is the 'mere journalist'; the universities do not know him, the 'real literary' people have only a nodding acquaintance with him. I have been a guest at literary dinners and listened gratefully while popular writers have expressed a hope that I should one day 'get out of journalism' and 'write a book' which might be worth considering. This attitude is undoubtedly a little galling, and I do think that some of these literary and academic beings might consider a little what 'mere journalism' is to those who practise it skilfully and conscientiously, and cease to consider it as an inferior and rather disreputable branch of literature. It is, after all, far easier to write most kinds of books than to keep up a steady and effective flow of journalism for even a few months together. The literary accomplishment

of Massingham, to mention only one man who has latterly passed from the scene—a man who never wrote a book—was a joy to the craftsman of letters, and I cannot believe that students of literature in future days will fail to note its rare qualities of delicacy and skill."

"G.B.S." had, earlier, commended Massingham in much the same fashion:

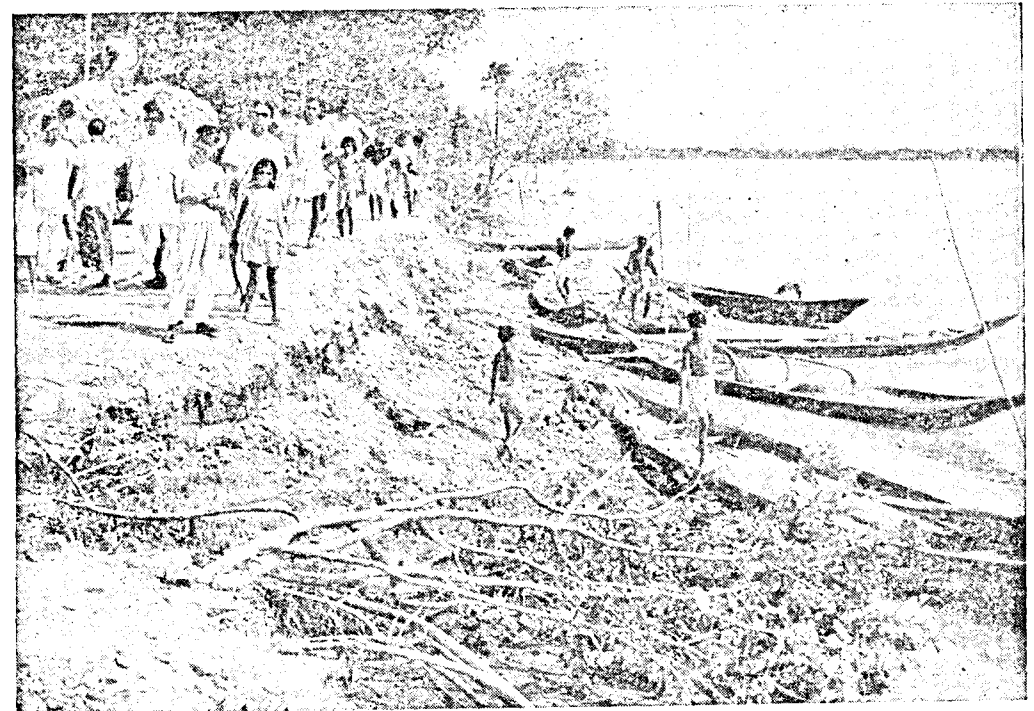
"If he (Massingham) had left behind him a single book, it would have spoilt the integrity of his career and of his art. I could lay my hand more readily on ten contributors for his successor than one successor for his contributors."

SOME INDIAN EDITORS

I have suggested that we, in India, cannot, perhaps, quite bring ourselves to understand the unique position that Massingham and others occupied, "while this machine was to them," because we are not privileged to have in our midst a single figure who can bear even the remotest resemblance to those unquestioned giants. In the past we had been just a little more fortunate. There was, for instance, G. Subramanya Iyer, the doyen of Indian journalists, who, by universal consent, was acclaimed as being not only in the first flight of editors but as being the very first in that first flight. There was Kristo Das Pal who was the recipient of not much less glowing encomiums alike from his brethren of the craft and from those of other professions. There was Babu Ramananda Chatterjee who, though of a shy and retiring disposition, was known almost as widely in the Antipodes as in his own beloved Motherland through his famous periodical, *The Modern Review* of Calcutta. There was C. Y. Chintamani (I am, of set purpose, omitting the accolade which, in a moment of uncharacteristic weakness, he accepted a few years before his sudden demise in 1911) who contrived to shed comparable lustre on the *Leader* of Allahabad. (He would turn in his grave if he were acquainted with the subsequent transformation of his "one and only beloved." It carried on as a pale ghost of itself until 1944 when, succumbing to the new wave of "syndicalism" that has, of late, been sweeping the country from end to end, it passed into Congress—and capitalistic—hands, to become a third, or fourth, carbon copy of the *Hindustan Times*, a paper whose name was unfamiliar when that of the *Leader* itself had been a household word in the entire north. I, for one, cannot help thinking that the gods should have decreed a more decent fate to it than this and that a natural death would have been infinitely better than this inglorious conversion into the Allahabad edition of that New Delhi organ.)

THE CLAY AND THE POTTER

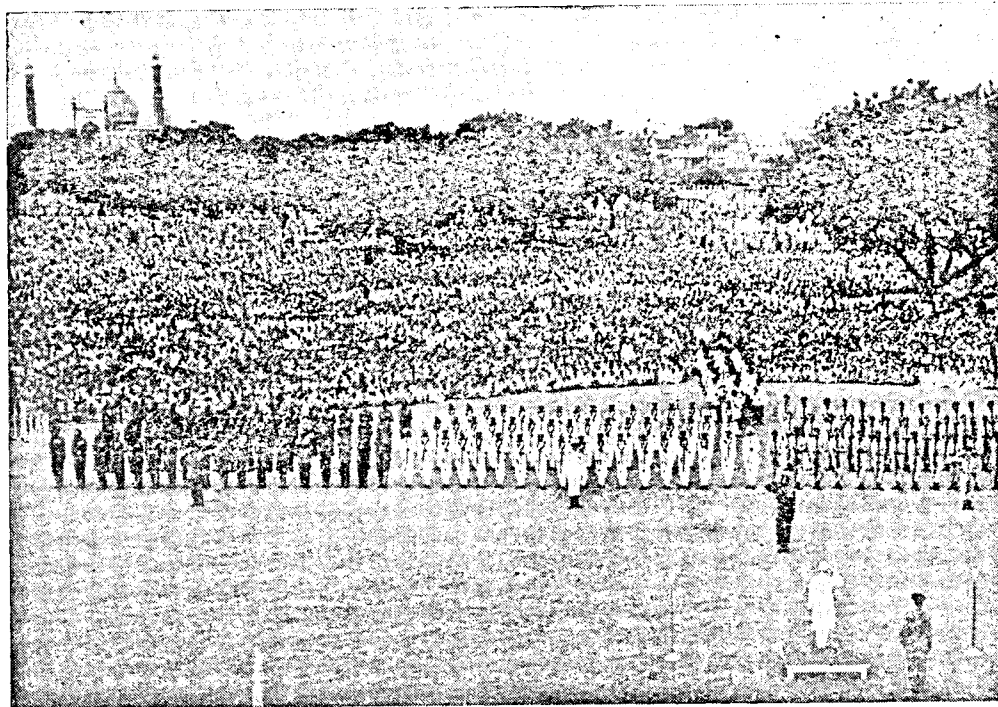
In the same category comes the venerable K. Natarajan of the *Indian Social Reformer*. No Indian journalist ever wielded a chaster, a more elegant pen than



Cooch-Bihar flood



Flood at Malda



Prime Minister Sri Jawaharlal Nehru taking the General Salute by the Guard of Honour in presence of the vast crowds assembled at the celebration of the Seventh Anniversary of India's Independence in Delhi on August 15



Dr. Hans Haas and Lotte Haas at BBC

Natarajan's, nor can I recall worthier illustrations than his editorials of "moderation in action." He was one of the very few journalists who could be trusted to subordinate his emotion to his judgment, which, one instinctively guesses, was born "in full panoply," like Pallas Athene from the head of Zeus. I wonder whether he ever wrote, or (for that matter) ever *could* write, a "fiery" or a "swashbuckling" leader. His articles were a delight to read—alike on the score of their purity of diction and on the strength of their marvellous erudition. Though a "Liberal" in the grain his devotion to the Mahatma was boundless and his services to the Congress, through his mouthpiece, in the 1930 civil disobedience movement are past computation. His mind was at home not only in the practical realm of politics but also in the more abstruse regions of literature and of philosophy: consequently his eye for parallels was always unerring.

He and Chintamani and Karunakara Menon (of the now long since defunct *Indian Patriot* of Madras) all learned the rudiments of their art at the feet of G. Subramanya Iyer; and it is a lasting testimony to the inherent greatness of that master that the pupils, without a single exception, blossomed forth, in their several degrees, into top-rank journalists themselves, thus proving experimentally that, in the ultimate analysis, the clay is not everything,—the potter's hand having its appointed share in the building-up process. Subramanya Iyer could have consoled himself with the reflection:

"I am the teacher of athletes,
He that by me spreads a wider breast than my
own proves the width of my own.
He most honours my style who learns under
it to destroy the teacher."

JOURNALISTS AND HONOURS

I have observed, in parenthesis, that Chintamani, to whom, and to whose paper, the title "Thunderer," bestowed on *London Times*, would have been equally appropriate, should never have condescended to accept the knighthood that was conferred upon him. Somehow these so-called "marks of honour" sit strangely on journalists as a class and even more strangely on those journalists who are thoroughly independent-minded. They very rarely fail to dilute the wine of their former independence and integrity. What the late Mr. Spender, editor of that distinguished "sea-green incorruptible," the *Westminster Gazette*, says on this subject in his book aforementioned, *Life, Journalism, and Politics*, is worth close study by his colleagues in the profession. After revealing that he had seen fit to refuse the "honour" that had been sought to be thrust on him by a grateful Liberal Government on being returned to Parliament by an overwhelming majority in the 1906 elections, he proceeds:

"My view was (and is) that in the peculiar relations in which he stands to the Government, the working political journalist does better not to put himself in a position in which he seems either to be receiving a reward for past 'services' or to be placing

himself under an obligation to render future ones Looking at all the conditions, and knowing the innumerable subtle influences—many of them most difficult to resist—which prevent the firm expression of opinion, I own I should like to see the working journalists generally make it a rule that, so long as they are working journalists, they will not accept this particular form of recognition."

I have mentioned the names of a few Indian journalists who in my opinion could stand some sort of comparison with their British confreres. But they—one and all—belong to the irreclaimable past. At the present moment we cannot boast of a single editor who deserves being mentioned in the same breath as those veterans of the British, or the Indian, variety. This is not necessarily to be a *laudator temporis acti*, to be a worshipper of the past simply because it is the past: it is merely to express a pregnant truth, however unpleasant. "We are all mighty fine fellows," no doubt, as "R.L.S." said in another connection, but we cannot hold a candle either to the Scotts and Massinghams, or to the Subramanyams and Natarajans.

'OLD' AND 'NEW' JOURNALISM

I started by saying that I took occasion, in my book on 'Journalism', to devote what many were constrained to regard as somewhat disproportionate space to the belauding of not a few of England's most famous editors. My chief purpose in so doing was to inculcate in us, who are but their humble camp-followers, a due sense of reverence and emulation. The times, I am aware, are not propitious for the first: we are, evidently, not only as good as our fathers but are, if possible, considerably better than our fathers. But I do believe that, notwithstanding the strains and stresses of our hectic life, we are not past praying for as far as the second is concerned. As I had been at so much pains to expound elsewhere, I am a votary in the shrine of the "old" journalism and am decidedly of the opinion that the "new" is not a patch upon it. If this view of mine is correct it follows that we cannot have too much of emulation. Even then, of course, we may not all become the Scotts and Massinghams, the Spenders and Gardiners, of our generation. Our duty is to strive, to strive as none ever strove, leaving the reward where it rests—on the knees of the gods.

Besides, the supremely great journalist, like the supremely great poet, is born, not made: nor is the moment of his arrival heralded by any signs and portents. Even the acknowledged giants cannot boast of their nativity as Glendower boasted of his:

".....at my nativity
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
Of burning cressets; and at my birth
The frame and huge foundation of the earth
Shaked like a coward."

There is more truth in what "H.W.M." says at the beginning of his review of Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's book *London River*, in the *Nation* of March 12, 1921 (reprinted in "H.W.M.": p 191):

"Artists appear at rare intervals; but there is one simple test of practice of their arrival. The moment they begin to handle their material, the world discovers what an extraordinarily rich and plastic thing it is. It does not matter very much what subject they choose; it matters not at all how often that subject has been treated. The last Madonna may be as good as the first, and there is always a fleet of fighting Temeraires to be towed to their berth."

JOURNALISTS' "ULTIMA THULE"

It has been said that every soldier on the battlefield carries the baton of a Field-Marshal in his knapsack. So does every working journalist aspire to be the full-fledged editor of a newspaper. That is his Nirvana, "Ultima Thule," Journey's End, what you will. (A "free-lance" journalist, however, has his nomination automatically cancelled in these editorial stakes: once a "free-lance" always a "free-lance"). But we live in a fast-moving world, where "go-getting" is the supreme law, having any day more sanctity than the Ten Beatitudes, and I have known persons that had been practising lawyers till the other day suddenly abandoning the precincts of the various law-courts in order to grace the editorial chair of an important paper or periodical; and making a good job of it, too, if circulation figures are any criterion. Nay, I have known persons that could not be said to have had even this redeeming qualification, or any qualification for that matter—least of all that of writing—pitchforked into the editorial *gadi*, and, what is more astounding still, contriving to remain there for years and years, with a steadily widening halo around their heads, a nimbus as large as life itself. But this is "Indian" journalism all over, a journalism that has its own standards—or, rather, to be perfectly candid, lack of standards.

In spite of these exceptions, however, journalists, even in India, have, in most cases, to work their way up to the editorship, beyond which there is nothing in the journalistic hierarchy. The road is long, and the journey tedious, and by far the majority of the aspirants fall by the wayside: all the more, it seems to me, should we hand out bouquets to the few—the miserably few—that do succeed in occupying the Big Chief's room on their own merits and not by virtue of that modern "rope-trick"—the upward pushing of their proteges to "the topless towers of Ilium" by benevolent godfathers, a kind of supercapillary action unknown to pure science.

WHO IS A GREAT EDITOR?

What is it that distinguishes the great editor from the ordinary one? There is such a thing as "editorial personality." A great editor imposes that personality upon the whole paper—from the first page to the last. Thenceforward it bears his unmistakable stamp. No one cares to enquire about the common run of newspapers as to who their editors are: one is as good, or as bad, as another. But there are a few which compel one to ask that question. The fact of their possessing a distinguished editor sticks out a mile. For this purpose the editor should be an exceptionally gifted

journalist himself. He must be fully conversant with the tricks of his trade: then only can he employ other gifted journalists under him. Here, as elsewhere, teamwork counts, and the man responsible for the assembling of the team is none other than the editor. This does not fail to impress the public before long. The articles are generally written round a particular point of view, and if there is any "damnable iteration" it is eminently excusable.

INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY

Then there is the question of thorough independence and integrity. Your great editor has certain unalterable principles and he will sooner let the paper perish than abandon them. The word "equivocation" does not find a place in his dictionary. He does not trim his sails to the prevailing political wind. Nor is he an undue respecter of persons. He writes articles that breathe this indomitable spirit in every line. The craze for compromise, for appeasement at any cost, is alien to him, his *forte* being, rather, to hammer away, for what he is worth, at certain fundamentals of political action that he has contrived, after laborious study, to make his own. He curries no one's favours nor does he blench from anyone's frowns. He never takes the line of least resistance. He is a "live wire" among his contemporaries, and he turns his paper into a "live wire" among its contemporaries. In other words, he stands foursquare to all the winds that blow. Such an editor was C. P. Scott and such an editor was H.W. Massingham: such an editor was Mr. Gerald Barry of the *News Chronicle*: such an editor was C. Y. Chintamani.

But look around Indian papers now and you will rarely come across such an editor. They have practically no politics but only personalities, and their one hobby is to dance to the tune of "the powers that be" irrespective of what the tune is. It is the papers that must give a lead to the politicians, not vice versa. And by "papers", of course, is meant their editors. Thus it has happened, not once, but any number of times, that one cannot pin these editors down to a fixed view for even a few days on end: they have no firm conviction of their own, depending entirely, as they do, on the party leaders to lend them one provisionally. Reading these papers, with their adroit performances on the political trapeze, gives one not relief or relaxation but a sort of "morning-after" sensation. The drawback of Indian newspapers generally is this preternatural dependence upon the whims and caprices of those politicians who happen to occupy the centre of the stage at a given moment; it is humiliating to observe how they have trained themselves to fawn on certain prominent figures, belauding them to the skies for their heinous offences no less than for their glorious achievements.

The whole spirit of Indian politics today is antagonistic to the growth of a virile journalism. "No birds are flying overhead: there are no birds to fly."

SEVEN YEARS OF FREEDOM

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

SEVEN years is, by no means, a long period in the life of a nation and more specially of a country like India which attained Independence after centuries of political serfdom. But during these seven years of freedom we have been able to achieve results in different sectors of national economy of which all of us could be legitimately proud. As the A.I.C.C. session at Ajmer pointed out, there has been "a very great improvement in the food situation in the country which has exceeded expectations and the targets laid down and has assured the country of an adequate supply of foodgrains." While the target of additional food production during the period of the Plan was 7.6 million tons, the production of foodgrains is estimated to have increased during the last three years by about 9.5 million tons. In addition to agricultural production there has been a general increase in industrial production as well. The target for cotton textiles by the end of the Plan was 4,700 million yards; but even in 1953, production exceeded the above target by over 200 million yards. There has been substantial increase in cement, paper, sugar, ship-building, manufacture of Railway wagons and locomotives and fertilisers. The Multi-purpose River Valley Projects have enabled us to bring more than 1.6 million acres of new land under irrigation during the last three years of the Plan; electric power capacity also increased by 4,25,000 kw. Progress in the building of national highways and roads in addition to the construction of several new Railway lines has been considerable.

Besides these notable achievements in the domains of agriculture and large-scale industries in private and public sectors, there has been substantial increase in Welfare activities specially in the rural areas. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service schemes have already covered over 50,000 villages and a population of 36 million and it is intended to cover the entire country with such projects by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. This tremendous undertaking will surely bring about basic changes in the structure and functioning of rural India. The success in these schemes is not only due to thousands of trained workers but also to the admirable public response which such projects evoked. For example, the total Government expenditure on 210 National Extension Service Blocks since their inauguration on October 2, 1953 has been Rs. 42.99 lakhs, while the people's contribution amounted to Rs. 45.8 lakhs. During the first six months of their work, the N.E.S. blocks could bring 73,000 acres of land under irrigation through minor irrigation schemes, about 16,000 acres were brought under fruits and vegetables and about 19,000 acres were reclaimed for cultivation. About 5,000 wells were either newly constructed or renovated; 1,000 new schools and nearly

12,000 adult education centres were started. Approximately 1800 miles of village roads were constructed in these National Extension Service areas. On August 15, 1947 there were only 18,000 Post Offices in the rural areas; their number is now 40,000. The number of Public Call Offices at the time of Partition was only 339; now it is 2,260. All these are surely no mean achievements specially during a period when the nation had to divert considerable financial resources to the healing of the wounds of Partition. Even in the sphere of Rehabilitation, our achievements can compare favourably with those of any other country in both Asia and Europe.

In other spheres of national activity also, our achievements have been quite noteworthy. While saving the country from civil disorder as a result of the vivisection of India, we succeeded in integrating 600 and odd States into the Union without a gun-shot. We have been able to eliminate the intermediaries in land by abolishing feudal Zamindars, Malguzars and Jagirdars. Through the amendment of the Company Law, the Government is now attempting to curb and if necessary liquidate the relics of feudalism in industry in the form of the Managing Agency system. The imposition of the Estate Duty is a significant step in the direction of removing glaring economic inequalities in the country. Important pieces of legislation relating to the reform of the Criminal Procedure Code, social customs like that of Marriage and Divorce and the abolition of social evils like that of Untouchability have already been introduced in the Indian Parliament. The existing system of education is gradually being changed into Basic and Technical educational structure, although the pace of progress in this direction has not been as fast as it could have been. The old system of administration that we inherited from the foreign rulers is now being overhauled. A chain of National Laboratories and Higher Technical Institutes have been established in different parts of the country during the last seven years of freedom. There has been visible increase in medical amenities in both the rural and urban areas, although much yet remains to be done. Above all, the Congress leadership has given to the new Republic a stable and progressive government at a time when many other countries in Asia and in Europe have been, more or less, in the melting pots. Thanks to the eminent leadership of our Prime Minister, India has succeeded in gaining a very high prestige in International affairs for playing a vital role in the difficult but noble task of establishing peace on earth and goodwill among mankind.

India has chosen the path of peace and democracy for building up a new social and economic structure in accordance with the teachings of the Father of the Nation. She has definitely rejected the way of war,

totalitarianism and regimentation of the masses. It is wrong to think that the methods of authoritarianism are quicker and more lasting than the way of democracy and education of the masses. What India has been able to achieve in the political, social and economic spheres during the last seven years can stand comparison with the progress of any country in the world during the same period. We should remember that it took Russia full eleven years after the Revolution in 1917 to produce her First Five-Year Plan in 1928. Even after the Five-Year Plan, the transition from the old economy to the new order was not smooth. Immediately after the October Revolution, Russia had to face great resistance from the vested interests and there was chaos, confusion, bloodshed and famine in the land for about a decade before the fruits of a socialist order could be visible to the people. In China also nothing has been achieved by magic and all the facts are not so rosy as they appear from a distance. The land reforms there are not so revolutionary as they are, perhaps, depicted to be. Those who have been to China during recent months and have tried to study the realities of the situation without any political bias are of the view that China will take at least ten years more to come up to the present level of India. China is our friendly

neighbour and we are always prepared to learn from her in a particular sphere. But all of us should realise that India has been able to accomplish great things after Independence and there is no occasion for any kind of frustration or despondency.

This does not mean, however, that we should become smug or self-complacent and begin resting on our oars. Eternal vigilance and arduous work are the price of lasting liberty and we cannot afford to be over-optimistic and over-confident. As Shri Nehru recently wrote to the Presidents of different Pradesh Congress Committees, "We have to keep a balanced picture before us, in no way exaggerating our successes and also in no way minimising them and always remembering what we have yet to do." We have no shadow of doubt that India is a land of destiny and our Prime Minister is a man of destiny. We must always bear in mind the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and work ceaselessly for building a new, prosperous and glorious India. With faith and confidence in the purity of our mission, with goodwill towards all and ill-will towards none, we should march forward with discipline and determination towards our cherished goal of a classless and casteless society in which there will be ample scope for the free and full development of both the individual and the community.

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FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND COMMUNITY IN INDIA

By J. N. WILSON, M.P.

LAST year on the 15th April, Hon. Dr. K. N. Katju, Home Minister, Government of India, made a statement in answer to a question in the Council of States regarding the work and activities of the Foreign Missionaries in this country. In that statement the policy of the Government of India in regard to the import, activities and work—specially the work of evangelicism and proselytization was made clear. This statement became the subject-matter of a great controversy which is still going on. A large number of letters by Christian and non-Christian friends have appeared in the Press. Responsible leaders of the Indian Christian Community have issued statements. More questions on this subject have been since put and answered in some State Legislatures and Parliament. One State Government has set up a Commission to enquire into the working of the Foreign Missionaries. Charges have been made against some of them for carrying on subversive activities in some places, specially in the Naga Hills. The methods of work in the field of evangelicism and proselytization have come under severe criticism. Resolutions opposing the policy as announced in the Home Minister's statement have been adopted by several Christian Associations. Amongst the large number of statements issued to the

Press so far mention may be made here to a Statement issued jointly by nine members of the Christian Community including Rev. Dr. Ralla Ram, Executive Secretary of the U.P. National Christian Council and Mr. E. C. Bhatti, Secretary, National Christian Council of India from Nagpur and Rev. John A. Peters, Executive Secretary, Punjab Christian Council.

I have read all these statements and letters, etc., with the care they deserve and have given my most anxious and prayerful thought to this very important question.

Since then Dr. Katju is reported to have made another statement in this connection on the 14th March at Raipur; this and the statements made by Sri Datar, Deputy Home Minister on the 15th March and by Doctor Katju on the 16th March on the floor of the House of the People have made the Government policy absolutely clear. It is evident that the Government have adopted a very liberal policy and we are grateful to them.

All the statements issued by the Christian leaders and the resolutions adopted at various Christian gatherings do not, I very much regret to say, put forward any concrete proposal regarding the activities of the Foreign Missionaries to be carried on nor any directive to the

Church and the Community as to how they should work, now under the changed condition of our country. The policy which has been hitherto pursued by the Foreign Missionaries in respect to our Church and the treatment meted out to the Christians cannot be allowed to be tolerated for ever. The sooner they change the better for all concerned. This raises a question. What is the Indian Christian Church and the Community? Is it not composed of the Foreign Missionaries and a handful of the topmost Indian Christians? The middle class and the masses are nowhere to be seen in this picture. Is it not a house hopelessly divided against itself? Are we not still rotting in the same old rut and dominated by the Foreign Missionaries as we were before the advent of Independence? However, I shall deal with these points on some other occasion. In the present article my object is to deal with the question of Foreign Missionaries. I sincerely feel that the time has come when we must deal with this grave question in a most frank and straightforward manner.

The Foreign Missionaries' work in our country is generally divided in two categories: (1) Social work and (2) Evangelical work.

In the field of social work they have, no doubt, rendered yeoman and valuable services to our country. Their educational and medical work is praised at all hands. Our leaders of all political thought and others have spoken very highly of their valuable and useful service to our country and we are grateful to them for this. The Educational Institutions and Hospitals run by them with the help of Christian nurses and other workers are even today better managed and more disciplined than those run by the Government or private agencies. But in the sphere of Evangelical work they have utterly and dismally failed.

In the beginning of the Foreign Missionaries era in our country very good, generous and noble missionaries came. They were really imbued with the spirit of Jesus Christ. They did very noble and heroic work. But since about 250 or 300 years a different kind of missionaries began to be imported. Their greatest mistake was that they based their work in contravention to the spirit of Christ. Christ based His work on love and compassion. "I first loved you". "I have great compassion on the multitude," said Christ. These Missionaries based their work on prejudice, malice and hatred. "I am not come to destroy but to fulfil," said Christ. The Foreign Missionaries based their work on destruction and condemnation of all even the best in India's culture and civilisation. The high ideals of India's life and philosophy which are regarded with great respect and esteem throughout the world were condemned outright. They tried to westernise Christianity—a religion born and bred up in Asia. They tried to denationalise us, and crush our national aspiration. The work of evangelicism was and has not been carried on the model of Jesus Christ. The methods adopted in conversion were not always free from motives other than pure religion and in many

cases were improper. Their treatment towards Indian Christians has always been unkind, degrading and to put it mildly un-Christian.

As regards their taking part in our politics and carrying on subversive activities I cannot say anything about the alleged charges against their work in Naga Hills and elsewhere but I say from my personal experience and knowledge that they did take part in the politics of our country and carried on subversive activities in the British regime, specially during our struggle for Freedom. It is an open secret that they condemned the movement and prevented Indian Christians from taking part in it. What will be their attitude in the future it is for Government to decide and satisfy itself.

Of all the acts of commission and omission committed by the Foreign Missionaries in our land the worst and most sacrilegious one is the sale of the property which is called the Church or Mission property or by any other such name. When they first came to India they needed land for building churches, schools, hospitals, etc., and other property to carry on their work. For the creation of this property contributions in cash and land and buildings and in various other forms were made very liberally by Indian Christians and by many Rajas, Maharajas and Zamindars and other charitably disposed persons. The then Indian Government also rendered great assistance by acquiring land and buildings under the Land Requisition Act free of cost or on nominal price. Thus a huge property was created in this fashion for carrying on work by the Foreign Missionaries in India. Now for the last many years the Foreign Missionaries began to sell this property in part or in whole all over the country. The property which cost a few hundred or thousand and in some cases secured as free gifts was sold for lacs and proceeds were sent out of India under one pretext or the other. Even the Church buildings have been sold and where the purchasers refused to take possession as they looked like "place of worship," the Foreign Missionaries removed all such signs, such as 'Cross' 'Altar' and 'Pulpits', etc. Some of the church buildings are now used as place of business or wine shops. Our Lord Jesus Christ had great regard and respect for churches. He called them 'The House of My Father.' This house of His Father has been desecrated and profaned by His white disciples in India, of course, with the active help and support by some of our Indian Christian leaders. This act has deeply wounded the religious susceptibilities of the Indian Christians and lowered their prestige in the eyes of the Indian public. This continued till about a year back. The Indian Christian Association and other Christian bodies raised their voice against this most undesirable act but to no effect. Was it legally and morally right on their part to usurp a property which was formed with money and labour of both Indian Christians and Foreign Missionaries?

Now I shall endeavour to deal with some important points raised in the various statements, specially in the joint statement issued by nine leaders of our community.

Mr. E. C. Bhatt, Secretary N.C.C. and other friends have questioned the propriety of the Fundamental Rights in connection with propagation and conversion of religion by the Foreign Missionaries. Hon. Dr. Katju and other friends have made this point clear and I need not say anything except that the Indian Constitution does not put the Foreign Missionaries on a par with the Indian Nationals.

It is said that the Foreign Missionaries have become part and parcel of the Christian Church in India. May I very humbly ask what will become of such churches in case of any hostility arising between India and U.S.A. or U.K. or any other European country from which these missionaries have come? Will they not be considered as foreign pockets in India?

It is repeatedly asserted that we are loyal to the Government of the day. It means we were loyal to the British Government in the past. Today we are loyal to the present Government and tomorrow we shall be loyal to any other Foreign Government that may happen to govern our country. If we keep this attitude may I ask national of what country we shall be? In my opinion we should be loyal to our country. Our first and foremost loyalty is no doubt to our Lord Jesus Christ and then our wholehearted loyalty should be to our motherland. Mention has been made of the Ramakrishna Mission spreading Hindu faith in U.S.A. and other European countries and an effort has been made to compare the work of that mission with the work of the foreign missionaries in India. For obvious reasons the comparison does not hold good.

The nine leaders also point out in their statement that to stop Foreign Missionaries to do spiritual work and allow only to do social work savours of 'subtle materialism' which appears to me beside the point. When in the beginning the Christian Divines came to this country with the message of Christ they were always welcomed.

Now I venture very humbly to lay before our leaders some suggestions as to how we shall cope with the present situation.

Our greatest need of the present time is the establishment of an Indian Church—a Church of Christ in India—absolutely free from any control of the Foreign Missionaries. Was not this the main object of the Foreign Missionaries to come to this country? I would very earnestly appeal to all Foreign Missionaries to help us in building an Indian Church and the greatest help they can render in this direction is to "Quit" from the scene of all Christian work—social and evangelical and hand over all management to the Indian Christians. There is no use of assuring us that the work is being transferred gradually in instalments. I sincerely assure the Foreign Missionaries and all those concerned that a great section of the Christians subscribe to this view. They sincerely feel that the time has come when they must go. Their only apprehension is the paucity of funds to carry on this huge work. To solve the

pecuniary difficulty I would make a suggestion. We should draw up a five-year plan. Our population is about one crore. We should raise at the average of one rupee per head per year. This will bring us about five crores. With this sum and with the income which will accrue to us from the property which will be made productive we shall be able to manage all our work easily.

The second need is the unity. There are a number of missions which are dividing us. Besides this, there are also a number of unions and associations with different aims and objects working all over the country. An All-India Organisation should be formed to coordinate the activities of those bodies. Great unity will be achieved when an Indian Church is established.

The third need is that a radical change should be brought about in the present Constitution and set-up of the National Christian Council. Its present leadership which is predominantly influenced by the Foreign Missionaries does not command the respect and faith of the rank and file of our community. It has not been able to solve any of our problems nor it has identified itself with the daily toils and tears of the life of our people.

Now I would say a word to our Government. We the Indian Christians are also a limb of this Great Secular Republic and as such I would appeal to the Government to pay its attention to our grievances and backwardness.

Firstly, I would request to appoint a high level commission to enquire and report into the working of the Foreign Missionaries vis-a-vis the condition of the poor Christians who mostly live in the slums of the mission compounds.

Secondly, Indian Christians being very poor cannot afford to give higher education to their children. Hence they are backward in education. I would request the Government to include them also in the benefits which are given to other members of the backward communities.

Thirdly, I am bringing a Bill before the Parliament to enact a law for transferring all the property which is called mission or church property or by any such name as mentioned above to the churches of various denominations in India and would request the Government to accept this as a Governmental measure. The Indian Christians are the legal beneficiaries of this property and the Government should help them in this matter.

In the end I would very earnestly appeal to Foreign Missionaries and the leaders of our community to read the writing on the wall. The Foreign Missionaries should have long ago said in the words of John the Baptist, "He must increase but I must decrease." Let the Foreign Missionaries decrease and let the Indian Church increase. And to our leaders I would request to rise to the occasion. Don't let the larger interest of the Indian Church be sacrificed for our misplaced love and affection for the Foreign Missionaries.

BENGAL IN MANBHUM, DHALBHUM AND ADJOINING AREAS

By CHUNI LAL RAY

II

A HUNDRED and twenty years after Bengali was prescribed by Regulations IV, V and VI of 1793 as Court language, in addition to Persian, in Courts in the area which had originally formed part of Subah Bangala, a notification No. 379J dated 21st August, 1913, was issued by the Government of the newly created province of Bihar and Orissa, making the following changes:

Bhagalpur Division, subdivisions of the Santal Parganas district other than Godda: Both Nagri or Kaithi and Bengali. (Godda subdivision, having come from Subah Bihar, had Hindusthani already, and had no need for alternate Court language Bengali, the Bengali-speaking population being only 11,000).

Chota Nagpur Division: Both Nagri or Kaithi and Bengali in Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum district.

Very large numbers of Hindi-speaking people had immigrated into Dhanbad, Deoghar, Dumka, Jamtara Fakur and Rajmahal during the 120 years from 1793; and there was clear necessity of providing, for their benefit a Court language which they could understand. The Census of 1911 showed for Dhanbad, Hindi-speaking population 177,000 of whom over 70,000 had migrated from Hindi-speaking districts of Bihar, for work in the coalfield area. In the Santal Parganas, the Hindi-speaking population figures were, in 1911, 256,000 in Deoghar, 166,000 in Dumka, 121,000 in Rajmahal, 54,000 in Jamtara and 29,400 in Pakur. The phenomenon referred to in page 66 of Vol. XXII of the *Imperial Gazetteer* (edition of 1908), viz., steady "large influx from adjoining districts west of a line drawn approximately through the centre of the district, i.e., from Bhagalpur, Monghyr, and Hazaribagh" and the pushing out of Santals (and, along with Santals, some Bengalees as well) to "districts east of this line, to Purnea, Malda, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan and farther away, those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of quasi-laterite known as the Barind" had further gained in strength by 1911.

Some minor verbal changes were made in a notification of 1933; the words "Nagri or Kaithi" were replaced by "Hindusthani to be written in the Nagri or Kaithi script," and the words "Bengali in the rest of the Division" (Chota Nagpur) were changed to "Bengali in the Sadar subdivision of Manbhum district and in Pargana Dhalbhum." A notification of a year later, viz., of November 1934, brought in a material change, by extending to Pargana Dhalbhum in Singbhum district "both Hindusthani in the Nagri or Kaithi script, and Bengali," same as in Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum district. Tatas' Iron and Steel works had attracted to Jamshedpur immigrants from all over India; and, by 1931, Hindi-speakers numbered nearly 50,000 (possibly nearly 60,000 by the end of 1934), more than 90 per cent being temporary immigrants. As a result of notifications up to 1934, the area of only Bengali was brought down to the Sadar subdivision of Manbhum district

only; Bengali and Hindi or Kaithi were to be alternative languages in Deoghar, Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur and Rajmahal subdivisions of the Santal Parganas, in Dhanbad subdivision of Manbhum district and in Dhalbhum subdivision of Singbhum district.

A much more far-reaching change was effected in June 1948, less than a year after attainment of Independence for the Indian Union. The Government of Bihar declared "in supersession of all previous notifications and orders on the subject, that Hindi to be written in Devanagiri character shall be the language of the Courts in the Province of Bihar: Provided that, in the Sadar Subdivision of the district of Manbhum and in Sadar, Fakur, Rajmahal and Jamtara Subdivisions of the Santal Parganas district, Bengali to be written in the Bengali character shall be an optional language of the Courts." The effect of this was, first, insistence of Devanagiri instead of alternative Kaithi script for Hindi, secondly, the banning of Bengali as one of the alternate languages for the subdivisions of Deoghar, Dhanbad and Dhalbhum, and, thirdly, Hindi prescribed for Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum as the main Court language, Bengali being relegated to the inferior position of an optional language in this subdivision and in Sadar, Pakur, Rajmahal and Jamtara Subdivisions of the Santal Parganas.

The Bengali-speakers' dislike for relegation of Bengali to "optional" status as against alternative language status of the past is, of course, more a sentimental than a real grievance. But this cannot be said of the banning of Bengali, even as an alternative or optional language, in Deoghar, Dhanbad and Dhalbhum, on grounds which it would be difficult to justify. Dhanbad has to-day 1 lakh and 86 thousand Bengali-speakers, at least 70 per cent of whom belong to permanently resident families; and this is a larger number than the Hindi-speaking population of 1913 (about 1 lakh and 82 thousand, of whom at least 75 thousand were temporary migrants from Hindi-speaking districts of Bihar) for whose benefit Hindi had been prescribed in 1913. Dhalbhum also has a Bengali-speaking population of 1 lakh and 86 thousand, at least 70 per cent permanently resident, which is much larger than the Hindi-speaking population, not only of 1931 (which was less than 50,000) but also of the 1 lakh and 25 thousand of 1951, including 12 thousand immigrants from Uttar Pradesh, 18 thousand from Madhya Pradesh, 3 thousand from Rajasthan, 12 thousand from Ranchi-Hazaribagh-Palamau and 19 thousand from districts of Bihar proper. Even Deoghar's present-day Bengali-speaking population of 39 thousand in rural areas plus about 10 thousand in towns exceeds the 30 thousand Hindi-speakers which Pakur had in 1913 when Hindi was prescribed for their benefit as an alternative Court language. Permanently resident Bengali-speakers find it difficult to reconcile themselves

to the denial to them of facilities equal to what were provided in 1913 and in 1934 for the benefit chiefly of floating populations of Hindi-speakers, much fewer in numbers.

The order relating to the language for publication of electoral rolls for Dhalbhum subdivision excluding Jamshedpur city is in pleasing contrast to the orders relating to the Court language. Rules promulgated as recently as the earlier months of the present year 1954, provide for Bengali as well as Hindi, a clear recognition of the importance of the Bengali-speaking population in this area. It would indeed be very graceful if the Bihar Government take cognizance of this in respect of Court language also, reconsider the order of 1948, and again recognise Bengali as an alternative language with Hindi in Courts and public offices in Dhalbhum. Still more graceful would be reconsideration of the orders, not only about Court language but about the language for electoral rolls as well, for at least the eastern portion of the Dhanbad subdivision, if not the entire subdivision with its Bengali-speaking population of 1 lakh and 86 thousand. Under orders passed by the Governor in Council in 1921, Nirsha and Tundi thanas in the eastern end of Dhanbad subdivision got their Records of Rights written in Bengali, (while other thanas got Hindi Records). Electoral rolls also were being published in Bengali for these two thanas; but the new rules promulgated this year have made Hindi the only language for electoral rolls for the entire Dhanbad subdivision. Nirsha is predominantly Bengali-speaking, colliery labour in this area being drawn mostly from the adjoining villages (while the Jharia coalfield depends chiefly on immigrant labour). Tundi is peopled by Bengalees and by Santals, the latter being bi-lingual, with Bengali as their second language. Conditions intermediate between the two prevail in the portion of Govindpur thana that intervenes between Nirsha and Tundi, and also in that further portion of Govindpur thana east of the Baliapur road, which, having no coal or other industry, has not attracted immigrants. Hindi-speakers certainly predominate in the rest of the subdivision; but, here too, Bengali-speakers number about a lakh, and they feel the need for Court language Bengali, in addition, of course, to Hindi.

The following extracts from Settlement Officer Mr. B. K. Gokhale, I.C.S.'s Final Report on Survey and Settlement Operations in Manbhum, 1918-1925, will possibly not be out of place in this connection:

"There was no controversy about the language of the Record in Sadr. The language question in Dhanbad was, however, the subject-matter of some agitation. As early as 1918, agreeing with the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum and the Additional Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad (Mr. Luby), the Board of Revenue recommended that the Record of Rights for the whole of Dhanbad subdivision should be written in Hindi; this recommendation was accepted by the Government in their letter no. 5107. R-S-139 dated 7th August, 1918. Four memorials were then submitted to Government

protesting against this decision. These were supported by the Additional Deputy Commissioner Mr. Hoernie and by the Board, but the Government adhered to their original decision which they declined to reconsider. In 1921 the question was again re-examined by the Governor in Council, and it was then decided that the Record of Rights should be prepared in Bengali for the revenue thanas Nirsha and Tundi, and in Hindi for the rest of the subdivision.* * * No useful purpose would now be served in discussing the reasons for, and against, this decision. Almost all the documents and papers produced by landlords and raiyats in Block E* were, however, found to be written in Bengali, and there was much difficulty in getting landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record.* * * Now that the Record of Rights has been prepared in Hindi, it is desirable that every effort be made to popularise the study of Hindi in all vernacular schools in this area, so that, in a short time, there will be at least one man in each village who can read the Record and thus enable the villagers to take full advantage of it."

No comment is necessary on Mr. Gokhale's observations, except that his hope of "at least one man in each village who can read the record," and that also to materialise "in a short time" is positively pathetic.

Records of Rights for the entire Dhalbhum subdivision were prepared in Bengali only. Hindi-speakers were practically unknown—they were less than 4 per cent of the total population at the time of the last Settlement operations—though it has since been claimed that Dhalbhum is part of the Biharees' homeland. For the Santal Parganas, the statement below shows the languages used in the Revisional Settlements of 1922-35 and also in the previous Settlement:

Subdivision	Language used in writing records	
	Last Settlement	Revisional Settlement
Jamtara	Bengali	Bengali
Pakur, zemindari and Damin	Bengali	Bengali
Dumka South	Bengali	Bengali
Rajmahal, zemindari and Damin	Bengali	Bengali
excluding Sahebganj thana	Bengali	Bengali
Deoghar, taluk Koron	Bengali	Hindi
Deoghar, excluding taluk Koron	Bengali	Hindi
Dumka, Damin-i-Koh	Bengali	Hindi
Dumka North	Bengali & Hindi	Hindi
Rajmahal, thana Sahebganj	Bengali	Hindi
Godda, zemindari and Damin	Hindi	Hindi

Mr. Gantzer, the Revisional Settlement Officer, noted that "during the course of the revision operations, petitions were filed by tenants of taluk Kesri in Dumka subdivision and taluk Saldaha in Deoghar subdivision praying to have their records written in Bengali as in the last settlement. * * These applications were rejected."

That, for taluk Koron in Deoghar subdivision Bengali was retained as the language for the Record

* Block E is the portion of Dhanbad subdivision with the largest proportion of Hindi-speakers, viz., the Hindi-speaking Raj families of Nowgarh and Katras, Hindi-speaking Bhuyans and immigrants from Hindi-speaking areas.

of Rights, is a fact suggesting that, for Deoghar subdivision also with a Bengali-speaking population of 39,217 in rural areas and possibly some 8 to 10 thousand more in the towns of Deoghar and Madhupur, recommendation similar to what has been made, in a previous paragraph, in respect of Dhanbad, would not be an unjustifiably liberal concession to Bengalee sentiment. Pakur and Jamtara got Hindi as alternative language in 1913 for the benefit of Hindi-speakers numbering no more than 29 thousand and 54 thousand respectively.

The following figures relating to linguistic distribution of the population in Manbhum, as recorded in successive censuses, are of interest.

Entire district, including Dhanbad Subdivision				
Year of census	Total population	Mother-tongue		
		Bengali	Hindi	Santali
1881	1058228	880878	109781	100047
1891	1193328	907890	121798	161374
1901	1301364	942575	162864	181687
1911	1547576	983338	327768	218355
1921	1518777	1035386	289356	204219
1931	1810890	1222689	321696	242091
1941	2032146	not available		
1951	2279259	991126	979258	262526

Separate figures for Dhanbad Subdivision, available only for 1911, 1931 and 1951.

	1911	1931	1951
Total population	384122	521092	731700
Bengali	138285	176036	186063
Hindi	176696	259421	475951
Santali	65301	73377	49205

Of the figures noted above, the following need special examination: (1) the very large increase in Hindi in 1911, followed by a substantial fall in 1921, and (2) in 1951, the remarkable decrease in Bengali for the district as a whole, the remarkable increase in Hindi in both Sadar and Dhanbad and the remarkable fall in Santali in Dhanbad.

The first of these is explained entirely by different meanings given at different times and by different persons to the word Kurmali. In the August number, I concluded with the note that Dr. Grierson's and Mr. Coupland's figures justified the assumption that, of Kurmis in Manbhum, only about 20 per cent spoke the Bihari-based Kurmali dialect, but that the remaining 80 per cent had Western Bengali (sometimes described as Rarhiboli) as their mother-tongue. But the word Kurmali is very misleading (as Dr. Grierson had noted); and this was responsible for a very curious mistake that was committed in the later stages of the 1911 Census, subsequent to a mysterious disappearance of many lakhs of Census slips for several thanas of Manbhum and Ranchi districts from the Divisional Compilation office in Hazaribagh. Mr. Alderson, the Compiling Officer, thought that it would be possible to work out the Language Tables without further local enquiries in the thanas for which the slips had been lost, simply by taking the figures for Kurmi caste (Caste Tables had already been compiled) as equivalent to the numbers of persons speaking the Kurmali dialect and the others as Bengali-speakers in Manbhum and as Mundari or Hindi-speakers in Ranchi. Nobody noticed at the time the absurdity of the resultant increase at one bound in the numbers of Kurmali-

speakers, from 44,214 in 1901 to 211,411 in 1911, or by 378 per cent in Manbhum, and from 183 to 20,875 or by 1,130 per cent in Ranchi. Even the Provincial Superintendent of Census fell into the error of propounding the thesis that "Kurmali, as the name implies, is the language of the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur" in para 730 of his Report, the very same para in which he quoted, without dissent, the report from Mayurbhanj that "the mother-tongue of the Kurmis of Mayurbhanj is Bengali, with the peculiar intonation belonging to them." Other points irreconcilable with the thesis were the facts that Hazaribagh did not return a single Kurmali-speaker, in spite of its Kurmi population of 84,589, and that, of Ranchi's 56,535 Kurmis, only 20,875 were shown as Kurmali-speaking. Mr. O'Malley's own observation in para 721 that "in some parts, Kurmali is said to be unmistakably Bengali" was yet another point against his thesis.

The mistake of 1911 became quite evident during the Compilation stage of the 1921 Census, when even the most meticulous search failed to bring out more than 49,675 entries for Kurmali in Manbhum (no mention was made of the number found in Ranchi). There were 24,520 entries for Khotta, Khottahi, etc.; and although Mr. Tallents, the Census Superintendent, found it "impossible to say that Khotta is either Hindi or Bengali," he added the 24,520 Khotta to the 49,675 Kurmali, "as it (Khotta) had been treated as Hindi in 1911." Reduction in the Kurmali-Khotta figure from 211,411 of 1911 to 74,195 in 1921 was only a return to the original and correct meaning of the word Kurmali, viz., the Magahi dialect with some admixture of Bengali that is spoken by Kurmis and also by others who have migrated from the Ranchi plateau, where Hindi is spoken, to the sub-plateau area of that district and the adjoining north-western part of Manbhum district. Unfortunately, however this was not clearly mentioned in the Census Report, and there was no formal cancellation of the very incorrect thesis that "Kurmali is the tribal language of the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur."

There was nothing unusual in the Census of 1931, except that separate mention of the Kurmali dialect and of its speakers was quietly dropped. There was no compilation of Language Tables in the Census of 1941. The 1951 Census Superintendent's Report reveals a strange phenomenon, viz., "social and political consciousness among the Kurmis and other indigenous tribes of Manbhum and the Santal Parganas who are mostly backward socially and politically," and of their "preference to return Hindi as their mother-tongue, and Bengali as the second language," as a sequel to "increased awareness among Kurmis and other indigenous elements that the language spoken by them in their homes is a Bihari dialect." But another observation by the Census Superintendent that "there is some admixture of distinctly Bengali elements in the Bihari dialects spoken in Manbhum, and it is not always easy to distinguish between these Bihari dialects and the western Rarhi form of Bengali which is spoken in

Manbhum," makes it pretty clear that the "increased awareness of the language spoken at home being a dialect of Bihari" was a mere delusion. Equally delusive would be the classification as Hindi or Bihari (either Magahi or Maithili or Bhojpuri) of the sentence from Santal Paraganas district, "*Amon darogar moton offiserera aschhe je dekhe bhoi ho!*" which was reproduced in the Bihar Legislative Assembly on the 26th March, 1949 by Sri Brijlal Dokania, M.L.A. from the Pakur-Rajmahal constituency. It is strange that statements made under such evident delusion should have been left unchallenged by the Census staff, and should have been accepted as correct statements eligible for record in Census slips. If bearded men of a fairly advanced age, in religious frenzy of worshipping Sri Krishna in Gopika fashion, made statements that they were milkmaid girls of 16 or 17 hailing from Brindaban, such statements would certainly not be accepted, and may even lead to prosecution if the statements are persisted in. Is any better treatment due to statements of mother-tongue Hindi by persons who cannot speak a word of Hindi, persons who speak, in their homes, a language which the Census Superintendent finds it difficult to distinguish from the western Rarhi form of Bengali as spoken in Manbhum, and, who, in their conversation with outsiders, speak in what is admittedly Rarhi Bengali? Why, further, are such people described as bi-lingual, when, both at home and in conversation with outsiders, they speak in Rarhi Bengali or in some language which it is not easy to distinguish from Rarhi Bengali?

A recent report from Manbazar police-station, adds piquancy to the situation. While, for 40 long years and more, we had been treated with dissertations, even in judgments pronounced by the Judicial Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, about, "Kurmali," the tribal language of aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpur being "a subdialect of Magahi" (which the genuine Kurmali is, as spoken by immigrants from Ranchi plateau into the subplateau Panch Pargana area of that district and the adjoining north-western portion of Manbhum district), a leaflet under the name *Navodaya* that was posted on walls of shops in the marketplace of Manbazar on the 26th July last, a few days subsequent to ex-minister Sri Binodananda Jha's tour in Manbhum district, declared that Maithili was the mother-tongue of every one in Manbhum district except of the band of 11 foreigners who accept Atul Ghosh as their leader and have formed themselves into a bogus Lok-Sangha.

It is indeed strange that, while a highly educated gentleman like Sri Ranchhor Prasad, I.A.S., the Provincial Census Superintendent, finds it difficult to distinguish between the so-called "Bihari dialects spoken in Manbhum and the western form of Rarhi Bengali as spoken in Manbhum," and presumably also to discover similarity with any one of the genuine dialects of Bihari, unsophisticated villagers of Manbhum, so far away from Bihar proper, should have acquired the fine sense of discovering kinship between the language which they speak in their homes and Magahi as spoken in the districts of Patna Division and in South

Monghyr or Maithili as spoken in Saharsa and Darbhanga.

Yet another point worth mentioning in this connection is that, in the nineties of the 19th century, a brilliant Bihari Deputy Collector, Munshi Nundjee who was working on the Ghatwali *paemaish* among the Bhumijes of Barabhum and Manbhum parganas, never suspected that these Bhumijes had the least inkling of Magahi or Maithili or of any other Bihari dialect; and he invariably wrote his *roobakaris* in the plain Bengali language which he believed to be the mother-tongue of the Bhumijes and also of the majority of others among whom he was working. Fifty long years passed after Munshi Nundjee's time without any material change in the situation. But the Independence of 1947 has at last aroused an awareness, and an awareness that is steadily increasing, although this awareness is only an illusion, that the language which Bhumijes of Barabhum and Manbhum parganas speak in their homes is a dialect of Bihari—it does not matter much whether it is a subdialect of Magahi or of Maithili or even of Munshi Nundjee's Bhojpuri. And the Bihari craze has spread also to Bauris, even though they may be the same people as those in what Mr. Oldham described as the Bauriland of Bankura and Burdwan; it has spread also to Desauli Santals and even to Adibasi-speaking Santals, whose number in Dhanbad has, on this account, shrunk from 73,377 in 1931 to only 49,205 in 1951. In Dhalbhum the number of Bhumij-speakers has, for the same reason, come down from 22,828 in 1931 to a mere 922 in 1951. In the Santal Parganas, the craze has affected males more than females, among the Malto-speakers at least; and 67,042 Malto-speakers of 1931 have been replaced by only 23,774, of whom 18,030 are females, and only 5,744 are males!

Sri Ranchhor Prasad deserves thanks for having found out the main cause for the growth of this awareness (or delusion) of indigenous castes of Manbhum and Santal Parganas about the language spoken at home being a Bihari dialect.

It is, in his opinion, "the opening of a large number of Hindi schools in the border areas. ** In the course of the last 6 or 7 years, Hindi has been introduced in most of the schools which were existing from before. In addition, 400 Hindi schools teaching up to the Upper Primary standard, and 500 night schools, which also teach Hindi, have been started in this district (Manbhum). ** The tendency to claim Hindi as the mother-tongue at the 1951 Census appears to have been accelerated by the opening of a large number of Hindi schools."

"Accelerated" is the word used by the Census Superintendent; but a more appropriate expression would be "created" or "generated." It is only after motion (or power) has been generated that acceleration can come in; and there had been no genesis of the awareness (or delusion) about the language spoken at home being a dialect of Hindi or of the preference to return Hindi as the mother-tongue, prior to the opening of the hundreds of Hindi schools in purely Bengali-speaking areas.

ॐ एमन दारोगार मतन अक्सिदेरा आसछे ये देखे भय हय ।

PHILIPPINE FISH CULTURE

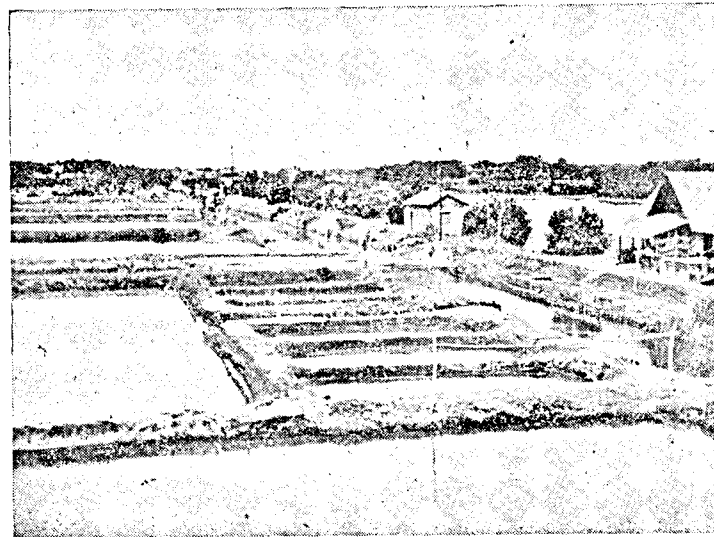
By WALLACE E. MCINTYRE

THROUGHOUT monsoon Asia, fish culture in ponds, rice paddies and shallow bays occupies a prominent part of the land utilization pattern. In general, it is most important in the heavily populated areas of intensive

by the Philippine fish industry in 1951. Yet the islands contain 600,000 hectares of swamp land plus extensive tide flats, lagoons and shallow harbors and bays, many of which are good sites for fish culture projects.

If all the unutilized waters could be used in fish production, a sufficient supply of protein food for the entire population undoubtedly could be obtained. It is toward this goal that the Bureau of Fisheries and other government agencies of the Republic of the Philippines have been working, by establishing model fish culture centers, introducing new fish types, training fishermen, financing fish pond construction, leasing public lands, carrying out research in fishery problems and similar activities.

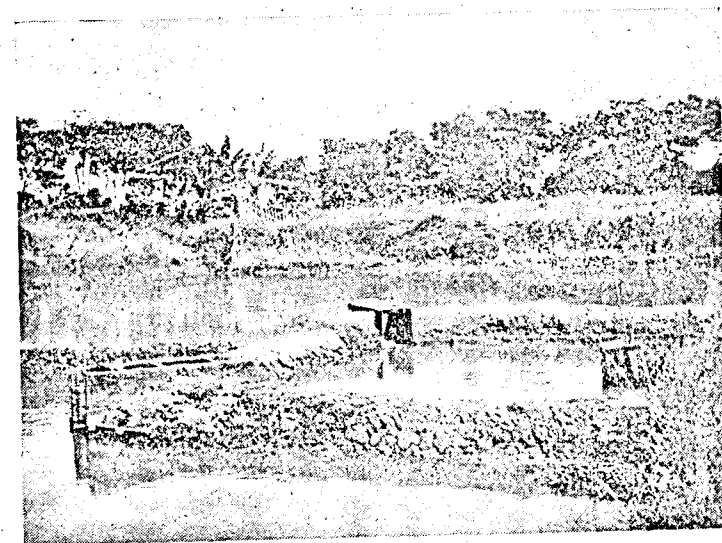
In the Philippines, only estuarine waters are used for fish culture. Salt-water swamp lands are utilized for pond rearing of the bangos or milk fish; shallow bays and inlets serve as sites for oyster farming. The Philippine Bureau of Fisheries estimates that estuarine waters are two to five times more productive per unit area than agricultural land.



At these experimental ponds at the Dagatdagatan Saltwater Fishery Experimental Station new techniques are being developed

population pressure. Thus in China, Japan and Indonesia, fish products are grown in conjunction or alternation with the regular crop mainstays. However, fish culture is by no means a universal practice throughout southeast Asia, even in areas well suited to such a crop, and for this reason the development and improvement of fish culture represent a significant addition to the food resources of many of its regions.

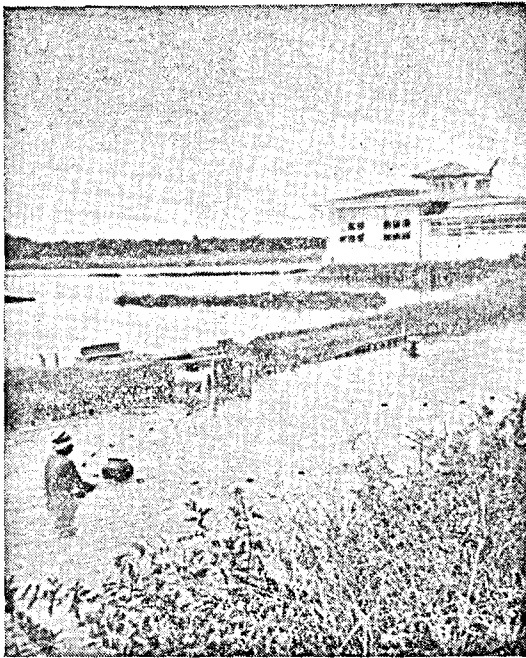
Since 1902, population of the Republic of the Philippines has grown from about 7,000,000 to 20,000,000. This increase, plus the traditional emphasis on production of export agricultural products, brought about a marked pressure upon the food resources of the islands. With a rice and fish national diet, the nation finds itself in the predicament of being a rice and fish importer. Estimates of the Institute of Nutrition place the normal per capita consumption of fish at 25.55 kilograms of fish annually; this makes the needs of the country approximately 511,000,000 kilograms. Of this amount, 296,000,000 kilograms were produced



This is a catching compartment of one of the fish-rearing pond systems developed by the Republic of the Philippines Bureaus of Fisheries

Although the cultivation of bangos is an old industry in the Philippines, it is only recently that research and modern techniques have been applied to show the full possibilities of fish culture. At the present, ban-

gos culture has developed three separate phases or operations in some areas. Catching and handling of the fry has become an established industry, while rearing the fry to a fingerling stage has been separated from the production of marketable fish.



Recent development in the cultivation of bangos or milk fish, an old industry in the Republic of the Philippines

Although acclimated to brackish and even freshwater under artificial conditions, the bangos is a natural inhabitant of the open sea and will not reproduce except in its native saltwater. Depending on the locality the fry season lasts from March to August with a peak in May and June. The fry are caught in many areas, such as Balayan and Batangas Bays, and along the sandy coasts and river mouths in Mindoro, Marinduque, Samar, Leyte, eastern Luzon, Zambales, Oriental Negros, southern Panay and others. Tiny and almost transparent needle-like fry are caught in abaca cloth push nets and a variety of seines and traps. They are placed in earthen jars with fresh seawater, about 2,000 to 3,300 fry each.

Fishermen are paid for their catch according to the quantity. The fry are sold at the beach to representatives of fishpond operators, and the unsold surplus is taken to Manila by train, truck and airplane. Fishpond operators near Manila Bay obtain the fry from wholesale depots.

Although the practice of raising the fry to market size in a continuous operation still is common, certain fishpond owners limit their activities to raising fry only to the fingerling stage. In turn, the fingerlings are

sold to other fishpond owners who continue the process to the marketable stage.

Nursery ponds for fingerling production range in size from 500 to 5,000 square meters, separated into units by low partition dikes with inlet and drainage pipes. Prior to stocking, the ponds are drained and leveled, after which a series of flooding, draining and drying activities is carried out in order to rid the pond of predators. For operating conditions, the pond depth is maintained at three to five centimeters in order to prevent the growth of filamentous algae, while encouraging the growth of lab lab, the food of the young bangos. Lab lab consists of a large assemblage of microscopic plants and animals closely associated with the bottom soil. It develops at the pond floor in a greenish, brownish or yellowish mat or scum.

When the pond is covered with lab lab, it is stocked with an average of 30 to 50 fry per square meter. Nursery pond water remains quite salty, receiving only occasional changing with new tidal water. During a hard rain, the water level is raised to prevent a rapid change in salinity and temperature. In time, the supply of lab lab becomes exhausted, necessitating artificial feeding. When this happens, rice bran is broadcast over the ponds twice a day at the rate of 5 to 12 kilograms per hectare.

After one and one-half to two months, the fingerlings are 5 to 10 centimeters long, and may be sold to rearing pond owners. By controlling the food supply, however, the fish may be stunted at this stage for one to two years, thus maintaining a supply of fingerlings throughout the year. Despite the fact that bangos spawn but once annually, multiple cropping in the fishponds is feasible.

Good rearing pond systems include three compartments: the catching pond, the holding pond and the rearing pond. The catching pond is a small subdivision 10 to 30 meters on each side, located near the main gate. As do many other fish, the bangos tend to swim against a current; so, by admitting water to the pond, the fish can be concentrated in the catching pond for harvesting.

Fingerlings are kept for some time in the holding pond. The food provided in the deeper water of the rearing pond is filamentous algae (lumut). A stay in the holding pond helps the fish in this change of diet from lab lab to lumut, and also enables them to grow a bit larger and thereby to be more capable of withstanding enemies in the big ponds.

Finally, rearing ponds are stocked with 1,000 to 1,500 fingerlings per hectare, and from then on the fish need little attention. The water goes stale eventually, but since it is stocked, it cannot be changed completely. The pond is merely freshened by admitting water through the main gate during high tide and allowing it to escape during low tide. When the food is exhausted, algae from outside sources are planted, and certain types of seaweed are added as substitute food.

Depending upon the food available, bangos reach a marketable size, about 1-1/2 pounds, in three to six months. With the development of the fingerling

industry, so that fingerlings may be ordered throughout the year, and the use of substitutes for algae as food, two to four crops of fish may be produced each year. Each crop should amount to at least 1,500 pounds per hectare, and would far exceed the expected return per hectare of rice.

Concomitantly with the bangos, giant shrimp fry also are placed in the ponds. Shrimp and other fish often enter during the freshening activities, to add further to pond production. Some crustacean pests which bore holes in the dikes are also edible.

Despite the abundance of freshwater swamps, artificial reservoirs, irrigation canals and paddy fields, no freshwater pond cultivation of any importance takes place in the Philippines. Farmers catch dalag, the interesting air-breathing fish, in rice paddies. Several other native fish are caught and trapped in paddies, and streams, but none of this is planned fish culture. Yet in many areas of Indonesia and southeast Asia, freshwater fish are cultivated in large numbers in rice paddies, door-yard ponds and reservoirs, and in Thailand, even in wooden boxes. Freshwater fish culture not only provides a convenient source of protein and increases productivity of the land, but it also overcomes the lack of transportation and refrigerating facilities which contribute to the expense and scarcity of fish in inland areas.

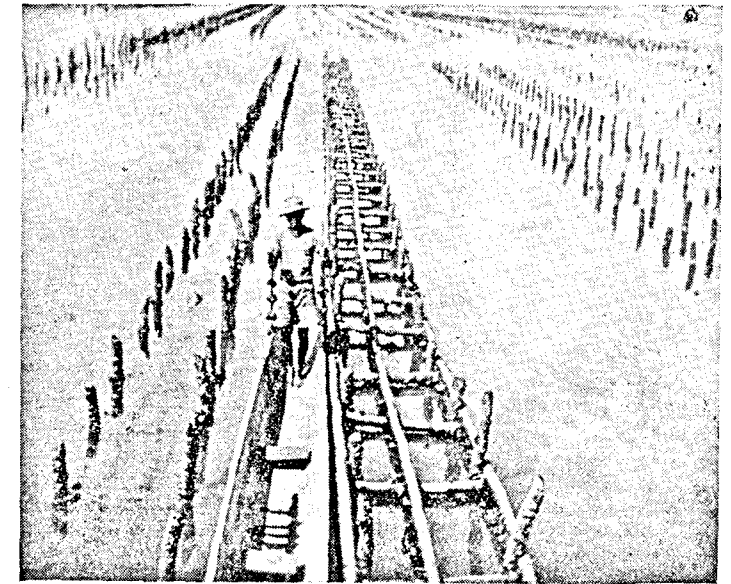
In order to encourage freshwater fish culture, the Bureau of Fisheries has introduced several proven species, such as the gouramy from Indonesia, and the plasalit and tilapia from Thailand. Demonstration fish ponds have been constructed, literature has been made available to the public, and fry of gouramy, plasalit and tilapia have been raised and distributed.

Shellfish culture in natural brackish and estuarine waters, not considering fish ponds, represents another potential source of protein. At the present, only a small amount of oysters and kapis (windowpane shells) is produced by farming techniques, although oysters are common in many coastal areas of the Philippines.

Oysters are found in tidal rivers, creeks, salt marshes and landlocked bays where the bottom ordinarily is semi-sandy, hard and sticky. For many years, small plots of oysters have been cultivated at Bacoor Bay (southeastern Manila Bay), in tidal streams and lagoons just north and south of Manila and in several other points along the western and northern coast of Luzon. Bacoor Bay in Cavite contains about 200 hectares of privately owned oyster farms, while 10,000 hectares await development in Lingayen Gulf.

In the Bacoor Bay-Manila region, oyster rearing areas do not provide the firm bottom most suited to

oysters, and commonly are mudchoked shallows rapidly filling with silt. In order to prevent smothering of the oysters, and also to utilize the water vertically, several types of hanging methods of culture were copied from Japan, and the tray method from Australia. The first method used, and one commonly observed in the more sheltered tidal streams and lagoons, is the stake or tulus method. In this case, bamboo stakes are driven into the mud, with old oyster valves or tin cans impaled upon the stakes to serve as spat collectors. In less protected or larger



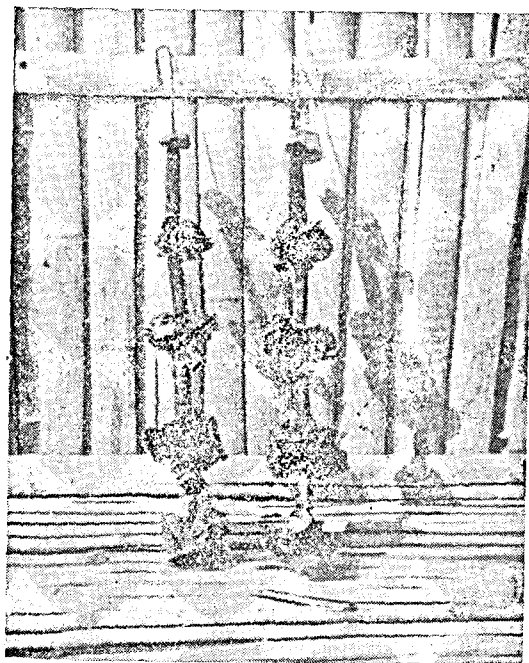
Oyster farms abound in the Bacoor Bay-Manila region in the Republic of the Philippines

areas, sturdy bamboo posts are driven into the bottom as supports for long horizontal bamboo poles which are placed at levels within the tide range. For the hanging or bitin method, wires with a crook on one end are hung vertically from the horizontal poles. Old valves are threaded on the wires as cultch, thus enabling the growing oysters to live above the muddy bottom and to use efficiently the available space. In many shallow areas, a variation of this method is used, whereby long slender poles threaded with cultch are suspended horizontally between the bamboo posts. Usually four 20-meter "log poles" are spaced about 4 inches apart on a frame. This is the line or sarpay method. The tray screen method consists of placing cultch on chicken wire or bamboo screening which is built in the form of movable trays. These are easy to move from place to place, and are convenient for fattening marketable oysters, or for improving undersized oysters collected from stake or hanging methods.

In more remote coastal areas, several more primitive techniques are used locally. Bamboo logs are

staked to the bottom at the margin of tidal creeks so that oyster spats may attach themselves to the bamboo. Where big stones and coral rocks are available, the stones are arranged in suitable areas along the shores of a cove. Oyster spats eventually attach to the rocks.

No attempt has been made to obtain statistics on oyster production in the Philippines. Many are produced only for subsistence. There is little demand for them on the market. Lack of ice and adequate transportation is a handicap which presumably can be overcome in time if the market justifies it.



Oysters growing on wires, in the hanging or bitin method, is one of several techniques used in the Republic of the Philippines in the practice of fish culture

throughout the Philippines. Conditions favorable to oysters are favorable to Kapis. However, the shell is free and unattached, and sometimes it is thickly covered with mud and debris.

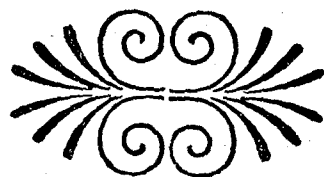
Utilizing the extensive low tide flats of Bacoar Bay, the Philippine Bureau of Fisheries operates an experimental and demonstration oyster and kapis farm near the village of Binakayan, Cavite, which has served to arouse interest on the part of private oyster farmers in the Manila Bay area. Seedlings are planted in favorable areas which are surrounded by protective fences of bamboo brushes and sticks. Often the fences are used simultaneously as cultch for oysters. When planted in November, kapis may be harvested the following June.

After the kapis are harvested, the meat is removed and the shells are soaked in water to clean them and to produce a characteristic luster. For 100 years, kapis shells have been utilized as windowpanes throughout the Philippines. This is especially true for the sliding window. Tiny translucent pieces about three inches square are set in rows within large frames to form distinctive windows. Many novelties are manufactured from the shells for local as well as for tourist consumption. Although rather infinitesimal, the meat is considered to be a delicacy and is used in a variety of dishes such as chowder, kapis omelet and adobo.

The new Philippine Republic is beset with many problems as a result of its change from territorial to independent status. One of these is the need for greater self-sufficiency in food, a need fostered by a rapidly growing population, a desire to industrialize, the necessity to conserve dollar reserves and the long-established agricultural and cultural patterns which need modification.

The presence of large areas of undeveloped or poorly developed swamplands and shallow coastal areas provides a most promising possibility for overcoming the present shortage of protein foods. The scientific production of bangos and oysters in brackish and salt-water sites, plus the development of freshwater fish culture in inland swamps, paddy areas, reservoirs, and irrigation systems conceivably can provide a sufficient amount of protein in itself, to serve the needs of the entire nation. Fish from backyards and farms is a reality in much of south-east Asia, and should be a reality in the Philippines.—From *The Scientific Monthly, U.S.A.*

* Photographs : Courtesy of Dr. Wallace E. McIntyre.



GLIMPSES OF PRE-HISTORIC MALWA

By V. S. WAKANKAR, C.D.

INDIA has a hoary and interesting past. The tropical climate of this vast heterogeneous land was never drizzly and the land never thickly vegetated like the jungle-belts of Central Africa or Malaya during the known historical period, but it is not likely that this country would have been much different during pre-historic times.

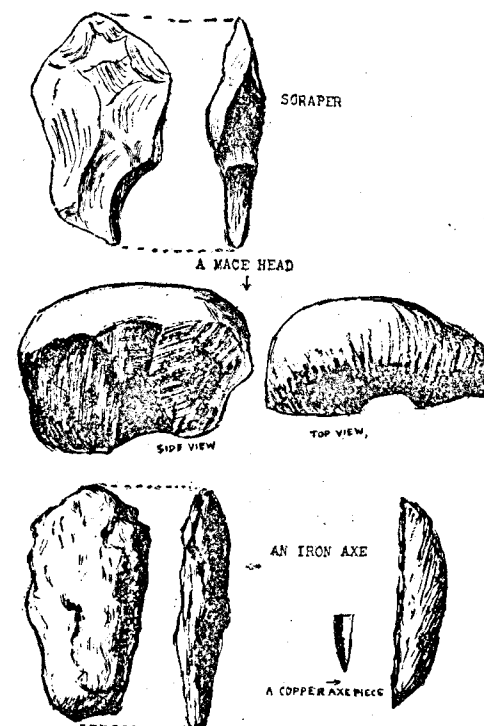
Archaeologically, although more intense research has been done in the regions of Greece, Italy, Palestine or Egypt, the more ancient land of India is still in the primary stage of archaeological studies. The less vegetated rocky South India is every year exposing new finds of older ages and also exposing remains of buried cities and civilisations. The beginning made by the discoveries of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa cultures in the Indus bed has been followed by finds in the Frontiers, Hastinapur, Bikaner, Narmada, Chambal, and Brahmaputra Valley and other places. Hindus call the earth Ratnagarbha (one who treasures gems in her bosom), and devoted explorers are every year unearthing hoards of gems from her bosom in the form of remains, skeletons, stone implements, potteries, beads, coins, etc. Finds in the Indus Valley have already pushed back the antiquity of Indian civilisation to the fourth millennium B.C.

The author sojourning in the jungles of Central India which is less occupied by man, brought to light many such relics and remains, numbers of which have been deposited in various museums and many of which are still lying in the wilderness. There is a mention in the Purana (Skanda Purana) of the origin of the aboriginals of Malwa, the Bhils, the Nishadae, etc., who are said to have been born out of the churning of the thigh of King Vena; and the story of Prithu Vainya, the son of Vena, the first of the kings of human race in the days of Chakshusha Era (*Manvantara*) is very interesting. It is stated that prior to this first king (Adi Maharaja Prithu) who founded a settlement in the vicinity of the river Narmada (Padma, 88, Ch. 27), men lived near the banks of rivers and lakes, ate fruits and roots, and lived in the wilderness without a social order (Padma, 24, Ch. 28). This perhaps is the first mention of the pre-historic civilisation of Malwa or Avanti, and Malwa (Central India) has since then been a torch-bearer of art and culture, and ever famous for the valour and prosperity of the people.

In this land of Avanti (Ujjain of Central India) Daksha Prajapati, the father-in-law of Shiva practised penances for the increase of his family stock and it was here that the demon Andhakasur was killed by Shiva, and Tripur was defeated by him and was confiscated of his wealth and property (in Sanskrit *ut* means wealth and *jaini* means winner). Ujjaini was the capital of Avanti. Avanti was so called because it protected its inhabitants from the wrath of Asuras (*ava* means to protect). Ujjaini was also called Pratikalpa, i.e., as old as the beginning of the Kalpa. The Kalpa in which we live is Shveta Varaha Kalpa of Vaivasvata era (Skanda, Avanti, Ch. 41, 71, 7.).

Hitherto the pre-historic civilisation of the Indus Valley was supposed to be the oldest culture in this ancient land, but now the discoveries of Bikaner, Narmada Valley, Rangpur, Chambal Valley and the Deccan have revealed new find spots of the Stone-Age culture. The pre-historic paintings of Bhopal and the palaeolithic implements of the Upper Narmada Valley were the only pre-historic finds of this (Malwa) region so far, but now centres of core and flake microlithic industries have newly been discovered.

Tools from Nagada Site

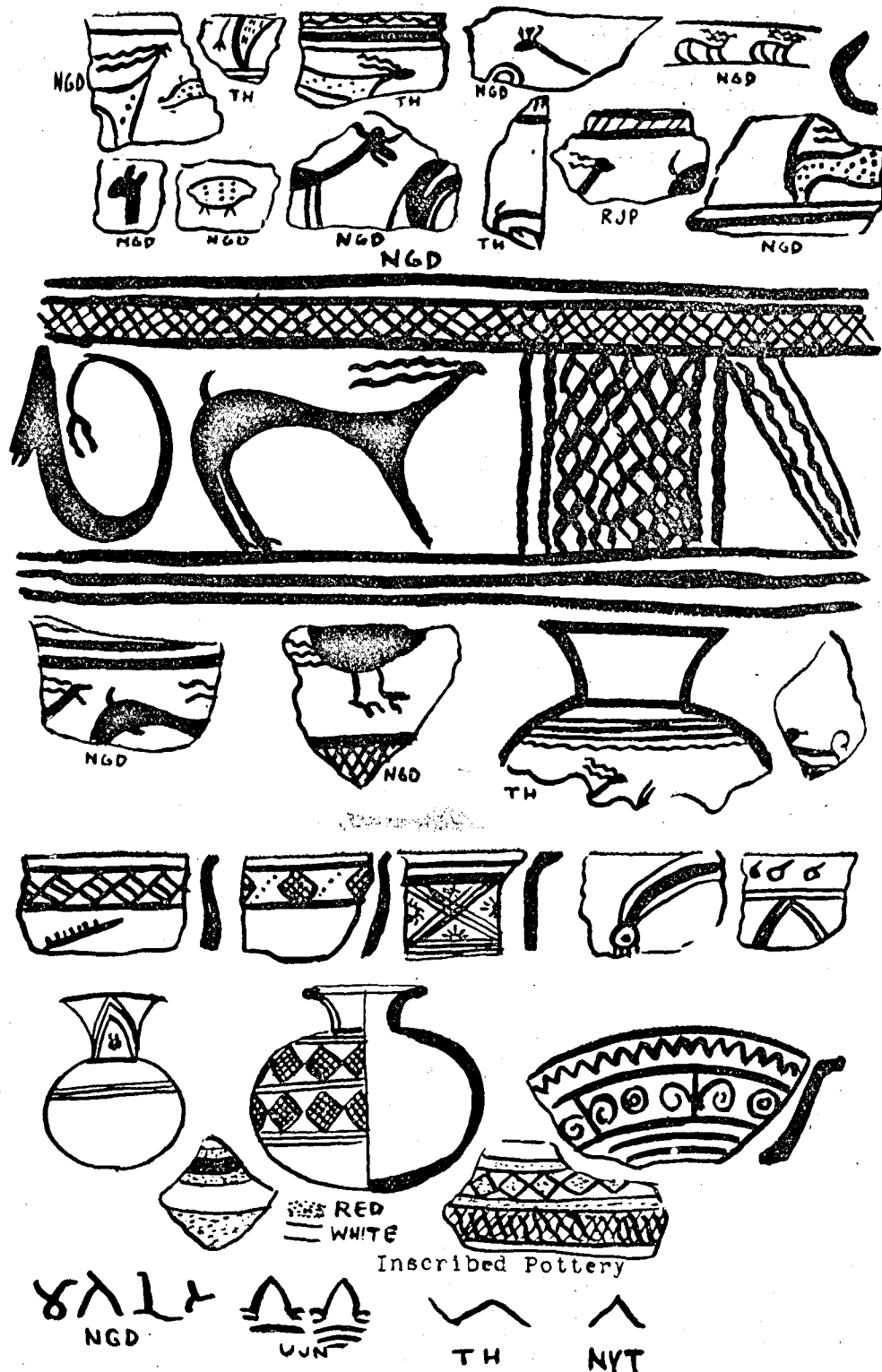


Some tools from Nagada site

The writer had the opportunity of travelling along the banks of the Narmada, Chambal, Kalisindh and Shivana. Pottery belonging to the microlithic age was found at several places in this region; it is identical with that of Amri-Nal, Channu-daro, Rangapur, Harappa, Mohen-jo-daro, Kulli and Rangaghudai pottery. There are several high level mounds at Nagada, Rajpura, Takara-wada, Bhilsudi, Machakda, Kesur, Kanwan Runija, Badanawar Bilpank, Karamdi, Sejawata, Jaora, Rojana, Badawada, Unchakheri, Songher, Ujjain, Chikalda, Maheshwar, Choli, Mandaur, Neemuch, Barwet and Amaliakheri, Maksi and Digthan.

While making surface explorations, the writer found out clay beads, one broken copper axe, one iron axe and terracotta figurines, uncoloured and mono-bio- and polychrome pottery and several stone implements. The stratigraphical study of these mounds, especially Nagada mound, gives the following results.

PAINTED POTTERY FROM CHAMBAL AND NARMADA VALLEY



NGD—Nagada UJN—Ujjain TH—Thadavada NVT—Nawada Toli RJP—Rajapura

GLIMPSES OF PREHISTORIC MALWA

At the bottom everywhere we get the Basaltic Formation of the Deccan Trap rock. The layers just above the trap rock are of gravel mixed with sand. This layer can be further divided into two groups, the upper greyish gravel and the lower greenish gravel. The lower one indicates its priority in formation and we can safely call it the lower gravel. Though the upper gravel is distinctly clear and at a height from the lower gravel, at other places it rests at this side of the mound just above the lower gravel. A scraper-cum-engraver was recovered from this gravel which was made out of trapian core. Typologically it is difficult to put it into some definite group of artifacts.

Over and above these layers is the beginning of the pre-historic debris stratification. At Nagada and Thadavada the stratigraphical sections are clearly marked out through the cuttings caused during rains. We shall study here the Nagada Mound A stratigraphy.

At the surface is the layer I which has yielded a human skeleton 5' 3" long, its head is in the north and is a little tilted to the right. The bones are found crushed, the broad pelvis bones denoting its female sex. No inscribed pottery or seal was found in this layer and it seems that it belongs to a much later age. The pottery is of rough texture, coloured red and slightly polished. Brick masonry is found at some places. There are some signs of burning in the south-east corner but that does not lead us to the conclusion that there might have been a sacking or invasion.

The layer II which is 3' below the surface yields the same type of pottery as above but is slightly harder, more reddish, and polished. Brick masonry is abundantly found in this layer but the bricks being very fragile no complete brick could be found. Some pieces of sandstone mortar were available. In this layer I a coin and an inscribed potsherd were found. The characteristic of the letter is Brahmi of the second century B.C. This layer belongs to the early historic period. The coin represents hallow cross tree in the railing, lorraine symbol and swastika on obverse and an elephant and a rider on the reverse.

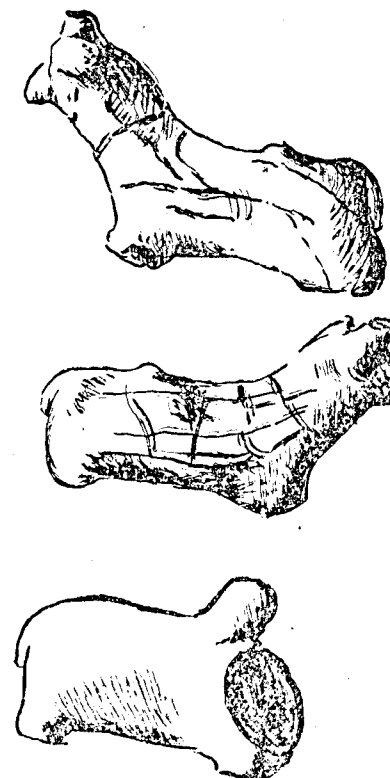
The layer III is a layer of burnt charcoal bricks, pottery pieces and ashes, probably indicating an invasion by some foreign tribe or enemy, or a local fire. The pottery is similar to the above layer but a few pieces of black potsherds were found which are black in colour and polished in appearance inside and outside (Sist Wahan pottery). Some pieces were red inside and black outside. Brick masonry is rare in this layer.

There is little difference between layer III and layer V, but in layer V a few pieces of N.B.P. pottery were found and a few pieces of black polished pottery with scratched designs are also found with them (Megalthic pottery). A few cremation pots or urns were found in the southern side of the mound in this very layer.

The layer IV which is seen clearly in the south-east corner of the mound is a heap of ashes with the

potsherds of the layer V type. One iron spearhead and one nail were also found along with charred bones and terracotta in layer V. A rusted iron axe typologically resembling the copper axes of early periods was also found in this layer.

Now, beneath these layers come the layers which are full of coloured and designed pottery. The layer VIA is a burnt representation of the layer VIB. The layer VIB is 4 to 6 feet thick and gives varied and interesting bowls with square hatched designs and many artistic motifs. The bowls vary in size (diameter of 4", 6" & 7" and height 4" to 6"). Their bases are generally round, their outer and sometimes inner surfaces are coated with fine red slip and then designed with dark brown ivory black and sepia lines. Microliths (fluted cores, serrated blades, knife blades, trapezoidal lunates) are associated with this layer.



Nagada terracottas

Thadavada presents a different layer at this stage which yielded pinkish yellowish buff pottery with horizontal red lines coated with thick dark sepia paste. The texture is very hard and the pottery gives a metallic sound. Serpentine lines are drawn vertically to decorate some of the pots.

The Nagada layer 7A is the burnt representation (as above) of the coming layer 7B, which supplies us bigger vessels with artistic motifs in curvatures and geometrical

forms. Some finely stylized animal forms have been found at Nagada and Thadawada. Deer is prominently represented. Different forms of deer, spotted deer with twisted horns, antelopes, and birds were drawn with sepia and ivory black lines on red surface.

Some microliths are also common in this layer. Some polychrome potsherds were also found in this layer.

Layer VIII is again the burnt remains of layer V.IIA. This layer gives us the pottery of the same technique but the crudeness of drawing shows the evolutionary stage of the preceding layer VIIIB.

The last black soil layer which touches the virgin soil of the yellow bed, presents the hand-made pottery of three types: (1) Buff-coloured, (2) Pots made with the help of baskets, (3) Crude hand-made pottery. The layer VIII is a layer of black cotton soil with orange ware and hard crude black ware. The number of the microliths is hardly five but 2 big flakes of jasper were recovered from this layer. Typologically we may put them in end-scrapper group of protomicroliths.

This layer denotes the existence of heavy forests during the period when man had just begun to settle and collect foodstuff.



COINS FROM NAGADA

Now we come to the study of the stone implements found in these layers. Throughout the mountain regions of the Himalayas, the Vindhyas and the Deccan, the implements of the pre-historic man are scattered. The early stone implements were called palaeoliths and belonged to a very remote period when man was in his early stages of life. Stuart Pigott called it a period of immense monumental inanition over millennia.

There was a tendency to conclude that the tool-making industry was first started at the end of the third Glacial period but now the farthest limit is pushed back to the first and second Inter-glacial period and more importance is attached to the first one. According to Zeener, the Achullan period is as old as 430,000 to 450,000 years and the Levellusion one is 23,000 to 40,000 years. Some archaeologists stress that the tool-making industry should be related to the second Inter-glacial period only.

Some of the implements from the Chambal Valley which were found in the lower gravel (consisting of greenish sand and gravel) belong to the early palaeolithic group. (Narbada and Shivana). The use of the stone implements continued up to the first millennium B.C. They were found in existence even in copper age and thus the culture is called chalcolithic culture. The stone

age is an age of remote antiquity and identical centres of this industry are found in many distant places. The latest implements are those which were regularly chiselled and edged by rubbing the surface or flaking it to required shapes. They are classed as protomicroliths and microliths. Stone axes, arrow-heads and spear-heads were made out of stone by the said process. It has been observed through excavation that man invented these implements before he learnt the art of making pottery, and continued with this industry till the period in which he could produce high classical decoration in colours with copper implements, i.e., up to the 3rd or 4th millennium B.C.

References to stone implements are found in many mythological tales of Puranas and of epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Valmiki's Ramayana mentions warriors equipped with *shila*, *pashan*, *giri-shirsagra* and Shaila stone implements. (6.2.27, 62, 37.6.15.55.).

Agni Purana mentions Shila as *panimukta ayudha*, i.e. implement to be projected freely with hand only. Drashad was also a stone implement. The Vedas mention such implements as Ashma Hamna (Rig. 7.104.5, Ath. 8.4.5.) and Ashma Chakra (Rig. 10.101.7.).

The pottery stratification presents interesting materials to the archaeologist and the artist. The hand-made pottery was not generally coloured yet a few coloured pieces were recovered from places like Nagada and Gangadhar. The coloured pottery may be classified under the following groups. These classifications are only for general guidance, and scientific analytical study can be obtained only after scientific excavation. The mounds at Nagada, Thadawada, Bhilsudi, Gangadhar, Kanwan, Maheshwar, Meen Rajpura, Mandasaur and Neemach are richly stratified and very regular stratum deposits of different phases of pre-historic pottery are clearly marked out through cuttings.

GROUP 1. Hand-made pottery.

- Class 1. Uncoloured hand-made pottery made with the help of baskets.
- Class 2. Hand-made pottery (without the help of baskets) but uncoloured.
- Class 3. Hand-made coloured pottery.

GROUP 2. Wheel-turned pottery.

- Class 1. Uncoloured pottery.
 - Type 1. Uncoloured burial urns of rough texture with ugly shapes, containing bone and ashes. They generally belong to mediaeval and early historic period.
 - Type 2. Uncoloured crude bowls and flasks.

GROUP 3. Class 1. Coloured pottery with hand structure and fine fabric and painted designs (Pre-historic pottery).

- Type 1. Indian red surface and lining with black colour.
- Type 2. Light red surface lining in sepia colour.
- Type 3. Deep Malwa red surface lining with black colour.

- Type 4. Tan surface lining with burnt siena.
- Type 5. Greenish surface with green core and Indian red lining.
- Type 6. Cream surface with dark sepia lining.
- Type 7. Reddish surface lining with red and black and with serpentine line decoration.
- Class 3. Dark red surface with incised designs & white triangular line decorations.
- Class 4. Dark tan surface with Indian red lining and inscribed or incised designs.
- Class 5. Cream-coloured light in weight.

GROUP 4. Class 1.

- Type 1. Upper half and the inner surface black in colour and with serpentine lining on the outer surface.
- Type 2. Coloured as above but the upper half is painted with deep red.
- Type 3. Pots with white spots in the core and painted half in red and well-polished (Late-historic).
- Type 4. Pots with mica powder with the slip (Late-historic).

GROUP 5.

- Class 1. Pots with poor fabric and rough texture.
- Class 2. Type 1. Buff surface with sepia lining (Late-historic).
Type 2. Buff surface with light red lining (Late-historic).
- Class 3. Thin black unslipped ware (Late-historic).
- Class 4. Thin red unslipped ware (Late-historic).

GROUP 6.

- Rough texture but burnished slipped wares.
- Class 1. Light pink surface with lines of sepia, black, white, red and light blue (Late-historic).
- Class 2. Red slipped ware with rosette designs and relief works (Gupta and Parmar).
- Class 3. Red polished with scratch designs. (begins with Pre-historic layers).
- Class 4. Red and tan pottery with burnished surface. (Satwahan).
- Class 5. Same as Class 4 but with scratch designs. (Megalithic type).

GROUP 7.

- Fine fabric and hard structure.
- Class 1. Highly polished, giving a steel metal lustre and known as Northern black polished ware.
- Class 2. Fine red polished ware of the same fabric.
- Class 3. Roman red ware.

GROUP 8.

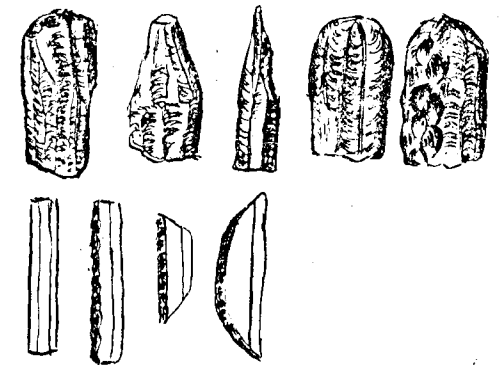
- Class 1. Orange core and sometimes surface painted with sepia or black.
- Class 2. Black ware of the lowest layers.
- Class 3. Greenish grey core with painted surface.
- Class 4. Dark grey ware.

(Group 8 belongs to the black cotton soil layer.)

I have given here a brief account of the pottery classifications which I have done on the basis of colour and texture. The process of pottery-making in many

parts of India is still the same as it was practised by the Indus potters. The colours, designs, and texture have altogether changed. Polishing of pottery was a special feature of the ancient R.B. pottery and was done by rubbing laminated clay and sand while the pots were hot (Lucas, *Jour. Anthropol.* 1929). Application of thin slip of resin, gum, lac and oil was practised to get a polished surface. It was a common way of American and African potters. In India, juice of Abatition Indicum was applied to the pot to get a black polished surface (Annual Report, Arch. Dep. H. H. Nizam Dom, 1915, p. 5). Even today the Indian potter applies a thin slip or red clay (*hidumchi*) and oil and then allows the pot to dry to be rubbed by agate, quartz or glass pebbles to get a polished surface.

The colours which were used in those ancient times and are still used to decorate the pottery, are made out of local clay. The clay is finely powdered and is mixed with the extract of Mirobolan and Inknut, Kher and Babbol barks and liquid gum.



Core and flake tools from Chambal Valley

Though kilns have been found in many sites of Indus Valley no kiln was seen in this area. It has generally been found that the pots of Chambal Valley were irregularly heated and the scars of over-heating have changed the colours of many pots.

References to pottery-making are abundant in Vedic literature. The name of the potter is scarcely found in the Vedas but one verse gives us an inference of seven craftsmen.

"And so were brought seven craftsmen from the Heavens and they sang songs all day long and worked."

These seven craftsmen are mentioned in Shastras as Painters, Sculptors, Dancers, Poets, Singers, Masons and Instrument-players. Potter is a *shilpi* (Sculptor). The Unadi Sutra mentions him as Kullal 1:117; he is also called Chakinah, i.e., one who uses wheel for making pottery. Parashar and Ushanas called him Kumbhakara (*kumbha* means pot).*

* Vaishyayam Vipratschauryat Kumbhakarat Sa Uchhyate

Malakaratkarmakarah Kumbhakaravyajayat

—PARASHAR.

—USHANAS.

The following are the various Sanskrit names of the pots mentioned in Vedic literature.

Ghata, Kalasha, Patra, Bhajan, Sthali, Ookha, Rijusthan, Chalmass, Kumbha, Kumbhini, Ghatabharta, Ghatamedanak, Ghataraj etc.

The process of pottery-making is given in Yajurveda. The process of making Mahaveer sacrificial pot is given as follows :

PAINTED POTTERY SITES IN MALWA



1. Ujjain, 2. Amlyakhedi, 3. Bhiisudy, 4. Takrawada, 5. Metwas, 6. Nagada, 7. Rajapura, 8. Parmarkhedi, 9. Tungani, 10. Mahatpur, 11. Gangadhar, 12. Kheda, 13. Gada, 14. Thadawada, 15. Sejawata, 16. Jaora, 17. Rojana, 18. Songada, 19. Meen, 20. Unchakhedi, 21. Runija, 22. Bilpank, 23. Karamdi, 24. Bokharada, 25. Kanwan, 26. Machakda, 27. Dhar, 28. Nepawali, 29. Digthan, 30. Chikalda, 31. Khedi, 32. Pipalda, 33. Maheshawar, 34. Navada Toli, 35. Makadkheda, 36. Mandsuar, 37. Neomuch, 38. Jhamsawada, 39. Besnagar, 40. Piploda, 41. Ujadhakda, 42. Makshi, 43. Pawaya

"Oh shining Dyava Prithivi, the water and earth which are brought from the sacrificial grounds on this surface of the earth, I with their help prepare the pot which is the head of the sacrifice.....I take thee and mix thee with the water.....I touch thee and polish thee.....I heat and bake thee with the fire caused by the burning of horse dung.....I take out of the hearth and sprinkle upon thee the sheep milk.....Oh (Mahaveer) Pot, thou art as bright as the moon and as shining as the sun !"

In the 39th Kandika of Yajurveda the above-mentioned different acts are dedicated to different gods.

Terracotta figures are only a few, two bulls, one seal giving decorative relief, one head resembling Mohenjo-

Daro head (probably belonging to the Kushan period), wash brushes of clay and a few cart wheels are the only finds of this area. Bricks measuring 19 ins.×9 ins.×3½ ins, 15 ins.×15 ins.×3 ins, 19 ins. ×15 ins.×4 ins., are generally found in every site. At several places brick masonry is clearly seen through the cuttings of the mounds. At Tharavada fortification walls of boulders are clearly visible. The use of bricks is very ancient in India. Angiras was the master creator of this art.

References to big cities are also found at some places as 'Yasaya Puro Deva Krata' and 'Devanam Pura'.

All these pre-historic places lie on the main routes which join the ancient cities of Dashapur, Ujjain, Dhara and Mahismati. They are generally situated on the eastern banks of the rivers.

At present it is very difficult to visualise who were the people who developed such a high culture ; whether they were Asuras, Aryans or Nagas is a doubtful question. As the mythological tales tell us of the slaying of Andhakasur and the victory over Tripur by Shiva it might be possible that Asura Culture may have flourished here. The Vena theory also supports this proposition. Bhils, Nishadas and Prithus were the outcome of the churning of Vena's thigh. They belong to non-Aryan element.

As it has been mentioned above that there are some burnt layers at certain intervals presenting charcoal, ashes, burnt pottery pieces and human bones, we can only presume from this that at these intervals Malwa was sacked and burnt by some formidable enemy, repeated attacks continued till the painted pottery culture either disappeared, degenerated, or moved to some other region. Pottery group 4, class 1 type 3 (Mandsuan, Jaora, Ujjain) represents such culture which must have degenerated and afterwards either disappeared or the people got intermixed with the conquerors. Similar burnt layers were found in many Indus Valley pre-historic mounds.

If we study the pottery to see whether this Chambal Valley culture had any relation with any other contemporary culture of that age we get the following results :

The potsherds from Nagada depict cross hatching squares, curvatures with hook-like designs. The sun with rays is the common motif of the Rangpur and Jhukar culture. The 6th layer of Rangpur and Naru-jodaro have yielded pottery which is identical with Nagada layer 7th layer. The Nepawalli tan pottery with Indian red lining is identical with the 7th layer pottery of Rangpur. The buff and chocolate wares are also similar to Rangpur 11th and 12th layer pottery which was found in the lowest layers at both the sides.

The black-polished pottery with scratched designs from Nagada has a very close resemblance to Jorve megalithic pottery and burial urns. The Jaora tree leaves are similar to the pipal leaves of Kulli wares. The deer, the spotted deer, and the hind portion of an unidentified animal have a close resemblance to Harappa drawings. They have a leaning towards conventionalism rather than naturalism.

The spotted deer is a special feature of Diyala drawings. We have also seen that the spotted deer is the main animal decoration of Chambal pottery, but then instead of co-relating these two cultures I should say that this style of painting was not borrowed from Susa or Diyala but must have been an independent outcome of the Chambal potters. The piece from Nagada depicting a peculiar animal is an interesting subject for study. In drawing, the technique is different from other drawings, it is crude and is less stylised than the deer and shows the workmanship of an altogether different school.

The technique of painting decorations and specially the animal forms and plants is that of decorative stylised conventions. They generally encircle the pots. In many vases the deer forms are continuously repeated in lines at the upper part. Their symbolised forms give a panel appearance. It has been generally found that these decorations are drawn on the red wares ; the buff ware group does not show any remarkable progress in motif drawing. We can extend the red ware and buff ware group now to this part of India.

At Thadawada one seal having a floral design was found and it resembles one of the Jhukar seals.

I have gone through the subject showing the affinity of the Chambal Valley pottery with other different pottery-yielding areas. There must have been a close contact

of these far distant cultures. The great barrier of the Thar desert hindered the free exchange of artistic works, yet a few interchanges of pottery designs show the socio-political bargaining of the time.



The Nagada mound A from the North

Though these drawings show close relations with the Indus Valley culture, yet the Nagada, Rajapura and Thadawada pottery designs have a speciality of their own and particularly it has been marked that only a less surface of the pot is filled by the designs. The cross-hatching squares, the inclined stair design and the horizontal polychrome line designs are the special developments of the Chambal Valley.

There is the greatest need for excavating these sites. Mahishmati has been excavated under the guidance of Dr. Sankalia of the Poona University. I should like to call the attention of the Archaeologists to this region of antiquity.

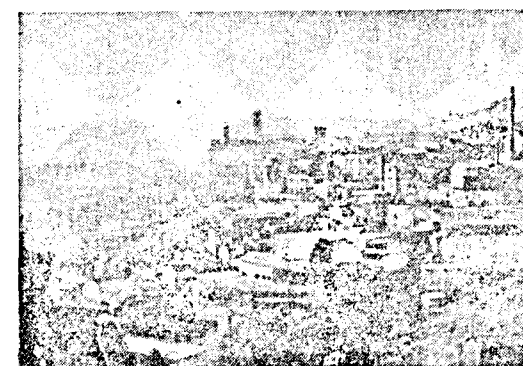
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THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS

Cannes to Menton

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.SC. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

NAPOLEON had reached the zenith of his career before from Moscow. It was worse than the disaster that he embarked on the disastrous march to and retreat Hitler had to face not long ago, in his attempt to reach



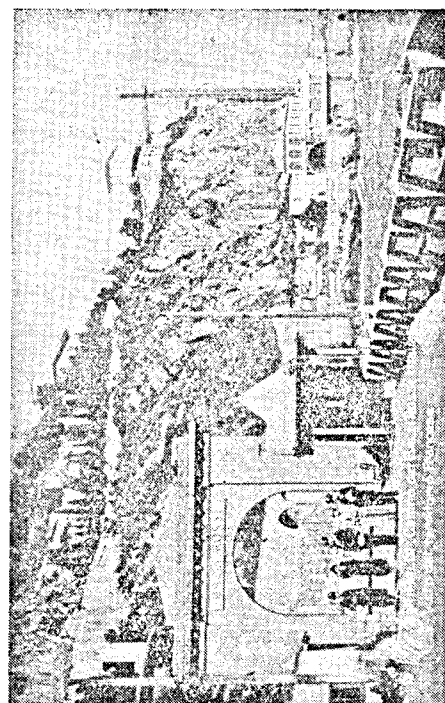
Grasse



Napoleon's equestrian statue on Lake Lafray



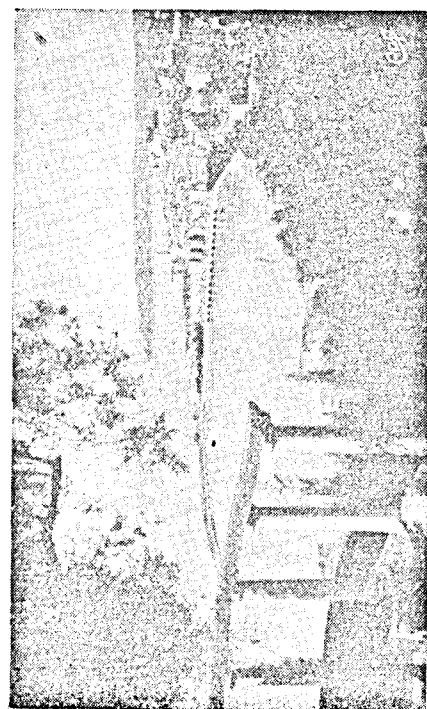
Grand Cornice



The Frontier Gate



Cornice from Nice



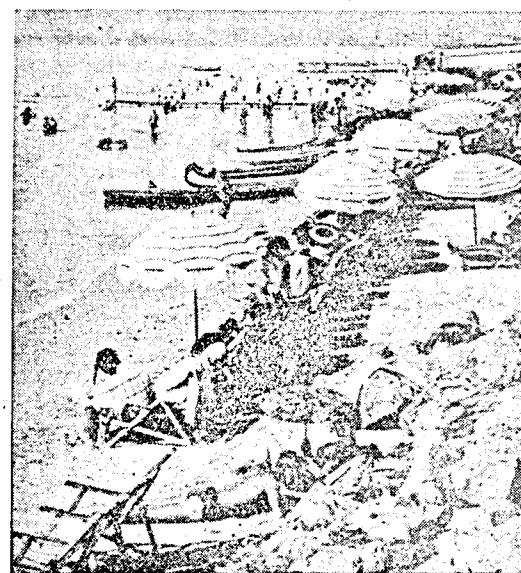
Menton

Moscow and other Russian towns. Nations repeatedly subdued by Napoleon, now joined hands and forced him back to Paris and then as an exile to the island of Elba, south of France. His attempt to retrieve his

makers), Barreme Laffray, (with his big equestrian statue on Lake Laffray) and Grenoble, as noted later. This is the celebrated Route Napoleon, which brings strange memories to visitors. There is the projection of the cape of Antibes towards Nice, with Juan-Les-Pins on one side and Antibes at the other. There are old Greek and Roman ruins and the present pine forests at the cape and a safe harbour at Antibes. But the silvery sand beach sheltered from the wind and pure crystal water of Juan-Les-Pins with all the sporting attractions draw innumerable visitors both for winter and summer seasons. It was at Valescure nearby that Lloyd George played his most famous round of Golf, when he secured a hole in his first shot.



Juan-Les-Pins



Juan-Les-Pins

misfortune extending to the famous "Hundred Days," was as unique in the history of mankind, as his meteoric rise from glory to glory was romantic. One day he landed with a few followers from Elba at the Gulf (Gulf) Juan, at present a bathing resort, quite close to Gannes. His route to Paris lay by Cannes through Grasse (the locality is at present the perfume centre of the world, where you come across the names of famous scent-

Near at hand is the pleasure city of Nice where thousands flock to bask in the sun, play with flowers during carnivals, gamble in the clubs and attend the famous tennis tournaments held here. This is where Shelley wrote and died and where Grimaldi, the unifier of Italy, was born. Queen Victoria spent five consecutive



Nice

springs here. It is said that 300 days in the year out of 365 are fair. The island of Corsica, the birthplace of Napoleon Bonaparte, is seen at a distance and can be reached in 6 or 7 hours. Elba, where Napoleon was deported for a time, lies between Corsica and the West Coast of Italy. The famous Route Des Alpes to the North starts from Nice as well as the remarkable Cornice Roads along the coast to the East to Menton. Going by the Grand Cornice on the upper level, we returned by the coastal road through Monte Carlo. Menton, decked with flowers and fruits all the year round, has a lovely promenade leading up to the gate, where France ends and Italy begins.

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY

A RETROSPECT

FROM seven years of Independence in India (1947-54) to the first three years of the Indian National Congress (1885-88) is a far cry, but a study of the old papers has its own interest and lesson. We have travelled far since June 1888 when from 25, Craven Street, Strand, London, Dadabhai Naoroji, representative in Great Britain of the Indian National Congress, published a placard to the Britons with the words:

"Without your aid our country and our countrymen will remain in their present backward condition and dire suffering. With your aid we shall become even as you are, and even as are our fellow subjects in the self-governed colonies; then, and then only, will India rise from its condition of poverty and backwardness and worthily take its place in the great British Empire."

The social and intellectual progress of India after English education was inaugurated, brought about a great upheaval in the religious, social and family spheres. The Theistic bodies like the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, social reforms like the Widow Remarriage Act, brought in a new enthusiasm, and Raja Rammohun Roy was the first un-official ambassador from India to England.

The aggressive imperialism of Lord Lytton followed by the rule of Lord Ripon, which saw the foundation of constitutional agitation, had much to do with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. The first assembly presided over by W. C. Bonnerji was essentially the meeting of a few intellectuals, and was different in character from the second assembly in Calcutta presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji. This was a great assembly of thinkers from all parts of India, and some of the resolutions that were passed indicated to the world that the Congress meant business. This meeting stirred not only the press in India but also the press of both the sections in England. The third Congress held in Madras presided over by Badruddin Tyabji had a special significance because of the attendance of a considerable number of Mohammedan delegates in spite of a certain amount of propaganda by the Mohammedans against the Congress, made by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and secretly backed by the private and official influence of the Anglo-Indian community.

AGENCY IN ENGLAND

It was realised early, and very wisely too, that there must be an agency in London to supply correct and useful information to England in Parliament and to expose the distortions and misrepresentations catered to England by interested people. The work that was started by Raja Rammohun Roy by carrying on an agitation in England was followed by men like Keshab Chandra Sen, Lal Mohan Ghose, and

others. They rendered great service in enlightening the British public on Indian matters both from the press and the platform. But their task was made easier because there were a few Englishmen to help them.

WILLIAM DIGBY, C.I.E.

We in independent India should reiterate our gratitude to the few Englishmen who carried out India's fight in England with the tenacity of John Bull. It was Mr. William Digby, C.I.E., author of *Prosperous India, India for the Indians and for England* and *India's Interest in the British Ballotbox*, who was charged with running the agency known as the Indian Political and General Agency at 25, Craven Street, London. To this man Digby, who looked a picture of austerity with his small beard, sharp nose, sad eyes and broad forehead, India owes a debt which can hardly be exaggerated. Since his return to England in 1879 Digby lived for India, and he was the connecting link between India surging with a new political enthusiasm and John Bull who looked askance at what was going on in India. The Editor of two influential daily newspapers, a man who contested North Paddington as a candidate with India as an issue, Digby was the fittest man for being entrusted as the agent of the Indian National Congress. His work was all the more difficult and laudable because he was not a member of the House of Commons like Fawcett, who was known during his Parliamentary career as the member from India. Digby's two official collaborators were Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir William Wedderburn.

The Indian Political and General Agency as the connecting link between India and England under William Digby did its work exceedingly well. The agency distributed Congress reports and political tracts, organised meetings, published papers and was able to induce some eminent members of Parliament to take up India's cause. It was due to men like William Digby and his collaborators that Bradlaugh took up India's case. Bradlaugh took up the work of India in Parliament after Fawcett. The constant efforts of Digby and his friends kept the torch burning and men like Sir Richard Garth, Sir William Hunter, Professor Stewart, Mr. Caine M.P. and others were induced to take interest in India. Powerful newspapers like the *Daily News*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Christian World*, *British Daily Mail*, the *Freeman's Journal*, etc., also evinced some interest in the cause of India.

II

WILLIAM HUNTER

Sir William Hunter delivered an address on the "Recent Movements in India" at the annual meeting

of the National Indian Association on 3rd March, 1888, with Lord Hobhouse in the chair. Sir William Hunter mentioned that

"Indian political reforms, as represented by the National Congress, proposes not a single new institution, but desires only to extend and strengthen existing institutions on a broader basis."

Mr. Caine, M.P., in the same year travelled in India, and on his return delivered a speech and said:

"In a very few years the educated native will become a tremendous affair in the Indian society, and already he is knocking loudly at the door for some share in the responsibility of the Government of his native land. When India becomes generally educated, the education being based upon English ideas and English aspirations, it will be impossible to deny to those who by education are fitted for it, a full share in the privileges and responsibilities of the Government of the country."

In May, 1888, Sir William Hunter wrote to the *London Times* a few articles on the origin of the Congress, its proposal and the arming of India. He referred extensively to the third annual meeting of the Indian National Congress in Madras, which was presided over by Badruddin Tyabji, and after an analysis of the factors that had brought about the great upheaval in India mentioned:

"No skill can anticipate the results of the vast new energy that is let loose each autumn upon the delta. We only know that nothing can stay its course, but that, throughout wide districts, it depends upon human forethought and human efforts whether the moving monster shall come as fertilising inundation or as a destructive flood."

Hunter also referred to interested Muslim propaganda against joining the Congress and mentioned:

"But, with the exception of the province in which the Mussalmans were classed as 'backward races,' the Mohammedans of India have cordially joined in the movement . . . the truth is that a loyal but vehement old Mussalman finds it hard to comprehend the change which has come over the Indian political world. It is difficult for him to understand that the problem in India of the Queen is no longer how to divide and govern but, having united, to rule. The difficulty is shared even by some Europeans."

RICHARD GARTH AND EARDLEY NORTON

Sir Richard Garth, who was the Chief Justice of Bengal, and on whom pressure had been brought by Mr. Ilbert to retire earlier and to take leave so that Mr. Justice Mitter did not get a chance to act as a Chief Justice, did India a very great turn by his writings. As another of India's friend, Eardley Norton wrote in one of his famous despatches published in the *Hindu* of Madras:

"Let us accord a warm praise and admiration to the just and fearless gentleman who, unlike so many who cared nothing for India once they have left the country, has ventured to lend the weight of his blameless name, of his legal reputation, of his long experience and of his Privy Councillorship to the advocacy of the people's claims. Were all officials as just and as true, the links which bind

India to England could be rivetted in a fashion to defy the assault of time or trouble."

Garth wrote on the necessity of separation of judicial and executive functions.

More than a passing reference has to be made to Eardley Norton whose powerful pen and speech were always at the service of India. In several sessions of the Congress, Eardley Norton had supported the Indian cause and whenever he would be in England he would either be addressing meetings or publishing letters. In a meeting at Benshamgrove Gateshead, Norton made a famous speech in 1888 in which he instanced some scandalous cases of mal-administration of justice, owing to the autocratic power of the Governor and said that it was to the eternal honour of Lord Ripon that he insisted on the release and restriction to their families of a large number of people who had been transported by Grant Duff for no other offence than that they were present at, or did not quell, the riot. Norton also referred to the howl of indignation that the Ilbert Bill evoked from the European residents in India. He also characterised it as shameful that the Governor of Madras had turned down the desire of the Indians to join the volunteer force as a bulwark against the Russian invasion.

In the months of July to October, 1888, Norton was in England and contributed a few letters that were published in the *Hindu* of Madras. These letters show the man, Deep in sympathy and very outspoken in nature these despatches should be treasured in the history of Indian National Congress. In one of the letters he writes:

"The only way to appease Irish discontent and remedy the Irish misery is to endow Ireland with the freedom of Home Rule. So shall it be with India, in the years to come. The movement is irrepressible . . . they may hide the truth in India, and Viceroy's may suppress the facts in despatches framed to serve a party purpose. But here the full sunshine of people's sympathy will burst into the darkness of Indian officials and drag to daylight and to death the miserable sophistries that would keep you all a nation of slaves for ever."

His estimate of the Indian decorations is clear when he speaks about William Digby:

"I should like him better if he did not own a C.I.E. in common with such gentlemen as Forester, Webster and Abdul Haq."

About Charles Bradlaugh, Norton says:

"Sprung from the people, the people have no warmer, bolder advocate . . . Mr. Bradlaugh has turned his attention to India. He has unlimited influence with the masses. He is a most powerful speaker. He never touches in what he does not believe."

BRADLAUGH

In a speech on 9th August, 1888, in Parliament when the Indian budget was being discussed, Bradlaugh made the very prophetic statement:

"They have no right to rule by the sword alone. The strongest Government would one day become feeble; the strongest wrist would become paralysed and then in the hour of danger those men would turn against them whom they might have knit to them by affection."

The contribution of Sir William Hunter, Director-General, Statistics, by several lectures and by his articles in the *Contemporary Review*, of Sir William Wedderburn by his addresses, in several cases was quite considerable.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT

Mrs. Annie Besant, even during the infancy of the Indian National Congress, was taking interest in India. She wrote an article on "Mr. Bradlaugh at Home" in 1889, where she fondly refers to Alen O Hume as the moving spirit in Hindustan and mentioned the great efforts of Dadabhai Naoroji and W. C. Bonnerji to arouse English interest in Indian affairs. She ended her paper by the fond dream: "It would be a strange revolution of a wheel if Charles Bradlaugh so essentially incarnating the radicalism of our time should evolve into Secretary of State for

our Oriental Empire with its conservative civilisation and its venerable antiquity."

GLADSTONE AND ROBERT KNIGHT

The story of India's debt to some Englishmen for the evolution of the National Congress cannot be completed without a reference to Gladstone and Robert Knight. Gladstone received at his house, before Bradlaugh's bill came up, a delegation consisting of Hume, Digby, Bonnerji and Mudholkar. Norton was to have been present but he was unable to attend. It was a difficult task, and Gladstone's comment on the review of the situation was very sympathetic. The London correspondent of the *Hindu* published an excellent account of this meeting. Another much misunderstood man in his time was Mr. Robert Knight of the *Statesman* of Calcutta. In his own way, and he was a man born out of time, he did India a very good turn with his passion for justice and love for India. His career was a failure, but that was his misfortune and not his fault. After his death a reference was made about him that he could have shaped his own career if he had commenced his Indian life in 1880 rather than in 1856.

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M. N. ROY : REVOLUTIONIST AND THINKER

By ARVIND MALAVIYA

MANABENDRA NATH ROY—more frequently known as M. N. Roy—breathed his last quietly, unwept and unsung at Dehra Dun on the eve of the Republic Day last year. Almost a generation has grown up without having heard of Roy, and the present generation remembers him only as a terrorist and ignominiously connects him with the Quit India movement. Except a handful of his followers, both in India and abroad, only the "Old Guards" of the nationalist movement know his true worth.

LIFE—A GREAT ADVENTURE

Roy's real name was Narendra Nath Bhattacharya; the name by which he was later known all over the world was given by the Indian litterateur, Nanugopal Mukherjee, while the two were together in America. Born in February 1893 in Nadia, Bengal—the cockpit of the Indian revolutionary movement—Roy came under the stress of the anti-partition agitation in Bengal in his teens, and was influenced by Swami Rama Tirtha, Vivekananda and Aurobindo. At 14, he left school and joined Aurobindo's National University.

By the time he had grown into a youngman the Bengal Government had a price on his head for raids, dacoities and terrorist activities, outstanding among which were the Howrah Conspiracy Case of 1908 and the Garden Reach Dacoity Case of 1914. He was kept in police custody for 20 months, during which

time he studied books on philosophy and metaphysics. After his release, he hesitated and thought like Aurobindo and became a *Sanyasi*. But his turbulent spirit could not be suppressed for long and again he returned to active political and revolutionary life.

After the exposure of his plot with Germany to bring armaments for the Indian underground revolutionary movement, he became "dangerous" and could not return to India. Then began his series of voyages to the Middle East, China, the U.S.A., Latin America and Europe.

It was in the U.S.A. that he studied Marx. Roy's eyes turned to the land where, according to the Webbs, a new civilization was taking shape. He looked to Russia for inspiration. Later he founded the Mexican Communist Party and went to Russia where he rose to be a member of the Politburo. With Stalin, Molotov and others he was the right-hand man of Lenin, and, in spite of some differences, his beloved disciple. He also edited the *Vanguard* and the *Masses* and was a member of the Comintern and the head of the Eastern University at Moscow. He knew 17 languages and wrote in four—German, French, Russian and English. *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution*, *The Russian Revolution* and *New Humanism* are some of his notable works.

He came to India secretly in 1930 against the

advice of his European friends, and under the guise of Dr. Mahmud attended the Congress session that year, and was frequently seen in the company of Shri Nehru. A few months later he was arrested in Bombay and sentenced to six years' imprisonment for "waging war against the King."

After release he entered Indian political life and contested for Congress Presidency in which, however, he was defeated by Moulana Azad.

ENEMY OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE

When the war broke out in 1939, Roy, with his dispassionate analysis, called it the "People's War" and openly canvassed for its support in the face of public opinion. This sealed Roy's doom on the Indian horizon. His alliance with the British against the Congress in the name of the "People's War" not only cost him all public sympathy but he was branded as the "enemy of the freedom struggle."

After that Roy just faded out of the Indian political picture. His League of Radical Congressmen later became the Radical Democratic Party.

The end of the war showed that Roy was right. Britain lost her imperialist moorings; a Socialist Government came into power which withdrew from India.

RADICAL HUMANISM

Radical Humanism is Roy's creation. This is a synthetic philosophy exhibiting the influence of political philosophies from Plato to Marx. He based his philosophy on the reputation of the economic determinism of Marx. If everything is determined economically, how can man make history at all? he asks. For him the sovereignty of man is sacred and inalienable. In an atmosphere stifled by the ruthless operation of economic laws, Roy pleads for freedom.

"Freedom", he says, "is the progressive removal of all restrictions from the unfolding of human potentialities."

For *Radical Humanism* man is the measure of all things. His concern is for a "rational political theory" and a "moral political practice." He stands for a "secular rational morality." He rejects the extremely controversial contention of Jung, Needham and MacDougall that man is irrational. Man, according to him, is essentially rational as the universe (of which he is a part) is essentially harmonious and law-governed. The difference between the two is that whereas the universe is inherently law-governed, man is a free and moral agent.

"Spiritual liberation is the precondition for social and political liberation," says Roy.

Man started with a struggle with his environment for survival. This struggle for freedom is fundamental and eternal. All human achievements are its by-products. In the largest sense, man's environment is the whole universe. His conquest of

environment implies a knowledge about them. So, freedom implies knowledge. In the course of and as a result of man's quest of knowledge, he discovers truth. This truth is nothing abstract or metaphysical; it is the content of man's knowledge—an objective fact. Thus, the hierarchy of Humanist axiology is: (a) Freedom; (b) Knowledge; and (c) Truth.

"They are not autonomous but inter-related logically as well as ontologically. Therefore, freedom cannot be attained by immoral means nor can an enlightened man be a liar."

Here Roy is definitely in the camp of Tolstoy, Gandhiji, Huxley, Ignazio Silone, Lassalle and a host of others who insist on the purity of means.

NEW HUMANISM

The dissolution in 1950 of the Radical Democratic Party—which Roy dissolved on the ground that the age of party politics was over—was a testimony to his courage of conviction. In fact, his seemingly romantic and adventurous career cannot be explained on rational grounds; always and everywhere he acted as he believed. It, moreover, opened a new chapter in the course of his political philosophy. With the acceptance of the goal of the Welfare State by nations, he said, the conventional meaning of Left and Right had lost their significance; and, accordingly, he started the *New Humanist* movement which aimed at creating a society of spiritually free and voluntarily moral men.

His philosophy is no cry for the moon. It has been acknowledged by the humanist movements of America and Europe, where they are growing into popular movements opposed to the ideologies of Communism and Dollar Imperialism. Roy is the first modern philosopher to weld into a systematic philosophy humanistic ideas and principles.

PARADOX

It is a strange paradox that this man who created a lasting impression in various countries could not impress his own countrymen. In a sense his fate in his motherland was foredoomed. Like all pioneers he was too advanced for his times and suffered from the proverbial curse of the prophet in his own home. Roy never thought and felt like an Indian; he was a true cosmopolitan humanist, and, like Tom Paine, would have said: "Where freedom reigns there is my country."

Nevertheless, if some of us live to see a world where man becomes 'man' and lives a happy life, then Roy's name will be inscribed in bold relief amongst those who cherished this vision and fought for a new society. His proper assessment is in the safe custody of the future historians of political and social thought. India today is poorer by one more great man—one more of her illustrious sons now belated to the ages.

SWAMI ANANDACHARYA IN EUROPE

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

LIKE Swami Ramatirtha, Upadhyaya Brahmabandhava and Swami Yogananda, the late lamented Swami Anandacharya was a Hindu monk who following the sacred footsteps of the great Swami Vivekananda had marched to the West and devoted his whole life to the spread of Vedanta there. Swami Anandacharya spent more than thirty years in Europe and taught Vedic wisdom to European men and women through his contemplative life, thoughtful writings and inspiring speeches. The polar country Norway was the main field of his cultural activity. On the mountain peak of Ostardlen he established a monastery and lived there nearly twenty-eight years and wrote about thirty books in English and Norwegian language. This Bengali monk has left an indelible impression on the religious life of the far distant countries of Europe. The domestic name of Swami Anandacharya was Surendranath Boral. He was the eldest son of Gobordhan Boral and was born in the Hooghly town in December, 1881. His father was a worthy descendant of the charitable and well-to-do Boral family. Surendranath studied up to First Arts in the Hooghly College and graduated with Honours in Philosophy from the Duff College of Calcutta. In 1908 he appeared as a non-collegiate student at the M.A. Examination in Mental and Moral sciences and got through it to his unique credit. In 1910 he was appointed a professor of philosophy in the Burdwan Raj College. As a professor he worked secretly for some time for the Revolutionary Movement of Bengal, as well as kept close company with the saints of various religious sects and also seriously practised Yoga. At last he renounced his lucrative post and sweet home and embraced the monastic life from Shivanarayan Paramahansa and was named Swami Anandacharya. Most probably in 1912 he sailed for Europe at the instance and inspiration of his enlightened Guru. He got a shelter in London at the Students' Hostel of a friend for some time. There he was eager to do research work in the Department of Philosophy of the London University but failed to get any opportunity to satisfy his noble aspiration. Then he began to make a profound and voracious study in the famous British Museum. At that time he had to give up all hopes of monetary help from home and had almost to face starvation. Many a day he had to spend with one meal and some days with no meal. In those days of rigorous hardship and pecuniary straits he lived in a village on the Thames, twenty-one miles away from London. He remained there as the guest of a peasant and spent his days mostly under the trees in attentive study and deep meditation in the midst of beautiful surround-

ings. Whenever any opportunity arrived he hastened to London and contacted the intellectuals of the great city. Gradually he was selected as a member of the International Psychical Society and delivered private lectures under its auspices to appreciative audience on Indian Thought. At the request of some English friends he accepted honorary lectureship at the London University. Professor J. Urwick presiding over one of such lectures observed, "Prof. Acharya has by his learned eloquence pulverised our brains into atoms." This lecture was published in the *Christian Commonwealth* under the heading "In the Wake of Sorrow." Attending his lecture on the Ideals of Indian Womanhood some educated English women approached him and promised that they would be initiated into the sacred vows of Hindu women and dedicate their lives to its cause. Along with lecturing he directed his attention to the writing of books. The *Samkhya*, his maiden work, based on the *Ashtavakra Samkhya* was printed and published in 1913 by Messrs Frances Griffiths & Co. of London. The chapter on self and not-self in this book is particularly interesting and enlightening.

The *Bikramorvashi*, a Sanskrit drama of the great poet Kalidas, was translated into English in 1914 by him and published in London. The preface to this book contains a learned and lengthy discussion on the life and philosophy of Kalidas. The drama was subsequently played in a stage of London while he was there. At that time he suffered from severe eye-troubles due to excessive study and writing, went to Weisbaden of Germany for treatment at the advice of friends and stayed there for three months. He spoke very highly of the Sanskrit studies in Germany and was surprised at the profound Sanskrit-knowledge of a German lad. On the eve of the First World War he returned to London from Germany quite cured of the optic troubles. Sometime in 1915 he went to Norway at the request of a religious friend, H. Ramsden. There in the home of his friend in the city of Oslo he began to preach Hindu religion and philosophy and was gradually appointed a Professor of Hindu Philosophy in the Christiana University. In that arctic country he used to wear snow-shoes and ride a white pony. His articles and lectures there were published in the various well-known weeklies and monthlies of the European continent in Norwegian, Swedish and other continental languages. In 1917 his book *Brahma-darshanam* or "The Intuition of the Absolute, being an Introduction to the Study of Hindu Philosophy" was first published by Messrs Macmillan & Co. of London. It is a work of vast learning and profound thinking.

Though he was awfully engaged in the spreading of Hindu philosophy and religion in the European countries he never forgot his beloved Motherland. From Norway he encouraged the Vedodbodhini Sabha of Banaras to publish the Rig-Veda and bore the entire cost of publication of its twelfth part. Apart from his cultural activities he was deeply contemplative in the silence and solitude of his hermitage on the Osterdlen peak and kindled the light of spirit in the lives of hundreds of European aspirants. He lived for about twenty-eight years in this hermitage and breathed his last on 8th May, 1945, there. According to his last wishes his mortal frame was buried on this mountain peak at sunrise. Just then the following peace-chant composed by himself in an inspired mood was sung in chorus by his male and female disciples in both English and Norwegian languages:

"Peace to earth, to the air, to the uttermost heavens
Peace to the dwellers in rivers, in lakes and in seas,
Peace to crops and the fruits, to the creepers
and trees.

Peace to radiant spheres that shine in the mid-air,
Peace to the children of men, ever craving a boon,
Peace to the Cosmic Order which happiness yieldeth,
Peace to the self-upheld Fathers who dwell in the moon.

Life, be thou sweet, be thou fragrant as the honey
of lotus,

Tranquil as mountain-tarn waters, unstained as
the sky,

Guard thou the space-dwellers' Peace as the Golden
Bird guardeth

The season's fair offspring with ray-wings of fire
from on high.

Still thou all life, twixt silent infinities throbbing,
Peace, holy peace to our heart and our purpose be
high."

After the passing of Swami Anandacharya, this peace-chant, along with a photo of his was distributed free by his disciples among the European elite. A booklet entitled *Footprints on the Sands of Time* wherefrom the following homage is quoted, was published in memoriam of this late Hindu seer:

"A most remarkable truth-seeker has been laid to rest in Norwegian soil. The Hindu professor called Anandacharya came to Alvdal in 1917 and bought a sacter-hut on the slopes of Tron and settled there. He was born in Bengal, in that ancient Home of culture, where the Aryan race, thousands of years ago, settled and began to worship the bright powers of Nature. And the many intellectual movements of the present day which have originated there show that Bengal is still the centre of Indian Life. In that land Sri Anandacharya grew up and his mind was moulded by the various influences around him. Besides studying Hindu Philosophy with its wide range of thought, he also studied the Quran and the Bible and having taken degrees at the University of Calcutta he became a professor there at an early age. Ultimately he came to the conclusion that the soul is the only true life and that the aim of life is to learn to know the Soul and to love mankind; because man is one with the Soul. He then set out

on his wanderings on the wide world first in various parts of India and later on to countries which he could otherwise never have dreamt of seeing. He has lived in the Himalayas, on the shores of the Indian and Arabian seas, in England and in Sweden but for the last twenty-eight years his home and his kingdom was his Gourishankar high up in the Norwegian hills. From his sacter, which he named after the highest peak of the Himalayas, he looked out over the endless stretch of the forest along the valley of the Glaama and away to the mighty snow-regions of Dovre and Rondane. There he has sat and meditated on problems of life and written poems full of deep philosophy on the grandeur of Nature and the destiny of man, all woven into a web of Indian sunshine and Indian mysticism. And there a few weeks ago he left this life. Swami Anandacharya was deeply interested in all that interested human society though he never took any active part in public work. He used to say that the first duty of every state is to work as much for world-peace as for his own peace. He said, 'I have seen the dawn above the distant heights and I wish I could call to mankind from the top of Gourishankar, Awaken, my brothers, it is light.'

In a letter written in 1929 to an Indian friend Swami Anandacharya gives as follows an idea of what he glimpsed years in advance intuitively about the second World War:

"In the long icy nights of winter and in the bright night of summer here in the silence of hills I have meditated only on the peace of the world. I am like a meteorologist in a mountain observatory. Now I see in the far distance a dark cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, but rapidly growing pregnant with frightful thunder and lightning and thousands of angry storm-gods follow in its train. So great will be man's sufferings and misery that they will believe they were for ever damned and in the agony of their hearts they will cry, 'O Satan, destroy us, but torture us no more!'

Who will deny that the Swami got through his protracted meditation an infallible insight into the immediate future? He was a lover of mankind and a dreamer of world-peace. In 1921 was formed the Brahmakul which is a committee of friends and disciples to publish all his writings and broadcast his great thoughts all over the world. After his death this committee has resolved to erect a suitable memorial of this deceased saint and to open a publication department under its auspices. Sister Sambida and Sister Seva, secretaries of this committee in a letter to the surviving younger brother of Swami Anandacharya, write:

"Our only object in life henceforth is to continue the Swami's life-work spreading his books throughout the world, in every land and every language. India is naturally our first thought and care as it was nearest to his heart that his teaching should spread there. Our greatest wish, therefore, is to bring out his books in India in as cheap a term as possible without any consideration of profit, so as to reach as wide a public as possible. We are, however, completely ignorant of the present conditions in India,

whether still English is widely read or has been superseded by Hindusthani or whether it would be necessary to publish the Swami's work as quickly as possible in some of the vernaculars, first of all in Bengali. We should like to send the English editions for distribution in India but the cost of transport would probably be prohibitive. We trust that our letters will give you a clear idea of the situation and of the grave responsibility of continuing the Swami's work.....His heart was always in India."

Swami Anandacharya has composed as many as thirty books of which seventeen are in English and the rest in Norwegian and Swedish languages. A few of them are books of poems and hymns with original fervour and pathos. Of his English works, besides the *Samhita*, *Brahmaśarāṇam* and *Bikramorvashi* mentioned above,

Yoga of Conquest, *Snow Birds' Wide Science*, etc., are mentionable in particular. Through these books he is widely known in the cultural world. Thus a great monk, a profound scholar, a thoughtful writer of Bengal passed away in Norway shedding his spiritual lustre quietly in the religious world of the Western hemisphere. Will Bengal care to commemorate the life-work of one of her immortal sons in foreign lands by some worthy and permanent memorial? A society may be started in Hooghly, his birth-place, or elsewhere to continue and commemorate the noble mission of this dedicated life. It is a pity that no memorial meeting however small was organised in Calcutta or anywhere in Bengal after the demise of this Bengali Saint.

—:O:—

IS MAN REBORN?

By C. L. BANERJEE

HUMAN mind today has grown very sceptic about the greatest truth ever told about man that he is reborn. It has ever remained a 'faith' and has never been proved by modern methods of science. As such it needs some sort of scientific treatment before it can claim the status of a 'fact' rather than a 'faith.'

Before any scientific investigation of the subject is proceeded with, it should be remembered that science has its limitations. Its scope stops with the flesh, blood, bone and the nerves; their formation and development; their action and reaction; in short, all that is 'material' and pertains to the 'material.' Beyond these science can know nothing about a non-material entity hidden within man; whether at all it exists or does not exist; whether it had a life before birth or would have another after death. Nor can science claim any authority on a subject-matter like this. The theory of rebirth, therefore, shall have to be settled more by psychological evidence rather than physical.

Facts, however, can be divided into three main categories:

- (1) Facts which can be directly observed by the senses;
- (2) Facts which can be checked and verified through the senses under controlled conditions;
- (3) Facts which are deduced from other facts of the above two categories.

Facts of the third category are generally called 'implied' or 'suggested' truths. Physicist's hypothetical ether is an example of this category. The 'ether' cannot be observed, checked nor verified. But on the assumption of its existence alone, certain factors can be scientifically

explained, checked and verified. In that sense only existence of 'ether' is a fact because certain factors observed, checked or verified imply or suggest its existence.

Our present subject-matter that "Man is reborn," falls in this category.

Now, death is the *dharma* or nature of the body. Being composed of all matter, it is subject to dissolution by time. So, if man is only his body, he is sure to meet his end some day. To show therefore that he is reborn, it will have to be shown that he is not merely his body but something more which does not follow the laws of 'matter,' hence not destructible by time.

Materialistic theory does not accept the existence of anything other than matter in man. According to this view, the mind or consciousness exhibited in human behaviour is not the characteristic of a non-material 'psychic' element within.

They say that it is true the 'mind' does not possess any of the properties of 'matter' like mass, weight or size; nor does it occupy any space anywhere. But it is affected by 'matter.' Admittedly quite a number of instances can be mentioned where it can be observed that 'mind' and 'body' are closely inter-related and does affect one another. One of the two therefore shall have to be resolved into the other, else this interaction can not be explained.

Nineteenth-century physics suggested that 'matter,' having passed through innumerable permutations and combinations of changes in the course of evolution, has reached such a stage where it has become conscious of itself. It is like a 'glow' surrounding the brain and its

function is to reflect the events in the brain-cells. For example—suppose a mosquito stings on my hand. This constitutes a stimulus (a message) which passing on through my nerves, ultimately reaches my brain and causes some disturbance in its finely organised nerves. The function of the 'glow,' or 'consciousness' is to light up these events occurring in my brain, and I am said to know or become aware of the mosquito.

This view was further supplemented by well-known Pavlov's experiments. Assuming no previous knowledge in the readers, only a couple of these experiments, which will be critically dealt with later on, are being described below.

Suppose a plate of food is brought before a hungry dog. His mouth will produce saliva at the sight of the food. The plate of food, thus, is the natural cause or stimulus which will make the dog's mouth water.

Experiment starts with ringing a bell along with the plate of food when produced before the hungry dog. This was done continuously on a number of occasions. Suddenly on one occasion only the bell was rung without producing the plate of food. It was found that the dog's mouth still produced saliva. This is called 'conditioning' of a stimulus and the sound of the bell is the 'conditioned' stimulus in this case.

The conditioned stimuli can be inhibited. In the experiment, the plate of food was not produced with the conditioned stimulus (the sound of the bell) continuously for several times. It was found that the dog's mouth stopped producing saliva at the ringing of the bell. This is called inhibition. But this inhibition is temporary. Because it was found that after a few days' gap of any experimentation, the dog's mouth again watered when the bell was sounded.

On the basis of such experiments, Pavlov tried to prove non-existence of the 'mind.' He held that the human organism, like the dog's, reacts automatically to certain stimuli and the 'mind' or 'knowledge' gradually develops in the organism. He thus resolved all human activities into sets of stimuli,—natural, conditioned or inhibited,—and their responses. He outlined the human brain as a receiving station of varied impulses coming from different parts of the organism. Even man's faculty of thinking was resolved as responses to impulses resulting into movements of the larynx and the brain.

Mind or consciousness, according to the mechanistic view, is only a by-product of bodily processes and not a characteristic of a separate non-material entity. Man, thus, becomes completely a moving, acting and thinking machine entirely composed of 'matter.' In other words, he is matter in motion adjusting and adapting himself according to environments.

A few questions here arise which have to be satisfactorily answered. What about the free-will so often exhibited by man? How far can it be maintained that 'man' merely reacts and adapts himself according to environments and circumstances? Does he not display

a 'conscious' effort to select and even change his environments?

Latest findings have proved that a 'conscious' effort is exhibited even by lower animals to select his environments. For example, salmon have been observed to undergo strenuous hardships while going a strong upstream, jumping over hurdles and obstacles (even attempting again and again until it succeeds) and ultimately selecting an appropriate and safe place where it can lay its eggs.

That man, being a higher animal, would possess this feature in all the more developed form is unquestionable. For example, in the case of self-control or self-abnegation, there is a definite conscious and wilful attempt to act differently from the natural responses. Freud, the great psycho-analyst, explained these features in man as instinctive 'renunciation.' But a question has obviously been side-tracked by him. These instincts clearly manifest a faculty of 'reasoning,' or selection and rejection. How far, then, can it be maintained that they are 'blind' natural forces and do not possess the feature of consciousness?

However, it can further be observed that the different parts of the organism, though they appear to act independently, always reciprocate and co-operate with one another for the good and benefit of the 'whole.' Obviously this 'whole' cannot be the aggregate of the different parts of the body. It is something more and different from it. Because the body evidently serves as an instrument of this 'whole' which consciously controls and directs the different parts as he pleases. How could the instrument become its own master?

The mechanistic theory stretches itself beyond limits to explain these features in man and other animals as responses to instinctive 'conatives.' Instinctive conatives are strong natural impulses of the kind which cause responses like eating, or making love for procreation, etc. They are different from the ordinary stimuli—both conditioned and unconditioned. Desires, aspirations, etc., fall under the head of conatives. But here also the same doubt prevails. Whether this impulse (conative as it is called) is not directed by a conscious element?

Even in Pavlov's experiments, on the basis of which he tried to prove non-existence of any separate conscious element within, it can be shown that there is a subtle display of consciousness in the organism at every step of its responses, and the responses are not automatic or mechanical.

In the experiment, the dog's mouth produced saliva at the sight of the plate of food. Ordinarily it would appear that the natural stimulus applied caused directly the mouth to respond with saliva. The response was therefore considered to be automatic and mechanistic. But a subtle psychic event involved in between the cause and the effect was not taken into account. The stimulus must have raised a thought or knowledge that the object is food which he would like to take with the mouth.

Surely, it cannot be maintained that only the stimulation of the dog's optic nerve caused stimulation of saliva-producing glands through the medium of brain nerves! Because in that case it would mean that the sight of any and every object would cause the same biological response. To support the mechanistic theory, however, it could at best be said that the brain nerves stimulated with the same intensity and in the same manner as done by the sight of food, will cause the same response. But then, the conditioned stimulus would mean to be causing stimulation of the brain nerves in the same manner and with the same intensity, since it causes the same response. If that be so, the conditioned stimulus should also produce the same biological response when applied on any new subject of the same variety. This it does not. The fact that this does not happen obviously establishes that the natural stimulus must have raised a thought. The 'conditioning' of a stimulus is nothing but its association with the thought or desire which is generally raised by a 'natural' stimulus. Inhibition also clearly shows that there is a conscious element in the organism which comes to know that the stimulus applied is of no significance. Consequently there is no desire and the mouth does not respond. The response, thus, though it appears to be automatic, is only dependent on the importance attached to the stimulus in the form of a desire by the psyche of the dog.

This point will be more vividly understood if the above events are further analysed in detail.

Physical events: The plate of food is brought before a hungry dog. This constitutes some influence emanating from the plate of food in the form of light waves. These light waves caused certain disturbance, through the optic nerve, in the brain cells of the dog.

Psychic events: The psyche compared and collated this event with his previous experiences.

(That the psyche consciously does this act is obvious from the fact that a new subject, having no previous experience of the 'conditioned' stimulus, does not respond to it automatically whereas the conditioned subject does).

He then inferred the stimulus to be a plate of food.

(Without this inference there would be no desire to take the food. This inference on the part of the psyche is evident from the fact that a new subject does not respond to the conditioned stimulus, because having no previous experience he could not infer that the stimulus would bring the plate of food).

Lastly, the psyche desired to take the food with his mouth, and then the mouth responded to his desire and not to the stimulus. If there had been no desire, the mouth would not respond, as seen in the case of inhibition.

The psyche of the dog is not so developed. Hence he readily submits to his above inference in the shape of desire. But in the case of man, the psyche is more developed. He has, therefore, a still more improved

faculty of inference and a greater control over his desires apt to be raised by his inference of the object. Accordingly, he acts as he pleases.

From the above analysis it is obvious that the responses arising out of the stimuli are not automatic and mechanistic. All responses are born of one or other desire. This 'psyche,' then, is not merely the 'glow,' reflecting the cerebral events, as advanced by the nineteenth century Physics. Evidently enough, it has a 'wilful' part to play.

Now, as far as these 'wilful tendencies' remain confined in reactions in the natural way (just like most men and creatures) they may, in a way, be attributed to material nature or its forces. But when they take the form of persistent volition, as so often seen, to react diametrically divergent from the 'natural' way, it is really difficult to conceive them as 'blind' material forces without any element of consciousness. Because such an act of volition undoubtedly manifests the faculty of selection and rejection which can only be done by a conscious element.

However, another line of investigation is taken up to enable readers form their own convictions.

The conception of 'matter' itself is in an extremely fluid state. The previous conception of atom, which all 'matter' is composed of, as a microscopic ball of hard homogeneous stuff, has now been abandoned. The atom has now been pictured as a miniature solar system containing packets of electrical energy. Although different views exist about the arrangement of the packets of energy in the atom and also about the nature of the 'electrons' (or 'neutrons' as they are called by some), but opinions are more or less unanimous now on the point that the atom is a combination of 'energy' and not any material substance.

As a corollary to this conception of atom when considered along with the process of man's perception as disclosed by Physiology, 'matter' would at once appear merely as 'convenient names and forms' supplied by some hidden entity within man to his various experiences and feelings arising out of some force or set of forces, acting upon him. Colour, temperature, smell, size, even touch and taste—all forms of perception reach the brain only in the form of some nerve stimulations. From these nerve stimulations only the psyche infers the cause and the linguistic expression of these inferences is the so-called matter outside.

Such findings led even eminent scientists to accept that psyche alone is fundamental.

"I regard consciousness as fundamental. I regard matter as derivative from consciousness. We cannot get behind consciousness. Everything that we talk about, everything that we postulate as existing, requires consciousness."

This statement was made by Prof. Planck, the world-renowned physicist, in an interview with J. W. N. Sullivan (*Observer*, January 25, 1931).

Attention of the readers may also be drawn to the Vedic name given for what is called 'nature.' 'Nature' as we know is "Swabhava." In Sanskrit "Swa" means 'own' and "Bhava" means 'mental conceptions, ideas or moods.' Thus "Swabhava" means 'one's own conceptions or ideas.'

It can thus be established that 'matter' (including the body) itself is an inference of the 'mind.' It is, so to say, purely an effect of a psychic event and therefore can never be its cause. The body thus is itself an effect of some psychic processes and not vice versa.

To think that the 'psyche' also is destroyed with the destruction of the body will be as much a folly as it would be to think that the radio waves are destroyed with the destruction of the receiving set.

The body serves only as an instrument, created and possessed by the psyche, to record as well as transmit a certain event. The destruction of the instrument does not mean that its creator and possessor also is destroyed! Or, that its creator and possessor cannot create and possess another instrument as he pleases!

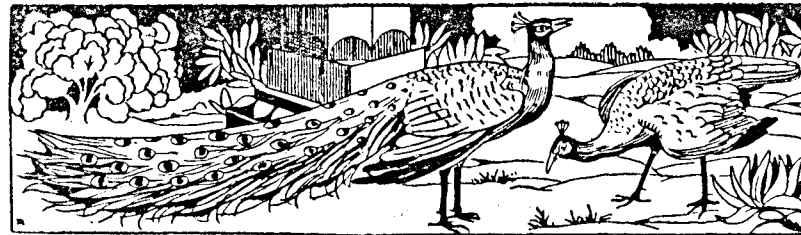
That the psyche does this will be evident from the finding of Driesch's (a German biologist) experiment. He made several sections of an embryo by sharp cuts and found each section developed into a complete whole. (Quoted in *Science, Religion & Reality*, by Joseph Needham, p. 236). From this it was clear to him that there did exist some sort of 'knowledge' in the embryo, otherwise the sections could not have developed into complete wholes. It was definitely a 'conscious' effort on the part of the conscious element within to attain a complete form and structure even in spite of outside interference. Furthermore, any section of the 'embryo' could be made to assume any part of the body or even the whole as and when necessitated. Certainly, this feature goes a long way to show the dominant part played by the 'psyche' in forming the body and maintaining it.

Ordinarily one does not feel this. This is because of nescience of the active forces that cause such events and also because of indentifying oneself, through nescience, with the 'personality' which is nothing but a mental frame—a cohesion of qualities which one would like to possess or dispossess—although this is a

sine qua non for one's development. To comprehend these would lead to the 'Karma' theory of Hindu Philosophy. It is outside the scope of this article to give a detailed exposition of the theory here. But it could however be mentioned that if a "law of cause and effect" holds true in the physical plane, surely the same must equally hold true in the mental plane within!

"In fact there is within his being a power of development, a power of change, or in the language of our modern conceptions, an evolutionary power. His nature is what it is because he has so made it by his past; he has induced this present formulation by a precedent 'will' in his spirit. He has risen to humanity by the force of his spirit and by the power of the All-Soul out of the vast possibilities of universal Nature. He has developed by his own long evolution of that humanity the character and law of action of his present individual being; he has built his own height and form of human nature. He may change what he has made, he may rise even, if that be within the possibilities of the universe, beyond human and to or towards superhuman nature. It is the possibility of the universal Nature and her law that determines his natural being and action, but it is part of her law to be subject to the spirit, and she will develop in reply to an insistent call; for then she must respond, she must supply the needed energy, she must determine the acts in that direction, she must assure its issue. His past and his present nature and the environment he has secured may present constant obstacles, but they must still yield in the end to the evolutionary 'will' in him in proportion to its sincerity, wholeness and insistence. All the possibility of the All-being is in him, all the power of the All-will is behind him. This evolution and all its circumstances, his life, its form, its events, its values arise out of that urge and are shaped according to the past, present or future active 'will' of his spirit. As is his use of the energy, so was and will be the return of the universal energy to him now and hereafter. This is the fundamental meaning of Karma."—Maharshi Aurobindo in his *The Problem of Rebirth*.

Thus alone, it can be seen, the problem presented by the strong urges exhibited in individual men and creatures, which have all along been side-tracked by the mechanistic view by calling them 'instinctive conatives' or 'instinctive renunciation' without giving any satisfactory explanation of their origin, finds a far better answer in the theories of 'Karma' and 'Rebirth'!





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

PHILIP MEADOWS TAYLOR—A CRITICAL STUDY: By Gobind Singh Mansukhani, M.A., Ph.D., with a Foreword by Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., D.Litt., Bombay, 1951. New Book Co., Ltd. Pp. 247. Price Rs. 8.

This is the first complete account of the career of a British Indian administrator of the admirable type represented by Munro, Malcolm and Elphinstone, who played an honourable (though not distinguished) part in the political history of the Deccan for a period of more than thirty years (1824-1860) and whose series of Indian novels earned for him a secure place in the annals of Anglo-Indian fiction. The author has collected his material with exemplary industry. For he has laid under contribution State archives (*Hyderabad Residency Records and States Records*), old files of periodicals (*Asiatic Journal, Bombay Quarterly Journal, Calcutta Review and Edinburgh Review*), as well as many rare works in English and a few in Persian and Urdu. His introductory chapters describing the Age of Taylor (under the heads Political, Cultural, Economic, Social and Anglo-Indian. Background) show a fine historical sense accompanied with painstaking research. In the second chapter the author describes the life of his hero with a general estimate of his work as an administrator, a man of letters and a pamphleteer. The rest of the book (comprising fourteen chapters) deals exhaustively with Taylor's literary contributions. The author, after a short introduction on Anglo-Indian fiction in the immediately preceding period gives us a detailed analysis of each of Taylor's Indian novels. These comprise a picaresque novel (*Confessions of a Thug*), two historical novels (*Tippoo Sultan* and *A Noble Queen*) and lastly, and above all, a trilogy of historical novels (*Tara, Ralph Darnell and Seeta*) bearing on three successive epochs in the history of our country, viz., the rise of the Maratha power under Sivaji, the emergence of the British as a political power in India and the crisis of the Indian Mutiny. A short chapter deals with Taylor's minor works, including his *Manual of Indian History*. In the concluding chapter the author deals with considerable critical acumen with the various aspects of Taylor's literary workmanship (under the heads Gift for Story-telling, Characterization, Settings and Style) and a general estimate of his importance in the history of Anglo-Indian fiction. A complete bibliography of Taylor's works, a select bibliography of works bearing on Taylor's life and times and an appendix containing a chronological account of his career bring this highly useful and informative book

to a close. We cannot conclude without referring to the bad paper and the worse printing which detract very much from the merits of this work.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE FOUNDING OF THE KASHMIR STATE (A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, 1792-1858): By K. M. Panikkar. Published by George Allen Unwin Ltd., London. Priced 15s.

The volume under review is the second impression of the author's work *Gulab Singh* first published in 1930. The learned author has spared no pains to explode the myths about Maharaja Gulab Singh, the founder of the *ci-devant* Dogra ruling house of Jammu and Kashmir.

Maharaja Gulab Singh is known to the average student of Indian history as an "over-grown feudatory" of the Sikh Durbar who took the fullest advantage of the confusion which followed the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 to carve out a kingdom for himself. This is not the whole truth however. The materials laboriously collected, critically handled and presented in a lucid style by the learned author leave no room for doubt that Gulab Singh is one of the most remarkable figures on the Indian political scene in the first half of the 19th century. He was yet "traduced, slandered and openly accused in his lifetime by the champions of the Sikhs, by the imperialists and annexationists of the day, and by anonymous writers in the press, to whom his towering personality offered a unique target for attack." (Preface, pp. 4-5).

Gulab Singh's brothers and nephews had been murdered at the instigation of the Sikh authorities. He himself had been jailed and publicly humiliated. Yet he was not actively hostile to the Lahore Government out of "loyalty to the memory of Maharaja Ranjit Singh." He strained every nerve to secure the best possible term for Duleep Singh at the conclusion of the first Sikh War. Cunningham, the famous author of *History of the Sikhs*, was no admirer of Gulab Singh. Even he admits that the latter would have liked at the end of the war to serve the Sikh State as the Vice-Regent of Duleep Singh. It was only when the intrigues of Lal Singh, the then Prime Minister of the Lahore State, made such an arrangement altogether impossible that Gulab Singh turned to the alternative of independence. The so-called purchase of Kashmir was forced upon him by the shrewd diplomacy of the Sikh Minister.

Gulab Singh was noble and generous. His personal life was on the whole a pure one. He was no saint however. He would not hesitate to have re-

course to questionable methods in case of necessity. But we must remember that he was "trained in a hard school, where lying, intrigue and treachery were all considered part and parcel of politics" (p. 152). By his conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan, Gulab Singh became the only Indian ruler to extend the geographical boundaries of India. He gave peace and settled Government to Jammu for the first time in history. What has been said above and much more have been brought out clearly by Mr. Panikkar, and his slender volume of less than 200 pages is well worth a perusal. It should have been more moderately priced to suit the average book-lover's pocket.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

THE LEGISLATIVE STRUGGLE (A Study in Social Combat): By Bertram N. Gross. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. New York, Toronto, London. Pp. 458. Price \$9.50.

LEARNING PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE: By Alice F. Sturgis. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. New York, Toronto, London. Pp. 341. Price \$4.50 Text edition.

Messrs. McGraw-Hill should be highly commended for the publication of these two books as part of their political series. The subject-matter dealt with in both these books is common to a great extent, as they both discuss the general rules of Procedure in the U.S.A. Congress. The second half of Mr. Gross' book and the entire book by Alice Sturgis, deal with similar matter, but their method of approach is so different that they act as foil to each other. However, the first half of *The Legislative Struggle* is worthy of a somewhat detailed discussion.

Mr. Gross analyses the legislative processes of the United States Congress in a most interesting manner. The orthodox American author of political literature usually places his material under broad general headings, mainly devoted to the procedure of Legislative business on the floor of the American Congress. Mr. Gross, while dealing with this important aspect of the subject, provides an interesting and absorbing section on the powers that be behind these processes. He maintains that there are three major groups competing for power: Private Organisations, Parties and Government Agencies. The range of private organisations, cited by Mr. Gross is extensive, embracing such organisations as the American Federation of Labour, The Baptist Church, The American Wild Life Institute, and the General Motors Corporation. The most powerful and developed organisations are connected in the main with business and agricultural interests, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, The United States Chamber of Commerce, The American Farm Bureau Federation, The National Farmers Union, etc.

Of the Parties discussed, the Democratic and Republican Parties are naturally presented in detail, although various minor parties as well as their factions are also mentioned. Neither a one-party domination nor the idea of a multi-party system in the United States is advocated. Mr. Gross is of the opinion that "the major recognition given to the multiparty set-up in American political thought lies in the observation that minor parties represent a germination center for ideas that are often picked up and used by the major parties."

Pondering on electoral matters, Mr. Gross finds that the nomination of candidates for Congress appears to have one grave disadvantage. Whereas in

Great Britain, the central party organisations pick candidates for parliamentary election, in the U.S.A., nominations for Congress take place through the local primaries, which consequently means that the local party bosses can be very dominating, and also that so much stress on local organisations leads to lack of development of unified national parties.

The Agencies of Government discussed, cover Congress, the Executive Branch, the Judiciary, Local and Foreign Governments. The first half of Mr. Gross' book deals, in a very general way, with the problems facing the smooth working of the various branches of these agencies, the powers of each section and their limitations. It is in the second part of his book that Mr. Gross deals with the actual workings of these agencies, and therefore it is here that we at last come to the practical exposition of Legislative business. The Bills and Laws comprising legislative action are dealt with in detail, the initiation, sponsorship, objectives, drafting, discussing and final legislation of them. At every level, viz., through the Lobbies, Committees and the floor of the Legislature, propaganda and party pressure based on local interest plays a tremendous part, sometimes acting as a serious obstacle to the bill being sanctioned, occasionally quickening the process.

Learning Parliamentary Procedure by Alice Sturgis is essentially a very practical exposition of the workings of parliamentary procedure as well as that of various types of organisations. The method of presentation is certainly very novel, and in considerable contrast to Gross' presentation of a similar theme. Great use is made of humorous verses and cartoons emphasising the important points in every chapter. The methods of literary satire have rarely been used to illustrate the main points of political procedure, specially in text editions of such literature, and thus it is a most effective medium of instruction for the average student of politics. The idea of organising mock-parliamentary debates at school and college level, is the best way of educating young men and women in their political duties as citizens of Democratic States, as it makes alive to them a system of procedure (which in the normal course of things, is presented in the driest forms possible), and gives them knowledge and confidence in the ways of public life.

In conclusion it may be said that while Mr. Gross has an extremely fine academic approach to the subject-matter at hand, the Sturgis book throughout maintains a very practical exposition of the subject under discussion. Both are out of the ordinary in their treatment of such a very prosaic subject as Legislative Procedure. For, knowledge of the legislative procedure of the political institutions of any country, not only that of the U.S.A., has been in the past the prerogative of the few who have found their way into the "sacred chambers" up to now, or of those scholars who have dabbled in these sciences. Mr. Gross and Madame Sturgis bring this knowledge, in their own way, to all who are interested—laymen as well as experts.

LAKSHMI CHATTERJEE

TEACHING AND APPRECIATION OF ART IN SCHOOLS: By K. K. Jeswani, Lecturer in Art and Visual Education, Central Institute of Education, Government of India. Published by Atma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi. 82 Line-drawings and 16 Reproductions of paintings. Pp. 133. Price Rs. 4.

This is a valiant, though very futile attempt to provide a hand-book for Teaching and Appreciation of Art in Schools. The author has missed the valuable experiment made in the Calcutta University (1940-1950) in teaching Appreciation of Art and the methods employed to achieve a great success in this neglected branch of education. He has made a clumsy attempt to present the fundamental Principles and the Grammar of Art-Composition, and most of the demonstrative illustrations are un-happy and, in-appropriate. He has cited only one drawing from Ajanta and has relied on several examples of a modern artist. If he had seen Dr. Nanda Lal Bose's *Rupavali*, he would have realized the fallacy of citing modern paintings and drawings to illustrate fundamental Principles of Design. There is no living artist who can approach the draughtsmanship and the technical mastery of Dr. N. L. Bose, who has, yet, with commendable judgment, carefully abstained from citing his own handiworks for teaching Art to the novice. In teaching appreciation of Literature, the golden rule is to cite the old masterpieces which has stood the test of Time. In teaching Art, the German and American Art-teachers rely on old masterpieces and not on their modern imitators. The author's appreciation of Art is confined to Painting neglecting Sculpture and Architecture. His summary History of Indian Art (chapter 17) is the best chapter in the book, but a History is an academic irrelevance in a course of teachings in the fundamentals of Art. We would recommend the author to study the text and illustrations in Prof. O. C. Gangoly's *Silpa-Parichaya* (translated in several languages), used as a Text-book in the Schools of Calcutta for the last ten years and recast his Text-book on sound foundations.

AGASTYA

TOWARDS BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE SICK CHILD: By Miss Gauri Rani Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil. Published by the author at 105-109, Ghodbunder Road, Audheri, Bombay. Pp. 76. Price Rs. 2-12.

As man has a body, his physical ailment is unavoidable. And ailment of any limb, organ or part of the body affects the whole being both physical and psychological and constitutes an emotional state that requires sympathetic dealings and deep understanding of the patient. But unfortunately, in most cases the diseased limb or organ of the ailing person is treated in the hospitals to the utter indifference to the patient's emotional self.

The author of this neat volume who is a medical and psychiatric social worker looks upon the patients in hospitals from a thoroughly humanistic and psychologically correct angle. From her experience in this particular field of social work, she advocates a new approach to the hospitalised children which envisages a sympathetic understanding of the patient's emotional reaction and family environments.

The book deals with a number of concrete cases of hospitalised children and offers refreshing suggestions for those who deal with patients in the hospitals and others in the field of family and child welfare and also the lay public interested in social work.

We welcome Miss Banerjee's ideas and ideals and commend them to the persons concerned.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

1. INSPIRING SONGS AND KIRTANS: By Swami Sivananda. Second edition. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 3.
2. SIVA'S TREASURE: Compiled by Seth Moolji Dayal. Pp. 380. Price Rs. 3.

Both the books are published by the Divine Life Society, P.O. Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh, Dt. Dehradun.

Sri Swami Sivananda is a dynamic Hindu monk and founder of the Divine Life Society and the author of a very many popular books on religion. From his hermitage at the foot of the Himalayas he has started a religious movement that has already spread country-wide. He retired from his medical profession in Malaya in 1923 and since then has been in the Himalayas for over three decades with his mission of preaching and publishing.

The first book, under review, contains 125 songs and 140 kirtans sung by him in public congregations. Sankirtan for the purpose of mass revival was first introduced by Sri Chaitanya Deva of Bengal. Other provinces learned this religious practice from Bengal. Swami Sivananda as an experienced teacher imparts spiritual instruction by means of Kirtans and Bhajans. So some of his devotees have called him Sankirtan Samrat. It is to his unique credit that a number of songs have been recorded by gramophone. The Kirtans and songs are given in this book in Roman characters and followed by English renderings.

The second book is a compilation from the various works of Swami Sivananda by Sri Moolji Dayal, an active member of the Rotarian Movement in Bombay. The compilations are grouped under suitable headings, such as guru, prayer, karmayoga, Avatara purushas, anecdotes, sayings, etc. The second chapter contains six life-sketches of Swami Sivananda by different savants, two of whom are Europeans. A perusal of the book would supply inspiration to religious life.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

WAIFS AND STRAYS: By K. Chandrasekhara. Acton Lodge, 11, McNichol Road, Madras-10. Price Re. 1-8.

This small volume contains eleven delightful essays, viz., 'Pleasure of Pain,' 'Change,' 'On Thinking Too Much,' 'Brutus,' 'An Hour of Silence,' 'On Pedestrians,' 'The Naked Mind,' 'Appreciation,' 'The Temple Tank' and 'The Need of the Hour.' Reflective in nature, they are permeated by a literary flavour. In his foreword, Dr. Radhakrishnan has characterised the author's style as 'vigorous.'

D. N. MOOKERJEE

BENGALI

NIRJHARA-SANGIT: By Projwala Nihar Bharati. 3-1 M. Chhidam Mudi Lane, Calcutta-6. Second edition. Price eleven annas.

These easy-flowing verses, sincere and unassuming, delight the reader spontaneously. Their graceful simplicity has a charm of its own.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

KARUNAMAY: By Rajendra Kumar Shukla. Sathi Press, Shivaji Park, Lucknow. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 2-4.

Some of the episodes in the Ramayana have been re-visualized and re-interpreted by the author in this book, which, incidentally, sets a new pace in the writing of poetry. He has succeeded in making the descriptions of places and persons very vivid indeed, while all along the human note has been preserved scrupulously. Shri Shukla's deep devotion to Rama and Sita seems to be in his very blood. His present performance will help the reader to draw still closer to the hearts of these two ideal persons.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ZAMKRATI: By Durgesh Shukla and Dr. Vasant Avasare. Printed at the Sadhana Press, Bombay-11. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 102. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. Avasare, though a Doctor, has a literary bent of mind and has written a number of poems in Marathi. Before they could be published in Marathi, a poet friend of his, from amongst his many Gujarati friends, undertook to translate them into Gujarati and published them along with his works. This joint collection therefore represents the Doctor's as well as his friend Durgesh Shukla's handi-work. There is great poetic value in the work of both of them and the last poem of Shukla, Mirat-e-Mijaji is a striking sermon on the transitoriness of world's goods and affairs. The collection is printed in Devnagari script and is therefore likely to be read by those who know Hindi also. We are of opinion that if Bengali books, for instance, are published in Devnagari, they would find a larger number of readers as Gujarati is much akin to Bengali in vocabulary and syntax.

SARVANG SUNDAR JIVAN: By Mavji Damji Shah, Religious Teacher, Babu Pannalal Jain High School, Bombay. Printed at Kishore Printing, Bombay-1. 1949. Thin paper-cover. Pp. 32. Price 8 annas.

This pamphlet tells the reader how to live a life which is happy in every way. He mentions a number of human ailments, Blood Pressure, Paralysis, Piles, Pleurisy and a host of similar ones, and shows the way as to how to prevent them, alleviate them and cure them. Diet and resort to nature are the main remedies he suggests in addition to continence and control of the tongue.

K.M.J.

SADHUCHARIT TRIVEDISAHEB: Edited by M. P. Deshai and P. G. Deshpande. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. October, 1953. Price Rs. 2-8.

Prof. Jayshankar Prasad Trivedi, born in 1886, was a very popular figure, loved and admired by all who knew him. He had joined the P.W.D. but later preferred the educational service and joined the Agricultural Institute at Poona where his name became a household word for hospitality. As a matter of fact, this very hospitality or hospitable nature seemed once to bring him into conflict with the authorities, but his constancy and popularity lifted him out of it. "Love and service" was the motto of his life, and it was applied to social workers, students and even to Congressmen, sympathy for whom was held to be disaffection to the state in those days. When Gandhiji was in Yeravda Jail in 1922-24, Trivedi escorted Kasturba to the jail gate when she came down for an interview. And this also required courage in those days.

Prof. Trivedi was counted as a member of the Gandhi family in an extended sense, and the tie strengthened itself with the passing of years. Ailing, he went to Wardha, but passed away in May 1941, in spite of all the loving care meted out to him. "One in a thousand"—that was the popular verdict endorsed by Mahatmaji.

A memorial committee was set up, and the publishers have brought out this volume under review, consisting of three parts—his life; reminiscences recorded by 47 men from all ranks of life, Kishorelal Mashruwalla, Rabishankar Raval and others; and homage from many who knew him, beginning with Gandhiji himself. The book makes agreeable reading, a fitting testimony to this servant of Humanity.

P. R. SEN

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Shri Vinoba Bhave and the Bhoodan Yajna

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Gurdial Mallik deals with Shri Vinoba Bhave, whose 54th birthday falls on the 11th of September:

Today the name of Vinoba Bhave is a household word in India. He is also widely known abroad because he has initiated in India a peaceful all-round revolution with the help of Love—that most potent weapon in the spiritual armoury of Man. The weapon is, no doubt, as old as the hills, but its use in cutting the Gordian knot of some of the crucial socio-economic problems of modern community life is almost new; not quite new, inasmuch as Gandhi's had demonstrated its effectiveness in resolving the tensions of foreign rule and allied political issues. Vinoba is his spiritual heir. But what a long and laborious preparation of nearly 40 years he had to make before he could feel confident of proving the divinity and dynamics of love! His whole life, it appears, had been tending towards the consciousness and completion of this momentous mission.

Vinoba was born in Gagoden, a village in Colaba District in the State of Bombay, on the 11th of September, 1895, the eldest of four brothers. His grandfather, a Chitpavan Brahmin, was known for his independence of thought and action; he had invited "untouchables" to dinner and also had taken Muslim singers into the temple, when one flouting such taboos risked excommunication. His independence descended also to his son, Nahar Bhave, the father of Vinoba whose real name was Vinayak, "Vinoba" being the pet name given him by Gandhiji when Vinayak was living in the Sabarmati Ashrama. Not satisfied with the orthodox way of education, the father went to college but gave it up for industry and business.

In 1907, Vinoba entered the high school in Baroda. Greatly influenced by the stories of the lives of patriots like Shivaji and of saints like Ramdas, which he heard in his childhood, and by the songs of the saints he had heard his mother singing, he pledged himself at the age of 10 to lifelong celibacy. At that time began his unending study of scriptural literature, strenuous self-restraint and passionate pursuit of Truth. Sharing with others whatever he received came naturally to him; indelibly impressed on his growing mind was the basic principle of integrated existence: "He who gives is a god, he who hoards is a hobgoblin." At school he took up French at his father's instance, who desired to send him abroad later for higher studies. This enabled him to read, among other books, *Les Misérables* by Victor Hugo, a book after his own heart. He topped the list of students in his class every year up to the Matriculation examination, in which, however, he secured a mere "pass," as he had, as he grew up, begun to participate more and more in extra-curricular activities, especially of the intellectual kind. Afterwards he went to college.

At that time the politics of the bomb and the bayonet had an irresistible attraction for many students. Vinoba, however, resisted this and resolved to tread the path of those who seek, with singleness of purpose and undaunted determination, the Supreme Reality. So, in 1916, while on his way to Bombay to appear for the Intermediate examination, he went off to Banaras—the age-old centre of the Indian pattern of culture of the spirit. Here he studied Sanskrit and sought self-knowledge with unusual diligence and unflagging enthusiasm. Just then Gandhiji visited Banaras, having been invited to a function of the Hindu University. His speech there, urging upon the rich and ruling classes a life of simplicity and service, caused a country-wide stir. So Vinoba heard of him and before many days passed he obtained Gandhiji's permission to join the Sabarmati Ashrama.

While at the Ashrama, Vinoba, who had a very poor physique (he weighed only 98 pounds) impressed all by his astounding capacity for different kinds of manual work.

"How are you able to do all this?" Gandhiji once asked him.

"Through the strength of my desire to work, combined with unbending resolve," answered Vinoba.

His unswerving observance of the vows which every Ashramite had to take amazed Gandhiji. No wonder, then, that Vinoba has been able to master many languages, including English, French, Arabic and Persian; to acquire extraordinary proficiency in such domestic arts as cooking, spinning, corn-grinding and laundering, in dairy work and agriculture and even in stone-breaking and the work of a scavenger; and, finally, to study intensively and extensively Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Sikhism, Taoism and Buddhism. He even wrote poetry during his stay at Banaras, but he "dedicated to the Ganges," as he put it, all those poems which pleased him, and offered to the fire-god those which he did not like. He has a number of books to his credit, but of all these he sets the highest store by the *Gita-pravachan*, his discourses in Hindi on the *Bhagavad-Gita*.

Vinoba scrupulously kept away from active politics, as he did from publicity. For humility is his greatest virtue, as wisdom is his greatest wealth. When it was necessary to assert, in the spirit of an ideal Satyagrahi, his country's birthright to freedom as a vital principle of life, and to go to prison for doing so he came out of his cloistered existence—in reality a beehive of constructive activities in the field of rural rehabilitation, in which he evinced the same urge for experimentation as in his spiritual life.

Gandhiji chose him in 1940 as the first of his co-workers to enter a moral protest against the dragging of India into the second world war—claimed to be waged in defence of Freedom—by the Government that had so long denied freedom to her.

Then in 1942 came the "Quit India" Movement, which drew into its vortex, so strong was the current of Government repression, even constructive workers who had all along confined themselves to their respective projects and programmes. So once again Vinoba found himself in prison. It was at this time, however, that the realization came to him that, unless educated people like himself mingled with the labouring class, the latter could not labour with faith in themselves and with fervour for the well-being of the whole community.

On the 15th of August, 1947, India became free. But, before Gandhiji had time to consolidate the freedom that had come under his inspiration and leadership, he was shot down, on January 30th, 1948. Therefore, to carry on Gandhiji's herculean work for Hindu-Muslim unity, Vinoba once more came out of his seclusion and travelled in the affected areas, preaching the gospel of good-will and substantiating it by his own shining example. But hardly had the fire of communal fanaticism been put out when Communism raised its head in Telangana, in Hyderabad (Deccan), where proprietors of land and peasants had been terrorized, with consequent death, destruction and destitution. This set Vinoba thinking furiously about the problems of the tillers of the soil and he soon came to the conclusion that to the spinning-wheel, which supplies cloth, would have to be joined the plough, which furnishes food. He also came to another important conclusion, namely, that there should be only one political party in the country, because all the established parties and those newly springing up alike sought the economic well-being of the sons of the soil, though they differed in their means to achieve this end.

Accordingly, in 1949, in his Ashrama at Paunar near Wardha in Madhya Pradesh, he started an experiment in community living on a "labour-economy" basis, doing away with money as a medium of exchange, and also gave the formula for an integrated life: Cleanliness within and without, manual labour for meeting one's primary needs, peace through the religion and practice of neighbourliness and the spirit of self-consecration toward that end. The experiment being successful, he went in 1951 to Telangana from Wardha—a distance of over 300 miles—on foot, so that on the way he might meet the villagers and learn at first hand the nature and extent of their many problems. As he understood these and thought deeply about them, again and again the words of the ancient adage rang in his ears, "All land belongs to the Lord."

Vinoba sought the practical application of the adage, which is but a variation of the central truth of Indian religion and philosophy: the whole world is enveloped by God; therefore, enjoy whatever is given to thee in the spirit of a trustee without coveting anyone else's portion. The answer was vouchsafed to him at Pochampalli, where the landless "untouchables" appealed to him to get them some land on which to eke out a bare existence, whereupon one of the villagers donated, then and there, 100 acres for distribution among the landless. "Here is an effective answer to Communism," Vinoba seemed to say to himself. "More powerful than physical force is the fervour of fellow feeling." And he began to preach sharing in the spirit of love, which binds all to one another.

Vinoba's Land-gifts Movement is gradually making people cultivate a new attitude towards private property as well as possession, so that the present-day distinction between the have's and have-not's, which leads so often to exploitation and oppression in some form or other, may be reduced to the minimum.

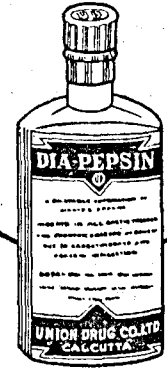
Vinoba does not aim at the abolition of property, as will be seen from the manner in which the land is donated and redistributed and has to be managed.

After donations of land—large and small—have been received Vinoba sets up a non-party, representative Board. The Board installs committees of a similar character district-wise. The title-deed is drafted and copies are printed. With these in hand the members of the committees go into the villages and the land is surveyed in the light of Government records. After ascertaining all the relevant facts, a meeting of the whole village is convened, where the landless villages are also present. The villagers themselves recommend that these landless fellow villagers should be given land, whereupon the latter are given at the rate per family (not per joint family) of one acre of wet and five acres of dry land. This proportion, however, is varied in different States in order to make the unit sufficient to maintain the family. The receiver of the land-gift has to accept certain conditions: first, he shall not sell the land, nor shall he mortgage it; nor, after his death, will the land pass on to his family unless the latter undertake to till the land themselves. Otherwise the land will be passed on to a family who will agree to till it.

Actually, it is understood, no effective provision has yet been made for ensuring that each donee is securely launched as a landholder, with food to tide him over till the harvest and the necessary wherewithal for farming; but the ideal is that, in addition to the land, the needy peasant shall be given agricultural implements, a pair of bullocks, seed, etc., while a well or a tank is

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SYSTEM



UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

dug for irrigation purposes, with the help of money donated by those who have no land to give.

Thus began the "Land-gift-through-love" Movement which during the last three years has been gathering strength with snowball rapidity. Over three million acres have been given to Vinoba. People have been seeing with their own eyes the wonderful working of the way of love and this has started a revolution in the life of the community. To the gifts of land are being added gifts of money by those who have no land to give, of intellectual and legal ability and assistance, and of free labour for the common good. The spirit of sharing is indeed aroused. And it now remains for the Government and non-official organizations to harness the enthusiasm and energy released under the impact of Vinoba's example, influence and inspiration. To miss doing so would be not only to let slip by a golden opportunity to create a non-violent society based on the twin axes of mutual service and sharing, a society all of whose members shall be for each and each for all, but also to be faithless to the call of the ages as well as of the times. It is a fact in history that such a call has always been given by those who have been clothed in the might of love and *ahimsa*—a Buddha, a Jesus, a Gandhi or a Vinoba.

The Aim of Bhoodan Movement

Acharya Vinoba Bhave writes in the *Bharat Sevak* :

We aim ultimately at abolishing the ownership of land. It should be free and not subject to individual ownership as it is at present. Land is the mother of us all. It is the foundation of life. We need it not only for maintaining our life but also when we die. It is obvious that such a thing cannot be allowed to be the subject of exclusive ownership. The first thing therefore we have to do is to see that everyone is provided with some land. There should be no one in the village without land. After this we will ask the people to collect all their land and make it the joint property of the village and cultivate it co-operatively on a planned basis. They would find out what things they needed and in what quantity and grow the different crops accordingly. At present, there is no such planning; they grow just those crops which seem to promise the maximum return in money, with the result that, notwithstanding our unsatisfactory food position, about eight and a half lakh acres of the country's land are being used for growing tobacco!

There is a new kind of landowning class growing up lately—the farm owners. They too do not live in the villages. Like God Mahadeva in his Kailas they also live far away in the cities beyond the reach of the labourers who work in their farms. I would like to tell all concerned very frankly that the labourers and the workers must have the same share in these farms as their proprietors or this disguised introduction of commercial exploitation in the sphere of agriculture would not be tolerated. After all the people are the real masters and anything which goes against their interests will have to be scrapped. It is to arouse the people to their rights and their duties that I am moving about from village to village.

I not only ask for land but also for the gift of their intelligence from the landowners. I want them to take up this work as their own. It would give them real prestige. What prestige have they today? Only yesterday a labourer came to me weeping. Utterly tired after the day's work, he had begged leave to go home

whereupon the master not only did not allow him to go home but also beat him very severely, I ask—what prestige is there in this? People forget that the workers are also entitled to a sense of self-respect. What should be the plight of the so-called owners, if the labourers—because one of them had been unjustly beaten—were to declare that they would not work? Would they not be reduced to utter helplessness? Well; if the owners do not mend their ways, it is going to be so in India. In the same way, the workers also have to change some of their ways, before they can justly claim equality of status and respect. They must be honest in their work. They must not fight among themselves and they must give up evil habits, such as drinking, etc.

When a big landowner gives me only a hundred out of his one thousand acres, I am asked how I am going to get the remaining nine hundred. I reply I do not worry about it, for I am sure that they will come to me automatically even without going through the formality of the filling in the gift-deeds once the poor get well-organized. Let the poor give away all their lands and become united; it will produce such a big army of Bhoodan workers that none will need to go to anybody and yet the work will get done in no time.

Only the other day, there was land distribution at Senha in Palamu District. The distribution ceremony was performed by the Governor of the province. How did it come about? All the small landowners gave away their lands. Only one big landholder, who did not even live in that village, remained. The workers wrote to him that all the villagers had given away their entire land and it was now for him to give his. This had immediate effect and he answered that he was also giving his entire land. He also wrote that at the time of the distribution he may also be given a few acres. In his speech at the distribution, the Governor referred to this incident and said that there were very clear indications that the Bhoodan and the Sampattidan Yajna were going to bring about the social revolution. Now what happened at Senha can also happen in every other village. The Senha people are just ordinary men and women like you; the only difference is that they have realized the importance of the Bhoodan Yajna while others have not till now.

The Communists say that I am doing injustice to the poor by asking for land from them. One Communist asked me why I was robbing the poor. I told him that this was a non-violent fight which had its own peculiar technique. It requires that first we rob the near ones and then only the distant ones. Like charity it must begin at home. But the Communists do not understand this supreme art of a non-violent fight. I have received three lakh giftdeeds till now of which more than two and a half lakhs must have come from the poor. It is this which has prompted the big landlords like those of Ramgarh, Darbhanga and Palkot to offer their big donations. The mother and the sister of the Raja of Ramgarh have donated their jewellery. Once the good comes over to our side, no one will dare pit himself against us. We will then become absolutely irresistible. The year 1957 is drawing nearer and I tell you that by that year India will see the glorious rise of the Raj of Daridranarayana—the Poor. The rich are intelligent and we can be certain that as they see that fateful year coming closer, they will willingly give up at least half of their possessions. This is not meant to frighten the rich. In a non-violent fight no party suffers defeat; both win. We are not going to humiliate the rich; we will love them and respect them.

Solidarity Versus Freedom

Esme Wynne-Tyson writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

To the free man life without liberty of thought is a denial of his manhood and a living death. To the under-privileged slave of circumstances solidarity appears to be the only way to achieve the security which will enable him to live at all, and for this he is willing to pay any price, even that of total mental surrender, to a system that promises him sufficiency. These are the opposing viewpoints in the present war of ideologies, and unfortunately the slaves, especially in Asia, mightily exceed the numbers of free men. In that amazingly prophetic essay, *The Spiritual Conflict*, written in 1915, in which he clearly foretold the coming of the domination of the State, and the idea that the individual exists for the State instead of the opposite liberal belief that obtained at the time he was writing, A.E., the Irish writer and mystic, diagnosed the unrest and troubles of humanity through the ages as being essentially due to its oscillations between these opposing ideals of solidarity and freedom. He reminded us that the conflict could be traced throughout history, and it is interesting, as well as alarming, to do so. Especially in the case of Athens in her prime which, as Dr. Gilbert Murray has recently pointed out, was, in her liberal outlook although not of course in social conditions, so very like England before the outbreak of the 1914 war. And just as her fine liberality and freedom of thought was forced to give way to the solidarity made necessary by long drawn-out wars, conflicting ideologies and the resultant cult of violence, so has true Liberalism in England fallen by the wayside in our own era.

Plato's *Republic* also provides a blue-print of the decline from freedom to solidarity, from government by the Good-Principle, or King-Philosopher, through oligarchy and democracy to government by the tyrant or Bad-Principle who always comes to power when the lower elements of a State get the upper hand and fight among themselves. Violence can only be physically overcome by a greater violence, which means that the greater violence in the shape of a tyrant, is always enthroned by this method. But A. E., himself, cited as an example the 17th and 18th centuries in France, when the solidarity of a totalitarian Church was being undermined by well-meaning exponents of free thought, in particular the Encyclopaedists; a dangerous freedom, with no clear sense of direction, no foresight nor superwisdom by which to assess the effect of unrestricted thought on mentalities unprepared for the impact. And what would Voltaire do in this world whose foundations he so assiduously helped to lay. What would he, an individualist, think of the enforced indoctrination of dialectical materialism? Precisely what he thought of the imposed superstitions of the theology of his day. But then there were loopholes. The total thought control aimed at by Ecclesiasticism was, in that age, by no means absolute. People could and did escape to no worse hell than the Church's displeasure. But how would Voltaire survive a People's democracy where to be a non-conforming individual is to sin against the Holy Ghost or the whole spirit of the termitary-state?

In reading A. E.'s essay one is at first reassured by the thought that this has all happened before many times throughout the ages, and that the reaction from solidarity to freedom, from freedom to solidarity, is inevitable, and the present situation a mere passing phase. But then one remembers that never before in the world's history have there been such efficacious and

diabolical means to implement the condition of solidarity as there are to-day. Not only, or even primarily, the material armaments—the worst bomb invented has never and will never kill an idea while there remains one man in the world to hold it—but the mental weapons, the propaganda, the psychiatry, the indoctrination, the devilish modern means whereby a character may be changed or assassinated. These facts cause hope to falter, and one remembers Ouspensky's suggestion in that remarkable book, *A New Model of the Universe*, that the ants and bees are degenerate forms of consciousness that failed to evolve and develop into individuals, which this writer considers was the aim of the evolutionary urge. This fantasy, which Ouspensky's admirable reasoning makes almost to seem a probability, is alarmingly convincing. He traces the devolution of the thinking being who deliberately turns his back on the development of his mental and spiritual nature, and concentrates on collective living and progress, achieving with his fellow beings, through such single-mindedness, the perfect termitary state. "In the course of time their thinking capacities, absolutely unnecessary in a well-organised ant-hill or beehive became atrophied, automatic habits began to be handed down automatically from generation to generation, and ants became 'insects,' as we know them." As he points out, when efficiency reaches a certain pitch the termitary runs itself automatically. No individual intelligence is requisite or desirable. In fact it imperils the utilitarian community. "Intelligence could forget, could distort, could add something new. Intelligence could again lead to 'myselfism', to the idea of a higher intelligence." And therefore intelligence had to give place entirely to the automatism of the perfect collective life.

As one considers the trend of the modern world, one inevitably finds oneself wondering if this is not indeed a pattern of history, if insect life, so closely resembling the totalitarian states, is not in truth a failure of the evolution of some higher species, and whether such a thing could happen again. It is all too apparent that men have lost much of their humanity and humanness in this scientific age. Absorbed in their technology which somehow colours their whole lives, they remind us of the warnings of the clear-sighted brothers Kapek whose *Insect Play* startled the world in the 30's. This is true even in the Western world. The Communist community with its purely utilitarian outlook and absolute materialism already has the psychological ingredient for the perfect termitary life. It is, therefore, with a sense of relief that we turn again to A. E.'s essay, written in what seems in comparison with the present day, a

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peaceful, leisurely age, even in the course of the first world war, and find him prophesying, with the optimism of his period, the arising of a synthesis whereby the conflict of the two ideologies may yet be satisfactorily resolved. "What we ought to realise," he says, "is that these reactions take place within one being, humanity, and indicate eternal desires of the soul. They seem to urge on us the idea that there is a pleroma, or human fulness, in which the opposites may be reconciled, and that the divine event to which we are moving is a state in which there will be essential freedom combined with an organic unity."

So far, in the course of history this synthesis has failed to make its appearance. Or, more truly, it has failed to be recognized whenever it has appeared. For in point of fact it has always been provided by the Avatars, Saviours, prophets and seers of the human race who all taught that the Kingdom of Heaven could only be realized within the individual man's consciousness; that man himself and not the external world was what needed changing and regenerating. But those obstinately seeking to solve the problem of conflicting ideologies on the level at which it exists have always refused to consider the obvious metaphysical solution ordered by the greatest thinkers of all ages. Yet, looking at the situation to-day, how can it be doubted that the problem to be solved must be transcended? Neither side in the present ideological conflict could conceivably give way to the other. Those who value what Charles Morgan has called 'the liberties of the mind' will die

rather than submit to total thought control, while totalitarianism cannot possibly survive the inclusion of free thought. In referring to "a return to mysticism," Ouspensky provides a clue to the way out of this "impasse." "Mysticism" in his sense of the word, implies a living belief in a higher intelligence than that of the collective human intelligence, an intelligence that informed the great World-Teachers of the past, who left definite instructions and rules whereby men might find themselves at one with this higher Mind, and so practise the only safe and successful government possible to man—self-government by God-government: liberty within the laws of divine Wisdom, Truth and Love. The most universal and essential of these laws, stated explicitly in all the major world-faiths, is that known in Christianity as *The Golden Rule*. This one law alone would, if obeyed, ensure the security of mankind. Had it been kept by those professing to accept the creeds which teach it, there would have been no atom bomb, or indeed, any warfare at all between men agreed upon this fundamental decency of life. So far, however, only lip service has been given to this and the other universally beneficent laws embodied in the great metaphysical systems of the Masters. The alternative to the tertiary is now quite obviously their acceptance and for the first time in history their practical application by mankind as a whole. This would provide both A. E.'s synthesis and Ouspensky's evolutionary necessity.

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Latium

Latium lies to the south of Tuscany and to the south-west of Umbria. It is an extensive region, with a long coastline of some 250 Kms, but with no ports worthy of note. (To the north of Rome is the artificial port of *Civitavecchia*, used mostly for traffic with Sardinia, and to the south of Rome is the little port of *Anzio*, which is used more than that of *Gaeta*, a good, natural harbour, used mainly as a military base). Latium has about 3,400,000 inhabitants, with a density of 195 per sq. Km., *this is due, however, to the fact that Rome comes within this region, and Rome accounts for at least half of the population of the region.* Apart from Rome, there are four provincial towns: Viterbo, Rieti, Frosinone and Latina, none of which are large, however. The economic and geographical reasons which caused the *greatest empire in ancient history, the power of Rome, to rise in this rather than in some other central region of Italy, remains on the whole a mystery.* All we know is that it happened, and this region thus became famous all over the world. Today it is a region of coastal plains and marshes, some of which have been reclaimed only during the last ten years (for example, *l'agro Pontino*); after this low-lying coastal area comes a chain of volcanic mountains, the old volcanoes having left several fine lakes, such as *Bolsena*, *Vico*, *Bracciano*, *Albano* and *Nemi*, and a soil which is excellent for vines and olive groves; then, further to the south, is a chain of calcareous mountains (the *Lepini*, *Ausoni* and *Aurunci*) which are very arid and sparsely populated; and finally the real Pennine Chain, also calcareous and therefore also arid and with a very sparse population, with the exception of the foothills which surround the higher mountains and which are quite fertile and cultivated (such as the *Sabina* province). Industry is rare in this region, with the exception of some small works at *Tivoli*, due to the electric power station built at the *Aniene* waterfalls, at *Isola Liri* for the same reasons, at *Colle ferro* and also in *Rome*. Neither is the zone very agriculturally fertile, with the exception of wine production in the *Roman Castles* and olive groves in *Sabina*.

To speak of Latium is really to speak of Rome, but to speak of this city in only a few lines is impossible. Its fame is due partly to history and partly to legend, but that it was indeed a great city is obvious from the numerous and stone edifices, built in different ages, many of which are still preserved; and from its great spiritual heritage which spread out to all the nations of the world through its literature, and then through the doctrine of the *Roman Catholic Church*, which today numbers 469 million among the faithful.

Rome is therefore above all the "Eternal City", and also the "Holy City" for Catholics all over the world.

A small piece of land, measuring 044 sq. Kms and with a population of only 1,000, within the city, constitutes the sovereign state of the *Vatican City*. St. Peter's Square which is also included in this state, is nevertheless normally open to the public and subject to the power

of the Italian Authorities and Police. The first place to visit in Rome is certainly St. Peter's, the largest basilica in the world, and the work of Michelangelo (the dome), Bernini (the doorway) and Moderna (the facing), and then to the Vatican buildings and museums, which one can admire, apart from paintings and sculpture, and the Sistine Chapel, by Michelangelo. But Rome is too rich in historical edifices and monuments for it to be possible to name them all, and for one not to be guilty of neglect if one names only a few. We will therefore only say that Rome is an inexhaustible fount of interest for those who are interested in Roman archaeology, including its pagan heritage such as the Colosseum, the Roman Forum, the Palatine, the *Adrian Mole*, the Appian Way and the *Termal Baths of Caracalla* and *Diocletian*, as well as the *Arches of Titus* and *Constantine*, the *Basilica of Maxentius* and the *Temples of Vesta*, *Janus*, *Septimus Severus*, etc. There are the early Christian edifices, such as the *Catacombs*, and those of the Roman epoch (the various *Basilicas*). There is a lack of Gothic architecture, with the exception of the Church of St. Mary above *Minerva*, but there are wonderful examples of Renaissance and, above all, Baroque architecture, given expression in all its artistic forms (buildings, churches, fountains, sculpture and paintings). It is this Baroque architecture which is the great splendour of Rome. It dates back to the 17th Century, when the Popes commissioned two great rival artists, Bernini and Borromini, to design for them. The 18th Century is also well represented (the *Trevi Fountain* and the *Trinita dei Monti*), and certainly the 19th, which had a great architect in *Valadier*, creator of the *People's Square* (*Piazza del Popolo*) and the *Pincio*.

After the unification of Italy when Rome became the capital of the Realm (after 1870), it was greatly enlarged.

New quarters and new roads were built, not without notable works of art (such as the *Esendra*, by *Kock*, and the *Bank of Italy*, also by *Kock*), the *Gallery of Modern Art* and the arrangement of *Valle Giulia*, both by *Bazzani*). Very grandiose and effective are the

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Victor Emanuel II Monument, and the Palace of Justice, built about 1910. The same may also be said of the more modern works of all the buildings which has taken place in the last 30 years and which has enlarged the city, making it the most populous of the Italian cities. Among the more recent grandiose edifices must be mentioned the Central Station, built after the war, and in modern style and the Olympic Stadium (holding 80,000 persons) near the *Foro Italico*, that great building dedicated to sport for youth, which often attracts the attention of tourists. But apart from its edifices and monuments, Rome is a city beloved by foreigners for its memories, for the mild climate it enjoys, for the variety of its walks, for the beauty of its countryside, for its green parks and its fountains of clear water, and for its many and varied ceremonies, of a religious, cultural, artistic and social nature.

Rome is rich in fine hotels, attractive shops, restaurants famous for their cooking, bars and cafes, theatres and cinemas. Since the end of the war, an international cinematograph industry has grown up which gives employment to some 40,000 people at the great Studios of "Cinecitta," and to which is due much of the notable influx of foreigners.

Not far from Rome are various places of interest which certainly merit a visit, such as *Tivoli*, with its lovely waterfalls and fountains and its famous villas; *Frascati*, *Rocca di Papa*, *Grottaferrata*, and *Castel Gandolfo* on the smiling hills of the Roman Castles, old and modern *Ostia* (the latter, the bathing resort of Rome), *Velletri*, in the hills, and *Anzio* and *Nettuno* on the sea. *Viterbo*, capital town of the province, rich in old walls, fountains, attractive buildings, etc., also merits a visit, as does *Bolsena*, situated on the lake of the same name, with its church of *S. Cristina* wherein the miracle of the bleeding of the Sacred Host took place, and *Tuscania*. Then, in the province of Frosinone, is *Fiuggi*, a famous watering place with a fine park and excellent hotels; lastly, there is *Montecassino*, famous for its Benedictine Abbey which was destroyed during the last war but which is in the process of being rebuilt.

The most important tourist events are the "Festa de Noantri," which is held in the Trastevere quarter of Rome each July; the Feasts in celebration of the Grape and Wine, which are held each year in the little towns on the Roman Castle Hills, particularly at *Genzano*, *Velletri*, *Frascati*, *Marino*, etc.; the floral procession at *Genzano* each May; the open-air Opera Season at the *Terme di Caracalla* and the winter Opera Season at the *Opera House*, both in Rome; and the Sacred Plays which are given at the *Teatro Sacro Italiano* at *Sezze* during the month of July.

Special dishes of the region are "l'abbacchio alla romana" (roast lamb), "carciofi alla giudia" (fried artichokes), and spaghetti "alla carbonara," whilst the wines from the Roman Castles, and particularly from "Frascati," are well-known.—*Italian Affairs*, May 1955.

China's Draft Constitution is of Socialist Type, says People's Daily

The Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China is of a Socialist type, writes the Peking People's Daily on June 22 editorially.

Classifying existing constitutions into two types, the Socialist type and the capitalist type, the paper says that the constitution of a capitalist country belongs to the ruling capitalist class. Such a constitution, it notes, is a record and affirmation of the social and state systems favourable to the capitalist class. On the other hand, the 1936 Constitution of the Soviet Union is a constitution which affirms the complete victory of Socialism. Unlike a capitalist constitution which cloaks its essence with all sorts of hypocritical terms, a Socialist constitution does not deem it necessary to cover up its class nature, but openly declares that it is the embodiment of the will of the entire working people led by the working class. It gives clear expression to what the working people have won and in what direction society develops after the working class assumes power.

The contents of China's Draft Constitution, the paper goes on, indicate that it is a constitution for the period of transition during which Socialism is being built, a constitution that ensures the elimination of exploitation step by step and the building up of a Socialist society.

Dealing with the principle of the protection of private property, which the capitalist class plays up, the People's Daily points out that in capitalist countries, what the state really protects is only the property of the capitalist class, particularly that of the big capitalists. China's Draft Constitution, however, not only ensures the expansion of public property owned by the whole people but explicitly provides that the right of citizens to the ownership of lawful incomes, and of savings, houses and the means of life be protected. The Draft Constitution stipulates that the State protects by law the ownership of land, means of production and other property by peasants, handicraftsmen and other individual working people and encourages these individual working people to follow, on a voluntary basis, the path of cooperation so that they will once and for all be freed from the menace of poverty and exploitation. It further specifies that during the period of transition to Socialism the State protects by law the ownership of the means of production and other property by capitalists. At the same time, by carrying out a policy of "use, restrict and transform" capitalist industry and commerce and through different forms of state capitalism, the State will bring capitalist industry and commerce, step by step, under the ownership by the whole people. All this demonstrates that the principle followed throughout the Draft Constitution is one of Socialism.



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The paper says that the capitalist class formulated a whole series of measures restricting the people's right to vote, so that voting becomes a privilege of the propertied class. In China's Draft Constitution, however, there are a number of stipulations to ensure that all power in the State belongs to the people. The organisational principle for the entire state structure ensures that the mass of the people can constantly supervise the work of the state structure. According to the Draft Constitution, the National People's Congress and local people's congresses at every level are elected by democratic means and are organs of state power. The National People's Congress is the supreme organ of state power and also the only organ exercising the legislative power of the state. The State Council as prescribed in the Draft Constitution is the executive organ of the National People's Congress, while the Cabinet provided for in the capitalist constitution stands in opposition to the Parliament. The State Council is of the same nature as the Council of Ministers in the Soviet Union.

In regard to relations among nationalities, the paper points out, the Draft Constitution also differs from the capitalist constitution. The capitalist class divides nationalities into "superior" and "inferior." They consider that different nationalities cannot and should not be completely equal. Thus their constitution reflects this viewpoint and aims at the rule of one nationality over another. In contrast to this, the Draft Constitution stipulates that all the nationalities are equal, that discrimination against and oppression of any nationality, and actions which undermine the unity of the nationalities, are prohibited and that the various national minorities are to be assisted in their political, economic and cultural development.

A constitution of a Socialist type, the editorial notes, is not confined to giving civil rights a legal form, it lays emphasis on the material conditions with which to realise these rights. As is specified in China's Draft Constitution, "citizens of the People's Republic of China have freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration. The state provides the necessary material facilities to guarantee to citizens the enjoyment of these freedoms." Because the State has been providing the material conditions, the people have been for the past several years enjoyed these rights. Similarly, the people's rights to work, to rest, to education and other rights have been a reality for the past several years. In 1953, for example, the number of elementary school-children throughout the country already reached over 55 million, 135 per cent greater than the peak year in old China. In the same year, there were over 2,400 palaces of culture and 4,500 cultural stations at the disposal of the working people.

To ensure the people's right to vote, all the expenses involved in elections to state structure are covered by the state treasury. And such material condition to ensure the enjoyment of civil rights will be expanded continuously.

Continuing, the editorial calls attention to the fact that the capitalist constitution either brushes aside civil rights or ignores how citizens are to enjoy these rights because the capitalist class is never willing to see them realised. Although the constitutions in some capitalist countries provide certain civil rights due to the people's struggle for them, these provisions have frequently been violated by new laws and undermined by the courts, police, special services and other tools.

Concluding, the paper says that the Draft Constitution is a true reflection of the realities which the broad mass of the people find in their daily life and that it has been written in as simple language as possible. As a result, the Draft Constitution is under-

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standable to the broad mass of the people. Furthermore, when the Draft Constitution was being drawn up, public opinion was solicited on a broad scale. And now the Draft Constitution has been published for discussion by the whole people. This shows that a Constitution of a Socialist type is a distillation of the people's wisdom as well as an embodiment of their will and therefore it is a Constitution belonging to the people and serving their interests.—*Hsinhua News*, June 22, 1954.

First Big Oil Refinery in India Ready for Production

Trombay: A 15,000-ton tanker tied up at the Bombay Port Trust's Pir Pau jetty last week, carrying an unprecedented cargo—110,000 barrels of crude oil straight from the oil wells of Saudi Arabia. In a few weeks, this crude, the first of millions of barrels destined for the new Bombay refinery of the Standard Vacuum Oil Company, will be converted into gasoline, kerosene and other petroleum products, inaugurating India's modern oil-refining industry.

The start-up of the Stanvac refinery, scheduled for the second half of this month, will crown 18 months of work and planning by a labour force which has numbered, at its maximum, 7,000 persons. Since December 1952 the 280-acre site has been transformed from a jungle waste into a complex array of gleaming spheres, towers, furnaces, pipelines and storage tanks that constitute one of the most modern oil refineries in Asia.

Simultaneously, while erecting its equipment, Stanvac has been building the men who will run the refinery. When the plant goes "on stream" this month, more than 500 members of the 550-man staff will be Indians, each of them especially trained from his particular task. Screened, tested and selected from hundreds of applicants, they constitute the spearhead of the men who will run the country's newest industry. The non-Indian technicians, who constitute less than 10 per cent of the initial labour force, will be progressively eliminated.

These Indian trainees were carefully coached in theory and its practical application before taking up their jobs. In the first weeks of their schooling, they were taught the fundamentals of the extremely complex oil-refining industry. Then came detailed instruction. The potential oil-men got most of their training at the refinery site, and they built up knowledge piece by piece, just as the last vessels and towers of the refinery moved into place. Thus, both men and machines were fitted into the refining pattern.

Typical of the hundreds of young Indians associated with this new industry is 23-year-old G. I. Bhagwan of Bombay, an assistant in the boiler and compressed air unit. A science Honours graduate and former apprentice in a chemical plant, young Bhagwan gets a tremendous thrill from his new work. He was on hand when the boilers, capable of generating 54,000 pounds of steam per hour, were fired for the first time. Wearing the silvered safety helmet which is the mark of a refinery technician all over the world, he stares intently

at the dials on the complicated instrument board. His American instructor and chief, Howard Roughhead, stands beside him quietly with an alertness which spells experience.

TANK FOR STORING WATER

Near the boiler and compressed air unit is another installation no less vital, a storage tank for two million gallons of sea water, used both for cooling the oil during refining (it is heated to 1,100 degrees Fahrenheit) and for fire protection. This water comes from a 2,000-foot jetty, nearly two miles away, built at a cost of Rs. 50 lakhs. The three 450-horsepower pumps at the end of the jetty can supply water to the refinery at the almost incredible rate of 24,000 gallons a minute.

After being used for cooling, the water is passed through separators which remove oil residues. This eliminates the danger of pollution when the water is returned to the bay.

The heart of the refinery is the combination unit, where the crude oil is converted into refined petroleum products by a process known as "catalytic cracking." Beyond it lie the storage tanks, holding enough crude oil for 18 days of operation at 25,000 barrels a day.

The refinery, whose total cost will be Rs. 17.5 crores, will supply about one-third of India's needs of petroleum products.

The Stanvac refinery, which is the biggest private dollar investment ever made in India, will help India save about Rs. 120 lakhs per year in foreign exchange, because the crude oil brought into the country will be much less costly than the refined products presently imported.

Strategically, too, the refinery makes India less dependent on other countries where internal disturbances may affect supplies. The crude oil normally will come from the Persian Gulf area, but there are sufficient reserves elsewhere in the world to ensure that India will never be without the oil she needs, provided she can refine it within her own borders.—*American Reporter*, July 7, 1954.

Overseas Handicrafts Impress U.S. Merchants

Chicago, Aug. 11—Handicraft items from India, Greece, the Philippines, Germany, Norway and Finland are now being exhibited at the 58th semi-annual Chicago Gift Show.

Hundreds of buyers for gift shops from all over the United States are ordering the imports that occupy most of the space in a special exhibit developed by Fred Leighton, New York importer, in co-operation with the CARE Development Corporation (CDC).

Leighton, a leading import of Latin American handicraft, has expanded to world-wide operations as sole sales representative in the United States for consumer items imported by the CARE Corporation, which is a new subsidiary of the international CARE welfare group.

On display are wooden figurines from India painted in bright colours, character dolls from Greece with

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costumes representing various provinces, rare wood carvings from the Philippines, place mats and cocktail napkins from the Philippines, copper pitchers from England, wooden figurines from Finland, wooden place mats and paper products from Germany, and hand-embroidered toys and woollen gloves from Norway.

"The sales potential on these products is tremendous—possibly in the million of dollars," Leighton said.

Leighton said he already had taken a number of orders in the opening days of the gift show, and expected many more. "The people are interested in the ideas behind this CARE programme as well as the merchandise," he said.

The CARE Development Corporation was organised to support CARE's philanthropic foreign relief and rehabilitation programmes. Its function is to help establish modest industrial and agricultural enterprises in developing areas of the world and to find world markets for the goods produced, thus opening more employment opportunities for local populations.

The Leighton firm, with headquarters in New York and representatives in major American cities, will make available to the U.S. market products found by CDC representatives overseas who are checking local industries in 50 countries of Asia, Europe, and Latin America. —USIS.

"Bibliography on Filmology"

A *Bibliography on Filmology as Related to the Social Sciences* has just been published by Unesco as Number 9 in its series of Reports and Papers on Mass Communications. These reports analysing, disseminating and stimulating the exchange of information on the use of the press, film, radio and other media for educational, scientific and cultural purposes, are prepared by the Unesco Mass Communications Clearing House.

The Bibliography is the work of Mr. Jan C. Bouman, of the Institute of Psychology, University of Stockholm. Presented in two languages, English and French, it is intended for research workers and students of the problems of filmology as related to the social sciences, particularly psychology, sociology, psychiatry, physiology, anthropology and philosophy.

Studies of the film as teaching aid, in school or elsewhere, are included in so far as they deal with the theoretical basis of instruction with visual aids. In compiling the Bibliography, the criterion of selection was the scientific intention or implication of the studies, or simply the interest they may have for the scientific history of the cinema. Four types of studies are included: articles in periodicals; books; articles or chapters in books, compilations, anthologies; unpublished works. In each case full details are given, with a free translation of the title into English and or French. Price: \$40; 2/-; 100 frs.—*Unesco News*.

Atom in Schools

INTEREST IN PEACETIME USES GROWS AMONG AMERICAN STUDENTS

While atomic energy has been claiming the attention of scientists and statesmen, it has also been receiving serious study by the youth of the United States.

Interest in atom, and especially the possibility of peacefully using its energy, has been widespread. Most high-school students have gained some knowledge of the subject, and all but a few schools in the United States have dealt with the subject.

The study of atomic energy in the secondary schools has taken many forms. It ranges from simple experiments in chemistry and physics laboratories to planning and building models of complex equipment.

Many students have prepared essays and reports on atomic energy for their English, science and social-studies courses. They have written editorials for school papers on its social and economic implications.

TEACHERS TAUGHT

With this great interest by students in the subject, the education of teachers in atomic energy has been necessary. The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission co-operates in developing courses for teachers dealing with nuclear fission, atomic reactors, and atomic by-products—such as radioactive isotopes. Working with the commission, the public school systems in a number of cities have developed outstanding teacher-training programmes.

Nebraska's State Department of Public Instruction has issued a teaching guide entitled *Facing the Facts of Atomic Energy*, and the State of Oregon has published a similar guide, *Learning about Atomic Energy*.

The State of Iowa has developed a comprehensive set of teaching guides for use at the elementary, high-school, college and adult-education levels.

An important approach to teaching in the field of atomic energy was developed by the schools of New York City and adopted in other localities. The school authorities felt that high-school students should study the use of radioactive isotopes. They asked the Atomic Energy Commission how this could be done safely.

The commission helped establish a 13-week course in the handling of radioisotopes. Some 300 biology, chemistry and physics teachers attended. Students now use in their laboratories minute amounts of radioactive iodine and phosphorus.

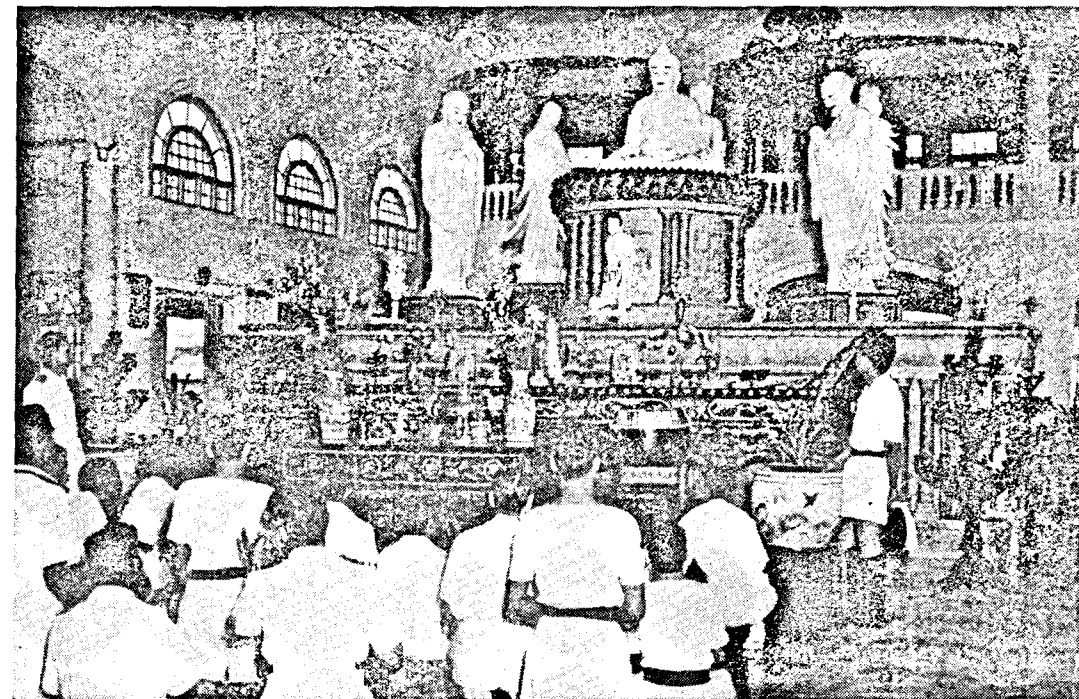
SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMME

A manual, *Laboratory Experiments with Radioisotopes for High School Science Demonstrations*, was prepared. The programme proved so successful that similar courses are being conducted in the high schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, and Glen Ridge, New Jersey, and at Loyola College in Baltimore, Maryland. Twenty-seven high schools in the State of Washington are using radioisotopes in their laboratory courses.

Many city school systems adopt each other's programmes of atomic energy education. However, the Federal Government does not dictate what schools should or should not teach. Rather, education in this field has been achieved through the individual efforts of many teachers. They work independently, studying and adapting curriculum material on atomic energy. This is the manner in which education has traditionally grown in America.

High-school students also learn about atomic energy through the clubs they form for interests outside their regular school studies. One such club at Suffern, New York, makes models of atomic reactors, cyclotrons, and other splitting apparatus.

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission receives thousands of requests from students of all ages for more information about atom power and its developing applications. Officials say the letters show a general understanding of atomic energy and the efforts to harness that power for the good of all mankind.—*American Reporter*.



I.N.A. officers and men during their summer exercises in the South-East Asian waters, recently visited ports in Malaya and paid homage to Lord Buddha in the famous Buddhist Temple at Penang



Eight American students from the University of California, Berkeley, arrived in Bombay recently to study student activities and problems in India



SRI DURGA

By Bireschandra Ganguly

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Pandit Nehru's Peace Mission

At the time of writing these notes, Pandit Nehru is on his way back to his office and his responsibilities. His visit to China, and to Burma and Indo-China as wayside halts, are now a matter of record, nothing being left unrevealed in the future.

What has been accomplished by this visit is a question that is being answered differently in different quarters. Indeed, no adequate answer has been received to the query regarding the objectives of this State visit, beyond what is contained in the numerous communiques that were released to the Press by both the visitor and the hosts during the actual stay. We have put on record elsewhere Pandit Nehru's own final communique to the Press correspondents.

The reactions abroad, as gauged by what has appeared in the foreign press, have been rather curious. It seems that each paper had prepared a hypothetical framework of the entire affair, prior to the actual journey, and later on filtered out and selected just what would fit in the pre-arranged recital. This can be easily understood by those who know the inner workings of the Fourth Estate, all the world over, after the two World Wars had spread the virulent infection of "News Propaganda" world-wide. Thus we see the whole gamut in the press reactions, from the "genteel" hostility of the *Manchester Guardian*, to the rabid canine malice of the weekly *Time*. Indeed, the entire U.S. press seems to be too deeply biased to be able to take an objective view of the visit at all.

On our side the reporting has been somewhat too effusive—indeed hysterical in some cases. We seem to have lost sight of realities. A courtesy call, even though it might lead to epoch-making negotiations and settlements in international relationships, cannot be classed with international pourparlers and accords

like what took place at Paris towards the end of October. It is true that the China visit has very great potentialities, but as yet everything is on the lap of the Gods, and that is what we should all remember. Pandit Nehru has re-initiated friendly relations with our greatest neighbour in Asia, and that ought to suffice for the present.

He has received a great welcome, the expression of friendship by a "resurgent giant" for another that is trying to find its feet. Both the nations have the same goal, though the path chosen by each is widely divergent. It may well be exemplified by the difference in the two great marches, the Long March of the Chinese Communists under Mao Tse-tung and the Salt March at Dandi by the Mahatma. But that is no reason why the ancient bonds of friendship cannot be forged again. This is what the Machiavellian West has to realise.

Nearer home the affairs of Pakistan deserve very careful study and consideration. Pakistan is in a most unstable state just now. And that condition in our nearest neighbour should cause anxiety. Peace is a relative term where international affairs are concerned, and our relations with Pakistan have not been stabilised as yet. Indeed, on the contrary.

At home the old problems still remain. And the burden is all the heavier because of the sudden departure of one of Pandit Nehru's staunchest colleagues in the person of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was much more than just a colleague. In ability, brains and devotion to the cause of the Union, there is none to replace him in the Central Cabinet. Indeed, on all counts, Pandit Nehru has just one associate in the Cabinet who is comparable to the great departed. And even so where are the broad shoulders and the indomitable will that can equal what has been lost?

This loss should bring thoughtful sobriety to Pandit Nehru. In the letter sent to the Pradesh Congress chiefs, he has lightly discussed the question as to who would succeed him.

We say lightly after due consideration. If he had searched his own heart in the manner of the Father of the Nation, then he would have found that this letter and the previous statement, were nothing but confessions of defeat.

If he fully remembers the ways and methods of the Titan in whose shadow he attained his present stature, Pandit Nehru would have found how it was that so many different types from widely different spheres of life gathered in harmony around the Mahatma and attained maturity and stature through storm and stress, leaving no question about succession.

Pandit Nehru's Letter

Hindusthan Standard, October 13.

The following is the text of the letter:

"You must have read in the newspapers about some statements I have made recently suggesting that I should unburden myself of the high offices I hold. These statements have naturally led to much comment in the Press and I have received a number of letters from friends and colleagues expressing some apprehension in regard to them.

"I owe it to you and to other friends and colleagues to explain this matter a little more fully than I have so far done. I have occasionally referred to my feeling tired. That is correct, but it has no great significance. For many months past, the strain on me has been considerable and it is not surprising that I should feel somewhat tired. But that tiredness does not last and disappears with a little rest. I can assure you that I am in good health and as fit as any person at my age is expected to be.

"Physical health is intimately connected with mental health. I think that both in body and mind I am healthy. I have a tendency to overdo things and sometimes overstrain myself, which, of course, is undesirable and should be avoided. But I am not careless of my health and I recover rapidly. That resilience itself, I suppose, is a good sign. Naturally, because of the heavy burdens I carry, I can hardly function in a carefree manner. That kind of existence is denied to me as it is to most other people. But I am convinced that hard work does not interfere with mental or bodily health, provided certain elementary precautions are taken. Indeed, on the whole, work is helpful even in maintaining flexibility of mind and body, which is an important element of health.

"You will forgive me for discussing myself in this way. But, in view of some apprehension in the minds of people, I have ventured to do so. I can assure you that I am fit and that I propose to remain fit for many years to come. I do not believe in any kind of vale-

tudinarianism and have a dislike of ill health. I feel that I have many tasks still to perform in our country and I am determined to keep myself fit for the purpose.

"Why then did I talk about tiredness and the like? Partly that represented my reactions at the time and my mood of the moment; partly it was something deeper. This was a feeling of staleness, which, I suppose, is almost inevitable, if one has to function like a machine. I can function effectively even as a machine but it does come in the way of freshness of thought and outlook. I do not like this staleness and I feel it comes in the way of really effective work and creative thought which are so necessary for one who has to function in a highly responsible position. It was somehow to regain that freshness and creativeness that I wanted to leave the present routines that take up all my time.

"I have no intention of running away from work or from responsibility. I have absolutely no idea of going into the wilderness or retiring to the mountains. I feel that I have a function to perform and so long as a person feels that way, the urge to work and activity is there. I have that strong urge in me. It is only the functionless who bemoan their lot and are full of complaints and ailments.

"We have passed through, during these last seven years or more of independence, a difficult time and we have faced heavy tasks. We may not have come up to the mark always, but I have no feeling of disappointment at the record of these years. Indeed, I have a sense of fulfilment not for myself only but for the nation. I think that we have progressively made good and are well on our way to more rapid advance. While fully conscious of our many problems and difficulties and even of our failings, I do not understand the habitual critic who sees little good in our country today. I think that reaction is misplaced and is often due to a kind of frustration resulting from a feeling of lack of function.

"Indeed, it is because I think that our country has done well and that good and stout foundations for its progress have been made, that I think of some change in the nature of my activities. I want to work hard, but at the same time I want some leisure to read and think. One of the grave disadvantages from which those of us who are heavily engaged in governmental and like duties suffer is the lack of time to read and think and to confer with each other on basic matters.

"Because of all this, the thought came to me that it would be better for me not to function as Prime Minister at least for some time. I do not wish to tie myself to any course of action for an indefinite period. Nor do I wish to take any step in a hurry because the last thing I would like is to create an upset. This thought has been with me for some time. Various occurrences took place which disturbed me and led me even more to think of this. But at the back of my mind was not that particular occurrence but something deeper.

"Sometimes people ask and newspapers write about

a question, which I find somewhat irritating. "After Nehru, what?" "Who will succeed Nehru?" This question itself becomes a challenge to me and of course to the nation. It is absurd to think that a great nation depends upon an odd individual or two. My reaction to this question is to accept the challenge. I am sure that all will be well in an event.

"As I have stated above, I do not propose to act in a hurry and I do not think in terms of final and irrevocable decisions. For the present I am sharing my thoughts with you, because I feel that I owe this to you and to our other comrades. I feel that we have, in a sense, completed an important stage in our journey and the next stage now looms ahead. I want to fit myself for that stage even more in mind than in body and I want to function then with vigour and speed.

"I need hardly say that the fact of my not being Prime Minister will not put an end to my close association with Governmental development and like activities. I am bound up with this work and it is not mere office that ties me to it. I wish people would realise that important work is not inevitably connected with the holding of office.

"Soon we shall have the election for the Congress Presidentship. I am quite clear in my mind that I should not stand again for election for this high office. It is time that someone else was head of this great organisation under whose sheltering care all of us have grown up and functioned. It is not right for the same person to continue to function in that office. I shall of course work for the Congress with all my strength and energy. I think it will be better both for me and for the Congress as well as for the country if someone else is chosen President.

"I have ventured to write to you frankly and to share my thoughts with you on the event of my going to China as I did not wish these vague rumours to continue and create doubts in the minds of our people. You will, I hope, forgive me for this rather personal letter. Circumstances have placed me in a position which has an impersonal aspect also. I try to consider myself and my work as objectively as possible. I know that is difficult, but an attempt has to be made."

The Peking Press Conference

Amongst the mass of news that emanated from China during Pandit Nehru's State visit, the following communique, giving the details about a Press Conference held by him at Peking on the eve of his departure from China, is the most illuminative. It gives a clear commentary on the results of the visit from our Premier's own point of view.

Sino-Indian co-operation, said Mr. Nehru, was possible in many ways. Both countries had several identical problems such as large, mainly agricultural, populations, low standards of living and need for industrialization.

India was anxious to promote world peace and now, after a visit to this country, he had no doubt whatsoever that China was equally anxious. Apart from other considerations it was necessary for China to participate fully in the U.N. in the interests of world peace.

While there was no question about the value of the five principles, the real test was their application which alone could restore confidence in the world. Before the five principles could be applied, however, it was necessary that different countries should deal directly with one another.

Mr. Nehru told the Press conference that there had been "a large measure of agreement" in his talks with Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, and other Chinese leaders, adds *P.T.I.*

There were no "sharp differences" in the talks as had been reported in London and New York, and these reports were wholly without foundation, he said.

"Although India's basic approach is somewhat different from China's basic approach in regard to some matters, there have been no differences in our talks, and I am happy to say that there has been a large measure of agreement."

Mr. Nehru added: "It is my belief that my visit to China will not only help to bring our two countries nearer to each other, but also help the cause of world peace."

Speaking on his recent visit to Hanoi, Mr. Nehru said he had very friendly talks with Dr. Ho Chi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam (Viet Minh). Dr. Ho had assured him that they would abide by the Geneva agreement completely and that this would result in a friendly settlement of the question. Dr. Ho had expressed his friendliness to France despite past history.

Dr. Ho also welcomed the independent existence of Laos and Cambodia and hoped to have friendly relations and contacts with those two countries, added Mr. Nehru.

"Dr. Ho Chi Minh struck me not only very much as a man of peace but as an extraordinarily likable and friendly person," said Mr. Nehru.

Mr. Nehru then spoke of the French Government who recently concluded with India an agreement on French Indian settlements. He said it had been a difficult question because the French had been in the settlements for over 300 years and it involved the prestige of a great country like France and India's own interest.

"We proceeded along peaceful lines and negotiated peacefully. We often failed, but ultimately we arrived at a friendly agreement. This is a good example of settling difficult problems by agreement and co-operation.

"In fact, our relations with France are better now than ever in the past and we hope that the French

settlements, now part of India, will remain centres of French culture."

In the course of a prepared statement to the Press Mr. Nehru said: "During my few days in Peking and elsewhere in China, I have often spoken in public. I should like to repeat to the Press what I have said before and express my gratitude for the warm and friendly welcome that I have received here. It is my belief that my visit, brief as it has been, will help not only to bring our two countries nearer to one another but also the cause of world peace which we both cherish."

"Peace is the fundamental basis for progress that we want to make in our respective countries. Peace, therefore, is not merely a pious wish with us but an absolute necessity."

"Both our countries are engaged in the great adventure of raising the standards of hundreds of millions of people and making all of them full sharers in freedom and prosperity. That is a magnificent task. We have set our feet firmly on the road that leads to it, and I have every faith that we shall continue to march along that path. In some ways our problems are the same and the conditions we have to face are also similar. Thus we can learn much from each other."

"I hope that the contacts between the two countries will grow in many ways. It is important that we should know each other. In the world today isolation for any country is out of place and out of tune with the great developments that have taken place. The barriers between different countries should be removed so that free intercourse might take place and bring better knowledge and understanding between different countries. To that end we in India are anxious to help not only in China but elsewhere."

"I greet the people of China and wish them well. To the Government of the People's Republic of China, of which the cherished head is the figure of historic stature and great achievement, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, I offer my deepest thanks for their gracious and generous hospitality."

"I am told that certain Press reports in London and New York have stated that there were sharp differences between Prime Minister Chou En-lai and myself in the course of our talks. These reports are wholly without foundation. Although India's basic approach is somewhat different from that of China's basic approach, in regard to some matters there have been no differences in our talks and I am happy to say that there has been a large measure of agreement."

The China Visit

The American press has taken up a more or less hostile attitude regarding Pandit Nehru's visit to China. The *New York Times*, International Edition,

for October 24, contains perhaps the least biased editorial comments that we have seen so far. It runs as follows:

In the cold war between East and West, India's position is unique and potent. India's instruction are cast in the Western democratic mold. Within India, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has fought the Communists vigorously. But a century of British colonial rule has left the Indians suspicious that the West's fight against Asian Communism may really mask an attempt to suppress Asian nationalism. On the other hand, India, as a relatively weak and underdeveloped country with a 2,000-mile common border with China, is alert to the possibility that Communist expansion might infringe on her interests in Asia. Therefore, she has preached conciliation and coexistence and sought to provide a "bridge" between East and West.

This "neutralism" has been a major diplomatic problem for the West. Prime Minister Nehru enjoys immense prestige throughout Asia. His support of Peiping's claims to Formosa and a U.N. seat; his frequently ambiguous position during the Korean truce negotiations; and his recent opposition to the SEATO pact have had a powerful influence on Asian thinking. In the minds of many Western statesmen, India tends to be "neutral against the West."

This feeling was in the background of Allied concern last week with a state visit by Mr. Nehru to Peiping—the first time in his widely travelled career that he has set foot inside China. News of the visit and the course of the talks between Mr. Nehru and the Chinese leaders was sketchy. A throng of 300,000 was reported to have greeted the Indian Prime Minister on his arrival in Peiping and at a State dinner given by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. Mr. Nehru was quoted as stating: "There is only one thing, right and practical, which is to recognize coexistence * * *. We can only hope that the people of China will co-operate in this objective * * *". From New Delhi came Indian press reports that snags had developed in the Peiping talks. The Chinese were said to be urging Indian participation in an Asian organization directed against the SEATO pact. Mr. Nehru is believed reluctant to enter a formal undertaking of that kind.

There are other potential seeds of discord. En route to Peiping, Prime Minister Nehru stopped off in Burma for talks with his good friend, Burmese Premier U Nu; held his first meeting with Ho Chi-minh, leader of the pro-Communist Government in northern Vietnam; and called at the tiny Indo-Chinese kingdom of Laos. On the way back from Peiping, he will visit south Vietnam and the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The itinerary, it was felt, underlined Mr. Nehru's preoccupation with Southeast Asia. A desire to assess Peiping's intentions toward nations in that area, and

perhaps even to obtain a commitment of non-interference, is believed to have been one of the principal reasons for the Nehru journey to Peiping.

Pakistan Politics

The political arena of Pakistan is subject to sudden convulsions at the shortest of notices. Even so the latest changes have a dramatic character of its own. It is too early as yet to read the portents, as the picture is far from being clear. It can only be said that the political and economic fields in Pakistan were never in a more unstable condition.

Public attention in India has been highlighted on the political developments inside Pakistan by the sudden declaration of emergency throughout Pakistan and the dramatic dissolution of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly by the Governor-General, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed on Sunday, October 24, within a few hours of the arrival of Mr. Mohammed Ali in Karachi by a specially chartered plane cutting short his U.S. tour.

A proclamation issued by the Governor-General said that he had decided upon those steps as it had become clear that the Constituent Assembly, as at present constituted, had lost the confidence of the people and therefore could not function. It was asserted that fresh elections would be held soon (though how the elections would be held—on the basis of adult franchise or not—was not stated) and until such time a reconstituted 8-men Cabinet headed by Premier Mohammed Ali was entrusted with the Government.

Six members of the old Cabinet: Mr. A. K. Brohi, Khan Abdul Quayyum Khan, Shuaib Qureshi, Mr. M. A. Gurmani, Sardar Bahadur Khan and Dr. I. H. Qureshi were dropped and the East Bengal Governor, Major-General Iskander Mirza and the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, General Mohammed Aiyub Khan were included in the new Cabinet. Dr. Khan Sahib, the former Congress Chief Minister of N.W.F.P. was sworn as member of the Cabinet on October 28.

This latest act in the drama of Pakistani politics should be viewed against the background of recent developments in the political life of the country. The ruling Muslim League Party had been losing its grip on the people's mind more and more as every day passed. The crushing defeat of the Muslim League in the last East Bengal Elections was an indication of the growing unpopularity of the League. The League rulers had tried to resolve that crisis by clamping down military rule on East Bengal, but with no apparent gain in their status with the people of Pakistan.

Meanwhile the Muslim League itself began to be torn by internal strife. There was the general rivalry and distrust between East and West Pakistan. The

League leaders of West Pakistan including Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Chief Minister of Pakistan Punjab, Mian Mamtaz Daulatana, Mr. M. A. Khuro, Sardar Abdul Rashid, Frontier Chief Minister, and M. A. Gurmani, until recently Home Minister in the Central Cabinet, had wanted a zonal federation in Western Pakistan to curtail the preponderance in votes of East Pakistan. The Sind League or at any rate the Sind Government, however, did not support the idea.

In the Central Cabinet itself there were serious differences over the repeal of the Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act and the deprivation of the Governor-General of his powers to dissolve the Central Government.

Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the Muslim League Party had not held any conference or convention or any election of its office-bearers. A convention was fixed for October 31, but was postponed by the League Working Committee on October 22, "in view of the strained political situation in the country."

Just on the eve of the departure of Prime Minister Mohammed Ali on his American tour a piece of legislation was hurried through the Constituent Assembly and repealing the PRODA (Public Representative Offices Disqualification Act) and the other depriving the Governor-General of his power to dismiss the Central Ministry. And the Governor-General countered by repealing the P.R.O.D.A. disqualification of some prominent men.

The passage of those two legislative measures was widely commented upon by the Pakistan Press and public, and the reaction was mostly critical. Especially the manner in which the Act depriving the Governor-General of his powers was passed came in for severe criticism.

It was unnatural enough. First, the powers of the Governor-General was curtailed but not of the provincial Governors which could usually have been expected. Secondly, the usual fifteen days prior notice was not given before the motion was introduced before the Assembly. Thirdly, the Bill was hastily passed in ten minutes' time without even twenty four hours' notice to the members and when the Governor-General was away on tour. The Bill was moved by a private member, Mr. M. H. Gazdar who gave notice of the bill at 4 P.M. on September 20. By quarter past nine on the following morning the bill was an Act without any discussion.

The weekly *Star* of Lahore describes the passing of the Act as a "Constitutional coup" and says that it was a very thinly veiled attempt to concentrate all powers in the hands of the Prime Minister. The newspaper refers to the Legislators as a "gang of guilty men . . . they met stealthily, moved about surreptitiously and passed the bill secretly. . . ." (October 8).

Discussing what could have induced Mr. Mohammed Ali to take such a step, the *Kashmir Post* writes in an editorial article on September 29, that three possible explanations offered themselves: "(1) the Pak Premier feared dismissal; (2) he wanted to arm himself with more powers for completing the deal with America; and (3) he plans to stage a show-down with the Governor-General, who, as is well known, is not easily manageable. Again, the question why Mr. Ali should have entertained fears of being bundled out of office like his predecessor poses three possibilities: (1) Mr. Ali smelt some intrigue against him; (2) he felt he had fallen into disfavour with Washington; and (3) he thought that a change of Government might be effected to divert people's attention and to bring a more popular person than himself as, for instance, Gen. Iskander Mirza. In all cases the one fact which emerges crystal clear is that Mr. Mohammed Ali did not consider his position secure and wanted, therefore, to forestall his opponents." The editorial concludes saying that this constitutional coup could in no way be considered marking the end of the drama which had begun in April, 1953, when Khwaja Nazimuddin had been deposed and that it would be followed sooner or later by another coup which would "invest with logic a seemingly illogical pattern of developments in that country."

The reaction of the public could be summed up in the words of the *Star*: "A good thing badly done."

The repeal of PRODA was even more condemned by the overwhelming majority of the Pakistani Press. Even the semi-official *Dawn* wrote that the repeal might give rise to a feeling among certain sections of the people that the members of the Muslim League Assembly Party did not like to check corruption and malpractices among the high-ups.

The *Pakistan Times* writes that the repeal of the PRODA was a great and bewildering shock to the public in Pakistan. Continuing the newspaper writes: "It is not without interest that Mr. Hashim Gazdar, whose proposal for the repeal of PRODA had suddenly been revived was among the Act's most vociferous supporters in 1949 and the bunch of East Bengal MCA's agitating for the repeal were responsible—before being driven out of their office by their constituents—for invoking the PRODA to deal with a political opponent who could not be silenced otherwise." The law was clearly not being withdrawn because it was a bad law, the newspaper notes and points to the significance of the fact that though the law was being repealed past disqualifications under that Act had not been lifted or pending cases had not been dropped. "The compromise effected by the party completely exposes it as the handmaid of a coterie of power-hungry barons, blinded by self-interest

whose main purpose in life to retain by any means the monopoly of political power they have acquired."

It is somewhat interesting to recall the fact that on October 20, four days before the declaration of emergency when Mr. Ali was away on his U.S. tour, the Governor-General Mr. Ghulam Mohammed removed the disqualifications imposed under PRODA on four former provincial ministers including Mr. M. S. Khuro and Kazi Fazlullah, enabling them to stage a come-back in the political life of the country.

It is difficult to fit into a coherent picture all the above. The Pakistan Premier, Mr. Mohammed Ali gave a rather confusing reading to a group of foreign correspondents as is given in the news below:

Karachi, Oct. 29.—The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali said today that his newly reconstituted Cabinet was not a coalition but a "Ministry of talent." He emphasised that the Cabinet was only broadbased and not new. In an hour's talk with foreign correspondents, Mr. Mohammed Ali said there had been merely a reshuffle, and a Prime Minister had a right to reshuffle his Cabinet.

Asked about the inclusion of the Awami League leader Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy in the Cabinet, Mr. Mohammed Ali said: "I cannot say whether he will be taken into the Cabinet—not unless I meet him or talk to him."

About the Bill passed by the old Constituent Assembly curtailing the Governor-General's powers, Mr. Ali declared that no power had been taken away by the Constituent Assembly from the Governor-General. The Bill merely wrote down into the Constitution what existed in practice. "He enjoys the same powers which he used to have before the legislation," the Prime Minister said.

Questioned whether the new Cabinet was responsible to the Governor-General, Mr. Mohammed Ali said: "The Cabinet is responsible to the country. Previously it was responsible to the country through the Assembly."

The foreign policy of the country would continue without any change, Mr. Mohammed Ali said. He disclosed that the foreign policy had been fully reaffirmed by the new Cabinet which had its first meeting yesterday.

Asked what was the need to declare a state of emergency when it was only a case of constitutional differences between units, Mr. Ali said "It was not a question of law and order. It was the conflicts, the conflicts between different parties and political parties and sections." The emergency was declared so that these conflicts could end. It was "only for a temporary period." A state of emergency, Mr. Mohammed Ali said, had to be declared even for minor matters like price controls. "Pakistan has been having a state of emergency for years now." Mr. Ali said.

Mr. Mohammed Ali disclosed that he and his other colleagues who continued in office had not taken a fresh oath of office. The Governor-General had not dismissed the Cabinet, he said.

Mr. Mohammed Ali said he had some idea of

reforming the Cabinet, that was why, Mr. Ali added, he asked Major General Iskander Mirza and Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani to accompany him to Karachi.

He added that he knew of troubles at home while in Washington but he realised its serious nature only on arrival in Karachi.

Commenting on whether the Governor-General had acted constitutionally in dissolving the Constituent Assembly, the Prime Minister quoted the case of the British Parliament being dissolved by the King or the Queen.

When pointedly asked whether the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly—a sovereign body—was legal and constitutional, Mr. Ali replied: "I am not a constitutional lawyer but in my opinion the Constituent Assembly could not function effectively." Mr. Ali said, "I anticipated violent opposition to acceptance of decisions of the Constituent Assembly. But how long can we go on with deadlocks? Unanimous consent of all units was all that was needed. The major provinces were now going back on Consensus decisions. That was why the Constituent Assembly stood dissolved."

The Prime Minister said he accepted the view of the Government that the Constituent Assembly could be dissolved.

The President of the Constituent Assembly Mr. Tamizuddin Khan was contesting the legal position, Mr. Ali said adding that he had met him but had not tried to dissuade him from contesting this issue.

Stating that all work done by the Constituent Assembly during last seven years had not been wasted, Mr. Ali listed four fundamental issues which would have to be taken afresh for their solution. They were:

1. Distribution of power between Centre and the Provinces;
2. Character and quantum of representation of units in the Federal Legislature;
3. Formation of provincial boundaries and
4. Language problem.

He said: "We have not been able to frame the Constitution for the last seven years. We were proceeding on the basis of securing agreement on all provisions of the Constitution. The Basic Principles Committee's interim report presented by the late Liaquat Ali Khan had been opposed by the Bengal group. It was dropped. The Basic Principles Report finalised by Mr. Nazimuddin and presented by me met with opposition from Pakistan Punjab on the question of quantum and character of representation from that province."

"The formula," Mr. Ali added, "which we evolved for representation was accepted by all. We had principles of equality and partnership between the two zones before us. On the two previous occasions there was absolute deadhalt in the Constitution making."

Regarding the "emergency" itself the following editorial comment in the London *Bankers' Magazine* for September, 1954, provides a good deal of back-

ground material, coming as it does from British sources:

"The grave deterioration in Pakistani political affairs cannot be explained away in simple terms. It was not due to the Communists or the agitators, it was not caused by the overpopulation of East Pakistan or by the poverty and unemployment there, nor was it the result of a wish to set up an independent state. It is true that the Bengali feels frustrated when he sees so many of the good jobs in his Province going to West Pakistanis and that he resents the fact that although his jute and tea earns more foreign exchange than the products of the West and despite his heavy tax payments, he has the smaller voice in national affairs. None of these factors, however, explains the excesses; but all contributed to that flare-up of local feeling that led to the Adamjee riots in May.

Unhappily the economic position is also deteriorating. Although the first quarter of this year was the fifth successive quarter to show a surplus on the balance of payments, it amounted only to Rs. 17 million, less than one-third of the comparable figure achieved in 1953. As the Dominion normally earns the largest surplus at the beginning of the year, the outlook is therefore bleak. Indeed, it is almost certain that a deficit, and possibly a sizeable one, was incurred in the second quarter.

Pakistan relies on cotton and jute for over 80 per cent. of her foreign earnings. In the first four months of the year the volume of exports of both dropped quite sharply compared with the same period last year and cotton exports are likely to fall away still further. Jute is produced in East Pakistan and while the tense political atmosphere may not affect production, it is affecting the output of manufactured jute goods. Indeed, business conditions generally in the Province were disturbed by the events of May.

As well as being faced with a deteriorating economic situation, the Kashmir dispute poses grave external problems for the Dominion. Divided by more than a thousand miles of Indian territory, East and West Pakistan cannot afford the luxury of a family feud—and survive."

Financing Industrial Development

At last, the much awaited and advertised National Industrial Development Corporation has come into being. The Union Minister of Commerce and Industry has become the Chairman of the Board of Directors who held their first meeting on October 22, 1954. The essential idea behind the Corporation is to secure the co-operation of leaders of private enterprise for the building up of industries in the country. The crying need is expansion. In consumer goods industries, the Government feel that private industry would be able to meet the needs of the country, perhaps with some assistance here and there. But

there is a large field of important and basic industries the development of which requires a different treatment. Here, private enterprise might not be able to achieve much by itself, but could contribute know-how knowledge. These resources would be drawn out and deal both by way of investment and experience and harnessed for the development of industry by the Corporation taking the necessary initiative. The Corporation can do so by undertaking project studies, providing technical services and investments wherever necessary to execute the projects. This would be the main function of the Corporation and financing would only be incidental.

The Government view that integrated self-contained units were not always the best form of industrial growth. A great deal could be done by providing balancing equipment and developing ancillary industries. By these means the Government envisage the growth of townships round these basic industries. As a rule, new enterprises set up by the Corporation should be directly managed by boards and not handed over to managing agencies.

The Corporation has been set up entirely with Government capital and all the Directors have been nominated by Government. The Corporation has been registered as a company under the Indian Companies Act with a share capital of Rs. 1 crore. As the Corporation is intended mainly as an agency or instrument of Government for developing industries and not a profit-making institution by itself the finances required by the Corporation may be provided by Government in the following ways:

- (1) By an annual grant for the purpose of study, investigation and formulation of projects and building up a corps of technical and ministerial staff; and
- (2) By loans to the Corporation to be made as and when projects are taken up by the Corporation.

The Corporation will take the earliest opportunity of equipping itself with an expert technical and engineering service. It is felt that its success would largely depend on the quality of its technical advisers. At present, there is a serious gap in Indian economy in this respect. The result is that often enough the Government is unable to judge the value of the advice it receives from foreign and Indian consultants in the preparation of various industrial projects. Naturally, it has to take many things for granted and this is undesirable.

It is now possible to demarcate the functions of the various organisations assisting industry. The Industrial Finance Corporation is essentially a lending institution. It largely helps expansion of existing industries. The proposed Industrial Investment Corporation, sponsored by the World Bank, will have a broader aim. It will lend money to new industries by participating in the issue of shares. Essentially a

business corporation, it will participate only in such projects which promise a speedy return. The object of the newly registered National Industrial Development Corporation is to start new basic industries, necessary for the economic development of the country. Profit-making will not be its principal immediate aim. Nothing will be outside the purview of the Industrial Development Corporation. Existing private industry would also benefit, as the Corporation proposes to supply balancing equipment so that it can launch on new lines of production. It will also serve as the instrument for granting special loans on special terms for modernizing cotton textiles and jute mills.

The establishment of the Industrial Development Corporation marks a departure in the industrial policy of the Government and this was hinted at by the industrial policy resolution of the Ajmer Session of the A.I.C.C. The new policy is one of further concessions to the private sector. The new policy is being construed to mean that the Government is not only not going to nationalise industries already existing but also industries which would be started in future. The most objectionable feature of the new Corporation is that if after starting an industry the Government want to re-invest the amount in some other industry, it might invite private entrepreneurs to take over the former. In other words, the private enterprise will be allowed to own an undertaking and derive profit therefrom, although it will not be required to take any part in the initial stages of the industrial concern which inevitably involves a great amount of risk. It is difficult to understand why an industrial undertaking started entirely with Government money shall be made over to private ownership.

It is time the Government realise that as yet mixed economy has produced nothing but unmixed evils in the all-round economic life of the country. The recent sugar crisis is a pointer that the private enterprise is always private and the term "private" implies that in India it is opposed to anything social or national. To tie up the Government endeavour with private enterprise is as dangerous as to invite the Trojan horse inside the camp. An express delivery letter addressed to all sugar factories by the Food and Agricultural Ministry in the second week of October, over the present sugar crisis, reflects the attitude of an important section of the private enterprise in the event of an emergency. The letter reads:

"... it has come to the notice of the Central Government that sugar released for free sale has not moved from factories in many cases. It has also been observed that, in some cases, the factories have even failed to comply with, in part or in full, the release orders issued by this Ministry for delivery of sugar out of the reserve stocks. Further, complaints have been received that, in some cases, premium has been demanded by fac-

ories from allottees who were allotted sugar out of the reserve stocks..."

The profiteering prices charged for wheat and wheat products during the recent Pujas in West Bengal is another instance that the private trade does not allow a single chance to slip unexploited and the worst sufferers are the people. The apparently holy alliance between the Government and the private enterprise hardly produce anything but unholy effect and this should provide as an eye-opener for the authorities.

Dangers of Suppliers' Credit

In his address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank at their annual meeting at Washington on 25th September, Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the Bank, referred to a new feature in the field of international finance, namely, suppliers' credits, and pointed out the dangers to which this form of credit may lead the world. The growth of credit brings its own problems. As the availability of capital and capital equipment has risen, the world has passed from a seller's to a buyer's market and a competitive race is developing among suppliers. This takes the form not only of competition in terms of price, quality and delivery date but also competition in the offer of medium-term suppliers' credits. Suppliers' credits are an appropriate type of international financing when applied to the proper transactions. But they can be misused and over-used and there is some disturbing evidence that this is happening—too much credit given under the pressure of competition, sometimes on inappropriate terms and for the wrong purposes.

In the opinion of Mr. Black, the situation is becoming serious. The danger is that bad credit will drive out good, and tend to bring international investment back into disrepute—this at a time when the world is still negotiating adjustments of debts incurred before. Suppliers' credits can serve a useful purpose in financing the normal, short-term flow of imports or in financing investment projects which can pay their way within the term for which the credit is given. But, although the availability of these credits may seem to present an opportunity to speed the rate of development, there is a risk that the use of short-term finance may be pressed beyond these limits. When this happens, the result is likely to be unfortunate.

Nor can the balance of payments aspects of these transactions be overlooked. Experience teaches us that it is imprudent to count on a steady flow of capital year after year. Reliance on suppliers' credits, indeed, in general means reliance on something particularly volatile. The importing country may run into payments difficulties that check further investment from outside. The exporting countries themselves may experience payments difficulties that force them

to insist on cash payment. Or a boom in the world or home market may make it possible to sell for cash and reduce the need to extend credit. There is the risk, in other words, that the borrower may have raised his rate of investment only to find that he must later make a drastic cutback and that what was looked forward to as a period of sustained economic advance may end as a period of stagnation or, even, of retrogression.

The manner in which suppliers' credits are offered, moreover, sometimes results in projects being undertaken which are from the highest priority in developmental needs. The exporting country wishes to boost its exports and therefore offers credits for financing a project using its equipment. The manufacturing supplier of equipment naturally welcomes any opportunity to increase his sales and he can certainly not be blamed if he takes advantage of whatever credit facilities may be made available. And the importing country may feel that the credit, being available, should be accepted even if not for the most useful of purposes nor on the best of terms and even if, as often happens, under these arrangements a higher price for the goods must be paid. This is contrary to the interests of the importing country and may result in slower rather than faster development.

Long-term capital funds represent in general the most appropriate method of financing development projects requiring heavy capital equipment from the point of view both of the nature of the projects themselves and of the impact on the borrowing country's balance of payments. But any potential long-term investor—and not only the International Bank—must take into account the total external debt burden of the borrowing country. So an excessive use of short- or medium-term credit must diminish a country's access to long-term capital funds. In short, the indiscriminate use of credit of this kind may increase the costs of development, may interrupt the continuity of effort, may upset the balance of investment, and may make the goals of investment harder, and not easier, to reach.

The increase in competition in suppliers' credits also has its dangers for the exporting countries. Suppliers' credits are usually financed only in minor part by the suppliers themselves. Most of the industrial nations now have one or both types of official institutions to give financial aid to exports. One type finances the export of capital goods; the other, without supplying capital, underwrites the risk. These suppliers' credits are usually made largely at the ultimate risk of the Government of the exporting country. The result of the suppliers' relative freedom from risk is that they are constantly entreating their own Government to grant more liberal credit facilities. In each of the exporting countries, Government hear the complaint that other Governments are more liberal. So a

race is developing, a race in which none of the competitors can win, because the faster each goes, the faster all the others go.

A warning in this respect was anticipated ten years ago at Bretton Woods. The spokesman of one of the delegations there pointed to the danger, saying that, in a time of pressure for exports, countries would embark on bilateral credit arrangements no doubt linked with deals relating to the purchase and sale of goods; and, as soon as certain countries began to adopt this course, others would find that they had to follow suit to protect their trade interests. It is difficult to imagine a more fruitful source of international dissension than a competitive trade and credit expansion programme of this character.

Working of Indian Embassies Abroad

Dr. J. C. Kumarappa narrates his experience with the staff of the Indian embassy in Prague in the October issue of the *Gram Udyog Patrika*. This throws some interesting light on the working of some of the Indian embassies abroad complaints about which were not infrequently heard.

Dr. Kumarappa had been invited to attend the World Peace Conference in Stockholm early in June during his stay in Bulgaria. On account of insufficient time it had not been possible to obtain Swedish visas in Bulgaria and a representative of the Bulgarian Peace Council had wired to the Bulgarian embassy at Prague, where they were to change planes, to secure the needed visas for the Bulgarian delegates and to the Indian embassy to get Dr. Kumarappa a Swedish visa by the 16th June at the latest.

On their arrival at the Prague airport on June 17 a representative of the Bulgarian embassy had been there to arrange the visas and hotel accommodation for the Bulgarian delegates. But none had come from the Indian embassy and Dr. Kumarappa had to put up at the Transit Airport Hotel arranged by a Czech lady Customs clerk who had also rung up the Indian embassy for him. But even after Dr. Kumarappa himself had twice phoned the Indian embassy, nobody came for two days. By that time his passage had to be cancelled, his passport had been impounded and he had been under a sort of "house arrest" in his hotel.

On the morning of the third day a clerk from the Indian embassy had come to see him and put Dr. Kumarappa to task for coming without having obtained a visa. When Dr. Kumarappa had pointed to him the behaviour of the Bulgarian embassy in the same circumstances the clerk grudgingly had taken his passport but complained that they were not provided with funds for visa fees for such travellers (Dr. Kumarappa could not cash his travellers' cheques as his passport and luggage had been at the Airport. The fee was about a shilling).

The employee concerned had then verbally intimidated Dr. Kumarappa that the Swedish embassy would instruct their Stockholm office to permit Dr. Kumarappa to land without a visa. The clerk, however, had refused to give him a written statement to that effect.

The next morning when Dr. Kumarappa had arrived at Stockholm, no instructions had reached the Passport officer from Prague. But the whole situation having been explained to him the officer had granted him a visa for five days after consultations with his superior officer. This time also Dr. Kumarappa could not give the visa money amounting to about a shilling having no Swedish money with him as his luggage had been taken to the Peace Council Office; but the officer had just smiled and let him pass.

"In contrast to the extreme courtesy and kindness shown by Foreign embassies the wooden-headedness of our embassies stands out. Can this be corrected in time with gaining experience? Or, is inefficiency the badge of our tribe?"—asks Dr. Kumarappa.

E.D.C. Accord

On October 23, at Paris, France and West Germany signed a treaty settling the future of the Saar area, the apple of discord. This signing climaxed a week of hard bargaining—and a long period of failures and recriminations. The recriminations were well-summarised by the *Worldover Press* in its 17th September issue as given below:

"Amid the waves of bitter criticism still hurled against the French for rejection of E.D.C., some things need to be remembered. If there is to be an "agonizing reappraisal," let's not forget the West's mistakes.

Does it make sense to heap abuse and charges of "pro-Communism" on such proved anti-Communists as the conservative, Edouard Herriot, and the Socialist former Minister, Jules Moch? This writer has seen French Communists in fury at the mention of their names. Is everybody who refuses to do Washington's bidding a Communist? How silly can we get?

As they acted, here are some things the French couldn't get out of their minds. They were asked to give up control of their armed forces to an international authority. An ideal; but would the U.S. do it? You look at Congress and see. When the French wanted to "case into" E.D.C. gradually, they were rebuffed; it had to be all or nothing, right now. Even the British, close to Europe, refused to enter E.D.C. effectively. Washington, for several years, had been hypnotized by the questionable idea of rearming Germany; prepared vast piles of arms for it; threatened the French if they wouldn't go along; and with typical rigidity, would consider no alternatives. The ideal of European unity was made perfunctory, German rearmament central. And the many disturbing trends in Adenauer's Germany were brushed off by the Americans, while many a dangerous tendency was fostered.

Despite three invasions by Germany, the French could be persuaded that another might not come. But it felt, with very good reason, that a heady Germany, not unified first by peaceful means, might use force to get back its lost territories in the East. World War I began at Sarajevo, World War II at Danzig. France saw the most likely starting point for World War III as in the same east central European region. In that, they were anything but foolish. In spite of their knowledge of the French attitude, Washington and its European governmental friends held out at Brussels for Mr. Dulles' way, or nothing. They got what they should have expected. They now talk as if they could still prevail.

A balanced view will not forget the many fine and democratic Germans. They, too, need understanding and help. But most of them are also concerned over trends in German groups and in their government, and millions of them share France's feeling about German rearmament. They see that Adenauer has taken to his bosom some parties of the extreme right, along with old Nazis and Nazi backers. The Ruhr barons are in the saddle again, frisky and demanding. Organizations of a pro-Nazi character spring up with impunity. Even the Stahlhelm demonstrates with safety, illegally. Yet when the French showed signs of funk over E.D.C., one U.S. official in France told Walter Kerr of the *N.Y. Herald Tribune*, "They'll ratify, and like it."

About German Forces in E.D.C., there has been some funny business. The German contingent was supposed to be 12 divisions, of 12,700 men each, at the most. Twelve would total 152,400. But E.D.C. plans also called for a German army of from 400,000 to 500,000. Troops behind the combat divisions would total around 340,000. This doesn't count an air force of 80,000. Schmidt-Wittmack, the Bonn security committeeman who fled to the Russian Zone, probably lied when he said there were secret plans for 48 divisions; but it is known to everybody that powerful groups in and out of the Adenauer regime have been openly pushing for as many as 60 divisions. Theodor Blank, defense planner, says the new German forces will be democratic, but he is laughed at by militarists who declare they'll soon take over. And the training will have to be done in part by old S.S. men, who are not barred as officers.

Germany in Nato? Separately armed? Left neutralized and unarmed? Or E.D.C. revised to suit the French? More likely the last. In any case, hot talk or not, France can't be pushed aside."

The International Edition of the *New York Times* for October 24 gives a graphic summary of the actual final settlement as given below:

The meeting in Paris last week drew a full house of top-level Western diplomats. Foreign ministers of fifteen countries spanning from the Pacific to the Black Sea were present. In their train were scores of advisers, experts and translators. There were conversations in hotels and corridors, drafting sessions in committee rooms, full dress dinners at embassies and ministries, formal

plenary conferences at the Palais de Chaillot, high above the right bank of the Seine opposite the Eiffel Tower.

At the center of attention was French Premier and Foreign Minister Pierre Mendes-France. From the first the major question before the conference—as it had been the major question in negotiations extending back four years—was on what terms France would accede German rearmament. Throughout the week M. Mendes-France gave an elastic answer. The French Foreign Minister, he kept saying in effect, would agree to any terms the French Premier could push through the French Assembly.

It was an answer calculated to give M. Mendes-France maximum bargaining power with both the French deputies and the foreign diplomats. To the deputies, he cut again the figure of the old Tiger, Clemenceau fighting hard for French interests, driving the best bargain that could be got. For the diplomats he had at his beck what Palmerston once called the "argument of vapors"—unless they met his demands, the Assembly would reject the agreement signed and the Atlantic alliance would be in parlous straits.

But in final session yesterday afternoon, the elastic answers were translated into firm diplomatic contracts, it's dotted and it's crossed. For the ceremony, the ministers assembled in the famous Clock Room of the French Foreign Ministry, the Salle d'Horloges of the Quai d'Orsay. There were formal speeches. Then attendants, with rakes similar to those used by the croupiers at Monte Carlo, pushed bulky documents back and forth across the green baize table. The ministers signed.

The signing marked the culmination of four parallel sets of negotiations carried on through the week.

FOUR AGREEMENTS

First, in brief meetings Wednesday and Thursday, agreement was reached on a grant of near-sovereignty to West Germany by the Western Big Three.

Second, at a conference Thursday, terms for West German rearmament under the Western European Union (W.E.U.) were worked out, with the single obstacle—a French plan for a supranational arms pool—being shunted to a study group.

Third, in a brief session that came off without a hitch Friday, West Germany was invited into NATO.

Fourth, in week-long negotiations that were in doubt right down to the wire, France and Germany came to an understanding on the problem of the Saar. These are the details of the agreements in terms of the main issues involved:

GERMAN SOVEREIGNTY

Since 1949, when the West German Federal Republic was set up, its sovereignty has been limited by an Allied occupation statute which gave the Allied High Commission and the Allied occupation forces considerable authority to interfere in internal German affairs.

Yesterday, the Big Three and West Germany signed a new, shortened and up-dated version of the 1952 Bonn

peace agreement. This, when first negotiated, linked German sovereignty to the actual creation of the now defunct E.D.C. The new agreement, like the old, revokes the Allied occupation statute, abolishes the Allied High Commission, but grants Bonn immediate and virtual sovereignty on terms more advantageous to the Germans than those originally negotiated. The only power reserved to the Big Three is the right to station troops in the Federal Republic and in West Berlin for the "defense of the free world of which [they] form a part." The Allied occupation of West Berlin would continue pending a settlement with Russia on German reunification.

GERMAN REARMAMENT

The primary intention behind the ill-fated European Defense Community treaty was to bring a sovereign rearmend West Germany into the Western alliance with strict safeguards against a revived German militarism. This was to have been done by absorbing her manpower and industrial potential into a single, unified European defense force under a supranational authority. The Germans were to have contributed about 500,000 men but there was to be no German national army or general staff. Instead, each of the twelve new German divisions were to have been merged with those of other contributing nations under "integrated" army commands. The international authority was also to have controlled continental—including German—arms manufacture and procurement.

Large segments of the French, however, were reluctant to accept such an authority. Other large groups feared the prospect of a rearmend Germany without a powerful British counterweight. These misgivings led to the wreck of E.D.C. by the French Parliament on Aug. 30.

At London three weeks ago, the British pledged not to withdraw their forces from Europe without the consent of their continental allies. They had previously refused such a commitment to E.D.C. The French then tentatively agreed to a new plan to rearm West Germany under the joint control of an expanded Brussels Treaty Organization and of NATO. The Brussels Treaty of 1948 linked Britain, France and the Benelux countries in a mutual defense alliance.

W.E.U. AND NATO

Yesterday, final agreement was reached on German rearmament under the two newly expanded organizations, each provided with new safeguards, but neither possessing the supranational authority which characterized E.D.C. These are the mechanisms:

W. E. U. West Germany, with Italy, was invited to join an expanded Brussels pact organization which is officially to be called Western European Union. W. E. U. is to set the "ceilings" on armed forces and armaments contributed by its members to NATO, and no increases will be permitted without the unanimous consent of the seven members. W. E. U. will also make sure that European—and especially West German—arms are manufactured only within agreed limits. Unlike

E.D.C., however, it will have no authority to set up a supranational arms procurement agency and arms pool. A plan by M. Mendes-France to provide it with such authority was handed to a W.E.U. working party for further study.

NATO. West Germany was then invited into the North Atlantic alliance with the right to raise a 500,000-man force as provided by E.D.C. Unlike E.D.C., the integration of this force with other NATO forces will take place, except in special cases, only at the highest levels. Thus, a national German army, which E.D.C. was designed to negate, has in effect been created. To prevent its independent deployment, increased powers were given to the supreme NATO commander over the new German and all other NATO continental armies and over their placement, logistic arrangements, and supplies.

THE SAAR

The Saar (area: 1,000 square miles; population: 1,000,000) has been a critical factor in Franco-German relations for half a century. By language and culture, the Saarlanders are German. Economically, the area—rich in coal, deficient in food—is complementary to France. In sovereignty it has passed back and forth between the two powers, following the ups and downs of their relative strength. After each change, the annexing power has tried to confirm supremacy while the displaced power has tried to keep the door open for one more revision.

The last change, immediately after World War II, put the French in the saddle. They organized the Saar as an autonomous state with a constitution that prevented pro-German parties from campaigning, and assured close economic ties (customs union and common currency) with France. In all subsequent negotiations involving West Germany, the French have tried to write into the bargain a guarantee of their favored status in the Saar. When the Act of London was signed three weeks ago, Premier Mendes-France named a Saar settlement as a condition for final French acceptance of the detailed agreements.

West German Chancellor Adenauer has repeatedly indicated willingness to give the French their way on the Saar in the interests of a general West European agreement. But many of his countrymen regard the Saar as German, and fear cession of the territory might set a precedent for signing away former German lands now occupied by the Russians. The Social Democrats in the opposition, and the Free Democrats and Refugees party within the Chancellor's coalition, have insisted that in any Saar settlement there be (1) expansion of West German trading rights; (2) restoration of free campaigning rights to German parties; (3) no foreclosure on the final status of the territory as either French or German.

It was in that situation with the whole body of Western plans for organizing Western Europe hanging in the balance, that last Tuesday in Paris Premier Mendes-France and Chancellor Adenauer began meeting on the Saar question.

The meetings cast the whole Paris conference into

uncertainty. M. Mendes-France said he would sign no other agreements until a settlement on the Saar had been achieved. In an atmosphere of crisis he and Dr. Adenauer talked until the small hours of yesterday morning and met again before noon. Then the French Premier hastened to a Cabinet meeting. In fifteen minutes came the announcement that a Saar agreement had been approved.

The agreement was this: That the Saar be "Europeanized," under a commissioner (not a Frenchman, German or Saarlander) named by W. E. U.; that the people of the Saar vote on the agreement, with German parties free to campaign; that—assuming approval of the plan in the referendum—elections be held for a Saar legislature, with no campaigning in the election or in any other way for a change in the Saar's status; that the whole arrangement be subject ultimately to the terms of a German peace treaty.

All was clear for the signing.

Before the agreements can go into effect they must run a complex course of legislative approval. The protocol accepting West Germany into NATO is subject to ratification by the parliaments of fifteen countries, including the U.S. The Western European Union agreement must win favorable votes in seven countries. There will be debates and votes on the West German sovereignty grant in Paris, Bonn and London. The Saar understanding must come before the French Assembly and the West German Bundestag.

In all countries save France, favorable majorities are, at present, assured. Even in France the outlook is favorable, with M. Mendes-France evidently backing the agreements and holding strong cards in the Assembly. But throughout the West there are interests and feelings that run against the grain of the Paris agreements. The French continue to be nervous about German militarism, and by that much, interested in a possible deal for a demilitarized Germany. In West Germany, popular sentiment for armed sovereignty is probably a second best to desire for unification. A large segment of the British Labor party opposes German rearmament and yearns for an overall European settlement.

These misgivings and doubts have been in abeyance during the past weeks. But it is doubtful that the machinery of parliamentary ratification will begin turning before the beginning of next year. That leaves Russia a three months' grace period in which to exploit the rich opportunities for dashing Western plans.

The Suez Canal Agreement

On October 19, at Cairo, an agreement was reached and a settlement signed between Britain and Egypt. This is the end of a long period of hostility.

The situation is summarised in the *New York Times*, International Edition, for October 24 as follows:

On November 18, 1875, Prime Minister Disraeli penned a hasty memorandum to his Queen: "The

Khedive (ruler of Egypt), on the eve of bankruptcy, appears desirous of parting with his shares in the Suez Canal . . . (He) says it is absolutely necessary that he should have . . . four millions sterling by the 30th of this month! Scarcely breathing time! But the thing must be done. . . . It is vital to your Majesty's authority and power . . . that the canal should belong to England."

Victoria and the Cabinet agreed. Disraeli purchased the shares with money borrowed from the Rothschilds, and England won her "lifeline to the East" and as a result of later developments, a military base for new operations in the Mid-East.

Last Tuesday, almost seventy-nine years later, Britain and Egypt signed a treaty under which the British agreed to withdraw from their Suez base. The treaty represented another shrinkage in the once mighty Empire and another victory for the nationalism that has swept the Middle and Far East since World War II.

Under the agreement, Britain is to surrender to Egypt the hub of her Middle Eastern defense system—a \$1 billion network of bases, airdromes, ordnance depots and communications facilities in the Suez Canal zone. The 80,000 British troops now manning this vast complex will be evacuated in stages over the next twenty months, and Egypt will assume responsibility for the base. Cairo agrees, however, that in the event of an armed attack on Egypt or any other Arab State or Turkey, Britain will be allowed to use the base again.

The West hopes that the agreement will be followed by improved relations with the Middle East, and that the Egyptians, with Suez theirs, will agree to join some kind of a Middle East defense arrangement with the West. But although Cairo officials have privately assured Western officials of their sympathy for such a project, they maintain that Egyptian popular sentiment is still too "anti-colonial" for the Government to risk entering into any alliance with the West for the time being.

In Israel there was adverse reaction to the Suez treaty. The Israeli Government was concerned lest Egypt's new strength encourage Arab aggression against the Jewish State.

U.S. Aid in Asia

The *New York Times*, International Edition, in an editorial article on October 17 discusses the prospect of U.S. aid in Asia. The newspaper says that there was widespread need of foreign aid in the region though some governments and areas there were shaky. The United States had also important reservoir of resources that could be mobilised and used though in a manner which should be adapted to local needs and local frames of mind. No other approach could be really effective in problem solving.

Those were not mere problems of money. There were problems in basic intelligence and its use.

"A good example of this intelligence," according to the newspaper, was shown by Pakistan's eminent Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, when he announced that Pakistan had initiated a new economic policy designed to attract foreign investment. Pakistan will allow foreign capital to make its profit and remit it outside the country. This is a far cry from the frantic fears of "new-imperialism" that have been voiced in some other quarters. Pakistan is being "realistic, imaginative and friendly." In the Philippines also the U.S.A. had the advantage of that understanding and common outlook.

"In other areas in East and South Asia we lack these advantages of understanding. In Burma, for example, where there is great need of assistance, it is now suggested that our help may take an "indirect" form so as not to offend Burman sensibilities. Our aid was given once but was curtailed by Burman action, presumably over the quite minor issue of Chinese Nationalist irregulars who had obtained a foothold in north-east Burma. The Burmans have now wisely refused to associate themselves with the ridiculous Polish charge that these irregulars are "supported" by the United States. At the same time Nationalist China has made every possible concession to Rangoon, completely disavowing any such irregulars as are unwilling to go to Formosa. It is possible that a better climate of opinion and feeling can arise in which Burma can get some much-needed help.

"India and Indonesia, meanwhile, are still hopeful of gaining some advantage by closer association with the Communists. While Prime Minister Nehru is en route to Peiping, New Delhi has concluded a new trade pact with Red China, centred chiefly on Tibet, and Jakarta is still trying to associate Indonesia with the Communist trade, if not entirely the political orbit."

Foreign Aid and Investment

Mr. Maurice Zinkin, a former member of the Indian Civil Service and at present on the staff of the Lever Brothers (India) Ltd., writes in an article in the summer issue of the *Progress*, the magazine of Unilever, that India was an ideal country where foreign money, foreign experts, foreign know-how could do a job of real value. But, Mr. Zinkin notes, foreign participation in India's Five-Year Plan had been very limited. In the Government sector against a plan of about £1700 million, and assuming that aid and loans in 1955-56 would be of the same order as those expected for 1954-55 aid and loans by UNO, foreign governments and the World Bank together added up to only £265 million. Mr. Zinkin arrives at the figure in the following manner:

External Loans and Aid received by India till March, 1954

	£ Million
UNO: WHO Aid	0.725
UNICIEF Aid	3.316
World Bank Loan	33,000 (£17.4 million received before the first year of plan)
USA Wheat Loan	67,800
USA Aid:	
Technical Co-operation Assistance	65.770
Ford Foundation	1.546
Rockefeller Foundation	0.061
Aid under the Colombo Plan:	
Canada	15.143
Australia	5.900
New Zealand	0.250
Norwegian Aid	0.203
Total of external loans and aid till March, 1954	196.714
Loan aid expected in 1954-55	
Budget estimates	33.75
Estimate for 1955-56	33.75
Grand Total	264.214

Mr. Zinkin writes: "All put together it is not much whether it is compared with the help given to the Philippines, or what the Kuomintang has wasted, or even private investment in Canada since the War. India could do with much more. Nor, despite the modern fashion of talking about limitations on the capacity of the underdeveloped countries to take in capital, would India in absorbing much more . . ."

Still he considers that on the government side, and on the whole, foreign share in India's Plan had been "admirable" and quite valuable. "Not every scheme has been of the highest priority, not every expert has been suitable. But there is always some error and some waste in every major enterprise. . . ."

Foreign private investment was still less. Before India became independent, Mr. Zinkin estimates, foreign private investment in India had probably been to the extent of not less than £500 to £600 million. Since Independence there had been considerable disinvestment for political, economic, sociological and personal reasons. The latest government figures for disinvestment during the intervening period since Independence were £105 million of which £12 million had been industrial and trading and the rest had been the repatriation of such items as Savings, or Provident Funds on retirement. There had been only a little re-investment by the Big Business: Imperial Chemical Industries, Unilever or the Oil Companies, or Krupps-Demag or American Cyanamide or Oerlikons.

Tito on his Visit to India

Speaking on the tenth anniversary of the Liberation of the East and South Herzegovina to a public meeting on October 3 at Trebinje, President Tito of Yugoslavia referred to his forthcoming visit to India

and Burma and said that considerations of peace had inspired him to undertake the tour of a region far away from Yugoslavia. "It is a State necessity," he said adding that the visit "will be of great significance."

He said that Yugoslavia's relations with India were "excellent" and he wished to "see at close quarters the face of this great country, feel its breath and maybe through me they will more easily comprehend our reality and our efforts and feel the breath and face of our country." His visit to Burma had also been prompted by similar considerations of closer unity and understanding for the sake of maintaining world peace and furthering national development.

Referring to the speculation in certain quarters about the possibility of a third power bloc coming into being as a result of his visit to the Asian countries Marshal Tito said that there was no intention to create any third Power in the world. "We only want that all those who are really against war and aggression and for correct international relations should be somehow more compactly united, that although we are separated by distance still our opinions and efforts should be undivided and should have some importance on the international balance in the settlement of international problems."

India's North-East Frontier

Weird reports reaching of late from India's North-East Frontier have not been very much reassuring. One unofficial report said that a "Naga Republican Federation" had been constituted under the leadership of Hongkin by 700,000 Naga tribesmen living in the unadministered areas of the Naga Hills. The Naga National Council, which was agitating for the independence of the Naga administered areas, was also understood to have lent support to Hongkin. The North-East Frontier Agency had published a denial that any Indian territory had been affected. The story of an independent Naga Federation seems to be a good deal exaggerated in any case as there were only 200,000 Nagas in the world.

Meanwhile another report adds that a conference of tribal leaders at a three-day conference at Tura (Garohills) during the second week of October had demanded a separate "Eastern Hills State" comprising all the six autonomous districts of Assam with an area of about 27,600 square miles and a population of about 1,172,000. The representatives from the Khasi, Garohills and North Cachar Hills districts were present at the conference while the Lushai Hills, Mikir Hills and Naga Hills did not send any representatives.

However, a later message from the *Statesman's* Shillong correspondent states that the demand for a separate hills State was gaining greater support and

the Mizo Union, the major political organisation in the Lushai Hills District had come out in favour of the move for forming a part 'A' State out of the autonomous districts of Assam.

In this context an article by Shri Nirmal Chandra Deb in the Puja Special Number of the *Chronicle*, the English news-magazine of Silchar in Assam, would be of some interest. Shri Deb writes that the Mizos (high hillmen), who were popularly known as the Lushais had entered India through the Burma borders about five hundred years ago and had settled down in the inaccessible forests and hilly tracts constituting the Lushai Hills district of Assam. That tribal district, about 4,000 feet above sea level, covered an area of about 8500 square miles with a population of nearly two lakhs inhabiting its 300 villages. The district had a common frontier of about 340 miles with Burma and Eastern Pakistan. The district had two sub-divisions, Aijal, which was the headquarters of the district, and Lungleh.

The Mizos treasured their independence very much and had stubbornly opposed British intrusion into their territory. After a valiant fight, they had to submit to British domination during the closing years of the nineteenth century. The British had thenceforward followed a policy of keeping the Mizos completely isolated from the rest of India and of imposing British culture and Christian religion on them. The result was that today even the remotest parts of the district were full of churches and 90 per cent of the people were Christians. The costumes and literature too were anglicized. Their newspapers were printed in the Roman script.

Traditionally the Mizos had an administrative set-up in which the chiefs took a leading and responsible part. Following the custom of tribal democracy, the chiefs were elected and did not inherit their position and any chief failing to discharge his duties creditably was promptly deposed.

After the British occupation the entire picture had changed. The British had created chief lands, allocating well defined regions to the chief as life-long tenures and had made them responsible for the collection of Government revenue, supply of men on demand as indentured labour, settling up minor disputes and execution of Government orders. As was natural under such conditions, the chiefs were corrupted and became instruments of oppression of the people.

The Mizo land was formally incorporated in the province of Assam as one of its districts in April, 1898 and the area was declared as "Excluded Area." With the advent of independence in 1947 the Mizo-land came to be treated as an Autonomous Tribal District of Assam with a District Council composed of 24 members to administer the region which came into being on April 23, 1952. Eighteen members of

the Council were elected on adult franchise and six nominated by the Government. In the Lok Sabha, the district had one representative, at present Mr. Thanlia, B.A.; Mr. Saprawnga, B.A., Mr. Lalbuana and Mr. Dengthuama represented the Autonomous District in the Assam State Legislative Assembly.

The Mizos had two principal political organizations—the Mizo Union and the United Mizo Freedom Organisation. The last elections had shown that the Mizo Union, which advocated a republican form of government demolishing totally the chieftdom system, had popular support inasmuch as they gained all the elective seats in the District Council. The UMFO, the other organization, was quite opposed to the abolition of chieftdom on the plea that it would break up their age-old socio-economic setup.

Partition of India had hit the Mizos very much economically. The main cash crop of the region, oranges, which had previously been marketed in the neighbouring districts now included in East Pakistan with which trade was now at a standstill, could not find a suitable market on account of transport difficulties. An aerodrome at or near Aijal could very greatly facilitate contact of the region with the rest of the country.

Indo-Ceylon Accord

In January this year an agreement was reached between the Prime Ministers of India and Ceylon over the solution of the problems of Indian inhabitants of Ceylon. The agreement provided for registration of "Indians" as Ceylonese citizens and for registration of those whose applications were rejected by Ceylon Government as Indian citizens. A possibility therefore arose of the emergence of a class of people whose applications might be rejected both by Ceylon and India. Especially having regard to the manner in which registration for Ceylonese citizenship had been dealt with by the Ceylon Government. Up to that time that possibility could not be dismissed. Even as early as at the time of the signing of the agreement that possibility was pointed out in these columns and some doubts were expressed regarding the outcome of the actual implementation of the agreement which unfortunately proved to be not altogether unfounded.

Naturally enough the Indo-Ceylon relationship became strained as differences over the interpretation of the agreement accentuated. The Ceylon Government in difference to local and political opinion of a section of their supporters began to indulge in all sorts of demagoguery and brought accusations against the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon, Sri C. C. Desai, whose bold stand with regard to the implementation of the agreement earned him the displeasure of the Chauvinist Ceylon politicians.

In such a situation of mutual recrimination and

virtual suspension of the working of the Agreement a fresh assessment on the part of the two Governments was an obvious necessity and consequently negotiations were held between a delegation from Ceylon headed by the Premier Sir John Kotelawala and the Government of India. The Ceylon delegation included among others Mr. D. S. Senanayake a former Premier and an outspoken opponent of the January Agreement, and Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake, the Leader of the Opposition in the Ceylon Parliament also criticised the Agreement. This is for the first time a delegation of the Ceylon Indians headed by Mr. Thondamon was heard at the talks about their complaints regarding the implementation of the Agreement and their reactions to the various measures adopted by the Ceylon Government.

After two days' hard bargaining the negotiations, which seemed not to progress at all, bore fruit and an agreement was reached on October 10, the two parties pledging to make a more earnest attempt to work the January Agreement. Ceylon would remove difficulties facing applicants for Ceylon citizenship and smooth their part in acquiring it.

Commenting upon the new agreement the Ceylon *Tribune* writes in an editorial article on October 16, that while it did solve the outstanding problems with any degree of finality the agreement was nonetheless welcome as neither India nor Ceylon could go on quarrelling among themselves.

The Agreement, the newspaper notes, was undoubtedly an admission that the Nehru-Kotelawala Agreement of January had not been implemented properly. Referring to the futility of reviving the controversy about the responsibility for the impasse, the newspaper urges upon both the parties to implement the Agreement in a friendly and honourable manner. At the same time it disapproves of the undue insistence on technicalities.

"In the ultimate analysis," the editorial article continues, "the Agreement postpones the issue for another two years and the *status quo* continues in an uneasy manner. It is not without significance that this problem comes up again for review in the year of the next General Elections, and it is possible that groups and cliques both within and without the UNP (United National Party) will endeavour to exploit the 'unsolved' problem to their advantage."

About the stand of the different Ceylonese politicians at the New Delhi talks, the *Tribune* writes that while Sir John Kotelawala had acted with caution, statesmanship and understanding the stand taken by Mr. Dudley Senanayake had been somewhat disappointing. "Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranayake's see-sawing was nothing unexpected, but ex-Premier Dudley Senanayake's attitude has caused a great deal of consternation."

In an earlier issue on the eve of the talks the

newspaper stressed on the imperative necessity of Indo-Ceylon Agreement and wrote: "The sins of British colonialism in bringing into this country workers from South India to open up plantations should not be visited on these workers who have long settled in this island and have no intimate ties with the country from which they emigrated."

Recounting the contributions made by those workers to the development of Ceylon, the newspaper dwelt on the contributions they could still make in any genuine programme for Ceylon's economic and political development and ridiculed the suggestion that by driving the Indian workers out of Ceylon employment possibilities could be expanded for Ceylonese people. The reasons for Ceylon's economic distress, in the view of the paper, lay squarely on the "bankruptcy of the Government (of Ceylon) in being unable to work out an economic development plan to provide employment and occupation for the growing population." It adds: "Politically to think that economic betterment can be effected through racial discrimination, segregation and repatriation skirts the thin line of demagoguery and fascism."

The "Free Asia" Committee

The Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Asia is an international organization registered as an incorporated company in the U.S.A. One of its branches is also operating in India. It has been stated in some quarters that the so-called "Free Asia Committee" was nothing but an offshoot of the United States propaganda service, as for example, the following extract from the editorial article in the Ceylon *Tribune* of October 9. The *Tribune* writes:

"The Ceylon Observer must again be congratulated for showing up some of the deeds of the Free Asia Committee. A wary reporter from the paper tracked down one of the ever-increasing tribe of visitors from the U.S. State Department who was frank enough to declare that he had come to check on the work of propaganda institutions like the U.S.I.S. and the Free Asia Committee. What Mr. Lutz stated has completely knocked the bottom out of the make-believe Mr. Holbrook Bradley has endeavoured to foist on the people of Ceylon to the effect that his Committee is a completely non-political organisation interested in doing altruistic aid to poor suffering Asians. Mr. Bradley rushed off to Singapore, perhaps to get some chieftain to tip off Washington not to send blundering advertising executives to check on the work of the Committee and do it damage by talking out of turn."

Abduction of Girls in Aurangabad

The *Spectator*, a weekly news-magazine recently brought out in Hyderabad, reports that of late there had been several instances of abduction of girls of respectable families by certain people belonging to

the so-called educated class in Aurangabad. The abduction was apparently resorted to for immoral purposes as the special correspondent of the newspaper does not mention any specific motive for such acts.

The miscreants took advantage of the fact that the parents of the unfortunate girls often hesitated to apply to the police for redress for the sake of "honour and self-respect." What, however, would seem to heighten public anxiety was the reported fact that even when the police were apprised of such facts, no action was taken. The report hints at a possible collusion between responsible police officials in the locality and the so-called "cultured goondas" and concludes with a request to the Home Minister to pay a visit to Aurangabad to study the situation at first hand and help the distressed families from further mischief at the hands of those evil-doers.

Police Atrocities in U.P.

The police administration of the Uttar Pradesh comes in for severe condemnation in an editorial article in the *Vigil* of October 16. Referring to the fact that various complaints had been brought against police atrocities at different times by the Opposition sometimes supported by Congressmen, the newspaper writes that only party considerations prompted Congressmen to belittle the evidence of police atrocities, some of those committed against women during the agitation against enhanced irrigation rates.

During the recent session of the Uttar Pradesh Assembly, Congressmen had joined the Opposition in asking angry questions when the Home Minister had to admit that he had received complaints that the police had forcibly removed ten women from a village in Bijnor district and had criminally violated their modesty. It had further been disclosed that after an on-the-spot enquiry the Deputy Minister, Shri Muzaffar Hussain had reported that some "excesses" had been committed. But the astonishing fact in the Home Minister's admission was that no action had until then been taken against the constables concerned.

The *Vigil* writes: "We fail to find language that would be adequate for commenting on such a scandalous state of affairs in the management of so vital a Department as the police in a State that prides itself as the biggest and the most resourceful in India."

Calcutta's Police Administration

An article by a special correspondent of the *Vigil* in the issue of the newspaper of October 30, throws some very interesting lights on the police administration of Calcutta.

It is stated that the police administration in Calcutta (under the direct charge of Dr. B. C. Roy

himself) had been going on for the past three years without a permanent Commissioner of Police. This was an indication of the lack of a positive policy and had resulted in the entire city police personnel being engulfed in personal bickerings, cliquism and acts of nepotism, sometimes amounting to corruption. As might be expected under such circumstances the efficiency of the administration had been a major casualty, today only 30 per cent of the cases sent up by the Calcutta Police to the courts ending in conviction where the ratio expected by the authorities was 50 per cent which the West Bengal police were still able to maintain. The number of big murders remaining undetected was also quite high.

The writer adds: "While the work of policing is on such a low level of efficiency, personal and group rivalries are rampant. Feuds between groups of officers, one trying to oust another, have been so pronounced that it would seem that order could be restored among the higher ranks only by transferring the whole lot of them from Calcutta, which, of course, is administratively impossible."

The correspondent then proceeds on to narrate the interesting manner in which consecutive Commissioners of Police had been appointed, made to go on apparently enforced leave after one or another scandal, and then given some appointments whose usefulness was not particularly evident. A Commissioner had thus been shunted off to a job which a Deputy Secretary of the Land Records Department had been doing in addition to his own duties. An Acting Commissioner of Police had been made a special officer (an office newly created) with practically the same powers as the Commissioner, when he should ordinarily have reverted to his position as a Deputy Commissioner.

There was a feeling of uncertainty and frustration among the lower police officers about their future because of the unstable position of the Commissioner himself. "One C.P. on coming to occupy the office removes one set of them and another C.P. another set." An enquiry into the working of the recruiting of personnel in the lower grade and in the traffic department, had revealed many ugly truths and action had been taken against a number of officers. But no serious attempt had been made to rid the department of that scourge.

In this fluid state of the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners there was only one man—the D.C., Headquarters—whose position seemed to be quite secure. He had occupied the same strategic post longer than it had been held by any other officer and he is reported to be in the good books of the Chief Minister. Recently the gentleman concerned had been appointed to the newly created post of Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Traffic.

Such a state of affairs had been exercising a de-

moralising influence over the city's police officers. "For," the correspondent writes, "competency in work and honest discharge of duty are no guarantee of security. There is a premium on the capacity for quick changing of sides and saluting the rising sun, whoever he may be for the time being. In such an atmosphere, the real work, that is, policing is apt to fall to the background. This is a situation which cannot but cause concern in the minds of those who are aware of it."

Comet vs. Bullockcart

The story of human civilization is the story of speed and the story of speed is the story of mechanisation. The Indian life, however, was not disturbed by the race after the speed until after the 'fifties of the last century, but the pace of mechanisation is still limping being interspersed with primitive implements and outlook of which we are not only proud as our ancient legacy but try to preserve them in the midst of the quickening pace of modern life. Sir Mirza Ismail, who has reached a great height of eminence by virtue of his long and creditable record of service as an administrator, deserves to be heard with respect. In the course of his Convocation address at the Poona University, on 30th September, 1954, he made several observations emphasising the importance of rapid industrialisation of India and these should receive due considerations from the authorities. Mr. Mirza Ismail urged that "backward nations have been transformed into advanced nations through industrialisation—and in no other way." He is convinced that it is "large-scale modern machine industry that confers a high material standard of living as well as political power and prestige." All through his life he endeavoured hard for the development of industries and it is certainly now disappointing to him to witness the suspicion with which the machine is viewed in this country even today.

That the advancement of political power invariably calls for rapid industrialisation is unfailingly a correct view but unfortunately, the machine is viewed as anathema by some authorities. Condemning this attitude, Mr. Mirza Ismail said: "Surely, it is not our aim or desire to make a land of austerity, inhabited mostly by *sadhus*, *fakirs* and *sanyasins*." And truthfully enough, the anti-machine attitude of those authorities is gradually and slowly leading the country to a state of austerity as pictured by this eminent personality. The machine is regarded as an evil to be despised rather than an implement to be utilised.

In the sphere of education, this anti-machine attitude is strongly embedded as a close parallel in the exaggerated stress on medieval crafts. Basic education has been described by Mr. Mirza Ismail as "retreat from civilization." Basic education, according to him, with its emphasis on the *charkha* and the handloom, trains the people to a past that is purely

anachronistic in a modern world. Instead, the pupils should have been trained to adapt themselves to the changing techniques of production so that they could fit themselves in the planned mechanisation which is bound to force itself in sooner or later, if India really desires to solve her unemployment problem and keep her head high as a first class power. In the opinion of Mr. Mirza Ismail, "craft work is an excellent thing at school." And what he objects to is the exaggeration, distortion and misapplication of the idea of the basic education. The basic education system is not only educationally inadequate, it cries a halt to the country's industrial intelligence. Fundamentally, it is neither basic nor education in the modern context of educational background. Basic education, when pitted against the chain of national laboratories that have been recently established in this country, points towards polarization of primitive knowledge at the one end and modern scientific knowledge at the other—without the golden mean to form the link in the chain. The result is halted growth at both the ends and frustration of purpose.

During the last two thousand years India has had enough trials of primitive crafts and tools which tied her down to a backward economy wallowing in the quagmire of poverty, dirt and disease and ignorance. Lastly, Mr. Mirza Ismail has something to say on the language issue the veracity of which is more than testified by history. He says, "Let us not forget that but for English education and philosophy with its conception of freedom, there would have been no Indian nationalism and no political independence." The sense of nationalism cannot be fostered simply by eschewing English, the language of modern science and international communication.

This is a criticism that has to be faced by the protagonists of Basic Education. Where does it lead?

Land Reform

The Planning Commission is reported to be not satisfied with the progress of land reforms in this country. In the opinion of the Commission, the progress in this regard is not only slow, but the measures so far adopted are admittedly inadequate. Abolition of the zamindari system does not mean that we have solved the land problem. It is wrong to think so because many problems remain unsolved even after that. The land problem is, and will continue to be one of our most important and vital problems. Mere distribution of property without any increase in our productive wealth will not prove to be useful. India has done away with big zamindars and jagirdars—they are all over. Now we have to deal with the middle landlord. But ceiling on land holdings must be fixed and imposed and herein lies the problem that baffles the solution.

In the zamindari areas legislation is aimed at

the abolition of intermediaries. In raiyatwari areas protection of the tenants was the Government's main concern. The land reform programme has not succeeded in either sphere and the situation is fast deteriorating.

As some States have placed no limit on the quantity of land which the landlords can retain for self-cultivation, they have, naturally, secured such alterations in village records as to result in wholesale eviction of tenants. In States which do not require landlords to demarcate the lands they are holding for self-cultivation or intend to acquire for self-cultivation, the landlords have come by a powerful weapon for intimidating their tenants. Abolition of intermediaries has only been partly achieved although the Planning Commission has repeatedly recommended that the process should be expedited.

The total estimated amount of compensation payable by the State Governments, in cases where the law has already been enacted, is about Rs. 370.4 crores, besides rehabilitation grants amounting to Rs. 79.9 crores. The total amount required, therefore, is Rs. 450.3 crores and this is no doubt a formidable amount.

Although legislative measures have been undertaken in most States, their implementation has been extremely slow. Abolition of intermediaries has been fully implemented only in Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Hyderabad, Pepsu and Bhopal. The intermediaries have not yet been abolished in Assam, West Bengal, Mysore, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. Legislative measures are yet to be undertaken in the case of Assam in respect of temporarily settled areas; Madras, in respect of jemmi lands and estates in Malabar; Uttar Pradesh, in respect of Rampur and hilly areas; Hyderabad, in respect of village service inams; Madhya Bharat, in respect of inams and mwafi lands; Travancore, Ajmer and Kutch.

But neither the fixation of ceiling nor the abolition of intermediaries will increase food production which is vitally needed, until and unless co-operative farming is compulsorily introduced all over India. Private farming is now an outmoded system and State farming and collective farming may not be suitable to Indian conditions. What is required is co-operative farming on mechanised basis. Co-operative farming will satisfy the sense of private ownership and at the same time it will secure the benefit of the joint farming.

In spite of the pressure of population, relatively small extension of cultivation to waste lands has taken place during the last 40 years. But this is more due to the fact that the exploitation of such waste lands has not been within the resources of the ordinary cultivators rather than due to the unsuitability of all these lands for cultivation. By State or State-sponsored efforts it may be possible to bring a large

proportion of these waste lands under cultivation during the next few decades.

India Security Press

Sri Dhirubhai Mehta in an article in the *Penfriend* traces the history of stamp printing in India and describes the growth of the India Security Press.

Sri Mehta writes that up to 1862 the Indian Postage Stamps had been printed by the Surveyor General of India from plates made at the Calcutta Mint. In 1882, Messrs. Thos. de la Rue & Co. of London had obtained a contract for printing stamps which they had held until 1924.

"In 1922, Lt.-Col. G. H. Willis, C.I.E., M.V.O.R.F., the then Master of the Bombay Mint and Mr. F. O. Ascoli, I.C.S., Contoller of Printing, Stationery, and Stamps were deputed to England to investigate the possibility of printing stamps, etc., in India. Col. Willis had earlier investigated the printing currency notes prior to the War of 1914-18. As a result of their favourable report and a subsequent practical demonstration in Delhi in 1923, the Government of India decided to open a Security Press in India and the construction work began in September, 1924 at Nasik Road."

The selection of Nasik as the site for the Security Press had been influenced by climatic conditions and considerations of communication facilities. In November, 1925, printing of stamps had begun and the first set of stamps bearing the portrait of King George V had been out in 1926.

The building and the equipments for the press had cost rupees twenty-seven and a half lakhs and had since been extended at an additional cost of Rs. 67.65 lakhs.

The Security Press was divided into three sections: The Stamp Press, Central Stamp Store and the Currency Note Press. The Master of the Press (at present Sri J. C. Dutta Gupta) had to carry out two functions: one as the Master of the Press and the other as the Contoller of Stamps.

The Central Stamp Store, established in 1928 abolishing all the Reserve Stamp Depots throughout the country except in Calcutta, distributed the stamps, postal stationery, etc., to more than six hundred treasuries and sub-treasuries in India and also held reserve stocks of approximately three to six months consumption of all items.

Stamps were printed by three processes—Letter press for adhesive stamps, postcards, etc.; Off-set Lithography for impressed stamps, certain States' adhesive stamps, etc.; and Photogravure—a process newly introduced for printing of postage stamps.

The press had undertaken printing of currency notes in 1928.

The Press was run by the Central Government as a Commercial Department and apart from the

printing of bank and currency notes, postal stationery, Match Excise Duty Banderolls, etc., the Press also undertook outside work as any other commercial press did. The Press printed cheques for Banks in India and stamps, postal orders, Bank Notes, etc., for many Governments, including those of Goa, Sudan, Ethiopia, Burma and Nepal.

The annual output of the Press for 1954-55 would run into one thousand crores of rupees. In 1950-51, the Press had printed 1948.1 million adhesive stamps of the face value of 35 crores of rupees, 29 million impressed stamps of the value of fifteen and a half million and 1010.5 pieces of postal stationery of the value of Rs. 6.8 crores.

Philately in India

In an article in the Indian Postage Stamp Centenary Number of the *Penfriend*, monthly organ of the Nations' League of Friends, Mr. Jal Cooper, editor of the *India's Stamp Journal*, traces the history of the philatelic magazines and philatelia societies in India.

The first philatelic journal to be published in India, according to Mr. Cooper, was the shortlived *Indian Philatelist*, which had been brought out in Bombay in May, 1894, as a monthly. Almost simultaneously, in July, 1894, the *Philatelic World* had begun to be published from Calcutta as the monthly official organ of the Philatelic Society of Bengal. In September, 1894, another monthly, *The Indian Postage Stamp News*, had appeared in Bombay.

The Bombay Philatelic Society with 55 enthusiastic stamp collectors on its roll had brought out its official organ *The Quarterly Philatelic Circular* in January, 1896. *The Philatelic Journal of India*, official organ of the Philatelic Society of India, had been published in 1897 and had since been serving the cause of Indian philately for the last 57 years.

From 1900 to 1953 at least twenty-five philatelic journals had been published in India, all short time efforts of Indian philatelists, and except the *India's Stamp Journal*, all had ceased to exist.

The author mentions three existing Philatelic Societies. They were: (1) The Philatelic Society of India established in 1897 having 167 members on its roll at the end of 1953; (2) The Calcutta Philatelic Society established in 1937 which had a membership of sixty at the moment; (3) The Empire of India Philatelic Society established in 1941 with a current membership of over 500.

"Thus it will be seen," writes Mr. Cooper, "that out of a population of 300 million souls, there are not even one thousand active stamp collectors, who can act as good contacts for exchanging stamps with their counterparts in foreign countries." Mr. Cooper remarks that, in view of the low literacy and per capita income of the people of the country, this cannot be considered quite unnatural.

POLITICS AROUND THE WORLD*

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THE topic for this evening's lecture, assigned by the university authorities, is a very ambitious one. It is—"Politics Around the World." I suppose I have been asked to delve into this vast field because very recently I have taken a study-tour round the world. Even if I try to discuss only a phase of what is happening in contemporary world politics, it will be difficult to accomplish it within the limited time at my disposal. Therefore I am diffident about carrying out my obligations to your full satisfaction, and I ask your indulgence for inadequacy in performing my task this evening.

I

From time immemorial, fundamental principles controlling world politics have been the same. They involve: (a) expansion of states, (b) rivalry amongst them, and, (c) efforts for recovery of independence or re-assertion of conquered peoples. Long before any of the modern states came into existence, powerful tribes expanded their domain by conquering weak ones. They fought amongst themselves to attain supremacy over others, and then subject tribes if they were not completely absorbed, in co-operation with, or may I say in alliance with, enemies of their over-lords, fought to emancipate themselves from enslaved conditions.

While studying stories of the rise and fall of empires—the Egyptian, Persian, Chinese, Indian, Roman, Greek, Byzantine, Arab and Turkish empires, not to speak of modern ones—one finds that the very existence and survival of a state depends upon power. Thus world politics, as we know it, and "macht politik" are virtually synonymous. In the struggle for existence, a state may not survive without the requisite or adequate power to overcome aggressions from outside and internal upheavals, sometimes promoted by outside forces.

It is needless to emphasize, but it should never be forgotten, that any state however great is limited by its resources, man-power, and strategical position, all of which can be increased through co-operation with other states. Thus, in the struggle for power or for survival, a state must not allow itself to be isolated; on the contrary, it should secure support from other states to augment its power to overcome the enemy. Lest I may be misunderstood, I wish to say that mere struggle for power should not be the ultimate objective of a state; but upholding freedom, justice and peace and promotion of general welfare of the people is the goal to be attained; and a state without power cannot fulfill its obligations to the people and humanity at large.

II

Modern world politics began with Europe's extra-European expansions in Africa, Asia and the Americas since the latter part of the fifteenth century. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the principal features of world politics, especially in the Orient, was the rivalry of the Portuguese and the Arabs; and the latter were eliminated and Portuguese supremacy was established. In the seventeenth century there existed rivalry between the Spaniards and the Portuguese on the one hand, and the British and the Dutch on the other. After the defeat of the Spanish-Portuguese powers by the Anglo-Dutch powers (which was also a part of the religious wars of the Christians of Europe) there developed bitter Anglo-Dutch rivalries and ultimate mutual recognition of their respective spheres of domain in the Orient. Then came the Anglo-French rivalries in world politics for nearly a hundred years in various parts of the world. This rivalry continued in different forms until the French power under Napoleon was destroyed by the grand concert of European powers and a new world order was established at the Congress of Vienna. The nineteenth century which is generally known as the British century, had Anglo-Russian rivalry as its important feature, until Russia was crushed by the Russo-Japanese war. The twentieth century opened with Anglo-German rivalry and the re-awakening of Asia (Japan being the symbol of this most significant development in world politics of our time).

In the first part of the twentieth Century, Anglo-German rivalry ended with the defeat of Germany in World War I in which the United States of America played the decisive role (and since then American position in world politics has been paramount). After World War I, Anglo-American powers, apprehensive of France and Bolshevik Russia, became friendlier to Germany and aided her to become more powerful than ever. Then we find that the Soviet Russian alliance with Nazi Germany (Stalin and Hitler) and Japan's non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia brought about World War II. Due to the existence of the Soviet Russian and Nazi German alliance, Germany succeeded in over-running all of Europe without much difficulty. But before the world war was over, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia disagreed about their policies in the Balkans and the Middle East and this led to the German attack on Soviet Russia and at this juncture western democracies came to the aid of Soviet Russia, for the sole purpose of defeating their enemy, Germany.

After the Napoleonic War in which Russia of Tsar Alexander I played an important part in defeating

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Napoleon, there arose Anglo-Russian rivalry which lasted for nearly a century until the Triple Entente was formed. Similarly after World War II, in which Soviet Russia of Stalin played a very important part in defeating Germany there has arisen American-Soviet Russian rivalry. *May I say that rivalry among powers remains the constant thing and the only change is this: the United States has taken the place of Great Britain and Tsarist Russia has been substituted by Soviet Russia.*

In this rivalry which is the main feature of world politics today, both Soviet Russia and the United States of America are trying to secure support of other powers in order to isolate their respective enemies. Soviet Russia, through her satellites, is waging war against the United States and her allies; while the United States is trying to check Soviet Russia's expansion in all directions by the process of "containment of Russia" or by bringing about isolation of Russia in world politics. In this process of vigorous diplomatic war, Soviet Russia is trying to detach her allies from the United States—especially Britain and France and, if possible, Japan; while the United States is trying to penetrate into the so-called iron-curtain countries which are supporters of Soviet Russia and Communist China. Furthermore, there is also going on a struggle to secure support of so-called neutralist powers by the two contenders for supremacy—Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

When we critically consider this brief picture of the march of world politics of our time, we find that with new rivalries among powers have come new alignments, in which religion and ideologies do not play important roles, as thought by many. To make this point clear may I emphasize the point that during World War II, to serve national interests and to crush her enemies (Germany and Japan), the United States of America was the staunchest supporter and ally of Soviet Russia, a communist state, under the dictatorship of Stalin; while today in less than ten years the United States of America is virtually allied with Japan and Germany, her former enemies, to check Russian expansion which is decidedly against American interests. Thus there is constant change in trends of world politics, tending to the rise of new strong powers and formation of new alliances to defeat common enemies by adopting common foreign policies, common defense policies and common economic policies among allies. *After World War II, the main features of world politics of today is the reduction of France and Britain to a lower status from their former pre-eminence and the rise of the United States and Soviet Russia as great powers and their rivalries; and at the same time phenomenal recovery of Germany and Japan and the growing assertion of the former subject peoples of Asia and Africa to attain their full freedom and equality among nations.*

III

When I was recently in England and tried to fathom trends of British world policies, it became clear to me

that the British were more concerned about, if not afraid of, a rejuvenated and united Germany than they were of a communist Russia. In general the Tories were thinking of a new Germany in the same way as Churchill and others did before the outbreak of World War II. The left wing of the British Labor Party, if not the Labor Party as a whole, is opposed to the rearmament and re-unification of Germany. This attitude of the British public and statesmen in general is due to the fact that there has been a phenomenal recovery of Germany in matters of industry, commerce, finance and general morale of the people. The rebuilding of destroyed German cities is going on faster than one can imagine. I got an idea of it from the changes I observed in May 1954 that had taken place since I was last there in December 1952. In spite of the fact that most of the German factories were dismantled by the British and the Russians after World War II, today German industries are successfully competing with those of the British in world markets. In world markets the Germans have begun to out-strip the British in the export of chemicals and electrical goods and equipment. The condition of German finances is better than that of the British—at least in the European Credit Union Germany is in the position of a creditor while Britain is a debtor. In international politics, although West Germany does not technically enjoy full sovereign rights, yet her position is strong and not isolated. Today very close relations have developed between West Germany and the United States because both are pursuing a common defense policy of establishing a European Defense Community and a common foreign policy of creating a United Europe working to check further march of Soviet Russia. Therefore, for economic and political reasons, Britain is opposed to development of a strong Germany. But she is in no position to check it without outside support and thus she is looking for Soviet Russian and French support against German-American collaboration.

Soviet Russia is opposed to a reunited strong Germany allied with the United States of America, because a strong Germany, in course of time, would try to recover territories that have been taken by Soviet Russia and Poland. A united western Europe with a strong European army may become a factor in forcing Soviet Russia to give up her present domination over Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria and may become a deterrent to her aggressive policies in the Middle East and Asia.

Of course, the French people are afraid of a strong Germany which, during the last three quarters of a century, thrice over-ran and devastated their country. Furthermore they are anxious to keep control of the rich territory of the Saar from falling into German hands. During recent months, French leftists (under the leadership of the Communists) and the extreme rightists have made common cause against any government that might agree to France's joining the European

Defense Community and have succeeded in it. Thus, at the present time France is looking for British and Russian aid against a strong Germany which is supported by the United States; and France is virtually pursuing anti-American policies.

One may say that, as things stand today, Britain, Russia and France have a common interest in checking growth of a strong and united Germany; and they are virtually pursuing a policy of forming a new Triple Entente against new Germany and indirectly against the United States.

When I was in Bonn recently, I had the opportunity to discuss questions of German foreign policies and European defense with responsible persons of all classes. I am convinced that those who are engaged in running the state of Germany now, to serve the best interests of the people, are pursuing the policy of close collaboration with the United States. They recognize the fact that the power of the United States arrayed against Germany was the principal cause of her defeat. They also recognize the fact that, although once the United States, under the leadership of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, pursued the policy of the dismemberment of Germany and the reduction of the great industrial heart of Europe to mere agricultural land (I am referring to the Morgenthau plan which received the blessings of Roosevelt and Churchill), it was American aid that has made German recovery industrially and politically possible today.

By supporting the policy of a United Europe and the creation of a European Defense Community, Germany has much to gain and nothing to lose. In the United Europe, Germany with her industrial potentials and geographical position and population will be the most important unit and thus will have proportionally greater influence; and in a European Defense Community Germans will enjoy a great deal of importance. Thus, by pursuing a policy of establishing a United Europe and European Defense Community which are the cardinal policies of the United States, there have developed common interests between Germany and the United States in world politics.

Thus, the new trend of developing a Triple Entente of Britain, France and Russia (no formal alliance but entente in actual actions) against a strong united Germany is also directed against the United States. *It may be safely asserted that if the American policies of a European Defense Community do not materialize and the existing Anglo-Russian rivalries continue there will be closer collaboration between Germany and the United States. In fact one may say that today there exists a virtual German-American alliance.*

In Germany Communists, Socialists and some of the Rightists are opposed to Germany entering the European Defense Community, because in case of a war Germany will become the battle-ground. They think that, by co-operating with Russia they may be able to

bring about a united Germany through Russian support. If the United States fails to get France to join the European Defense Community and at the same time, U.S.A. continues to hesitate to sign a separate peace treaty with Germany, an offensive and defensive alliance, the influence of the pro-American party in Germany will be reduced and the present government may be overthrown. *Whatever may be the developments in European politics, Germany will continue to hold the balance of power and play a more important role than ever before. My personal opinion is that Germany must not be allowed to join Soviet Russia, because such a development will increase Soviet Russian power and she will act more aggressively in Asia and Europe and this may become the cause of the next world war.* But one should not forget that the German people are temperamentally impatient and are conscious of their potential power and they may not eternally wait to be kept in an uncertain position due to policies of France and Britain. The United States may have to deal with West Germany on the basis of equality, in spite of France-British opposition. This would mean a real revolution in European world politics.

While in Rome, a few weeks ago, the impression I got through exchange of ideas with liberal statesmen and professors was like this:

"We Italians are for a United Europe which would benefit the people of Europe. We are opposed to Russian expansion and communism, but we do not wish to join the European Defense Community, because such a move may lead to a European War with Russia. Furthermore, we do not want American officials to tell us—really dictate to us—the course of action we should follow in world affairs."

It seems that Italy will not join the European Defense Community, unless France first accepts the proposition. Furthermore, some Italians think that America should use her influence with Yugoslavia so that the Trieste Question will be settled in her favor. To avoid any misunderstanding I wish to make it clear that except for communists the Italian people are not anti-American; but they do not wish to be committed to support American policies, unless they see that France and Britain are doing the same. The Italians are being influenced by the new trend of collaboration between Britain, France and Russia.

In the countries of western Europe a feeling has developed against the United States, not because the United States has harmed them in any way, but they feel that the United States, because of her superior power position, has exerted tremendous influence on these European nations. They feel that a combined action on the part of European nations—especially Britain, France and Russia—may induce the United States to follow international policies more agreeable to them. It seems that what has happened in the Geneva conference during the last month confirms my views. In Geneva, Mr. Eden behaved more pro-Russian than pro-American. It was during the Geneva

Conference that the French Government that was committed to support the European Defense Community programme was overthrown and a new government was put in power which is apparently committed to solve the Indo-Chinese war in collaboration with Communist China, Soviet Russia and Great Britain. Mr. Churchill's recent conference with President Eisenhower at Washington has not solved the existing wide difference between Britain and the United States. A time may come when Britain will have to choose between Soviet Russia and the United States as her ally.

IV

In the past when Britain had supremacy over India, the Middle East, i.e., the region between India and Egypt (North Africa) used to be regarded as a special sphere of British influence. During recent years the situation has changed due to many causes, and within the Middle East there has been constant growth of American power, and continual decline of British power. It is not that the United States has been pushing Britain out of this region, but British weakness has forced her to give up her responsibilities, leaving them with the United States. The United States has been forced to assume the major responsibility of defending the Middle East from Russian expansion.

A few years ago, after World War II, when Soviet Russia began her expansion into Greece by supporting Greek communists and promoting a civil war, then it was Britain's responsibility to sustain the government of Greece. But when Britain failed to give adequate aid to Greece, the United States, to prevent this strategic country and the adjoining Eastern Mediterranean from falling into Soviet Russian hands, had to extend aid to the anti-communist government of Greece.

When Soviet Russia showed every indication of her determination of marching into North Eastern Asian territories of Turkey, as a step towards her march to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and endangering Iran and Iraq's independence, the United States extended military and economic aid to Turkey and formulated the famous Truman Doctrine, the sum and substance of which was that, under certain conditions, the U.S. would extend military aid to nations, struggling to maintain their freedom from Soviet Russian aggression. The United States of America has considerable economic interests (oil) and political stakes in the Middle East, and she is ready to defend that area in co-operation with those powers which wish to co-operate with her.

Turkey is the key to the American position to the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. With American aid, a strong and rejuvenated Turkey stands as a bulwark against a Soviet march in this region. Furthermore, through Turkish initiative, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey have formed an alliance to check a Russian march through the Balkans. Relations between Turkey and Italy are friendly. These powers

are directly and indirectly connected with NATO and the United States stands squarely behind them.

After my visit to Israel and after studying the conditions, I feel that the state of Israel, however small and with a population of about a million and a half, is an important factor in the politics of the Middle East, because some of the Arab States proclaim that they would end the existence of the State of Israel which came into existence by the decision of the United Nations. But Israel is a dependable ally of the United States of America, not because it has signed any treaty of alliance but because both countries have common interests in checking the march of totalitarianism in any form. The state of Israel came into existence through the support of the Zionist forces of the world. American Zionists have played the most important role in the creation of the State of Israel, by securing American support, American Jews have contributed the most to the upbuilding of the Jewish state. It is safe to say that no sane Jewish statesman can advocate anti-American policies and at the same time expect to see that the state would survive in the midst of the existing hostilities of Arab States which are now being wooed by Soviet Russia.

Saudi Arabia which receives royalties from Arab-American oil company to the tune of more than two hundred million dollars annually and which has been having some trouble with the British during the last few years, is pro-American, or at least not actively opposed to America. But there is a possibility of demands for a higher rate of royalties for oil and this may affect Arab-American relations adversely.

Syria with her constant internal turmoils and military dictatorship problems, is of very little consequence from a military point of view in relation to the defense of the Middle East. Trans-Jordan and Iraq, both Hashimite states opposed to Saudi Arabia and maintained by British financial and military support and constantly agitating for war-like moves against the state of Israel, are not of very great importance in matters of the defense of the Middle East.

The Arab refugee question which is an important factor in the present Arab-Jewish hostility can be solved provided the Arab States accept the policies suggested by U.N. Committee on refugees. As Israel already has taken in more Jewish refugees than the Arabs who had left the land, it is not possible for Israel to re-establish all Arab refugees. But Israel should take back some of the refugees and pay certain reasonable compensation for their land, while the rest of them should be settled in Arab countries where there is plenty of land for them and this will in the long run be better for their future. Israel has repeatedly asked for a peace settlement but it has been rejected, for the longer the hostility continues it may turn out to be in favor of the Arabs by inducing Anglo-American powers to take their side.

The United States government, recognizing Arab dis-

unity, does not want to depend upon the Arab League states in a body for the defense of the Middle East, but she is developing a new bloc of powers—Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran and also Afghanistan—as a check against any possible march of Soviet Russia towards the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In the matter of defense of North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean and also the Middle East, Egypt, the foremost Arab State, is bound to play an important part. The people of Egypt and Egyptian politicians are not anti-American, as many Americans think. Egyptian statesmen, specially revolutionary leaders, like Nasser, Naguib and others, are not pro-Russian (Communists). They are pro-Egyptians and they are for developing a strong Egypt which will be able to recover control of the Suez Canal from the hands of the British and also see that the British may not be able to alienate any part of the Sudan from Egypt. They fully recognize that these tasks cannot be accomplished by themselves and thus Egypt must have powerful allies.

The Egyptians feel that with American aid they can accomplish this task. In fact the United States would welcome a strong and friendly Egypt but for reasons of world politics the United States cannot assume a policy which would be anti-British. I have been told by responsible Egyptians that they believe that America is in a position to use pressure on Britain and with American support, they would be able to eliminate Britain from the Suez and the Sudan.* They hope to get a great deal from America, but in not getting what they wish they talk with anti-American bias; and it is a fact that very recently they have developed some trends in world politics which may be regarded as pro-Soviet.

More than a year ago, the British, in order to bring pressure on Egyptian economy, pursued a policy of not buying Egyptian cotton. This had a very bad effect on her national economy. Thus none should blame Egyptians who have been trying to sell their surplus cotton to Soviet Russia, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, in order to buy oil, machinery and even arms. The Egyptians are determined to develop power—military and economic—through foreign aid. Egyptian military leaders are bitter against the British, which, according to them, (Egyptians) betrayed Egypt by supplying arms of inferior quality and inadequate quantity which was the cause of their defeat in the fight against Israeli forces. Egyptians complain bitterly that Anglo-American powers are not interested in supplying arms unless Egypt accepts their terms in matters of Egyptian foreign and defense policies. The Egyptians have begun to employ German experts in the field of industrial development and military organization. If the situation does not change, the Egyptians might look

for arms from powers which would support Egyptians in world politics.

The Egyptian policy of establishing supremacy over the Sudan has greater significance than generally realized. Free Egypt is thinking of her distinct place in African politics and economics. Egyptian leaders are thinking of political, cultural and economic expansion in the interior of Africa. This will lead to rivalry between Egypt and European powers which think that Africa belongs to them, and that Asians and Africans must not even enter into the continent as immigrants on the basis of equality with the whites. In Africa where the native population is thinking of their freedom from domination of western powers, Egypt, in a strong military and economic position, will play an important role by taking her stand against European colonial powers. *Anti-colonialism in Africa is bound to remain one of the cardinal policies governing Egyptian foreign policies.*

Pan-Arab and Pan-Islam movements are pivots of Egyptian foreign policies. She wishes to develop these movements under her leadership, supported by Saudi Arabia and not under the leadership of Pakistan, which is pro-British and pro-American. However, Egypt like Turkey recognizes the importance of the support of India. In fact, Mr. Nehru's support of Egypt on the issues of the Suez Canal and Sudan has made the Egyptian leaders deeply obligated to India. Furthermore, India's determined stand for eliminating the French and the Portuguese from holding any colonial possessions in India has given tremendous moral support to the Egyptians in their struggle against British hold in Suez.

Although there is a great deal of discontent in existence, the situation in Egypt is such that there is no possibility of an overthrow of the present regime unless a strong military group brings about a successful revolution. But it is my conviction that even in case of such a revolution, there will be no change of foreign policies of Egypt, as discussed above.

V

It is clear to all students of world affairs that Asia is playing a large role in international politics of the present day. India is the heart of Asia and thus India's role in world politics is most significant. Although India is relatively weak militarily when compared with the United States of America, Soviet Russia, Communist China, Britain and other states, no farsighted statesman under the present world conditions should try to find a solution of world problems affecting Asia, Africa and Europe without taking the position of India into consideration. Let me make it clear by one example: If India joins the United States and Japan against the present Sino-Soviet Russian bloc then it would create a new situation favorable to the United States. If India joins the Sino-Soviet Russian bloc then it would increase the power of the communist bloc decisively. Because of the importance of Indian support to the British commonwealth, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden often pay res-

* On July 29, 1954 the British Parliament with a vote of 257 to 26 approved Sir Winston Churchill government's policy of "eventual evacuation of 85,000 men from the Suez Canal Zone." During this debate "Charles Waterhouse, leader of rebel conservatives, charged a covetous America pushed Britain into the evacuation agreement."—*The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 30, 1954.

pects not only to Mr. Nehru's views on world politics but they work very cleverly to see that Indian foreign policies coincide with those of the British. Some think that British statesmen help men like Krishna Menon, Mr. Nehru's friend and advisor, to formulate Indian foreign policies.

Mr. Menon is known to be arch-anti-American and pro-Russian.

In India I am known as pro-American and anti-communist; and I have repeatedly announced in public meetings and interviews in the press of various cities in India that, under the present state of world affairs I am for an Indo-American-Japanese alliance in Asia in which other Asian states would be drawn in to check Soviet Russian expansion in Asia. In this I am possibly the most outspoken Indian in opposition to Mr. Nehru's neutralism. But I am fully convinced that Mr. Nehru is not a communist.

Before the advent of the present republican administration, the government of the U.S. pursued foreign policies which are different from those pursued by the present administration. But it is criminal to say that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a communist and foreign policies pursued by the democratic administration, before the advent of the present administration, have been treasonable; similarly it is absolutely wrong to class Mr. Nehru as a communist and to say that he is for communism in India and is actively supporting the communist powers.

There is no question about the fact that the present government of India has taken much sterner measures against the Communists and their subversive movements in India than the government of the United States has done against the communists in the United States. Mr. Nehru believes in fighting the communists in India and in doing all that is possible by using the power of the State, not to allow the communists to get control of the machinery of the government. But he firmly believes that India must keep out of any international war and therefore should try to remain on as friendly terms with communist states on her borders—China and Russia—as she is on friendly terms with the United States and Japan or Britain.

Mr. Nehru believes that, without the support of a strong communist party in India, it would be impossible for communists from outside—China and Soviet Russia—to get control over India. Thus he believes in concentrating his efforts in bringing about such changes in India as will improve the condition of the masses and raise them from their present state of hunger and misery. In this matter Mr. Nehru and his government are willing to accept American co-operation, and the Indian people are grateful to the people of the United States for the aid extended them towards the development of the resources of India.

American critics of Mr. Nehru should remember that, for more than a century, the United States of America pursued foreign policies based on (a) recognition of the

governments brought into existence through revolutions, (b) non-intervention in internal affairs of other states and (c) neutrality; and the government of India, under Mr. Nehru, is pursuing the same policies in the field of India's relations with other states. Furthermore, India is committed to the policies of furthering the cause of independence of Asian peoples (nay freedom of all subject peoples); and India is opposed to economic and racial imperialism. According to Mr. Nehru, Indo-Chinese co-operation is essential to the cause of Asian freedom. Thus in spite of the difference in forms of government between Communist China and India, Mr. Nehru is doing his best to remain on friendly terms with Communist China, unless the latter interferes with, and infringes upon, India's vital interests and national security.

Mr. Nehru is conscious of the danger of the southward march of China which has already annexed Tibet, although a solemn pledge was given to India that China would not disturb the status quo in Tibet. Mr. Nehru and his advisors are aware of the Chinese programme of marching southward which would affect India, Burma, Siam, Malaya and Indonesia seriously. They are not unaware of Chinese communist support to Indian communists and specially those from Nepal now maintaining their anti-Indian headquarters at Lhasa and working for a revolution in Nepal and adjoining countries which might be detached from India. But India in her present weakness is not ready to fight China and Soviet Russia. But if China or Soviet Russia should make any move to secure control over any of the adjoining territories, India will not quietly submit to any such policies of China and her ally. To be sure India has surrendered Tibet to Chinese sovereignty, but India will not allow Nepal, Bhutan or any of the adjoining territories to be detached from her without a fight. I suppose the Chinese communist leaders—Mr. Mao, Mr. Chou and others—realize that such a fight with India will not be of any advantage diplomatically to China.

I have reasons to believe that Soviet Russia is deeply interested in inducing China to get into adventures in South Asia which would create enmities between communist China and Asian states including India; because in such eventualities Soviet Russia will have a splendid opportunity to assimilate Sinkiang, Mongolia and Manchuria into her orbit. Furthermore, China further isolated would be more dependent on Soviet Russia.

In talking with Indian statesmen I got the impression that it is the policy of India that ultimately China must be detached from Soviet Russia and there must be close collaboration between China, India and Japan for the purpose of real independence and assertion of Asia. Thus Indian policy is not to do anything by which China might be thrown deeper into Russian arms as the only way for her survival. They also think that China of Mao is suspicious of Soviet Russia and she needs India's support in world politics.

A clever Indian journalist Raja Hutheesing, brother-in-law of Mr. Nehru, who visited communist China twice in 1951 and 1952 officially and unofficially, speaks of Mao's attitude towards India in the following way:

"Russia and Mao are allies, mutually suspicious of each other; but Mao and Communist China, now completely cut off from western powers is more and more dependent upon Russia for military and technical help. Mao sees in friendship with India a possible counter-balance to Russian domination. It is this fact perhaps which leads China to seek better relations with India."—*The Great Peace* by Raja Hutheesing. Harpers, 1953, pp 35-36.

He further says:

"Three years of experience with Soviet Russia alliance had taught him (Mao) to fear the domination of Russia over what is his domain. In October 1951, therefore word was sent around that China must cultivate the people of India, and for the first time the list of slogans for the October parade included 'Long live the unity of the Asian people'"

—*Ibid*, pp 36-37.

"On welcoming the new Indian Ambassador in September 1952, Mao repeated, 'I am convinced that the friendly co-operation between the peoples of our two countries will be promoted and consolidated more and more in the common cause of striving for peace in Asia and in the whole world.'"

—*Ibid*, p. 67.

It is becoming more and more apparent that Communist China and India are going to pursue a policy of closer co-operation in world politics. Because both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Dulles did not want India to participate in the Geneva Conference held recently, India was not invited to the conference. But Mr. Krishna Menon, Mr. Nehru's personal representative, often acted as go-between for Mr. Eden and the Communist Chinese delegation and also the Vietnamese. It is interesting that India's peace proposition and formula for truce in Indo-China is virtually being carried out by the French now. This might be regarded as a victory of Indian diplomacy based upon the thesis of co-operation between China and India.

While Mr. Churchill paid his visit to President Eisenhower at Washington to smooth out the existing and ever-growing differences between the United States and Great Britain on issues involving what should be done and how they should deal with communist states, while Mr. Eden was advocating non-aggression pacts between communist states on one side and the western powers on the other, and while the American policy is to develop a Security Pact among powers to check communist aggression in South-East Asia, Mr. Chou En Lai, the Premier of China, flew to India to discuss the possibilities of closer co-operation between India and China to "further the cause of Asian Independence and world peace." It has been reported that India and China have agreed to sign a pact based upon mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual benefit and co-operation. It is also understood that China and India would

conclude a similar pact with Burma. It is also suggested that Britain and France would sign such a pact with Communist China, after the Indo-Chinese truce is signed. If such a thing becomes a reality then Siam, the ally of the United States, will be placed in a very difficult position.

The American policy that Indo-Chinese sea-coast territories must not fall under communist control is not a policy of American intervention and imperialism, as the communists and enemies of America suggest, but it has a graver significance. It is sufficient to suggest that if Indo-Chinese coastal lines come under their control, then with the existence of Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese alliance for 30 years the ports of Indo-China would be available for naval and sub-marine bases for Communist China and Soviet Russia. In that case the whole of the Pacific region between Vladivostok to Saigon might be under Soviet Russian control which would endanger the American position in the Pacific and even the north-east section of the Indian ocean affecting India and Australia. Just as the control of Formosa by the Chinese communists and Soviet Russia pursuing anti-American policies would endanger American security, similarly the fall of Indo-China under communist control would ultimately endanger the security of the whole of South-East Asia and American interests in the Pacific and Indian ocean.

In connection with Indian politics, one must take a careful note of the effects of signing military pacts between the United States and Pakistan. The result has been serious deterioration of Indo-American relations. To be sure, the real and only motive behind the signing of the pact as far as the United States is concerned, is to secure bases in Pakistan which would neutralize Russian bases in Sinkiang and Chinese bases in Tibet, for the security of Karachi and Chittagong and the Persian Gulf and the Bay of Bengal and thus the Indian ocean from Soviet Russian and Communist Chinese control. Of course it was contended by the supporters of the U.S. Pakistan military pact that with adequate aid from the United States, the Pakistan army would be able to fight communist forces successfully in this region. But I am inclined to agree with the Indian opinion that present leaders of Pakistan were primarily interested in getting military and financial aid from America in order to use them against India, specially in Kashmir.

It was quite evident to those who were in any way familiar with the internal situation in Pakistan, that the present Pakistan government was in the process of disintegration due to lack of unity between Moslem factions within and outside of the Moslem League which is ruling Pakistan. The government of the United States was advised by Indians friendly to the United States and advocates of Indo-American co-operation that she should not sign a pact for military aid to Pakistan until the general election in East Pakistan (East Bengal) was over in April and the result was known. It was foretold that the Moslem League government

would be defeated in the election. But the advice was ignored and the election result demonstrated that more than 90 per cent of the votes were against the Moslem League and its candidates were badly beaten by the combination of opposition parties including the communists. It should be noted that one of the items in the opposition platform was directed against the foreign policies of the Moslem League government and it advocated a policy of non-entanglement similar to that advocated by the Government of India.

The tragedy of the situation lies in this fact: After the new cabinet of East Pakistan was functioning under the Premiership of the veteran and highly respected Moslem leader Fazlul Huq, the Pakistan government of Mohammed Ali from Karachi dismissed the whole East Pakistan cabinet and established a virtual military dictatorship there. In India, it is universally held that the Pakistan Government's policy of establishing a virtual military dictatorship in East Bengal, has been carried out with American support and pressure, if not actual direction. Some indiscreet remarks of American officials in Pakistan have made the situation worse. With the establishment of military dictatorship in East Pakistan, thousands of political leaders have been put in prison, a very considerable portion of the whole opposition movement has gone underground and a new serious situation is in the process of development. *A large portion of the East Pakistan population which was not communist, now feel that they should join India or make a common cause with China against the Pakistan government. Pakistan's action in East Bengal has adversely affected the United States. It has discredited American profession of furthering the cause of democracy in Asia. Indians have begun to think that America is the champion and supporter of military dictatorship in Pakistan which denies equality to minority elements and is anti-Indian.*

While the Kashmir issue is pending before the United Nations, by an act of the legislature of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, this State has become an integral part of the Republic of India. There is every reason to believe that India will not accept any proposition of plebiscite in Kashmir unless Pakistan's invading forces be withdrawn. Many responsible Indians feel that Pakistan in possession of superior armaments from America would create an incident which might bring about a conflict between India and Pakistan, and which would help the cause of Soviet Russia by weakening both Pakistan and India. This possibility must be avoided, India is determined to maintain her territorial integrity in Kashmir at any cost. Any American support of Pakistan directly or through the United Nations will worsen Indo-American relations benefiting Sino-Russian allies.

While Indo-American relations have deteriorated considerably due to the arms-aid pact between U.S. and Pakistan, it is gratifying to note that the United States Government has tried to explain its position by state-

ments of Secretary of States Dulles and American Ambassador to India, Mr. George Allen, that in order to strengthen the position of democratic India, it will recommend aid to India which will support India's programme of Five-Year Plan for the development of India's productive power in various ways. This is the most constructive policy that could be pursued by the government of U.S.A.; and, on the other hand, the U.S. government should use moral, economic and political pressure on Pakistan, so that there may not develop an Indo-Pakistan conflict due to Pakistan's aggressive policies.

To maintain India's territorial integrity and to eliminate the last vestige of colonialism, India has been negotiating, without success, for the recovery of French and Portuguese possessions in India—a few small cities, but both the French and Portuguese contentions are that these possessions belong to them and they would not give them up as it would be against the constitution of these countries. Indian contention is that India has rights over these possessions and *French rights in Pondichery and other towns and Portuguese rights in Goa and other towns are no more sacred and inviolable than British rights in Madras and Bombay. Indian population wishes to drive the French and Portuguese from these possessions by force of arms, if need be. It is through Mr. Nehru's patience that bloody conflicts have not broken out on these issues. India is demanding retrocession of these possessions to uphold the contention that no part of Indian soil should remain under foreign control and no ports of India should be used by any alien power for any military or political purpose. Portugal has a treaty of perpetual alliance with Britain. France is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and these powers may seek intervention of the United Nations or their allies against India. It should be well understood by the United States that as she would not allow any of her ports to be occupied by any alien power, so India is determined to get rid of French and Portuguese control of ports on Indian soil; and in this struggle India will have the support of all Asia and Africa. India will not tolerate British, American or United Nations' interference in this matter.*

VI

Before, during, and immediately after World War II, American Far Eastern policy was based on one issue—reduction of Japan to an insignificant power, if not her complete destruction. This was the inevitable consequences of the Anglo-American policies adopted after World War I and the Washington Conference and which made the Japanese think that the A B C D powers, i.e. America, Britain, China and Holland, were in league to crush Japan, so she sought her new allies in Germany and Russia and conflict was the inevitable result. Here I am not concerned to apportion blame for the American-Japanese War; but I want to say that as America had her Morgenthau plan to level Germany to an agricultural country, so she had her Lattimore plan to reduce Japan

to insignificance. Whether Professor Lattimore was the formulator of the plan or not is immaterial but his plan was exactly the same that Franklin D. Roosevelt was pursuing against Japan for a time. To be consistent, those who blame Professor Lattimore's policy of destroying heavy industries of Japan and aiding Russia, which I opposed, should also blame the late Franklin D. Roosevelt for trying to carry out the same policy. Those who blame the Institute of Pacific Relations for its pro-Russian and anti-Japanese policies may look into some of the publications of the Brookings Institute, just after World War II which solemnly advocated that both Germany and Japan should not be allowed to develop heavy industries, specially aviation.

Among the political scientists of America few dared to oppose this policy levelling Japan and Germany into insignificance. The late Professor Spykman of Yale University was a rare exception. In one of his works on Geo-politics, he warned the United States of the possible unfavourable effects of destroying Japan completely. He wrote:

"A modern, vitalized and militarized China of 450,000,000 people is going to be a threat not only to Japan, but also to the position of the Western Powers in the Asiatic Mediterranean. China will be a continental power of large dimensions in control of a large section of the littoral of that middle sea. Her geographic position will be similar to that of the United States in regard to the American Mediterranean. When China becomes strong her present economic penetration in that region will undoubtedly take on political overtones. It is quite possible to envisage the day when this body of water will be controlled not by the British, American or Japanese sea power but by Chinese air power."

"It is difficult to find public support in the United States for a Far Eastern policy based on these realities of power politics. It is true that intervention in the Far Eastern affairs is traditionally much more acceptable than intervention in Europe, but this tradition is tied up with a pro-Chinese and anti-Japanese orientation which the war itself will greatly intensify. Public opinion will probably continue to see Japan as a great danger, long after the balance has shifted in favor of China and it has become necessary to pursue the same policy that we have pursued in regard to Europe. Twice in one generation we have come to the aid of Great Britain in order that the small off-shore island might not have to face a single gigantic military state in control of the opposite coast of the mainland. If the balance of power in the Far East is to be preserved in the future as well as in the present, the United States will have to adopt a similar policy towards Japan. The present inconsistency in American policy will have to be removed....."—*American Strategy in World Politics* by Nicholas John Spykman. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1942, pp. 469-470.

The above was written in 1942, long before American victory over Japan and thus was most far-sighted. The United States by mutual security pact with Japan has assumed responsibility of defending Japan. Furthermore, the United States government has become conscious

of the Soviet Russian policy of utilizing China, Japan and India on her side against her rivals. Thus on June 22, 1954 President Eisenhower, before a banquet of the National Editorial Association which represents 5,200 American publications, most of the small town weekly newspapers, said:

"Eighty-five million industrious, hard-working, inventive people of Japan generated tremendous power in World War II against us. It becomes absolutely mandatory to our safety that Japan does not fall into Iron Curtain countries or into the hands of the Kremlin.....If Japan did go communist, all its resources would be turned against the United States and under the direction of Russia and in sovietized Asia the Japanese could be given, for example the simple job of supplying a mighty navy to oppose this country."—*Honolulu Advertiser*, June 23, 1954.

This change of policy of the United States is due to the fact that as the Roosevelt administration thought Russian aid would be necessary to destroy Japan, now we know, after the Korean war, that Russo-Chinese aggression cannot be checked without the full co-operation of Japan. In fact if the United Nations' forces did not have Japan as their base and if Japan were not able to supply necessities worth probably a billion dollars to aid U.S. forces engaged in the Korean front, it would have been harder for them to check the communist forces in Korea.

As things stand today in world politics, it would be advantageous for the United States to have an alliance with Japan, but what is the attitude of the Japanese people? The Japanese people are proud and they want full sovereignty of their country free from a foreign army of occupation. But with the exception of Japanese communists and some extreme left-wing socialists they feel that, *until re-armament of Japan advances to the extent that the Japanese army, navy and air forces may be sufficiently strong to assume responsibilities of defending their country, there should be American forces in Japan as allies and not overlords.* I am inclined to think that American and Japanese authorities fully understand the situation and its indications are that the United States would develop Guam as a great base *where some of the armaments would be transferred from Japan* whereas Japan has taken over some of the responsibilities of defense of Hokkaido. The Japanese are anxious to develop their armed forces, but problems of economic aid, raw materials and Japan's international economic position must be solved favorably before she would be able to do her full share in matters of re-armament.

Japanese population is increasing to the extent of nearly one million a year (this is less in percentage than American or Russian increase). Many Japanese feel that she is not given equal opportunities in getting raw materials and markets by the western powers, specially Britain. If U.S.A. is to get Japanese support, as President Eisenhower has categorically declared, then the people of U.S.A. must also see to it that the

Japanese people should have enough to eat and their industrial strength may not be curbed artificially.

Even the best friends of American-Japanese co-operation are a little worried by the policies of Great Britain, an ally of the United States, regarding her attitude towards Soviet Russia and Communist China. Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden are in favor of a policy of co-operation with Communist China and Soviet Russia. Some Japanese are asking: Will the United States be persuaded by Britain and France to pursue pro-Russian and pro-Chinese policies and forsake Japan? In that case, Japan should now think of not being completely cut off from China and Soviet Russia at least in matters of trade on the basis of reciprocity. *Today British Far Eastern policy is adversely affecting American-Japanese relations; and this is an important fact in American-British relations.*

VII

If I am to state in a single sentence what is the principal feature of the present situation in international politics of the Far East, I may say that there exists Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese alliance directed against American-Japanese alliance. The United States has the support of New Zealand, Australia and Philippines, Siam and Nationalist China, while policies of Great Britain, France, India, Burma, and Indonesia are not in favor of American policies and often are definitely opposed to those of the United States.

It might be asked what was behind the formation of Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese alliance virtually supported by Britain. It should be kept in mind that after extracting all possible concessions at the Yalta Conference and after the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, Stalin and other Soviet Russian leaders in order to eliminate Chiang, chose to support Chinese communists wholeheartedly. Stalin did not forget that it was Chiang who was responsible for the overthrow of China's communist regime at Hankow, brought into existence through the efforts of Borodin, General Gallen and other Soviet Russian agents and Chinese communists. Chiang was a friend of the Policy of Co-operation with the United States and at times Chiang showed tendencies of co-operation with Japan and also advocated the cause of Asian freedom. It was regarded that Chiang was for Indo-Chinese-Japanese co-operation supported by the United States. Thus Soviet Russia could not afford to have an arch-enemy of Communism and a friend of the United States in power in China.

After the elimination of Japan as an active factor in world politics, due to her defeat in World War II, Soviet Russian East-Asian policy was to create a situation in China which would guarantee the establishment of a régime in China which would be pro-Soviet Russian, anti-American and anti-Japanese and which would adopt foreign policies which would strengthen the Soviet Russian position in world politics in general and especially in extending her power in Asia through Chinese support.

Communist Chinese leaders were not in love with

Soviet Russian leaders, because, during the hard struggle of the Chinese Communists against Chiang, Soviet Russia for diplomatic reasons, did not extend effective support to the Chinese communists, but aided Chiang who was fighting Japan. But, as realists, after mature calculations, Chinese communist leaders—Mao, Chou and others—came to the conclusion that to be successful and to maintain their power in China they must have allies. As early as 1949 Mao explained his position regarding an alliance with Soviet Russia in the following words:

"Forty years of experience of Sun Yat Sen and twenty-eight years of experience of the Chinese Communist Party have convinced us that in order to attain victory and to consolidate it, we must incline to one side. According to their experience, the Chinese people must incline to the side of imperialism or toward the side of socialism. There can be no exception to this rule. It is impossible to sit on the fence; there is no third road. Neutrality is merely camouflage; and a third road does not exist...." *Great Peace* by Raja Hutheesing, pp. 67-68.

(Apparently Mr. Mao did not agree with Mr. Nehru and his "Third Force").

Because Soviet Russia, to serve her own purpose after the defeat of Japan, aided the Chinese Communists to get in power through the supply of arms which was the principal cause of defeat of Chiang Kai Shek forces by the communists, Chinese Communists chose to be supporters of Soviet Russia and in February 1950 made an alliance for a period of 30 years.

Chiang's struggle for unification of China forced Britain to give up her concessions in China. Later on Chiang incurred Churchill's enmity by advocating Indian freedom and inducing President Roosevelt to ask Churchill to free Indian nationalist leaders who were then in jail and to confer Dominion status on India. Lastly, Chiang also demanded that Britain should give up Hong Kong to China as Japan was to give up Formosa which Churchill indignantly refused. Thus, to Mr. Churchill overthrow of Chiang was preferable. Churchill's China policy is anti-Chiang and thus pro-communist. *It is also regarded that a pro-Chinese communist policy is helpful to Britain's economic recovery through Anglo-Chinese commerce. Here it must be mentioned that some of this trade—such as the supply of vast quantities of rubber—is definitely opposed to American security in the Pacific.* British authorities believe that with the support of the Chinese Communists and Soviet Russia they will be able to hold on to Hong Kong and Malaya at least for some time. "China wants British goods and machinery and at the same time Britain finds Japan as a formidable rival in commerce specially in textile export and shipbuilding. Anti-Japanese feeling among the British is growing.

In summing up, we find indications of slow but sure development of a Triple Entente of Britain and France and Russia against a united Germany and United States working towards a United Europe and a European Defense Community. In North Africa Egypt is taking

HISTORY

By Grace Cecelia Callahan

Man's past as it is told to us
On History's well-thumbed pages,
Is filled with bloodshed, hatred, fear,
Throughout the struggling ages.
But we should study well that past
And learn whatever it teaches,
Its wisdom and its cruel mistakes,
And all the truths it preaches.
For, in that past men lit the torch
Of intellectual fire,
And may we humbly on that past
Build higher, ever higher.*

Honolulu, July 13, 1954.

* During the summer session, 1954, of the University of Hawaii, five public lectures were delivered by visiting faculty members. On June 29, Prof. Walter Johnson, Chairman, Department of History, Chicago University, spoke on "Seeing the World with Adria Stevenson"; on July 6, Dr. Frederick Hard, Professor of English and President of Scripps College, spoke on "Four Poets and the Art of Music"; on July 13, Dr. Taraknath Das, of Department of History, Columbia University and Institute of Public Affairs, New York University, spoke on "Politics Around the World," and Dr. Shao Cheng Lee, Head of the Department of Foreign Studies, Michigan State College, spoke on "Communism and the Chinese Way of Life." The above is the text of Dr. Das' speech.—Ed., M. R.

leadership in a movement for freedom of the African Moslem peoples. In the Middle East the United States is trying to form a bloc composed of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan to check Russia from reaching the Persian Gulf. In South-East Asia, India, China, Burma and Indonesia are trying to form a bloc to further the cause of Asian Independence and to eliminate all forms of political control of the region from colonial powers. The United States, New Zealand and Australia are in alliance. Siam, Philippines, Japan, nationalist China and South Korea are on the side of the United States which is facing the Soviet Russian-Chinese Communist-North Koreans in alliance.

These are some of the developments of world politics of today, in spite of the existence of the United Nations and fearful development of Hydrogen Bombs. These are present trends and it is needless to add that "They are subject to changes."

I conclude with a short poem on History written by one of my students:

AGRARIAN INDEBTEDNESS IN INDIA Its Causes and Cures

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

II

WHY SHOULD AGRICULTURISTS BE PROTECTED BY DEBT LEGISLATION?

In a predominantly agricultural country like India, the peasant forms the backbone of the Indian economy. "The lesson of universal agrarian history from Rome to Scotland is that one essential of agriculture is credit. Neither the condition of the country nor the nature of the land tenures, nor the position of agriculture, affects one great fact that agriculturists must borrow." (Nicholson's Report regarding the possibility of introducing Land and Agricultural Banks in the Madras Presidency, 1895). The Indian agriculturist in his zeal to borrow money, inevitably falls into the trap of the usurer. Usury has thus become the bane of the bone of the peasant proprietor. Hence there is ample justification not only for enacting laws to extricate the peasants from the clutches of the moneylender, but for devising such machinery as will supply cheap credit facilities for the agriculturist.

Early Debt Legislation: Laws to relieve the distressed debtors can be traced from the time of the Dharmasastras (5th century B.C.) to the present-day. Legal rates of interest were fixed and concessions were offered for higher classes. Six per cent was the legal rate and any rate above this was declared to be null and void. It was also provided that the amount of interest paid should not exceed double

the principal. During the Muhammadan period, State-loans were advanced to officials and members of the Royal family. Loans were advanced free for the first year and after that period there was a progressive increase in the rate of interest. Loans were advanced to the agriculturists in times of drought, pestilence, etc.

Debt Legislation during British Rule: From the year 1793 when proprietary rights were granted to the zamindars (the collectors of revenue) we find a steady growth in tenancy legislation. Owing to the periodical recurrence of famines, returns from the soil were poor and large-scale borrowing became necessary. Many agriculturist moneylenders came forward to lend money solely with a view to appropriate the lands of the borrowers. The debts of the peasants began to increase greatly. Even in cases in which the peasants possessed no right to transfer lands, they borrowed at as high rates of interest as those who had a right to the free transfer of land. One way or the other, the peasant was handicapped by debts.

Till a few decades ago, the civil law of debts was defective in the following respects:

- It made no provision for a consideration of the history of the debts under litigation.
- The rate of interest fixed in the bond, however usurious it might be, was taken for granted.

- (c) It had no control over the transfer of land in the enforcement of decrease for debts.

The first set of laws passed tried to relieve the big land-holders of their indebtedness and prevent their estates from being transferred to the moneylenders. Encumbered Estates Relief Act 1876, Sind Encumbered Estates Act 1896, Bundelkhand Encumbered Estates Act of 1903 were passed to relieve the big land-holders of their debts. According to the provision of the Acts, managers were appointed to determine the liabilities of estate-owners and do everything necessary by way of lease, mortgage or sale to pay off the creditors. In Madras and Bengal, the Court of Wards Act took the place of the Encumbered Estates Act in other provinces. Under this Act estates inherited by females, minors and people with mental or physical defects are taken over by the Court of Wards. Other proprietors of estates may also by means of application have their estates placed under the management of the Court of Wards. The Court of Wards may request Courts for injunction to stay proceedings in the court and settle the debts of the estates. Appeals against orders of the Court of Wards may be made.

In the year 1879, the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act was passed. The whole Act was based on the recommendations of the Deccan Ryots Commission, 1878. The Act provided for an investigation of the history of the debts and the transactions between the agriculturists and their creditors. The genuine principal as well as the rate of interest were to be determined according to the Act only in the light of the transactions. It provided for an insolvency procedure for the agriculturists. It also provided for the prevention of the sale of land not specifically pledged and for the restoration of the land to the debtor under certain circumstances even when there was a sale deed between the debtors and the creditors. Safeguards to prevent frauds in moneylending, a special machinery to render cheap and summary justice to ryots and the provision for conciliating the debts in the village courts were some of the features of the Act. The original Act was amended in the years 1882 and 1886. The Amendment Act of 1882 provided for the redemption of the debt before the due date mentioned in the bond. It also empowered mortgagors to sue for accounts without seeking the redemption of the mortgaged lands. The Amendment Act of 1886 prescribed the mode of registration. It also stated that standing crops were moveable property and that they could be attached for debts. The period of limitation for loans to the agriculturists was extended to 12 years in the case of registered deeds and to 6 years in other cases. But the Act never fulfilled the great things expected of it. It increased litigation, and the sources for obtaining credit for the agriculturists were closed. The

moneylenders were unwilling to enter into uncertain transactions, and they became more extortionate.

The Government was wedded to the policy of helping agriculturists whenever they wanted loans to improve their lands. Under the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1883, loans were to be granted only if the authorities were convinced about improvements which the agriculturists wanted to effect in their lands. Mostly, loans were to be granted either for sinking wells or for fertilizing the soil. The purchase of cattle and agricultural implements would not come under the scope of the Act and loans were not to be advanced for this purpose.

The Agriculturists' Loans Act of 1884, however, remedied some of the defects of the former Act and loans were thereafter advanced for some of the legitimate requirements of the agriculturists.

These Acts were not of great use to the agriculturists. When compared to the general indebtedness of the agriculturists, only very low amounts were ever advanced. The agriculturists hated the delays involved in the sanctioning of loans. The moneylender was easy of access and the Acts were unable to protect the agriculturists from falling into the snare of the moneylender.

The Usurious Loans Act as amended in 1908 determined the legal and maximum amount of interest that can be taken from the borrower. It also fixed the maximum rate of interest. The Act applies to all alike without any distinction between agriculturists and non-agriculturists. As the Central Banking Enquiry Committee has pointed out, the Act can give relief in certain individual hard cases but cannot exercise control over the money market.

Control of Moneylenders: When the Government understood the futility of the Usurious Act, they gave their attention to the licensing and control of moneylenders. The exploitation of the agriculturists by the moneylenders depended on the degree of the backwardness of the people among whom they carried on their trade. The Punjab Regulation of Accounts Bill of 1930 and the British Moneylenders Act of 1927 are steps in the right direction. The former made it obligatory on the moneylender to keep regular accounts and to keep the debtors informed every six months of the correct amount owed by him. Failure to keep accounts resulted in the disallowance of the interest partly or wholly. The second Act provided for taking out license by the moneylenders, prohibited the levy of compound interest; and the supply of information and of the copies of relevant documents relating to the state of loan on demand by the borrower was made obligatory. These Acts were in the nature of experiments in regulating usurious moneylending.

Land Alienation Acts: Assiduous moneylending solely with the object of appropriating borrowers'

lands led to the creation of a class of non-agriculturist land-owners; and the peasants driven out of the soil were unable to eke out a living. With a view to prevent the transference of land from the agriculturist to the non-agriculturist class, various Land Alienation Acts had to be passed. The Punjab Alienation Act of 1900, the Bundelkhand Alienation Act of 1903 and the Central Provinces Alienation Act of 1916 were some of the measures passed in order to restrict the peasants' right to transfer lands. According to the provisions of the Act, if lands are mortgaged with a member of a non-agricultural tribe they may remain in force only for a number of years; and after that period mortgaged lands will have to be redelivered to the mortgagor free of all encumbrances. According to the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, peasants could sell their lands only to members of certain agricultural classes recognised by the State. This provision was made mainly to prevent the growth of a class of non-agriculturist land-owners.

The ultimate object of these Acts was to check the growth of indebtedness. But their main purpose was defeated by the emergence of a class called the 'agriculturist moneylender.' In certain cases, non-agriculturist classes were also impelled by them to establish a right to call themselves agriculturists.

Another method of evasion pursued by non-agriculturist creditors is the use of *benami* transactions. Sometimes a non-agriculturist creditor gets the land of his agricultural debtor mutated in favour of another agriculturist in his confidence and receives the rent or the produce of the land from his agricultural nominee.

RECENT DEBT LEGISLATION

The economic depression of 1930 gravely affected the repaying capacity of the agriculturists. Prices of agricultural produce fell and the real burden of the debts increased. The moneylenders sought the aid of law-courts to force the sales of the lands of debtors. The dangerous prospect of the emergence of a landless peasantry became imminent. Provincial Governments had to devise ways and means to lessen the debt burden of the agriculturists and an enormous amount of debt legislation during the decade of 1930-40 became accordingly inevitable.

The triple objectives of the Provincial Debt Relief Legislation can be summarised as follows:

- (a) Provision of relief to the cultivators by scaling down and lightening the crushing burden of the standing debt.
- (b) Regulation of the money-lending business and creation of systematised rural financial agencies.
- (c) Provision of safeguards for the protection of the person and property of the debtor against undue exploitation by the creditors.

SHORT-TERM LEGISLATION

To give immediate and speedy relief to the agriculturists three kinds of legislation were enacted:

- (a) Moratorium laws,
- (b) Measures to reduce the burden of the interest liabilities,
- (c) Measures to scale down the principal of the debt and to devise convenient methods of repayment, i.e., debt conciliation measures.

(a) *Moratorium Laws:* The catastrophic fall in prices disabled the debtors from honouring their obligations. The money-lenders rushed to the courts of law and wanted to 'take their pound of flesh in land.' There was the immediate danger of the lands being sold up to the creditors. To check the immediate execution of the proceedings for the sale of lands and to give some relief to the agriculturists until the enactment of comprehensive debt legislation, Moratorium laws were passed in different provinces.

The U. P. Temporary Regulation of Execution Act, 1934, was enacted with a view to stay the execution of proceedings against judgment debtors. The Act also said that the debt could be paid off in instalments. In 1937, the Congress Ministry provided for the postponement of proceedings against agriculturists who paid as land revenue less than Rs. 1,000 and who were not assessed to income tax. Those whose land revenue payments exceeded Rs. 250 could get execution proceedings stayed only by depositing one-fifth of the amounts for which the decrees were executed. Another benefit conferred by the Act was that agricultural debtors who were sent to prison for non-payment of the debts were released.

The Madras Government contemplated the passing of a Moratorium Bill in 1937, but it was withdrawn due to the introduction of the Debt Relief Bill. In the Debt Relief Act there were provisions to revise the judgments arrived at in the cases of agriculturist debtors during the period between the withdrawal of the Moratorium Bill and the passing of the Debt Relief Bill. In Bombay the Small Holders Temporary Relief Act protected the agriculturists who owned only 6 acres of irrigated land or 19 acres of unirrigated land. In Madhya Pradesh also debt legislation on the lines of the Bombay Act was passed. The Moratorium measures mostly related to ensuring a fair price for land sold in execution of a decree, temporary postponement of land sales, repayment through instalments and exemption from arrest and detention. These Acts gave considerable relief to the debtors.³⁹ They could be more effective but for the following defects:

1. Delay in their enactment.
2. Conditional consideration of relief at borrowers' depositing some part of the principal or interest debarred many of the debtors from taking full advantage of these measures.
3. Main attention having been paid to the protection of land, the agriculturists who did not possess land could not get adequate relief.

(b) *Measures to Reduce the Burden of Interest Liabilities:* After protecting the agriculturist debtor from losing his lands by their sale for debt, measures were undertaken to scale down the accumulated burden of interest.

Almost all provinces amended the Usurious Loans Act of 1918. The following table gives the amendments to Usurious Loans Act passed in several provinces and the rate of interest deemed usurious.⁴⁰

	Simple secured interest per cent	Loans compound interest per cent	Unsecured simple interest per cent	Loans compound interest per cent
Madras Debtors' Protection Act, 1934 (Sec. 6A)	9	..	15	..
Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act 1934 (Sec. 5)	12	9 with 18½ annual rests	14 with annual rests..	
The Central Provinces Usurious Act, 1934	12	10	18	..
The United Provinces Usurious Loans Act, 1934 (3)	12	..	24	..
The Bengal Money-lenders' Act, 1933 (Sec. 4)	15	10	25	10
The Bihar Money-lenders' Act, 1933 (Sec. 9)	9	..	12	..
The Orissa Money-lenders' Bill, 1938 (Sec. 9)	9	..	12	..
The Bombay Money-lenders' Bill, 1938 (Sec. 29)	9	..	12	..
The Bengal Money-lenders' Bill, 1938 (Sec. 29):				
(Cash loans)	9	..	15	..
(Kind loans)	15	..	25	..
The Assam Money-lenders' Act, 1934 (Sec. 8)	12½	..	18	
The Assam Money-lenders' Amendment Bill, Dec. 1937	9½	..	12½	..
The Bombay Money-lenders' Act, 1946	6	..	9	..

The Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay and Madras prescribed special rates at which interest was to be calculated on depression and pre-depression loans. The Agricultural Relief Act of U. P. (1934) provided that from 1st January 1930 to a date fixed by the local Government, the rate of interest charged on dates can only exceed the rate at which the local Government can borrow from the Central Government by a certain percentage prescribed by the Local Government. Later in the U.P., the Agricultural Debt Redemption Bill of 1939 provided that courts of law should grant interest at the rate of 4½ per cent for secured loans and 6 per cent for unsecured loans.

40. N. G. Abhyankar: *Provincial Debt Legislation in Relation to Rural Credit*.

The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill of 1938 provides for the calculation of interest rate at 8 per cent for secured and 10 per cent for unsecured loans. In Madhya Pradesh, the Central Provinces Relief of Indebtedness Act of 1938 authorised the reconsideration of the transactions made 12 years before the last transaction or before 1st January, 1932, whichever was earlier, at the following rates:

Compound interest	5 per cent
Simple interest secured	7 per cent
" " unsecured	10 per cent

Bombay Agricultural Debtors' Relief Act of 1939 provided for the reduction of the interest burden in three ways:

(1) "The Debt Relief Boards were authorised to allow interest at 12 per cent per annum, simple interest on debts contracted before 1st January, 1931."

(2) "The interest calculated in this way and found due on 1st January, 1931, was to be reduced by 40 per cent if the loan was contracted before 1st January, 1931 and by 30 per cent if it was contracted between 1st January, 1931."

(3) "Interest was allowed to be calculated at 9 per cent per annum simple interest or agreed rate whichever is lower after 1st January 1932 till the date of the application for relief."

The Madras Agriculturists Relief Act of 1938 made the following provisions for scaling down of the debt:

(1) All arrears of debt incurred by the agriculturists in so far as they were outstanding on 1st October, 1937 were cancelled.

(2) Interest rate on past loans was fixed at 5 per cent between October 1937, and the date of the enactment of the Act and any excess amount paid was credited to the repayment of the principal.

(3) The courts of law were directed to grant interest rate not higher than 6½ per cent per annum, simple interest on all transactions made after the commencement of the Act.

Another method by which the Provincial Governments tried to reduce the payments towards accumulated interest was by adopting the principle of Damdupat; Bengal (1933), U.P. (1934), Madras and Bihar (1938) and Bombay and Sind (1938) adopted this principle. Under this principle, no court shall decree by way of arrears of interest, a sum greater than the principal of the loan. In Madras, under the principle of Damdupat a debtor need not pay anything towards the debt if he has paid twice the principal of the loan, whereas in some other provinces payment of a sum greater than the principal towards the arrears of interest is prohibited. The debt relief measures have the following main features:⁴¹

1. The issue of receipts, maintenance of proper account registers, noting of discharges on bonds, submission of periodical returns to debtors and supplies of copies of loan documents were made obligatory. The penalties prescribed for their non-compliance included the disallowing of in-

41. G. D. Agarwal: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 116-117.

terest for certain periods or of costs of suit and deduction of double the amount paid by the debtor but not recorded by the creditor.

2. Charges not legitimate were prohibited and protection against molestation and intimidation was provided.

3. The suits could be tried only within the residential jurisdiction of the debtors.

4. Debtors could deposit in the court the sum refused by the creditor and were given rights to sue for accounts.

5. The conversion of rent arrears into debt were not allowed.

6. The Civil Procedure Code was amended in regard to the detention of debtors.

7. Provision was made for the reduction in the rate of interest, in general or by the application of Damdupat principle in several forms.

8. The penalty of fine or imprisonment was imposed for the overwriting of bonds.

9. Registration and licensing of moneylenders was provided for.

(c) Measures to scale down the principal of the loan:

(1) *Debt Conciliation Machinery:* Debt Conciliation Acts were passed in five provinces: Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Bengal, and the Punjab. Under the Acts, Provincial Governments were authorised to set up Conciliation Boards. The Boards consisted of not less than 3 and not more than 12 members. The method followed by the Boards was to adjust the available assets of the debtors to the total dues owed to the creditors who were agreeable to an amicable settlement and the amount settled was to be paid up in about 20 or 25 instalments.

Certain disabilities were imposed on creditors who refused to abide by the decisions of the Boards. In such cases the debtor is granted a certificate and the court of law is authorised to disallow costs and award an interest rate not higher than 6 per cent. The creditors who accept the settlement of the Boards are given a priority in the recovery of moneys. These disabilities were intended to force the creditors to accept the decision of the Debt Conciliation Board.

The Punjab Debt Conciliation Act of 1934, the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act of 1935, the Assam Debt Conciliation Act of 1935, the Madras Debt Conciliation Act of 1936, the Sind Debt Conciliation Bill of 1939 adopted more or less the same principles.

The main features of the debt conciliation measures may be summarised thus:

1. A certificate is issued to by the Conciliation Board if a number of creditors with a certain percentage of debts agree to the conciliation proposals or even if a single creditor agrees. After the issue of a certificate, the court does not allow the cost of the suit, the rate of interest is limited to 6 per cent only and priority is given to the award-holders in recovering their debts.

2. The Court fee is reduced.

3. Instalments are recovered through revenue officers.

4. During the period of award the property of the debtor carries a charge for the debts.

5. Court proceedings are stayed.

6. Creditors failing to submit their claims to the Boards are not authorised to recover them afterwards.

The Debt Conciliation Boards have achieved substantial results in some provinces. In the Madhya Pradesh, the total debt of Rs. 15.6 crores has been scaled down to Rs. 7.7 crores, i.e., a little less than 50 per cent. In Bengal, a total debt of Rs. 52 crores has been reduced to Rs. 32 crores, that is, by over 63 per cent. Similarly, in Madras, little more than Rs. 5 crores has been scaled down from Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 4 crores. In the Punjab, during the year ending 31st December 1940 debts of Rs. 91.45 lakhs were scaled down by Rs. 55.6 lakhs. But corruption among board officials and high cost to government great hardships are caused to the debtor by the stoppage of his future credit altogether from all sources till the decreed debt or the award was paid off.

Secondly, the absence of facilities for repayment of the decretal amounts in cash hampers the successful working of the Debt Conciliation Boards. It is therefore desirable to establish Land Mortgage Banks which can take over the liabilities of the agricultural debtors.

Thirdly, the C. P. Land Revenue Report, 1937, pointed out that under the Debt Conciliation machinery the debtor finds it difficult to secure fresh credit until the last of his instalment is paid. It is necessary, therefore, that the Debt Conciliation Board take into account the repaying capacity of the debtor after he was provided for the maintenance of his family, rents and taxes, his dues for the repayment of short-term funds for his next year's needs.

(3) Miscellaneous measures:

(a) The principle of terminable mortgage. This principle was enforced in the Punjab, U.P., and Bengal. According to this, the land of a mortgagor should be returned to him without any obligation on his part after a period of 15 to 20 years, whether he paid the debt in full or not.

(b) Some of the Provincial enactments have authorised the courts of law to fix a fair sale price for lands sold in the enforcement of decrees against agricultural debtors. This has been done by the U.P. Regulation of Sales Act of 1934, the U.P. Agricultural Debt Redemption Bill, 1939 and the Bihar Money-lenders' Act, 1938.

(c) The Provincial Insolvency Act of 1920 has been amended in some provinces for the benefit of agriculturist debtors. Under the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act of 1935 the agriculturists are declared insolvent if the debtors are unable to pay off the reduced amounts in 20 instalments. Then the lands of insolvent debtors are sold out leaving but a portion of the property including a dwelling house for

the insolvent debtor. Under the Bombay Agricultural Debtors Relief Act of 1939, the agriculturists are declared insolvent if they are unable to pay the total amount of their scaled down debts within 25 years. Half of the property is liable to attachment and sale in liquidation of all debts. This Act has been replaced by the Bombay Agriculturists Relief Act, 1947.

NEW SCHEME OF DEBT CONCILIATION

The Gadgil Committee recommended that there should be intensive efforts to adjust the debts of agriculturist producers before the reorganisation of agricultural finance. These recommendations have been also endorsed by the Agrarian Reform Committee. Following is the summary of the recommendations of the Gadgil Committee:⁴²

(1) The debts of agricultural producers should be *compulsorily* adjusted, without waiting for applications from borrowers, by Boards manned by Judicial officers.

(2) The work of adjustment should be completed within specified time not exceeding two years, because in a dynamic economy, passage of time might bring into operation new forces disturbing the results attained through slow piecemeal efforts and might retard all progress.

(3) It should be obligatory on all creditors to register their claims and submit statements of their assets and liabilities before the Board within a definite period.

(4) To determine the fair amount due from the debtor, the adjustment agency should scrutinise each account and go behind the entries as provided in the Usurious Loans Act and the Decan Agriculturists' Relief Act.

(5) It should also apply a rule of Damdupat which should be defined so as to mean that the total payments could never exceed twice the amount of the principal originally lent and that interest cannot be converted into capital.

(6) The amount determined as fair should be reduced to the present value of the debtor's normal repaying capacity over 20 years worked out at a rate of 4% interest or to 50% of the normal value of the immovable assets, whichever is less, provided that

(i) a secured debt is not reduced to less than 50 per cent of the value of the property on which it rests,

(ii) the proportion allowed of a secured debt in terms of the value of the property on which it rests is not smaller than the proportion allowed to of the unsecured debts to the total of such debts.

(7) The adjusted debt should be awarded to be paid to creditors immediately in lump by borrowing from a Land Mortgage Bank or a suitable agency.

(8) The Agency taking over the debt will recover it from the debtor in instalments spread over a period not exceeding 20 years.

(9) If a debtor has no hereditary or transferable rights in the land and his debts fairly determined exceeds his total repaying capacity by a given proportion to be prescribed in law, the

Board should adjudge him an insolvent to be dealt with under a simple insolvency procedure.

(10) If a debtor has hereditary or transferable rights in land and his debt fairly determined exceeds his total repaying capacity by a proportion to be prescribed by law, the Board should adjudge him an insolvent to be dealt with compulsorily under a simple insolvency procedure, irrespective of the amount of debt or the value of the assets involved.⁴³

Regarding the number of instalments, the Gadgil Committee recommends 20 years, while the Bombay Agriculturist Relief Act lays down 12 years. The Agrarian Reforms Committee favours the smaller number of instalments. They also make certain other recommendations regarding the fixation of priority according to which debts shall be paid:⁴⁴

(a) Debts due to the Government which are charged on the immovable property of the debtor.

(b) Debts due to local authorities which are charged on the immovable property of the debtor.

(c) Loans given by the Resource Societies.

(d) Secured debts in order of priorities.

(e) Debts due to Government, local authorities and bodies including Co-operative Societies.

(f) Other dues to the Co-operative Societies.

(g) Unsecured debts.

The debts of the agricultural labourers contracted before 1942 should be wiped out and debts contracted after 1942 should be either wiped out or scaled down after an enquiry with regard to the equity of the loan and the paying capacity of the debtor. The jurisdiction of the conciliation machinery recommended for the agricultural producers might be extended to the scaling down of the debts of this section of the agricultural community.

LONG-TERM LEGISLATION

Apart from the immediate relief given to the agriculturists by the various short-term enactments, there are other enactments to regulate money-lending and protect the person and property of debtors.

Regulation of the moneylending business has been done by a three-fold measure:

(i) *The Registration and Licensing of Money-lenders:* The Central Provinces Moneylenders' Amendment Act of 1936 required every moneylender to register himself and obtain a registration certificate. The non-obtaining of the registration certificate is treated as an offence punishable by a fine of Rs. 50 for the first offence and Rs. 100 for subsequent offences. The Punjab Registration of Money-lenders' Act, 1938 denies the benefit of the legal machinery of the State to moneylenders who do not possess a license for the recovery of their dues from their debtors.

The Bihar Moneylenders' Act III of 1933 was

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Agrarian Reforms Committee Report, p. 94.



On the Village Road
Photo by Parimal Gwami



Feeding the Swans
Photo by Parimal Goswami

drafted on the model of the Punjab Act. The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill, 1938 provides for the registration and licensing of moneylenders. The moneylenders who do not take out licenses are penalised by a forfeiture of the right to sue in courts of law. The fine for failing to take out a license is Rs. 15. The United Provinces Moneylenders' Bill 1939 is similar in effect to the Punjab Bill, but it empowers the individual to lodge a complaint against the evil practices of a moneylender on depositing a given sum in the court of law.

The Bombay Moneylenders' Bill, 1938, provides for the registration and licensing of moneylenders. Money-lending without license has been made an offence.

(ii) *Regulation of Accounts:* To check the evil practices of moneylenders, the maintenance of accounts has been made compulsory. The Punjab Regulation of Accounts Act, 1930, made stringent rules for the maintenance of clear and separate accounts, for the sending of annual statement of accounts to debtors and for giving receipts for repayments. In case of non-compliance with these provisions, courts of law were empowered to disallow the costs and interest due on suits brought by the moneylenders. Madras, C.P., Assam, Bengal, U.P. and Bombay have also made legislative provisions for the regulation of accounts on the lines of the Punjab Regulations of Accounts Act 1930.

(iii) *Regulation of Interest:* Drastic measures were undertaken to reduce interest rates by amending the Usurious Loans Act. The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill, 1939 provides that entering an amount larger than the sum actually advanced would be treated as an offence punishable by six months' imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 1000. The United Provinces Bill of 1939 made similar provisions.

The measures adopted to safeguard the property and person of the debtor from exploitation by the creditors are: (1) the provision for the exemption of a given portion of the property of the debtor from attachment and sale, and (2) the protection of the debtor from intimidation and molestation.

The Central Provinces Debtors' Protection Act, 1937, the Bombay Moneylenders' Bill, 1939, and the United Provinces Moneylenders' Bill, 1939, punished moneylenders with 3 months' imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 500 if they molested their debtors. The Bengal Moneylenders' Bill, 1939, lays down penalty of one year's imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 1000 for a similar offence. The Punjab Debtors' Protection Act, 1935, and the Bengal Debtors' Protection Act, 1936, and the Bombay Moneylenders' Bill, 1939, contain provisions for the protection of the debtors' properties.

It has to be remembered, however, that even comprehensive debt legislation, such as the Provincial Governments have undertaken during the last ten

years, cannot solve our agricultural problem, unless it is supplemented by measures which can effect far-reaching improvements in agricultural production.

The debt of the cultivating classes is but the symptom of a deeply rooted disease. The legislation that we have briefly reviewed may be regarded as of the nature of ambulance work, stopping the bleeding and the source of further infiltration of the disease, by applying antiseptics and bandaging whilst leaving untouched the roots of the disease. Legislation for scaling down the debt or restricting the activities of the moneylenders will not cure the disease; nor will the fixation of a maximum rate of interest, or a system of registration and compulsory keeping of accounts touch the roots; an effective co-operative movement reaching every village in its activities and backed by such financial resources as the total national assets of the country can provide, may be capable of solving the immediate problem.

It has also to be remembered that with the growth of transferable rights in land, it is not the farmer but the moneylender who takes away the benefits of irrigation or the cultivation of commercial crops. Where land passes into the hands of the moneylenders who has no capacity for farming, the cultivator becomes a tenant at will on his own holding, leasing it from the moneylenders at a rate which leaves him no incentive to improve the crop and with no credit on which he can borrow. A country like ours with an enormous agricultural population runs a serious risk of aggravating its poverty under such conditions, with neither the will nor the ability to intensify production on the part of the rural classes. Not until the ryots are enabled to start on a clean slate by measures like the wholesale cancellation of existing debts and get security with regard to their agricultural operations by the provision of regular credit facilities, by consolidation of holdings by insurance of cattle against famine and disease, by the establishment of subsidiary industries, in short, by a many-sided and simultaneous attack on all the factors connected with their poverty, can there be a reasonable hope of better and more prosperous conditions for Indian agriculture.

Finally, the problem of agricultural indebtedness is intimately linked up with the larger question of economic development. Poverty, ignorance, absence of industrialisation, a static social organisation, deep-rooted religious traditions, the uncertainties and insecurity resulting from fluctuations in world prices, all these are elements in a situation in which indebtedness and low agricultural productivity also enter. No solution of any one of these problems is possible, apart from a many-sided and comprehensive reconstruction of the corporate life of the country which will include all the elements.

(II) Fundamental Rights

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I

IN my first and introductory article¹ in this series I have dealt with the Preamble to our Constitution. In this and in a few other articles that will follow it I propose to deal with the question of our Fundamental Rights. Before, however, I take up any specific Fundamental Right for consideration I should like to make a few preliminary observations of a general character, having a bearing on our subject.

II

UTILITY OF A BILL OF RIGHTS

There has been in the past a sharp difference of opinion among statesmen and publicists on the question of the necessity of a distinct bill of rights in the Constitution of a country governed democratically. For example, among the defects of the draft Constitution of the United States of America prepared by the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, "none," writes Justice Story,² "attracted more attention or were urged with more zeal, than the want of a distinct bill of rights which should recognize the fundamental principles of a free republican government, and the rights of the people to the enjoyment of life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness." It was argued that "it was indispensable" that "express provision should be made" in the Constitution "for the trial by jury in civil cases"; that "freedom of speech and freedom of the press should be secured" by it; that "there should be no national religion and the rights of conscience should be inviolable," etc. This omission of a bill of rights in the draft Constitution was considered to be "a fatal defect," and "sufficient of itself to bring on the ruin of the (American) republic."³

Alexander Hamilton, however, held a different view on this question.⁴ For the liberty of the press and for the protection of the rights of the people, he would "altogether depend on public opinion and on the general spirit of the people and of the government." Further he stated:⁵

"It has been several times truly remarked that bills of rights are, in their origin, stipulations between kings and their subjects, abridgements of prerogative in favour of privilege, reservations of

rights not surrendered to the prince. Such was Magna Charta, obtained by the Barons, sword in hand, from king John. Such were the subsequent confirmations of that charter by succeeding princes. Such was the *petition of right* assented to by Charles the First, in the beginning of his reign. Such also, was the declaration of right presented by the Lords and Commons to the Prince of Orange in 1688, and afterwards thrown into the form of an act of Parliament, called the Bill of Rights. It is evident, therefore, that according to their primitive signification, they have no application to constitutions professedly founded upon the power of the people and executed by their immediate representatives and servants. Here, in strictness, the people surrender nothing; and as they retain everything, they have no need of particular reservations."

He added:⁶

"I go further, and affirm, that bills of rights, in the sense and to the extent they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed constitution, but would even be dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted, and on this very account would afford a colourable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that things shall not be done which there is no power to do? Why, for instance, should it be said, that the liberty of the press shall not be restrained, when no power is given by which restrictions may be imposed? I will not contend that such a provision would confer a regulating power; but it is evident that it would furnish to men disposed to usurp, a plausible pretence for claiming that power. They might urge with a semblance of reason that the constitution ought not to be charged with the absurdity of providing against the abuse of an authority which was not given, and that the provision against restraining the liberty of the press afforded a clear implication that a right to prescribe proper regulations concerning it was intended to be vested in the national government. This may serve as a specimen of the numerous handles which would be given to the doctrine of constructive powers, by the indulgence of an injudicious zeal for bills of rights."

This reasoning did not satisfy Thomas Jefferson and many other leading statesmen of the time. They held that "the purposes of society do not require a surrender of all our rights to our ordinary governors; that there are certain portions of right not necessary to enable them to carry on an effective government, and which experience has nevertheless proved they will be constantly encroaching on, if submitted to

them; that there are also certain fences which experience has proved peculiarly efficacious against wrong, and rarely obstructive of right, which yet the governing powers have ever shown a disposition to weaken and remove."⁸ And "these governing powers will be no less disposed to be aggressive when chosen by majorities than when selected by the accident of birth, or at the will of privileged classes."⁹ Further, in a letter¹⁰ to James Madison Jefferson wrote in 1787: "A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular; and what no just government should refuse, or rest on inferences." Again, in another letter to Madison Jefferson wrote¹¹ on 15th March, 1789, that, although a bill of rights "is not absolutely efficacious under all circumstances, it is of great potency always, and rarely inefficacious."

"A brace the more," he continued, "will often keep up the building which would have fallen with that brace the less. There is a remarkable difference between the characters of the inconveniences which attend a declaration of rights, and those which attend the want of it. The inconveniences of the declaration are that it may cramp government in its useful exertions. But the evil of this is short-lived, moderate, and reparable. The inconveniences of the want of a declaration are permanent, afflictive and irreparable. They are in constant progression from bad to worse. The executive, in our governments, is not the sole, it is scarcely the principal, object of my jealousy. The tyranny of the legislatures is the most formidable dread at present, and will be for many years. That of the executive will come in its turn; but it will be at a remote period."

The Jeffersonian point of view ultimately prevailed, and the result was the adoption in 1791 of the first ten amendments¹² to the Constitution of the United States as originally drafted by the Philadelphia Convention in 1787.

We may also note in this connexion what Justice Story has observed,¹³ after carefully weighing the arguments for, and against, the incorporation of a bill of rights in a Constitution. He is of opinion that such a bill of rights "is neither unnecessary nor dangerous" in a Constitution. The question with him is "not whether any bill of rights is necessary, but what such a bill of rights should properly contain." And "that is a point for argument upon which

different minds may arrive at different conclusions." He next observes that "a bill of rights is important, and may often be indispensable, whenever it operates as a qualification upon powers actually granted by the people to the government." And "this is the real ground of all the bills of rights in the parent country," in the colonial constitutions and laws, and in the State Constitutions." Whenever, he emphasizes, "a general power exists, or is granted to a government which may in its actual exercise or abuse be dangerous to the people, there seems a peculiar propriety in restricting its operations and in excepting from it some at least of the most mischievous forms in which it may be likely to be abused. And the very exception in such cases will operate with a silent but irresistible influence to control the actual abuse of it in other analogous cases."

Thirdly, Justice Story has observed that "a bill of rights may be important, even when it goes beyond powers supposed to be granted."

"It is not always possible," he has rightly said, "to foresee the extent of the actual reach of certain powers which are given in general terms. They may be construed to extend (and perhaps fairly) to certain classes of cases which did not at first appear to be within them. A bill of rights then operates as a guard upon any extravagant or undue extension of such powers. Besides, as has been justly remarked, a bill of rights is of real efficiency in controlling the excesses of party spirit. It serves to guide and enlighten public opinion, and to render it more quick to detect and more resolute to resist attempts to disturb private rights. It requires more than ordinary hardihood and audacity of character to trample down principles which our ancestors have consecrated with reverence; which we imbibed in our early education; which recommended themselves to the judgment of the world by their truth and simplicity; and which are constantly placed before the eyes of the people, accompanied with the imposing force and solemnity of a constitutional sanction. Bills of rights are a part of the muniments of freemen, showing their title to protection; and they become of increased value when placed under the protection of an independent judiciary instituted as the appropriate guardian of the public and private rights of the citizens."

Fourthly, Story has said that a bill of rights is, as had been urged with much earnestness, "an important protection against unjust and oppressive conduct on the part of the people themselves," and that, in a government like that of the United States, the great danger lies as James Madison had pointed out, "rather in the abuse of the community than of the legislative body."

"The prescriptions in favour of liberty," continues Story, "ought to be levelled against that quarter where the greatest danger lies, namely, that which possesses the highest prerogative of power. But this is not found in the executive or

8. Quoted by Cooley from *Jefferson's Works*, Vol. III, p. 201.

See *Ibid.*, p. 366n.

9. See Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

10. See S. K. Padover, *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*, 1949, p. 47; also his *Jefferson*, p. 73.

11. See Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 367n; also Padover, *Thomas Jefferson on Democracy*, pp. 48-50.

12. These Amendments took effect on December 15th, 1791.

—See Ogg & Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 1103n.

13. See Story, *op. cit.*, Sections 1863-1868.

14. *I.e.*, England.

1. See *The Modern Review* for September, 1954.

2. See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 5th Ed., Section 301.

3. *Ibid.*, Section 1858.

4. See *The Federalist* (Max Beloff's Edition, Oxford, 1948) No. 84.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., 1903, pp. 366-67.

legislative departments of government, but in the body of the people operating by the majority against the minority."

He admits that "it may be thought that all paper barriers against the power of the community are too weak to be worthy of attention," and that "they are not so strong as to satisfy all who have been and examined thoroughly the texture of such a defence." Nevertheless, as these barriers, he says, "have a tendency to impress some degree of respect for them, to establish the public opinion in their favour, and to rouse the attention of the whole community, it may be one means to control the majority from those acts to which they might be otherwise included."

Finally, with reference to the draft Constitution of the United States. Story has observed that "the want of a bill of rights" in it was "not either an unfounded or illusory objection," and that the real question was "not, whether every sort of right or privilege or claim ought to be affirmed in a constitution, but whether such as in their own nature are of vital importance and peculiarly susceptible of abuse ought not to receive this solemn sanction." And although "the want of a formal bill of rights in the (draft) Constitution was a matter of very exaggerated declamation and party zeal for the mere purpose of deflating the Constitution," yet, "so far as the objection was well founded in fact, it was right to remove it by subsequent amendment; and Congress have . . . accordingly performed the duty with most prompt and laudable diligence."¹⁵

I have quoted at length the views of Justice Story on the question of the utility of a bill of rights because of their obvious importance. It should be clear from what has been shown above that the incorporation of a bill of rights in a Constitution acts as a great safeguard, not only against any "misconstruction or abuse of" power on the part of a department of a Government, but also against any "excesses of party spirit" and what is known in political speculation as "the tyranny of the majority" which is now generally included, as John Stuart Mill¹⁶ has rightly said, "among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard." Indeed, this tyranny of the majority is, as a distinguished American publicist¹⁷ has pointed out, "one of the evils most to be feared in a democracy, the most to be feared because of the ease with which it can be exercised and the severity with which it operates." And he has emphasized that "there can be no tyranny of a monarch as intolerable as that of the

multitude, for it has the power behind it that no king can sway." Harrington was hardly wrong when he asked "whether power, not confined to the bounds of reason and virtue, has any other bounds than those of vice and passion?"¹⁸ The authors of our Constitution, therefore, acted very wisely when they incorporated a comprehensive list of justiciable Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. The history of our country, the composition of its population, ideological differences amongst the different sections of the population, our social traditions, and the requirements of true democracy, all necessitated it. And on the whole—there may be, as we shall see later on, an honest difference of opinion in regard to some details—our bill of rights does credit to the patriotism, political sagacity, and the constructive abilities of the framers of our Constitution.

"STATE" LEGISLATION AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

So far as its written portion is concerned, our Constitution has been divided into 22 Parts and comprises 395 Articles¹⁹ and 9 Schedules. Part III of the Constitution deals with our Fundamental Rights and includes Articles from the 12th to the 35th. Now Article 12 in this Part lays down that, unless the context otherwise requires, the term 'State' "includes the Government and Parliament of India and the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory" of India or under the control of the Government of India.²⁰ It may be noted here that the last nine words of Article 12, namely, "or under the control of the Government of India," did not occur in the corresponding Article 7 of the *Draft Constitution of India* prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly and published in 1948. They were added to the said corresponding Article by the Constituent Assembly on 25th November, 1948, by way of an amendment moved by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee. In justification of his motion for the amendment Dr. Ambedkar had stated:²¹

"This amendment was thought necessary because apart from the territories which form part of India, there may be other territories which may not form part of India, but may none-the-less be

18. Quoted by Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Revised Edition, p. 78.

19. The numbering of the Articles of the Constitution of India has not been altered since 26th January, 1950, although new Articles have been inserted in it as Articles 31A and 31B by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951.

20. Under Article I of our Constitution, the territory of India (a) is to comprise the territories of the States specified in Parts A, B and C of the First Schedule to the Constitution; (b) the territories specified in Part D of the said First Schedule; and (c) such other territories as may be acquired by the Indian Union.

21. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 25th November, 1948, pp. 607.

under the control of the Government of India. There are many cases occurring now in international affairs where territories are handed over to other countries for the purposes of administration either under a mandate or trusteeship. I think it is desirable that there ought to be no discrimination so far as the citizens of India and the residents of those mandated or trusteeship territories are concerned in fundamental rights. It is therefore desirable that this amendment should be made so that the principle of Fundamental Rights may be extended to the residents of those territories as well."

Thus the words "all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India" in Article 12, have a much wider meaning than what appears from the surface.

Another point worthy of note in this connexion is the use of the word 'State' in our Constitution in various senses. For example, the word 'State' has been used in one sense in Article 1 of the Constitution and in different senses in Article 12.²² This was more or less the position in the *Draft Constitution of India* referred to before. When, therefore, Article 7 of *Draft Constitution of India* corresponding, as stated before, to Article 12 of our present Constitution, was before the Constituent Assembly, a member²³ of the Assembly objected to the use of the word 'State' in different senses in different parts of our proposed Constitution. He stated that it was not "advisable that an expression in a legislative enactment should bear different meanings in different parts of the enactment" as it would "create confusion." Further, he wished that the word 'State' had not been defined in Article 7 as it had been done. And he particularly objected to the use of the word 'State' in it with reference to local authorities like District Boards and Municipalities, and also with reference to such a vague, but comprehensive, expression as "other authorities" within the territory of India. This was, he said, "too wide a definition of the word 'State'" and might create difficulties later on in the working of the Constitution.²⁴

Although it must be conceded that there was some intrinsic force in this reasoning, yet it must also be admitted that what Dr. Ambedkar said²⁵ by way of a reply to Mr. Ali Baig is worthy of a serious consideration.

"The object of the Fundamental Rights," said Dr. Ambedkar, "is two-fold. First, that every citizen must be in a position to claim these

22. We also find in Clause I of the Fifth Schedule to our Constitution; "In this Schedule unless the context otherwise requires, the expression 'State' means a State specified in Part A or B of the First Schedule (to the Constitution) but does not include the State of Assam." Also see Article 308 of the Constitution in this connexion.

23. Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib Bahadur (Madras : Muslim). See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 25th November, 1948.

24. See *ibid.*

25. See *ibid.*

rights. Secondly, they must be binding upon every authority—I shall presently explain what the word 'authority' means—upon every authority which has got either the power to make laws or the power to have discretion vested in it. Therefore, it is quite clear that if the Fundamental Rights are to be clear, then they must be binding not only upon the Central Government, they must not only be binding upon the Provincial Government, they must not only be binding upon the Government established in the Indian States, they must also be binding upon District Local Boards (*sic*), Municipalities, even village panchayats and taluk boards, in fact, every authority which has been created by law and which has got certain powers to make laws, to make rules, or make by-laws."

"If that proposition," continued Dr. Ambedkar, "is accepted—and I do not see anyone who cares for Fundamental Rights can object to such a universal obligation being imposed upon every authority created by law—then, what are we to do to make our intention clear? There are two ways of doing it. One way is to use a composite phrase such as 'the State', as we have done in Article 7,²⁶ or to keep on repeating every time, 'the Central Government, the Provincial Government, the State Government, the Municipality, the Local Board, the Port Trust, or any other authority.' It seems to me not only most cumbersome but stupid to keep on repeating this phraseology every time we have to make a reference to some authority. The wisest course is to have this comprehensive phrase and to economise in words. I hope that my friend will now understand why we have used the word 'State' in this Article²⁷ and why this article must stand as part of this Constitution."

It is evident from what Dr. Ambedkar said that the word 'State' was used in Article 7 of *Draft Constitution of India* in the senses in which it was used, both for the sake of convenience and for the sake of elegance of English. There is certainly considerable force in Dr. Ambedkar's reasoning. There is also a precedent for this in the Constitution of the Union of Burma adopted by the Burmese Constituent Assembly on 24th September, 1947. Section 9 in Chapter II of the Constitution has laid down that "in this Chapter and in Chapters III and IV,²⁸ the term 'State' means the executive or legislative authority of the Union or of the (constituent) unit concerned according as the context may require."

I shall now pass on to Article 13 in Part III of our Constitution. This Article lays down:

"(1) All laws in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of this Constitution, in so far as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this Part²⁹ shall, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void.

26. As noted in the text above, this Article corresponded to Article 12 in the Constitution of India.

27. I.e., Article 7 of *Draft Constitution of India*.

28. Chapters III and IV of the Constitution of the Union of Burma deal with "Relations of the State to Peasants and Workers" and "Directive Principles of State Policy" respectively.

29. I.e., Part III of our Constitution.

15. Reference here is to the adoption in 1791 of the first ten Amendments to the Constitution of the United States as originally prepared in 1787.

16. See his *Essay on Liberty*, Chapter 1.

17. See W. W. Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, 1922, p. 416.

"(2) The State shall not make any law which takes away or abridges the rights conferred by this Part and any law made in contravention of this clause shall, to the extent of the contravention, be void."³⁰

"(3) In this Article, unless the context otherwise requires,—

(a) 'law' includes any Ordinance, order, bye-law, rule, regulation, notification, custom or usage having in the territory of India the force of law;

(b) 'laws in force' include laws passed or made by a Legislature or other competent authority in the territory of India before the commencement of this Constitution and not previously repealed, notwithstanding that any such law or any part thereof may not be then in operation either at all or in particular areas."³¹

Now what are the implications of this Article? As I have stated in my previous article,³² while dealing with the significance of the expression "We, the People of India" in the Preamble to our Constitution, the Constitution has been duly enacted and adopted by the People of India, acting in its aggregate and sovereign capacity through the Constituent Assembly of India, and is, therefore, an act of the sovereign People of India in its collective capacity. As such, it is the supreme law of the land—"the paramount and fundamental law" of our nation. Any rule of human conduct, therefore, claiming the force of law in India, whether existing before the 26th of January, 1950, the date of the commencement of the Constitution, or since that date, found to be in any way inconsistent with any provision of the Constitution which is, to use an American expression, our "superior paramount law" will, to the extent of such inconsistency, be void. Thus the limit of voidness or invalidity of such a rule of conduct will ordinarily be the nature and extent of this inconsistency. This, to my mind, is our general constitutional principle and the provisions of our Constitution relating to our Fundamental Rights come within its scope. Judge Cooley³³ has said with reference to the Constitution

of the United States that "the will of the people, as declared in the Constitution, is the final law," and that "the will of the legislature is law only when it is in harmony with, or at least is not opposed to, that controlling instrument which governs the legislative body equally with the private citizen." This maxim also applies to our country. As we shall have an occasion to see in a later article,³⁴ it is the duty of the judiciary "to declare what the law is in the cases which come before" it, and to "enforce the Constitution as the paramount law, whenever a legislative enactment," or, we may add, any rule of human conduct claiming the force of law, "comes in conflict with it." And in exercising this great authority, our judges will not, as in the United States, claim any judicial supremacy over the legislature, but will only act as "the administrators of the public will"—"the real will of the people" as it has "previously solemnly declared it" in our Constitution. Thus, if an Act of the legislature is declared void, "it is not because the judges have any control over the legislative power, but because the Act is forbidden by the Constitution, and because the will of the people, which is therein declared, is paramount to that of their representatives expressed in any law."³⁵ And when a law is declared unconstitutional and, therefore, void, the same consequences should follow here as, for instance, in the United States in a similar case, namely, that the law in question "is as if it had never been," and all that this implies. Thus, as Judge Cooley has pointed out, "rights cannot be built up under it; contracts which depend upon it for their consideration are void; it constitutes a protection to no one who has acted under it, and no one can be punished for having refused obedience to it before the decision was made." Further, "what is true of an Act void *in toto* is true also as to any part of an Act which is found to be unconstitutional, and which, consequently, is to be regarded as having never, at any time, been possessed of any legal force."³⁶ And what we have said here in regard to an unconstitutional Act of a legislature should equally apply to any other rule of conduct claiming the force of law.

Professor Willoughby has given a very lucid exposition of the point we are discussing here. He has said³⁷ that "the doctrine that an unconstitutional law is void is often stated as a deduction from the premise that constitutional law is a superior kind of law to which statute law of inferior rank is obliged to yield."

"Speaking in all strictness, however," he has observed, "this is not the case, for the unconstitutional statute is not law at all, whatever its form or however solemnly enacted and promulgated. There are not and cannot be degrees of legal validity. Any given rule of conduct or definition of a right either is or is not law. When, therefore, we describe any particular measure as an unconstitutional law, and therefore, void, we are, in fact, strictly speaking, guilty of contradiction of terms, for if it is unconstitutional it is not a law at all; or, if it is a law it cannot be unconstitutional. Thus, when any particular so-called law is declared unconstitutional by a competent court of last resort, the measure in question is not 'annulled' but simply declared never to have been law at all, never to have been, in fact, anything more than a futile attempt at legislation on the part of the legislature enacting it."

Professor Willoughby has quoted in this connexion from the judgment of the Court of West Virginia in *Shepherd vs. Wheeling* to say:³⁸

"(The Court) does not annul or repeal the statute if it finds it in conflict with the Constitution. It simply refuses to recognize it, and determines the rights of the parties just as if such statute had no application."

In view of what we have shown above, it may be interesting to refer here to the interpretation which our Supreme Court has put on Clause (1) of Article 13 of our Constitution as quoted before. In *Keshavan Madhava Menon vs. The State of Bombay*³⁹ the Supreme Court held on 22nd January, 1951, by a majority of five to two⁴⁰ as follows:

"It will be noticed that all that this Clause (i.e., Clause (1) of Article 13 of the Constitution) declares is that all existing laws, in so far as they are inconsistent with the provisions of Part III (of the Constitution) shall to the extent of such inconsistency, be void. Every statute is *prima facie* prospective unless it is expressly or by necessary implications made to have retrospective operation. There is no reason why this rule of interpretation should not be applied for the pur-

pose of interpreting our Constitution. We find nothing in the language of Article 13(1) which may be read as indicating an intention to give it retrospective operation. On the contrary, the language clearly points the other way. The provisions of Part III guarantee what are called fundamental rights. Indeed, the heading of Part III is 'Fundamental Rights.' These rights are given, for the first time, by and under our Constitution. Before the Constitution came into force there was no such thing as fundamental rights. What Article 13(1) provides is that all existing laws which clash with the exercise of the fundamental rights (which are for the first time created by the Constitution) shall to that extent be void. As the fundamental rights became operative only on and from the date of the Constitution the question of the inconsistency of the existing laws with those rights must necessarily arise on and from the date those rights came into being. It must follow, therefore, that Article 13(1) can have no retrospective effect but is wholly prospective in its operation. After this first point is noted, it should further be seen that article 13(1) does not in terms make the existing laws which are inconsistent with the fundamental rights void *ab initio* or for all purposes. On the contrary, it provides that all existing laws, in so far as they are inconsistent with the fundamental rights, shall be void to the extent of their inconsistency. They are not void for all purposes but they are void only to the extent they come into conflict with the fundamental rights. In other words, on and after the commencement of the Constitution no existing law will be permitted to stand in the way of the exercise of any of the fundamental rights. Therefore, the voidness of the existing law is limited to the future exercise of the fundamental rights. Article 13(1) cannot be read as obliterating the entire operation of the inconsistent laws, or to wipe them out altogether from the statute book, for to do so will be to give them retrospective effect which, we have said, they do not possess. Such laws exist for all past transactions and for enforcing all rights and liabilities accrued before the date of the Constitution . . .

"It is well known that on the expiry of a temporary statute no further proceedings can be taken under it, unless the statute itself saved pending proceedings. If, therefore, an offence had been committed under a temporary statute and the proceedings were initiated but the offender had not been prosecuted and punished before the expiry of the statute, then, in the absence of any saving clause, the pending prosecution could not be proceeded with after the expiry of the statute by efflux of time . . . As explained above article 13(1) is entirely prospective in its operation and as it was not intended to have any retrospective effect there was no necessity at all for inserting in that article any such saving clause. The effect of article 13(1) is quite different from the effect of the expiry of a temporary statute or the repeal of a statute by a subsequent statute. As already explained, article 13(1) only has the effect of nullifying or rendering all inconsistent existing laws ineffectual or nugatory and devoid of any legal force or binding effect only with respect to the exercise of fundamental rights on and after the date of the commencement of the Constitution. It has no retrospective effect and it therefore, an act was done before the commencement

30. According to Fazl Ali J., the meaning of the word "void" has been stated in *Black's Law Dictionary* (3rd Edn.) to be as follows:

"Null and void; ineffectual; nugatory; having no legal force or binding effect; unable in law to support the purpose for which it was intended; nugatory and ineffectual so that nothing can cure it; not valid."

See his judgment in *Keshavan Madhavan Menon vs. The State of Bombay*, *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part III, March 1951, p. 241.

31. It may be noted in this connection that under Clause (1) of Article 372 of our Constitution, notwithstanding the repeal by the Constitution of the enactments referred to in Article 395 thereof but subject to the other provisions of the Constitution, "all the law(s) in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of the Constitution shall continue in force therein until altered or repealed or amended by a competent Legislature or other competent authority."

The expression "other provisions" in this clause certainly includes Article 13 of the Constitution.

32. See *The Modern Review* for September, 1954, pp. 191-93.

33. See Cooley, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

34. Reference may also be made in this connexion to my article entitled "Position of the President of India: A Further Rejoinder" in *The Modern Review* for May, 1951.

35. See Cooley, *op.cit.*, p. 228; also Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Edn., 1929, Vol. I, p. 9.

36. See Cooley, *op.cit.*, pp. 259-60.

37. See Willoughby, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-10.

38. See Willoughby, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

39. This case had come to the Supreme Court by way of appeal, under Article 132(1) of our Constitution, from a judgment and order, dated 12th April, 1950, of the High Court of Bombay. The facts of the case are, briefly speaking, as follows:

The appellant was the Secretary of the People's Publishing House, Ltd., Bombay. On 9th December, 1949, he was arrested and a prosecution was started against him under Section 18(1) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate at Bombay, for publishing a certain pamphlet in September, 1949, without the authority required by the Act. While the prosecution was pending, the Constitution of India came into force on 26th January, 1950. Thereupon the appellant challenged the legality of certain sections of the said Press Act as being inconsistent with Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution. He first moved the High Court of Bombay under Article 228 of the Constitution and then preferred an appeal to the Supreme Court from the judgment of the High Court. For details see *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1951, Vol. II, Part III, March 1951.

40. Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Das and Chandrasekhara Aiyar JJ., for, Fazl Ali and Mukherjee JJ., dissenting. See *ibid.*

of the Constitution in contravention of the provisions of any law which, after the Constitution, becomes void with respect to the exercise of any of the fundamental rights, the inconsistent law is not wiped out so far as the past act is concerned, for, to say that it is, will be to give the law retrospective effect. There is no fundamental right that a person shall not be prosecuted and punished for an offence committed before the Constitution came into force. So far as the past acts are concerned the law exists, notwithstanding that it does not exist with respect to the future exercise of fundamental rights. We, therefore, agree with the conclusion arrived at by the (Bombay) High Court . . . In our opinion, therefore, this appeal fails, and is dismissed."

Now the conclusion of the High Court at Bombay referred to above, was that the "proceedings under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, which were pending at the date of the commencement of the Constitution were not affected, even if the Act were inconsistent with the fundamental rights conferred by Article 19(1)(a) and as such became void under Article 13(1) of the Constitution after January 26, 1950."

The sum and substance of the judgment of the majority of the Supreme Court, as quoted above, is that Article 13(1) "has no retrospective effect," and that, therefore, if "an act was done before the commencement of the new Constitution in contravention of the provisions of any law which was a valid law at the time of the commission of the act, a prosecution for such an act, which was commenced before the Constitution came into force, can be proceeded with and the accused punished according to that law, even after the commencement of the new Constitution."⁴¹

The Counsel for the appellant had also argued that "the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, was one of the many repressive laws enacted by an alien Government with a view to stifle the liberty of the Indian subjects and particularly of the Indian Press," and that it was therefore "against the spirit of the Constitution" of India. To this the reply of the majority of the Supreme Court was:

"An argument founded on what is claimed to be the spirit of the Constitution is always attractive, for it has a powerful appeal to sentiment and emotion; but a court of law has to gather the spirit of the Constitution from the language of the Constitution. What one may believe or think to be the spirit of the Constitution cannot prevail if the language of the Constitution does not support that view . . . We are, therefore, unable to accept the contention about the spirit of the Constitution as invoked by the learned Counsel in aid of his plea that pending proceedings under a law which has become void cannot be proceeded with. Further, if it is against the spirit of the Constitution to continue the pending prosecutions under such a void law, surely it should be equally repugnant to

that spirit that men who have already been convicted under such repressive law before the Constitution of India came into force should continue to rot in jail. It is, therefore, quite clear that the court should construe the language of article 13(1) according to the established rules of interpretation and arrive at its true meaning uninfluenced by any assumed spirit of the Constitution."

We have fairly stated above the point of view of the majority of the Supreme Court in the case under our consideration. Fazl Ali J., however, did not agree with the view taken by the majority in this case, and Mukherjea J. was "in entire agreement" with him both "in his reasons and (in) his conclusion."⁴²

Fazl Ali J. held:⁴³

"Evidently, the framers of the Constitution did not approve of the laws which are in conflict with the fundamental rights, and, in my judgment, it would not be giving full effect to their intention to hold that even after the Constitution has come into force, the laws which are inconsistent with the fundamental rights will continue to be treated as good and effectual laws in regard to certain matters, as if the Constitution had never been passed. How such a meaning can be read into the words used in Article 13(1), it is difficult for me to understand. There can be no doubt that Article 13(1) will have no retrospective operation, and transactions which are past and closed, and rights which have already vested, will remain untouched. But with regard to inchoate matters which were still not determined when the Constitution came into force, and as regards proceedings whether not yet begun, or pending at the time of the enforcement of the Constitution and not yet prosecuted to a final judgment, the very serious question arises as to whether a law which has been declared by the Constitution to be completely ineffectual can yet be applied. On principle and on good authority, the answer to this question would appear to me to be that the law having ceased to be effectual can no longer be applied."

Further:⁴⁴

"The real question is whether a person who has not been convicted before the Act has ceased to exist or ceased to be effectual can still be prosecuted under such an Act (*sic.*). The answer to this question has always been in the negative, and I do not see why a different answer should be given in the case of an Act which has become void, *i.e.*, which has become so ineffectual that it cannot be cured . . . In the present case, we have to look at the state of the law at the time when the question arises as to whether a person has committed any offence. If we find that the law which made the act an offence has become completely ineffectual and nugatory, then neither can a charge be framed nor can the accused person be convicted."

We have given above extracts from the judgments of the majority and the minority of the Supreme Court in the Keshavan Madhava Menon

case, because of their obvious constitutional importance. Whatever may be one's feelings towards these judgments, the legal position is that what the Supreme Court has declared by a majority to be the meaning of Clause (1) of Article 13 of our Constitution is, for the time being, the law of the land under Article 141⁴⁵ of the Constitution. But, at the same time, we cannot help observing that, on a careful comparison of the two judgments, we feel more inclined to agree with the judgment of the minority than with that of the majority, in this case. It is rather difficult to agree with the view that, in the absence of a clear, saving provision to the contrary, a person can be tried and convicted under a so-called law on or after the 26th of January, 1950, when the law itself has become void and, therefore, nugatory, ineffectual, and "devoid of any legal force or binding effect" with effect from that date, because of its inconsistency with Article 13(1) of the Constitution. And we also feel that there is a considerable force in the contention of Mr. Durga Das Basu⁴⁶ that

"To refuse to convict a person after the commencement of the Constitution under a law which had become void upon the commencement of the Constitution, is not giving retrospective effect to the Constitution or any part of it, but to enforce the Constitution itself."

One more point emerges in connexion with Article 13 of our Constitution, namely, what are the precise implications of the expressions "to the extent of such inconsistency" and "to the extent of the contravention," in the Article? Obviously these expressions apparently mean that such provision or provisions of a law as are inconsistent with, or are found to be in contravention of, as the case may be, any provision in Part III of the Constitution, are to be treated as void and not the entire law. This statement, however, is correct, subject to the requirements of what is known as "the principle of separability" or "the doctrine of severability."⁴⁷ This question arose, for instance, in connexion with the case known as *Romesh Thappar vs. The State of Madras*. In this case our Supreme Court held⁴⁸ on 26th May, 1950, while declaring Section 9(1-A) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949, "wholly unconstitutional and void":

"It was . . . argued that Section 9 (1-A) could not be considered wholly void, as, under Article 13(1), an existing law inconsistent with a fundamental right is void only to the extent of the inconsistency and no more. In so far as the

securing of the public safety or the maintenance of public order would include the security of the State, the impugned provision, as applied to the latter purpose, was covered by Clause (2)⁴⁹ of Article 19 (of the Constitution) and must, it was said, be held to be valid. We are unable to accede to this contention. Where a law purports to authorise the imposition of restrictions on a fundamental right in language wide enough to cover restrictions both within and without the limits of constitutionally permissible legislative action affecting such right, it is not possible to uphold it even so far as it may be applied within the constitutional limits, as it is not severable. So long as the possibility of its being applied for purposes not sanctioned by the Constitution cannot be ruled out, it must be held to be wholly unconstitutional and void. In other words, Clause (2) of Article 19 having allowed the imposition of restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression only in cases where danger to the State is involved, an enactment, which is capable of being applied to cases where no such danger could arise, cannot be held to be constitutional and valid to any extent."

Thus it is not always possible to sever or separate the offending or repugnant provision of a law from the rest of the law. This seems to be the position also in the United States of America. Thus we find in Willoughby:⁵⁰

"The Court will not permit the unconstitutionality of a particular provision of a law to invalidate the entire law if it is possible to separate the invalid provision from the other provisions without destroying or impairing their efficiency to attain the results evidently intended by the legislature that enacted it. Even when thus separable, however, the court will not hold the remainder of the law valid if there is doubt whether, the realization of the whole of its will being rendered impossible, the legislature would have desired the execution of a part only . . . the courts possess and exercise a wide discretionary power in determining whether or not an invalid provision may be separated from the other provisions of an act so as to leave valid those other provisions."

And we also find in Cooley:⁵¹

"It will sometime be found that an act of the legislature is opposed in some of its provisions to the constitution, while others, standing by themselves, would be unobjectionable . . . In any such case the portion which conflicts with the constitution, or in regard to which the necessary conditions have not been observed, must be treated as a nullity. Whether the other parts of the statute must also be adjudged void because of the association must depend upon a consideration of the object of the law, and in what manner and to what extent the unconstitutional portion affects the remainder . . . Where, therefore, a part of a statute is unconstitutional, that fact does not authorize the courts to declare the remainder void

45. Article 141 of our Constitution has laid down: "The law declared by the Supreme Court shall be binding on all courts within the territory of India."

46. See Durga Das Basu, *A Commentary on the Constitution of India*, 2nd Edn., 1951, p. 55 foot-note.

47. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 56 and 656-57, in this connexion.

48. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I; Part VI, August, 1950, p. 608.

49. As it originally was before its amendment by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. Clause (2) has been used in this sense in the rest of the extract quoted.

50. See Willoughby, *op.cit.*, pp. 36-37.

51. See Cooley, *op.cit.*, pp. 246-47.

41. See *ibid.*

42. See *ibid.*

43. See *ibid.*

44. See *ibid.*

also, unless all the provisions are connected in subject-matter, depending on each other, operating together for the same purpose, or otherwise so connected together in meaning, that it cannot be presumed the legislature would have passed the one without the other."

It is clear from the views of Professor Willoughby and Judge Cooley that in the United States also the Court of Law does not always find it possible to separate the invalid or repugnant portion of a law from the rest of the law. As in India, such "separability" or "severability" depends upon circumstances.

It is evident from what has been shown above that the two expressions "to the extent of such inconsistency" and "to the extent of the contravention" in Article 13 of our Constitution have sometimes a much wider implication than what is warranted by their literal interpretation.

Finally, I should like to say that in this article I have discussed only some preliminary points in connexion with our Fundamental Rights. In my next few articles I propose to deal with some of our specific Fundamental Rights.

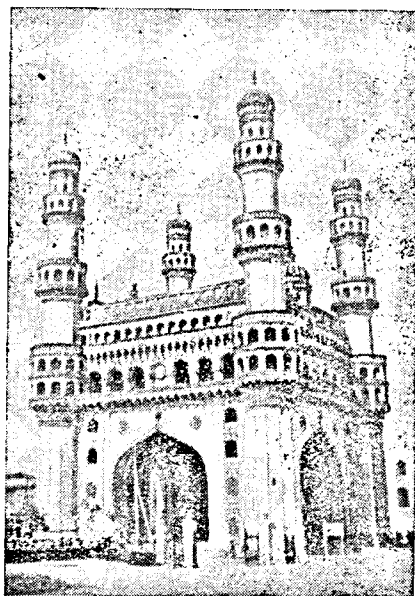
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HYDERABAD : CITY OF PROMISE

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

CRADLED in the highlands of the Deccan, on the bank of River Moosi, Hyderabad is the metropolis of the State of the same name. With its number of ancient remains and towering structures of the past and present, enriched with a tradition of its own, it is a leading city of India and draws its visitors from far and near.

a place must naturally be full of strange events and remarkable achievements. The chivalrous kings of old have left for us scores of inspiring works of art and sculpture which speak eloquently of their creators. Hyderabad has often been referred to as the meeting-place of different cultures and creeds and has preserved

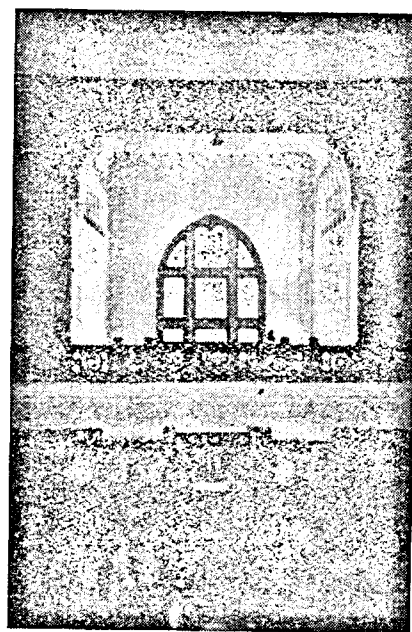


The Char Minar

It is by no means a "dream city" in the strict sense of the romantic term, still it is the home of variety and grace.

The city of Hyderabad has witnessed the rise and fall of several dynasties which sprang up and disappeared with the lapse of time. The history of such

its traces to this day. The Char Minar, erected by Sultan Quli Kutub Shah in the year 1591, is easily the most striking monument and deserves all the tribute it receives. Lying at a stone's throw from it, the Maccac Masjid, also of that period, is a worthy structure. The



An inside view of the University

remains of Golconda Fort, in the proximity of the city, bring to our minds the heart-breaking stories and legends attached to it.



The Osmania University

The city has the usual bustle and glamour with beautiful buildings, well-furnished roads and busy traffic. The schools, colleges and all sorts of technical institutions have made it the pilgrimage of learning where the students gather from the whole State and elsewhere. There are many luxurious picture houses (a couple of which are air-conditioned), gardens and parks, which are the favourite spots of the dwellers. The Naya Pul and the Tank Bund present charming views, while the Salar Jung Museum and the Falaknuma Palace are some of the must-be-seen show places. Since its integration with the Indian Union in 1948, Hyderabad has come to play a more prominent part. The All-India Industrial Exhibition is held here annually while a number of conferences take place which bring to this city a stream of tourists.



Osmania General Hospital

In these days of a general deterioration in the fields of architecture and sculpture, which seem to be the virtual monopoly of the masters of the past, we have to be contented with works of a comparatively lesser skill and inferior quality. Among the worthy constructions of the Modern Age, the Osmania University should be named first. Every visitor has spoken

very highly of it and has paid glowing tributes to this remarkable piece of work. Similarly the High Court, Osmania General Hospital, the State Library, the



The Osman Sagar

Madina Building and the Legislative Assembly are all excellent structures of the present day.

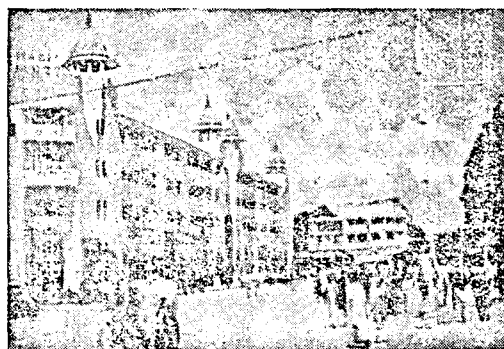
The Osmania University, existing since 1918, is unique in the sense that it was the first institution to impart its education in Urdu, an Indian language. It was certainly a bold experiment which proved a success. Since the integration of Hyderabad with the Indian Union, the face and the working conditions of the University have changed considerably and English has slowly been replaced. Lately there is again a proposal that it should be a Hindi University directly administered by the Central Government. The protest of the people of the State in this matter seems to be justified since a University—with such a short lease of life—cannot change its medium so very often and thus deteriorate its standards.



The Tank Bund

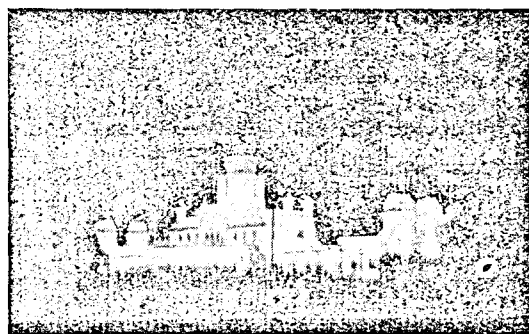
Having made a considerable headway in the field of industry, the city has a number of large- and small-scale factories which produce commodities like cigarettes, matches, biscuits, cement, alcohol and glass. Outside the city there are several mills puffing day and night. There is thus hardly any activity left out which is virtually within its reach.

If the State is divided on linguistic basis, as it is likely to be done in the near future, the city will naturally belong to the Andhras. But no prudent observer will deny the fact that the city is essentially cosmopolitan and owes its beauty and prosperity due to the combined efforts of different people who inhabit this little city of delights.



A street scene at Hyderabad

Journalism has suffered a setback in Hyderabad. Quite a few dailies and periodicals in English, Hindi, Urdu and Telugu are published here but none can be claimed to have reached the expected standards. Several papers appear every now and then only to die the



Hyderabad M. G. Railway Station illuminated on the Republic Day

next moment. Rather unfortunately, Hyderabad today cannot boast of even one journalist of international fame.

The exhausting and monotonous life, coupled with an extreme climate, naturally needs many parks and health-resorts for the people who have fortunately not lost their interest in pastoral sights and simple objects of Nature. The spacious public garden of the city has become the centre of attraction with its heavenly breeze and romantic surroundings. It has within its four walls a Zoo and the Health Museum and is visited by many people every day and on Sundays in particular. Boys and girls, most of whom are still at schools and colleges, have made this garden colourful with their pleasing display of latest fashions.



Holiday-makers at Nizam Sagar

While the city is overcrowded with a suffocating atmosphere, it is justly proud of possessing some beautiful lakes in its vicinity. These are the blessed spots to which the tired folk turn up for recreation and a holiday-change. The Osman Sagar, popularly known as Gandipet, with its green parks touching water, and the Himayat Sagar have already become favourite haunts for the visitors, while at a distance of eight miles to the south of the city lies Umda Sagar, another lake of great beauty. The tanks and rivers are a very poor substitute for the splashing sea; nevertheless they are a blessing in disguise for places far from the seashore.

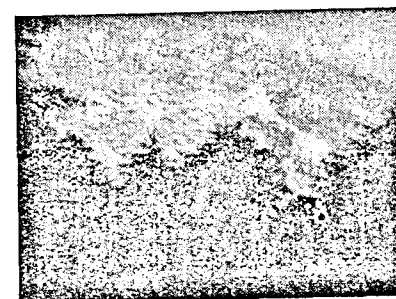
In the years yet to bubble up from "eternity's cauldron," Hyderabad is likely to attain a unique position which it so worthily deserves. With its steady all-round progress in different walks of life, it is fast developing into a great city. Its promising future appears today to be something more realistic than a mere dream.



SIMLA IN SUMMER

By MANIKLAL MUKHERJI

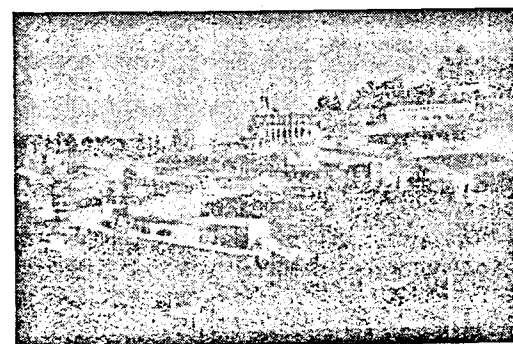
A visit to Simla, specially in summer, is certainly one that a tourist must long for, in view of its fine hill climate. The picturesque mountainous scenery of Simla is really enchanting. To me Simla appeared to be dreamy. The lofty Himalayan ranges seem to beacon travellers from the plains for a halt and rest.



An aerial view of Simla

During the British regime Simla was the Summer Capital for the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. In free India today we have our Government houses and Rastrapati Bhawan on the Summer Hill at Simla.

Situated at an altitude of 6181 ft. above the sea level and at a distance of 1299 miles from Calcutta Simla stands in her own hill grandeur. Simla en-



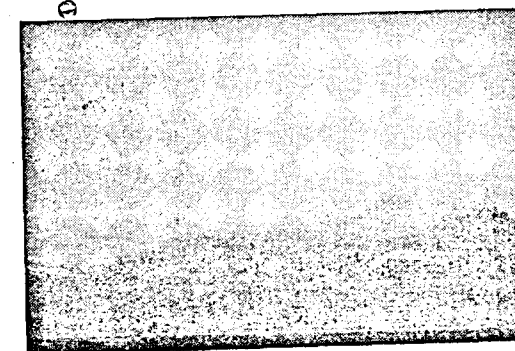
Simla in a full-moon night

joys a fine cycle of seasons quite in contrast to those generally prevailing in other mountain regions of India. A journey to Simla from Calcutta is a matter of about 48 hours by the fastest Mail train. The Delhi Mail leaves Howrah (Calcutta) every night at 20-25 hrs. and reaches Kalka on the third day. The journey should, in the interest of health and for the sake of comforts, be conveniently broken at Delhi, the capital of India. The Second Class Mail fare from Howrah to Simla is Rs. 108/4/9



Clouds over Simla before monsoon

gauge railway. There are eighteen hill stations between Kalka and Simla and the Mail passes through as many as one hundred and three tunnels. The hill journey is pleasant indeed and provides a



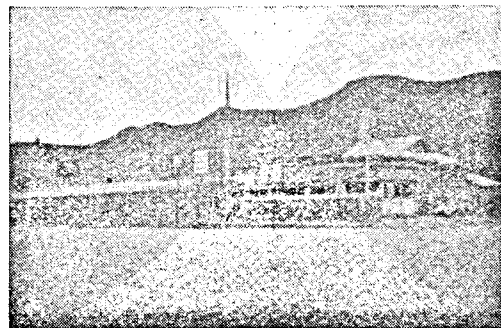
Fog over Simla during monsoon

thrill. It takes the train about five minutes to pass through tunnels Nos. 10 and 33.

The picturesque hill stations of Jabeli, Barog and Tara Devi would excite a keen photographer to snap. Fine puris, curry and sweets are sold at Barog. The drinking water is refreshing. Around her Simla has a belt of three high peaks, viz., Jakoo Hill (8049 ft. above sea), Prospects Hill (7137 ft.) and Tara Devi (7070 ft.). On the top of Jakoo Hill stands in sublime serenity the temple of Sree Hanumanjee, loosely

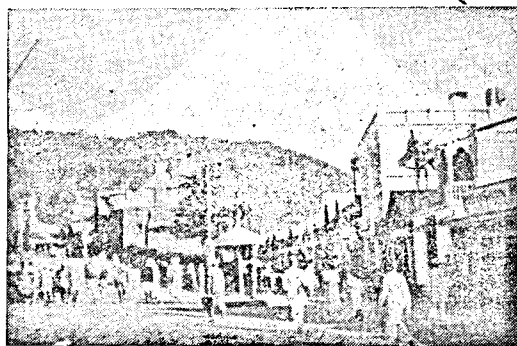
termed as the "Monkey Temple." It overlooks the Ridge and the Mall where Western Commands very recently played the beating of the retreat for the first time after World War II.

The Grand Hotel and the Simla Kalibari occupy a very central position. The Post Office, the Railway Station, Tourists Bureau and the office of Messrs. Thomas Cook, etc., are not far from the Grand Hotel. The Prospects Hill stands towards the end of the Boileauganj Road and not very far from the Hotel Cecil and the Hindu Hotel. The temple of Kamana Devi stands on the peak of the Prospects Hill which is a place for picnic as well as for pilgrimage.



Kalka at Dawn. Hills in the background

Unlike the Jakoo Hill where there are benches to sit on and pipewater to drink on the way uphill there are no such provisions on the Prospects Hill. For water supply, rainwater in the rains and snow in the winter are stored up in a reservoir embedded into the rocks at the top. The way is too slippery to provide for a foothold at places.



The Mall, the Chowringhee of Simla

The Summer Hill is the station next below Simla and is noted for the Government buildings and the Presidential Lodge. Summer lasts in Simla from the middle of March to the end of June. It is hot in the day but cold in the night even during summer. The rains appear by the third week of June and sometimes in the fourth week when it becomes difficult to

get out of doors. The months of July and August make up the rainy season in Simla.

The climate of Simla, as I was told by a friend, Mr. K. G. Mathur of the Simla Station, is excellent during the months of September to November and right up to the middle of December.

From the middle of December to the middle of May there is winter in Simla, the months of January and February being the snowfall days. Sometimes, during winter the temperature comes down as low as 25 degree Fahrenheit. Snow-fall on the Jakoo Hill is very deep, being five to six feet at times, and the average snow-fall in Simla proper is between one foot to three feet deep.

The most thickly populated part of Simla is the Mall, which may be called the heart of Simla throbbing day and night with merry shoppers, gay walkers and busy people. Most of the offices, bazars and shops are located at Mall. Like most of the hill stations of India, Simla does not boast of a varied road system. The Mall Road is the longest and next to it is the Boileauganj Road that leads to the Prospects Hill. The Cart Road is very fine.



A street scene on the Mall, Simla

Water and electricity are supplied to Simla city from the Reservoir and the Hydraulic Power Station at the Sutlej, six miles off from Simla. Curiously enough a hot spring springs out of the cold bed of the Sutlej, a phenomenon which baffles scientists. Simla is administered by an efficient Municipal Council. The roads are always found clean and there are no epidemics. Spitting on road sides is strictly prohibited and is punishable with a fine of Rs. 50.

The services generally rendered by the Simla Tourists Bureau and Thomas Cook & Co. are really praiseworthy. Thomas Cook is the only friend of the tourists in Simla as also is the Tourists Bureau itself.

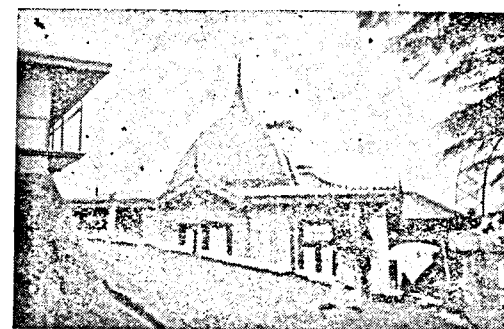
Rice has been derationed at Simla. The best Basmati rice sells at Re. 1-2 per seer now. Most of the vegetables are available between six to ten annas a seer. Potato sells at annas six a seer and

onions annas two. Fish, meat and milk are available in abundance, fish selling at Rs. 3 a seer, meat at Rs. 2-8 and milk at Re. 1 a seer. The best milk is supplied by Messrs Keventers Ltd. in bottles as I saw at the Grand Hotel. The chief fruits of Simla are the apples, peaches, apricots and cherries. I found apples selling at Rs. 3 a seer when I visited the place in June. The prices of cherries and peaches, etc., were between a rupee and one rupee and eight annas a seer. "Simla is the dearest hill station and Kashmir is the cheapest," said a friend of mine.



The Church and the Ridge above the Mall, Simla

The charges of the hotels vary at Simla, being from Rs. 12 to Rs. 5. Sometimes the minimum may be Rs. 4 at some hotels. There is a fine cafeteria at Simla Mall where a meal sells at annas eight only. The Bengal Hotel is the only hotel run by a Bengali.

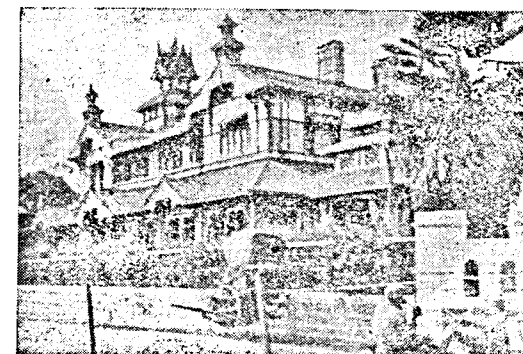


Front view of the Simla Kali-Bari Temple

There are clubs, cinemas and theatres in Simla. The Simla Gaiety Theatre can boast as possessing one of the best stages in Northern India. Of cinemas mention may be made of Riveli, Ritz and Regal.

Tourists are warned to beware of the agents of some mushroom hotels who would cajole them into their folds where it would be difficult to get wholesome food. The safest course for a tourist is to go to either to the Grand Hotel or the Simla Kalibari direct from the railway station and to take the porter as his only faithful guide.

The rickshaw is the common conveyance used in Simla. The charges for a rickshaw are one rupee and annas eight for the first mile and annas twelve for each of the succeeding miles. The Simla rickshaw is an object of curiosity to a newcomer to Simla. The body of the rickshaw looks like a small phaeton which is pulled by two men at the front while two others push it from behind. The dexterity with which they use their legs as foot brakes in encountering a downward slope over the hill is really surprising. Of course, there are taxis and buses, ponies and cycles are also



Bautony, the private house of Maharaja of Darbhanga

available on hire.

A porter or a pony is an indispensable vehicle for carrying heavy burdens from one place to another. The porter of Simla is a typical man with regard to

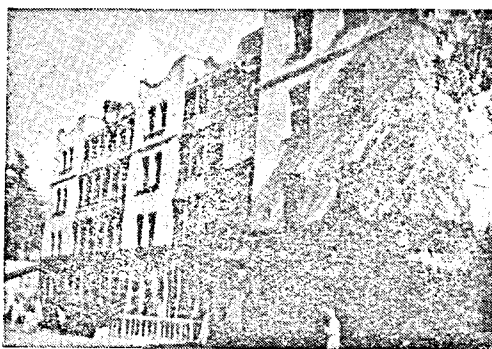


The Ridge with the Band Stand

the device he adopts to carry his load which is placed in a loop of strong rope tied around his waist and neck. The porters are hillmen of the Himachal Pradesh. They have a very sturdy build.

A walk along the Mall in the evening amongst merry frolicking children, fair well-dressed ladies and gay walkers is a real pleasure. Here one would find principally Punjabis and citizens of Himachal Pradesh with a sprinkling of people from other States,

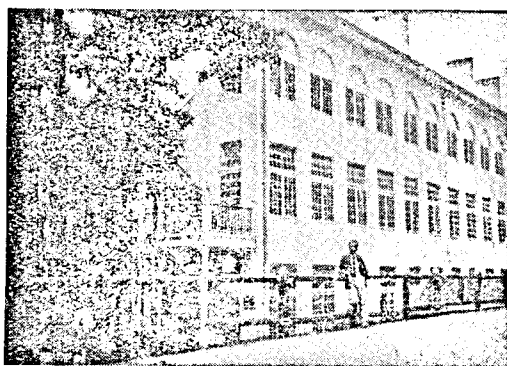
At the bare of the Jakoo Hill is the Ridge with Band Stand where stands a life-size portrait of the Father of the Nation. Bapuji looks on affectionately, as it were, at his beloved children and puts this question to everybody: "Do you love me? If so, follow the path of truth and non-violence and make India happy and prosperous."



The Hotel Cecil, Simla

At dawn the hills and the houses seem to peep out of the pine grove and the fuming smokes issuing out of every house herald the time for breakfast and tea. The music from the band of the Western Com-mands under General Thimaya of Korea fame cheers up the passerby as he takes his morning stroll.

At noon the mountains look like the furrows created by a plough in the paddy fields of West Bengal. The black crows and the white-brown kites soar up in the silvery sky. The troops of monkeys seem to be busy all day over the pines. They are fond of pine fruits.



The Clermont, a Central Government Office Building on the Mall, Simla

At candle-light the city wears a charming sight. The never-ending rows of mountains with the wooden houses embedded into the rocks and the pine groves vanishing in the darkness below a star-lit sky with the smiling moon above add a real charm to the

scene. The house lights seem to wink at the stars above. Simla is more charming at night.

The benched Municipal terraces for access to which half-an-anna is levied afford a very clear view of Simla and its surroundings. No tourist should miss a chance to seat himself there.

The main bazars of Simla are the Middle

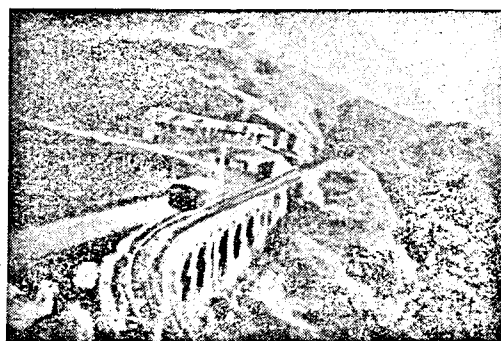


A train entering Simla Station

Bazar, Lower Bazar and the Lakkar Bazar lying close to the Mall which again is the principal shopping centre of Simla. Restaurants and places of amuse-ments are on the Mall Road.

There are schools, colleges, hospitals and clubs in Simla. Simla chooses her Miss Simla every year very ceremoniously.

The Himalaya Brahmo Samaj (established in 1875) by Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen, stands like a noble hermitage in fine hilly surroundings amidst the pines, opposite the Gorton Castle on the Mall Road. The 68th consecration anniversary of the



The Card Road and the Railway Track following each other

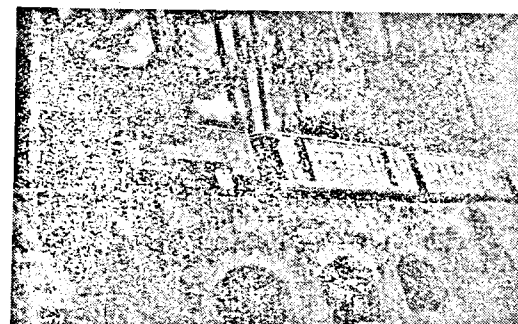
Samaj came off on the 19th of June when a public meeting on "Fellowship of Faiths" was held under the presidency of Justice Shri J. L. Kapoor.

The Simla Kali Bari, which is a cent per cent Bengali Institution very generously backed by the local people and visitors from all parts of India is a

fine temple on a hill top on the Mall Road. I had an occasion to witness "Kedar Rai" staged with spectacular success by the Kishore Sangha. The big assemblage of the Bengalis was, indeed, a surprise to me.

The Simla Kalibari was founded in the year 1823. To know the historical background of the

given below, which, perhaps, may not be without interest to the readers. On the 11th of June, 1954, when the monsoon was knocking at the gates of West Bengal we left Calcutta for Simla by the 61 Up Howrah-Delhi-Kalka Mail at 20-25 hours. On the morning of the 12th at about 10-15 hours we arrived at Allahabad where we finished our lunch.



A train over a viaduct in Kalka-Simla Railway Section

Simla Kalibari, the inquisitive tourist must have to secure a copy of *The Simla Kalibari—A Historical Retrospect (1823-1931)* by its late Secretary, Sri Sudhir Chandra Sen. A copy of Sir Edward J. Buck's *Simla Past and Present* will also be helpful for the inquiry.



The Band Stand, Simla

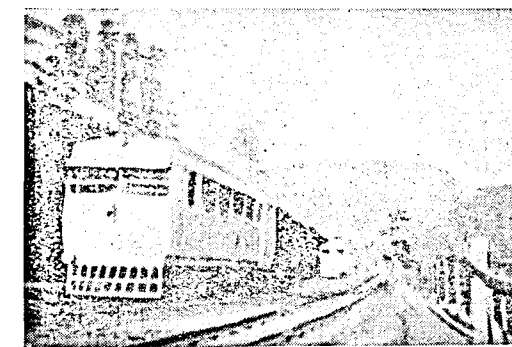
After the Gurkha War, the victorious British snatched this hilly tract of Simla from Nepal early in the nineteenth century, and gave it to the then Maharaja of Patiala as a gift for his co-operation with the British. The place soon became famous as a fine health resort very much liked by the Europeans. Under a treaty Simla was annexed to British India. The early Bengali settlers who first came as the employees of a military survey office, gradually increased in number. The population of the Bengali community today, counting men, women and children, must come up to a thousand.

A brief description of our journey to Simla is



The Gorton Castle, where the Legislative Department of the ex-British India Government was accommodated. Now an office of the A. G., Punjab

The day was very hot. Towards evening it became cool again. At about 9 o'clock in the night Delhi came within sight.



Simla Railway Station. Jakoo Hill in the background

The bluish lights of Rajghat were visible when the Mail was crossing the Jumna, and seemed to convey to our hearts the eternal message of truth, love and non-violence.

We finished our dinner at Delhi and went to sleep. At about 6-20 A.M. on the morning of the 13th June we found ourselves at Kalka. It reminded me of Metupalayam, the gateway to the Nilgiris. Kalka is a pretty large station where we had to get down to prepare ourselves for the next lap of the journey. Here we had to make over all our bags and baggages to the railway authorities for which we got a receipt

in duplicate, one of which was taken off by the loading officer at Kalka, the other having been retained by us. The same. Then we hired a porter who carried our baggages and walked along with us to our respective



The Jakoo Temple. Monkeys are at large at the temple. Jakoo is the highest peak at Simla

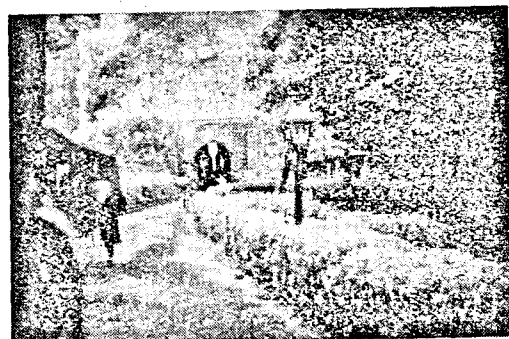
A metre-gauge hill railway connects Kalka with Simla, a distance of sixty miles. There are also Rail motor cars in which only first and second class passengers are allowed to travel. A highway up and down the hills also runs from Kalka to Simla over which motor cars, lorries and buses ply at regular intervals and the rates of fare are cheaper than the Railway rates. This cuts short the distance also saving a lot of time.

The Kalka-Simla Mail started at 1-30 A.M. and moved in a zigzag course at the rate of seven to ten miles per hour. It was a pleasant hill journey and I enjoyed it alright. Jabeli is a very fine station with a background of superfine natural scenery. At Barog, about 27 miles from Kalka we partook ourselves of fine *puri* and curry and some sweets too. The Mail passed through one hundred and three tunnels which provide thrills to passengers.



The Jutogh Railway Station

It took the Mail more than five minutes to pass through tunnels Nos. 10 and 33. It is better to shut up the windows when the Mail moves through tunnels to avoid the smoke and coal dust coming inside. When we reached Simla it was 14-40 hours. Here we had to wait for some time to get delivery of our



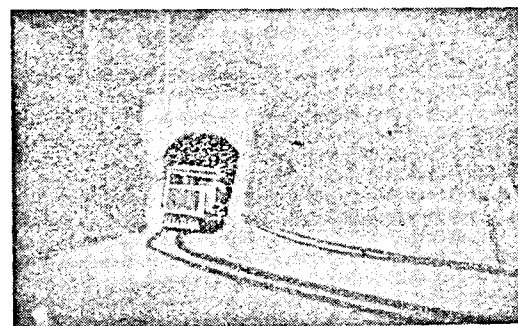
A narrow gauge Kalka-Simla train entering a tunnel near Sogi Railway Station

hotels, a distance of over a mile from the Railway Station.

We remained at Simla for about ten days. Every morning and evening I used to take a walk which was pleasant indeed. Of course, the only place to walk to in Simla is the Mall, where everybody seemed to have forgotten the cares of the world.

The statue of Lala Lajpat Rai which was brought down from Lahore in 1948 stands at the centre of Mall below the Ridge. The statue reminded me of Lalaji's last words: "The blow that has been hurled at me today is a nail to the coffin of the British Empire."

I would like to give below a short narration of our excursions to the Jakoo Hill and the Prospects Hill, specially as these would be of great interest for every



A Rail Motor (petrol-driven) is seen leaving the tunnel No. 103 near Simla

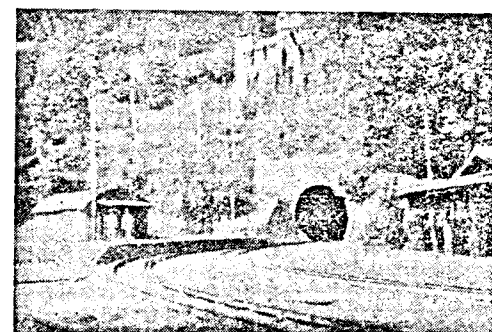
visitor to Simla. On Sunday, the 21st June, 1954, my friend Shri Sailendra Kumar Nath of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, (Government of India) invited me to join an excursion to the Jakoo Hill. I gladly agreed. Our party consisted of Shri S. N. Mahalingam, Chief Inspector of Steam Boilers,

Madras; Shri H. G. Chaoji, Chief Inspector of Boilers, Madhya Pradesh; Shri Mehdi Ali Mirza, Chief Inspector of Boilers and Factories, Hyderabad and Deccan; Shri S. Pahdi, Chief Inspector of Boilers, Orissa and Shri P. Kukillaya, Chief Inspector of Factories, Travancore-Cochin. We left the Mall at



The Taradevi Railway Station on Kalka-Simla Railway

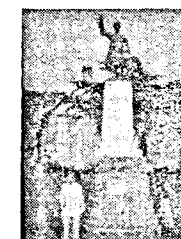
about 8 A.M. On account of a pain in my leg I hired a rickshaw which is one-seater at Simla. The distance uphill is about a mile and a half. To provide for the comforts of travellers there are benches and pipe-water supply on the way. At some places we had to climb very cautiously as it was too slippery to maintain a foothold. The rickshaw had to be left behind about a furlong below the peak. As we went up troops of monkeys ran up to us for food. We gave them some grams which we took with us. The temple of Shri Hanumanjee stands on the top. When we came down to the Mall it was past 11-30 A.M.



The Summer Hill Railway Station near Simla

A trip to Moshobra is a delightful journey indeed but an excursion to the Prospects Hill is all the more pleasant and thrilling. It was on the 21st June that Shri Nirode Baran Nath of the Himachal Pradesh Government Secretariat at Simla invited us again to accompany him to the Prospects Hill about two and a half miles from the Railway Station. Accordingly, Shri S. N. Mahalingam, Shri H. G. Chaoji, Shri

Sailendra Kumar Nath and myself started from the Grand Hotel at about 3 P.M. We walked up to Hotel Cecil and thereafter I hired a rickshaw as requested by my companions. The rickshaw passed through fine hillways and the scenery around appeared to be really picturesque. What struck me most on the way were the notice boards of three Governments, viz., Himachal Pradesh Government, Punjab Government, and the Simla Administration (Delhi). The police wore



Lala Lajpat Rai's statue at the Mall, Simla

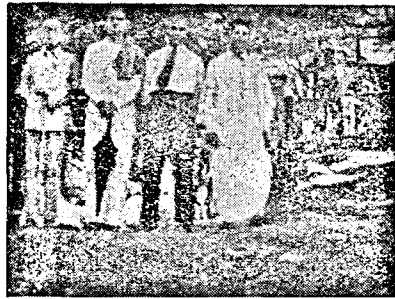
different uniforms at different traffic controls. It was really unity in diversity. India is one and indivisible in spirit. The rickshaw carried me to the foot of the Prospects Hill and waited for my return. With the help of the stick I had purchased at Simla at Lakkar Bazar I began to climb. The way uphill was very steep at places and I had to stop for breath at many a point. In this way I had to walk up about a mile from the base and came to the temple of Kamana Devi. Getting on to the top I found some merry parties, men, women and children still engaged in their picnics and merry-makings while some were already on their journey downwards. It was a pleasant sight indeed! The Summer Hill with the Presidential Lodge stared me in the face on the opposite side of the Prospects Hill, and a Railway tunnel was also visible from the top.



Grand Hotel, Simla

Jyoti Sri Sitaram who is the *seba* of the temple, his son being the priest, told me that the temple was built about two hundred years ago when the city of Simla was still under contemplation. Goddess Durga, he told me, ordered the Raja of Junga in a dream to pick her up from the mountains and build a temple for Her. Thus came the temple into existence which has been since then a place for

Hindu pilgrimage. Unlike the Jakoo Hill there are no benches for tired travellers to sit on, on the way.



The writer and his friends
There is also no arrangement for pipewater supply as I have said already. The cast-iron reservoir at the top is the only source of water supply to the pilgrims

and the tourists. On enquiry I came to learn that the reservoir is filled up with rain water during the rains and with snow during snow-fall in the winter to maintain the water supply. The water appeared to be as clear as pure water.

Here we sat for some time. Shri S. N. Mahalingam and Shri Sailendra Kumar Nath took some snapshots which have been published in the body of this article. We returned back to the Mall at about seven o'clock in the evening.

We left Simla on the 23rd June 1954, of course, not with unmixed joy, that is to say with a heart hankering to return home which is ever so sweet. However, we bade goodbye to Simla and were back to the plains of West Bengal on the 25th. But the memories of our associations at Simla still linger in my mind and a few endearing faces which became familiar to me still haunt me.

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PARENTS CO-OPERATE TO ESTABLISH INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

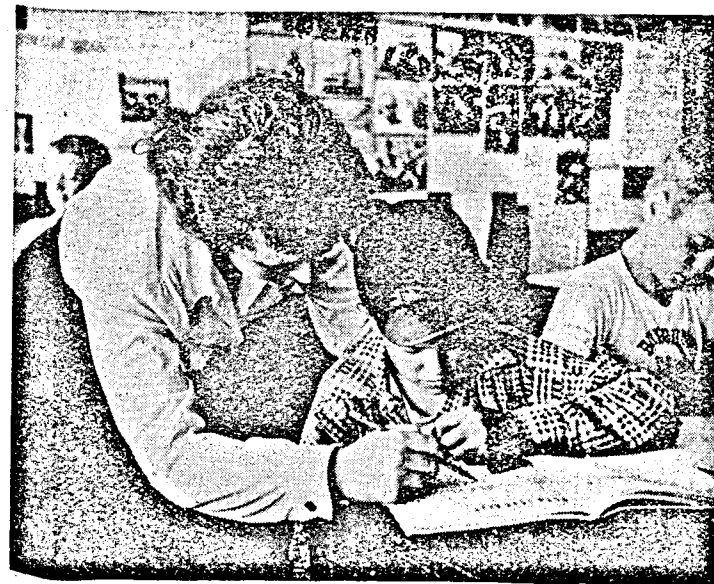
EVERY child in the United States is entitled to receive a free education in one of the local tax-supported schools operated under the general supervision of each State's board of education. However, parents who prefer to do so may always send their children to other schools of their own choice.

provided only that they offer the child an education that meets the State's standards.

There are various reasons why American parents sometimes elect to send their children to a school outside the free system. They may be eager to test new educational methods that would be beyond the scope of the necessarily more standardized tax-supported school. They may wish their child to be brought up under the guidance of instructors belonging to a particular religious faith. They may feel that their child has unusual talents that need special development, or that he requires more personal attention than is possible if he lives in a rapidly growing area where the schools are temporarily overcrowded.

If the particular educational facilities that they desire are not available in their community, parents frequently combine to establish a school through their own efforts. Such a co-operative school, planned, financed and directed by parents is the Burgundy Farm Country Day School in the State of Virginia, a few miles from the capital city of Washington.

The people who founded the school a few years ago are families of modest means; the men being for the most part employed in professional or scientific work for the Government. As city and suburban

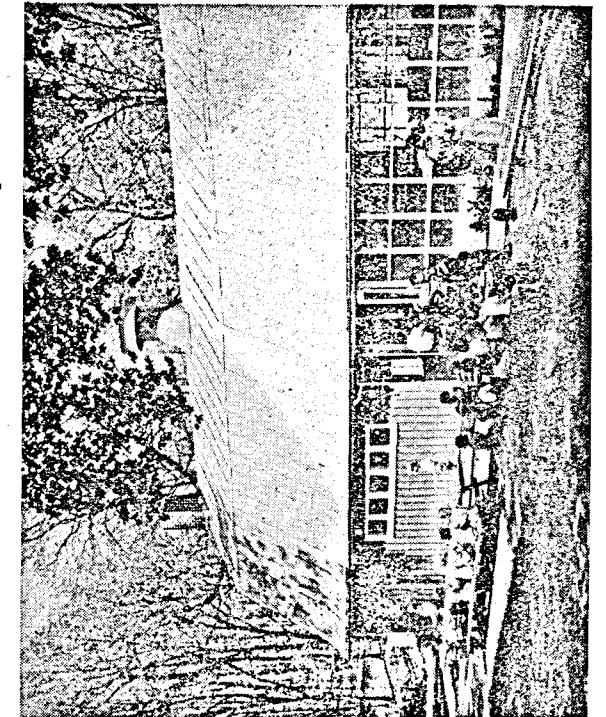


Each child receives individual attention. A little help from teacher clarifies a puzzling problem

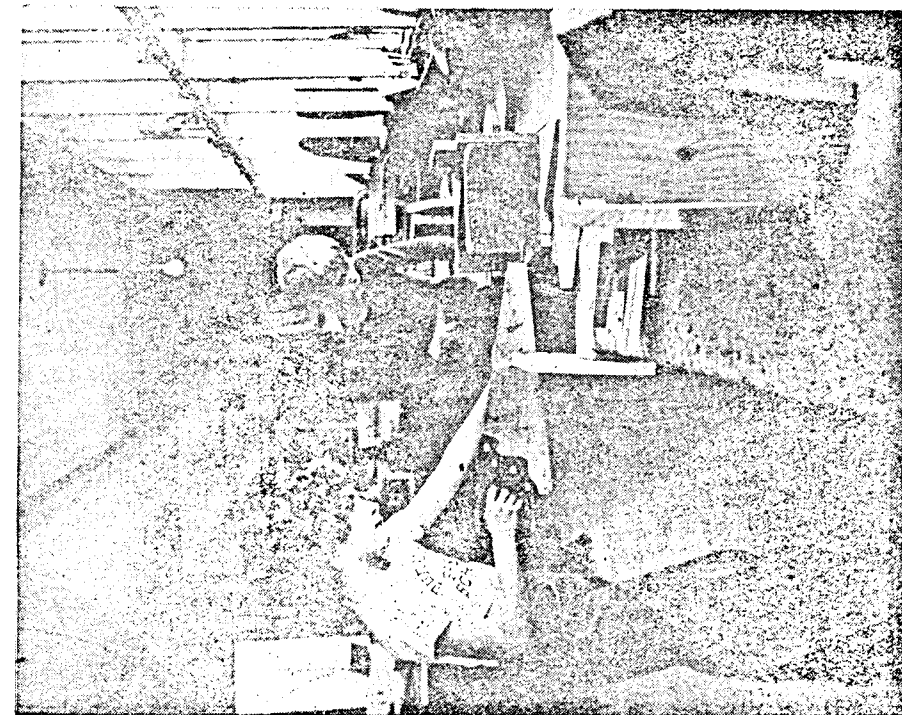
These may be private schools operated for profit, non-profit schools financed by private funds, or schools sponsored by churches or other institutions,



Boys and girls learn to draw and paint



City-dwelling youngsters enjoy a mid-day meal outdoors



Boys and girls learn to master tools at an early age in Burgundy Farm carpentry shop

dwellers, these parents wished to give their children a better chance to grow up in contact with nature and with a maximum of healthy outdoor living.

They believed, too, that it was good for children to start their education as far as possible by "doing," rather than by learning exclusively by rote. They also were eager for their children to gain an early appreciation of music and art and to experience the satisfaction of expression in those fields. And finally, they wanted a school, that, while making no distinction between religious sects, would emphasize particularly those spiritual and cultural aspects of life that are the basis of mutual human understanding and goodwill. Incidentally, many races and religions are represented by the school's teachers and by its 130 pupils, who range in age from 5-year-old beginners to children of 11 or 12.

The founding parents discovered an ideal site for their school in a nearby former dairy farm, standing on a hill surrounded by 20 acres of woods, rolling hills, meadows and streams. Volunteering their time and skills they gradually remodelled the farm buildings into light, airy modern classrooms, a large assembly room, a reference library, offices, an art room designed for creative expression in many media, and a carpentry shop where the children can learn to work with their hands.

A modern kitchen was installed in one of the buildings, and each day the whole school enjoys a nourishing midday meal planned by a group of mothers. Mothers also work in the library, instruct in the arts, and help in the classrooms under the direction of trained teachers.

Each parent also contributes some time and labor to the school's upkeep and improvement. Fathers usually give at least two weekends a year to this work, which frequently also becomes the occasion for family recreation, with a picnic in the woods or a swim in the pool. Because their parents take part in these activities, the children come to feel that their educational life is a family enterprise in which all share and in which the family ties has become more closely knit.

The capital for the enterprise is provided by the parents, who, when they enroll their child, purchase a non-interest-bearing bond (\$250) which is returned when the child leaves and another takes his place. Because the parents help in the school in so many

ways, the cost of tuition is much lower than that of other private schools in the area.

At the Burgundy Farm School the children are introduced to learning by easy stages that will stimulate their interest and imagination.

Reading is taught with special care. In the first year of school the children do not read regularly in primers. Instead, reading is related to their activities, their daily routines or unusual experiences, and they come to associate the printed or written word with what it represents before they know their letters.

Arithmetic, too, has its beginning in experiences encountered during the course of the school day. Counting blocks, sharing out crackers, helping keep attendance records, all become opportunities to become familiar with numbers. Eight-year-olds at the school run a chicken business on the farm grounds, gathering eggs and keeping accounts. The ten-year-olds run a school store at which all children shop for necessary supplies, such as pencils and stationery. Through such practical experiences children are helped to discover rules and to understand them.

After the child has learned to write, note taking, report writing and creative expression all help the development of writing skill. The 11 and 12-year-olds produce a newspaper; art and music, too, have an important part in the curriculum. Each child is given the opportunity to discover and develop his abilities with paint and clay, and there is enthusiastic participation by all groups in singing, folk-dancing and music appreciation, with many children beginning private instrumental instruction.

Carpentry work is directed by a skilled carpenter in a well-equipped shop where children of all ages learn to use hand and power tools as soon as they are old enough to master them.

Parents are satisfied that this school which they themselves have created supplies the needs of their children well. Keeping in close touch with State records, they find that achievement of the Burgundy School children is well above the average. They note, too, that as the groups of children progress through the school, their achievement rises higher and higher above the expectations for their grade level. Educational foundations have been well and truly laid, and this co-operative enterprise by parents is producing rewarding results in their children's development and preparation for life—*USIS*.

JUSTICE A. N. SEN : A DISTINGUISHED JUDGE AND COLLECTOR OF ART

An Obituary Tribute

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

On the 4th June, 1954, has died an eminent Judge of the Calcutta High Court at the age of 63 years. Amarendra Nath Sen had built a reputation as an upright judge of great independence of spirit and as a champion of the rights of subjects against the encroachment of the executive. For many years a District and Sessions Judge, he quickly earned a promotion to the Bench of the High Court, a position which he occupied from 1927 until the year 1951 when he retired after completing his 60th year. During his tenure of office he contributed not a little to the glorious traditions of the High Court in administering justice without any consideration of fear or favour. In one of his great judgments he had remarked :

"It has always been the proud traditions of this Court to stand between the subject and any encroachment of his liberty by the Executive or any other authority however high. It is a great tradition which we have inherited and we believe that this Court will be worthy of this inheritance.

Amidst the strident clamour of political strife and the tumult of the clash of conflicting classes, we must remain impartial. This Court is no respecter of persons and its endeavour must be to ensure that above this clamour and tumult the strong calm voice of justice shall always be heard."

This judgment was eulogized by the famous journal *Capital* in the following terms :

"We are proud to present this judgment. It is, we think, much more than an outstanding and courageous judgment. It is an inspiring and may be a historic one : Because in words of un-exampled force and sincerity, it records the 'proud tradition of the High Court to stand between the subject and any encroachment on his liberty by the Executive or any authority however high.'

"The Judgment regarded as a literary essay alone is, in the writer's humble opinion, worthy to rank with Macaulay and Emerson."

But in another way, Justice A. N. Sen upheld the reputation of High Court Judges in purely intellectual and cultural fields. Recently, it has been the practice of High Court Judges to confine themselves exclusively to the duties of dispensing justice, somewhat neglecting the larger world of learning and culture. In this respect Justice A. N. Sen followed the brilliant examples of such galaxy of judges who adorned the High Court Bench as: Sir William Jones, the great Criotak Scholar, who translated Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* and who founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal; F. E. Pargiter, another eminent Sanskrit Scholar, who studied the *Puranas* and wrote his classical work on the *Dynasties of the Kaliyuga*; Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, whose reputation as an eminent jurist was outshone by his contributions into the fields of scholarship, learning and education, as President of the Asiatic Society and the Mohabodhi Society, and, as Vice-Chancellor of the

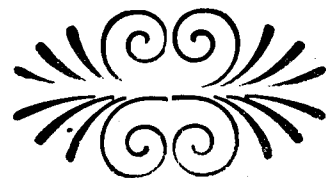
Calcutta University which he raised to the status of the greatest university in Asia; Sir Gurudas Banerjee whose contributions to education were equally brilliant; Sir Herbert Holmwood, whose interest in the study and development of Indian Art sometimes surpassed his reputation as an independent judge; Sir John Woodroffe, whose eminence as a great judge was eclipsed by his eminence as a great connoisseur and collector of Indian Art, the study of which he advanced as President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, and whose profound studies of the *Tantra* literature of India secured for him an honourable and brilliant place in recent oriental



Justice A. N. Sen

scholarship. This interesting contact of High Court judges with the claims of Indian Art as a unique and brilliant phase of Indian culture was also upheld by another eminent Judge, Sir Norman Edgley, whose active interest in the study of Indian Art won for him the Presidentship of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

To this list of brilliant champions of Indian culture Justice A. N. Sen added his name as a fine connoisseur and a great collector of Indian Art. To many people, service to the cause of Indian culture is regarded as a more patriotic national service than mere routine dispensation of justice in a court of law, particularly, in the present juncture, when the study of Indian Art is in a quandry, and when this branch of study is being



NO UNIVERSITY DEGREE—WHAT THEN?

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A. PHD.,

Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts,
Calcutta University

THE suggestion that no University degree should be required for appointment to the public services has released in the columns of the press a considerable amount of loose thinking. It is time to analyse its implications at some length.

Those who have made or supported the suggestion seem to be of the view that except for certain jobs which require technical qualifications of a high order on the part of the candidates it is not necessary to insist on a University degree for recruitment to the Government services. From this several conclusions may be drawn:

(1) The first is that one man is as good as the other. A candidate who has not even finished his education at school is as able to undertake official responsibilities as one who has passed creditably a degree examination. It is true that at one time both in ancient Athens and in the modern United States of America this theory was made into a principle of democracy. It may, however, be assumed that those who support today the suggestion of eliminating a University degree as a condition precedent to appointment to public services do not subscribe to this principle. They are unlikely to believe that one man is as good as the other for purposes of employment irrespective of educational opportunities and attainments.

(2) The second interpretation of the suggestion may be that recruitment to the Government services other antecedents and qualifications should count more than a University degree. A person, for instance, who may have rendered political services to the country and or has done some social work by way of alleviating distress, conciliating warring elements and bringing literacy and enlightenment to places where only ignorance prevailed, may not have a University degree but may still be regarded as having greater aptitude for public administration in a welfare state than one who has spent devoted years only in the study of Arts and Sciences and taken a University degree. It is not exactly known as to whether the sponsors of the suggestion subscribe even to these views. Possibly in their heart of hearts they may have an inclination to this interpretation of their suggestion but they have not publicly explained their point of view in this light.

(3) The third interpretation of the suggestion seems to be that higher studies in Arts and Sciences in the colleges and universities which are today influenced and even dominated to a great extent by the needs of Govern-

ment services should be liberated from this incubus. It was in this light that the Radhakrishnan Commission on University Education had recommended that no University degree should be necessary for admission to the public services. It should be emphasised in this connection that this Commission did not deal with this matter as fully and elaborately as it was desirable. In two places (in pages 329 and 341 of the Report) there is reference to this matter and the conclusion has been drawn there without much of an examination of the problem. Before we go in for the implementation of this recommendation, we should study with care the possible results of such dissociation of University degrees from the Government services both in respect of higher studies and in respect of examinations held under the auspices of public service commissions.

The non-requirement of a University degree for recruitment to the higher branches of the civil services (all-India, Central and State) will be a violent departure from past traditions. It is true that before the establishment of universities and even for a considerable period thereafter it was possible for Indians who were not graduates to be admitted to the highest posts in the civil services then open to them. As for British recruitment to the Covenanted Service (later I.C.S.), it was made, before the acceptance of the principle of competitive examination in the fifties of the last century, on the basis of school education which the entrants had to complete at Hailebury and Fort William. Even when competitive principle was introduced, the standard of the examination varied from time to time. But in no period was a University degree essential for recruitment. During the first twenty years the examination was of the same standard as that of the Honours Examinations in ancient British Universities. So although a candidate need not have been a graduate of a British University, he must have read up to its Honours standard. But in the middle seventies it was decided to reduce the age of recruitment, obviously for shutting out from the Covenanted Service Indian aspirants who might find it difficult, if not impossible, to compete at that early age in a strange country like Britain. Accordingly, the standard of the competitive examination was also reduced and it became the same as that of a secondary school. This experiment, however, was not continued for more than a decade and a half. Thereafter the previous arrangement was reverted to.

But while this non-requirement of a University degree was the rule in respect of recruitment in Britain and this irrespective of the standard maintained in the competitive examinations, in India the University degree became gradually the hallmark in respect of recruitment to public services. In subordinate judicial services none could be appointed unless he was both an Arts and Law graduate. In the executive services for two decades before 1904 appointment was made on the basis of competitive examinations to which only University graduates were admitted. In 1904 competitive examinations were abolished by Lord Curzon's Government. This decision of the Government gave in a sense greater prestige to the University degree. It was pointed out that the University gave its hallmark only to those who had stood its test well. In other words it could be taken for granted that a person who was admitted to a University degree had had already his mind liberalised, his intellect disciplined and his outlook widened by training in a college. In view of this further testing of merit was not essential. One University graduate might not be exactly like the other. But all graduates should be taken as fit for undertaking responsibilities of Government service after a necessary departmental training.

While this Resolution of the Government gave a new importance to the University degree, it at the same time created a new demand for it. Particularly those students who were influentially connected and those who belonged to certain particular communities thought that their way to some well-paid Government service was clear provided only they could be admitted to a University degree. So at first behind the scenes and then out in the open the demand went forth for more passes in the University examinations. Sooner or later the Universities found it necessary to yield to some extent to public opinion. The situation was rectified to some extent in 1922 when for provincial services competitive examinations were reintroduced. It may be pointed out here that simultaneously competitive examinations were also started in India for recruitment of a number of candidates to the All-India Services. These examinations were stiff in character. The number of candidates, though then limited, was far too large and the number of places was comparatively small. Consequently only those who were of high calibre had any chance of success. In view of this it might be assumed that people would take a more sensible view of the University examination and cease to clamour for more passes.

But at this time there were other ideas which came to be entertained by the public and which reinforced the demand for a larger percentage of passes. The results of examinations in Universities abroad were consulted and it was pointed out that in none of the progressive countries was failure greater than success. If that was the condition of things there, why should the state of things in this country be different? In other countries,

however, it could be taken for granted that a boy who had spent six years in a secondary school and three years in a University had acquired sufficient grounding in certain subjects and could think, express, and act independently on any matter within his experience. Here in India unfortunately the organisation of teaching in schools and colleges was on the other hand not of the same order and it was not ensured that simply because a boy had spent so many years in some recognised educational institutions, his intellect would be sharpened correspondingly. But this aspect of the problem was never as a rule considered very seriously by the public and in consequence the cry for more passes continued unabated.

Many of the professions are again closely linked with University degrees. Boys could enter institutions for professional training only on the basis of success in a University examination. It was taken for granted by many guardians that once a ward of theirs could secure admission to any such professional college, his future was assured. The stiffening of the standard in University examinations and a consequent low percentage of passes would be the only impediment in this regard. It was never considered whether without proficiency in certain basic subjects which only a high standard in University examinations might ensure it would be possible for any one to do well in the professional colleges and later in the professions themselves. On the contrary the argument was not unoften trotted out that it could never be said in advance as to the line or time in which a boy's intellectual potentialities would be brought out into relief. It was glibly assumed that even if a boy had been allowed to pass a University examination by grace marks, later in a professional college where he would be taken up with the tackling of subjects after his mind, his latent intellectual capacity might become increasingly manifest. So from this point of view also there was never any slackening of demand for high percentage of passes.

Now the question arises whether the delinking of University examinations from the Government services will have any salutary effect either on the quality of recruitment to the Government services or on the quality of University education. So far as appointment to higher non-technical civil services is concerned it is very unlikely that the quality of recruits will improve by this delinking. These appointments are now made on the basis of competitive examinations held under the auspices of the public service commissions. As a rule the examinations are of the same standard as Honours examinations in Indian Universities. At present those alone who have a University degree to their credit become eligible for taking these examinations. It does not matter whether the candidate have read up to the Honours standard or not. In case no University degree becomes necessary for these examinations, those who have failed in a University degree examination or have not for one reason or another appeared at that examina-

tion will also be eligible. It need not, however, be assumed that those who have failed at a University degree examination or did not even appear at it will be by any chance better and more acceptable candidates than those who have succeeded in obtaining a University degree. To our mind the position will remain more or less the same as now.

The delinking will only cause much headache to a public service commission in respect of the number of candidates asking for admission to the competitive examinations. The insistence on a University degree at present puts a natural limit to the number of candidates. Even then it is far too large. No Commission has found it possible to devise a method, consistent with democratic ideals for reducing the large number of candidates who take their chance at the competitive examinations. How many hundreds more will be added to this already inflated number of competitors as a result of delinking it is not exactly possible to guess. There are many graduates today who appear at the competitive examinations not so much because they look forward to any success but because they only want to keep themselves engaged for a year or two and possibly also to maintain their credit with their friends and relatives. If delinking is actually effected, hundreds more of such candidates will come forward from the backwoods and add to the problem of the public service commissions. It was suggested in the Report of the University Education Commission that a high fee might be charged by a commission from all candidates. This might be refunded to those who would rise to a minimum standard in the examinations at which they may appear. This may, of course have a deterrent effect on frivolous candidature. But it may also create a serious impediment for poor but deserving candidates. In any event it is not likely that this suggestion will be welcome to the public.

At the present time temporary and similar other vacancies in Government departments are often filled without previous reference to a public service commission. In these cases much pressure is not unoften brought to bear upon the appointing authorities by people who are politically or otherwise influential. It becomes very difficult for those who are to make the appointments to resist this pressure. In fact this is the loophole through which many persons who could not have entered a Government department by the front door happen to enter it and later get confirmed in their appointment. But even these appointees are to possess the minimum academic qualifications which present rules have made obligatory. Consequently even though candidates with the minimum qualifications have, through the loophole referred to above, an opportunity of entering upon a Government post, none without these minimum qualifications have any chance. In the event of delinking people who have not even these minimum qualifications may also get a chance. In other words the

standard may be further lowered still. This is a danger against which we must guard.

The University Education Commission had suggested dissociation of University degrees from Government services because of its conviction that by such a step University education may be developed on better lines with more fruitful results. Many students now join the colleges and universities only because they want a degree as a condition precedent to their appointment to Government services. As a result of dissociation they may not have the necessity of going in for collegiate education at all. If they leave the colleges and universities, the number of students to be catered to by these institutions will be smaller and by concentrating upon this limited number they may provide better education and training. The students who will keep their names on the college rolls will also be more serious in their studies and profit better by the instruction they may receive. But it is very unlikely that as a result of delinking the college and university classes will be thinned to any appreciable extent in all departments. Science and Commerce students may not leave at all. The depletion may be only on the side of liberal arts. Such depletion, however, may not result in the release of funds to the extent at which alone it may enable the colleges to provide desirable facilities to the remaining students.

Delinking may on the other hand create the risk of a number of cramming institutions being set up here and there for coaching candidates for the different service examinations. Young men who should have been educated under the discipline of colleges and universities may not enter them at all and get instead into these coaching classes. This will certainly help in lowering further our educational and cultural level and may stand in the way of intellectual progress of the country. There is the further ancillary danger of colleges and even universities trying to compete with these cramming institutions and frittering away their energy in this non-academic venture. Most of the colleges are financially much too handicapped. They live somehow from hand to mouth. Their funds are almost exclusively derived from fees paid by the students on their rolls. They may not like the idea of the students leaving their classes and joining a cramming institution. So by way of retaining them on the rolls, they themselves may open cramming classes. More attention may in fact be paid to them than to normal Intermediate or undergraduate classes. We could not possibly blame them if by circumstances they are compelled to take steps like these. But we can very well imagine the effect which they will have on our cultural life.

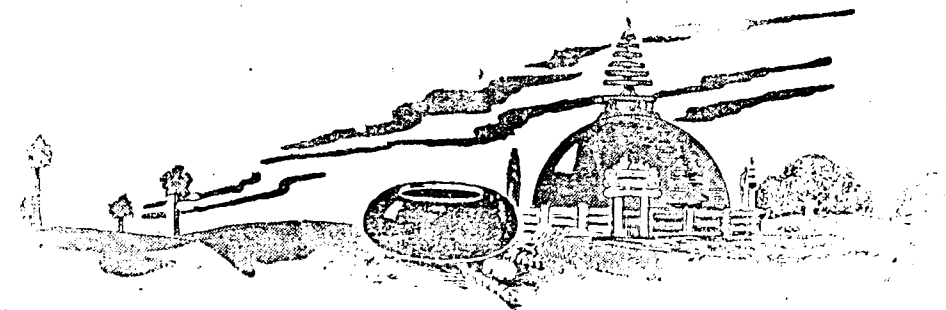
There are many other factors of collegiate and university education which need be taken into consideration in connection with the lowering of the standard of education offered in these institutions. It is common knowledge that in British Universities students maintain

in average a higher standard than in this country. But it is often forgotten that this is only partly due to the better facilities offered to them for the cultivation of their mind and intellect in these institutions. It should be borne in mind that students are also better prepared for utilising the facilities given to them in the universities. Secondary education in Britain has maintained throughout a very high standard. By the time boys leave their schools, they have already acquired a good grounding in certain subjects and have learnt the art of expressing themselves clearly on matters which they are required to tackle. When, therefore, they come over to the universities and are given by their tutor a problem and necessary references in that regard, they can read the books referred to by the tutor with profit and deal with the problem in their own way without difficulty. Such a method as followed in an ancient British University will be out of place in respect of most of the boys who take their education in our colleges. They are not ready for such work. The education they have received in the schools has not prepared them for it. We have not sufficient space to go into details in this regard. But all those who are in charge of collegiate education will testify to this. So the first thing to which our attention should be drawn is the improvement of secondary education which is the foundation of higher studies. A Commission appointed by the Government of India is at present at work on this subject. But whatever the recommendations of this Commission may be, it will be unwise to anticipate any great improvement in the quality of secondary education during the next one decade or more. But so long as this improvement does not take place, the results of collegiate and university education may not be better. It may be possible by great efforts made otherwise to stop the rot which has set in. But nothing more than that. Delinking of University degrees from Government services will have little or no effect on improving collegiate education.

There is another very important matter to which reference should be made here in connection with the deterioration of collegiate and university education. All

college and university teachers have been familiar with the indigent, sometimes even destitute, life which a very large percentage of their students have to live during their college career. The enquiry instituted by an enterprising Calcutta Newspaper has succeeded in bringing these familiar facts in a very pointed manner before the general public. Nearly fifty percent of the boys are condemned by circumstances to live in surroundings in which even the most intrepid spirit becomes depressed and cowed. Intellectual work of any sort requires to some extent at least a quiet atmosphere. One cannot possibly read in a room where five or six others happen not only to live but carry on all kinds of household work. It is not again rare for many of our college and university students not only to earn their own livelihood but to earn sufficiently to feed their younger brothers and sisters. Not unoften boys attending college classes happen to go there in empty stomach. In this regard what is true of Calcutta and its environs is likely to be true with slight modification in details of other places in this country as well. None of these difficulties through which a large proportion of our student population has to pass and which account so much for deterioration in educational standard will be solved by the delinking of Government services from University degrees.

It is not necessary here to put any emphasis on many other financial and organisational problems with which collegiate and university education is confronted today. They are matters of common knowledge. This should, however, be stated that though these problems are familiar and have been discussed *ad nauseam*, their solution may not be delayed without further deterioration in the quality of our education. In any event it is hoped that the previous paragraphs have helped in clearing some of the issues and bringing it home to the public that the delinking of Government services from University degrees may create more problems than solve them. To advocate it at the present time as a kind of stimulus to better education is only to indulge in a kind of escapism.



DYNAMICS OF INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN INDIA

By Prof. Y. P. PANT

LOCALISATION of industries refers to the tendency of siting or concentration of industries in different places. It is popularly thought to mean the concentration of one industry in one particular place, i.e., relation between industry and geographical area. But this is not what economists usually mean. Sargent Florence regards localisation of industries not essentially the relation of one industry to an area but as 'the relation of the industry to the distribution of the occupied population as a whole.' (*Investment, Location and Size*, 1948, p. 34). Generally speaking, factors affecting location are: availability of raw materials, suitable labour supply, site and services, and access to markets and finance. But in practice these factors are neither exhaustive, nor do they act in isolation in their bearing upon the choice of industrial location. Sometimes even the whims and caprices of the industrialist or non-economic factors may have their influence on location. Again, in a dynamic society to which we belong changes are constantly taking place, and accordingly location actors also undergo constant change and as such what actors are important today may not be so tomorrow. Not until a process of rapid urbanisation and the consequent tendencies of industries to develop in particular localities had resulted in a variety of social and economic evils, did the problem of location begin to attract increasing and anxious consideration. Particularly in recent times of scientific warfare due to the strategic significance the problem has come to be a subject of intensive study and research work in industrially developed countries like U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

FACTORS OF INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN INDIA

But the problem has received any considerable attention in India only during the last two or three decades. This may be due to her late start into the path of industrialisation, particularly on the basis of the external initiative. Most of the essential factors of location have not been fundamentally so much favourable or the concentration of a large number of modern industries in different parts of the country, because the entire structure of Indian industrialism right from the first quarter of the last century down to the middle of the present century has been based totally on unplanned structure and haphazard measures.

A brief consideration of the essential factors with reference to India may not be out of the way here. To make the availability of raw materials first. Theoretically, the influence of raw materials on location depends upon their nature and total cost delivered to the factory. The

sugarcane, being a weight-losing material, most of the sugar industries in the country are located in the cane-growing regions of U.P. and Western Bihar. The iron and steel industries also have been significantly concentrated in the neighbourhood of deposits of raw materials. Similarly, the jute industry has had an inherent tendency to be attracted towards raw material. After the Partition the move for the production of raw jute in regions beyond West Bengal, is also bound up with the location of jute mills in the vicinity.

The influence of labour also on the geographical distribution of industries is by no means insignificant. It is to be considered both in respect of quantity and quality. In an agricultural country with primitive methods like India, where the agricultural folk are generally suffering from under-employment and unemployment, there has been no appreciable difficulty in the supply of the numerical strength of labour with its agricultural bias. But at the same time it must be properly construed that labour by itself never determines location, and it simply adapts to vary the kind of production, which other elements of more permanent nature bring about. Still there can be no doubt that a well-organised labour market is an essential prerequisite for success in all industries. In India, no doubt, some of the industries have been influenced by the consideration of the availability of skilled labour. In the beginning, the textile industry in Ahmedabad had even an advantage over Bombay 'regarding the continuity of labour supply, having more permanent factory population, and a smaller amount of absenteeism.' It is also said that the necessary labour in the textile mills in Kanpur in the beginning was provided mostly by the *julahas* and *kories* (hand-loom workers of the cottage scale). But, in its entirety, labour efficiency has not been a fundamental factor of location, generally in the context of the appalling mass illiteracy. However, it is somewhat gratifying to note that in recent times a class of highly skilled and technically trained labour is emerging out in some of the more important industrial areas like Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Bombay and in some of the mills of Kanpur.

Without the modern means of transportation and communications the assembling of huge quantities of raw materials from the different parts of the world required by the present-day large-scale industries and distribution throughout the world of the vast stocks of the finished goods produced by them would have been impossible. In India the more rapid construction of railways after 1880 synchronised with the cotton, jute and coal mining industries, in spite of the fact that

the railways were more concerned with commercial motives and that in their early policy of differential freight rates favourable to port towns. But at the same time, extensive transport alone is of no avail, if due attention is not paid to the development of cheap power with which the continuity of industrial development is bound up. Various sources like coal, oil, charcoal, power alcohol and water are notable; of them water potentials have exerted influences on the location of industries, as most of other sources are either limited to narrow zones or are meagre to meet the industrial requirements of the country.

Accessibility to market has been an influential factor of location, so much so that the Political and Economic Planning Commission in Britain (1939) while dealing with this particular factor has stated, "While markets have exerted some influence on the location of industries their importance relatively to other factors has increased greatly during recent times." Bombay had the initial concentration of the cotton industry owing to also the existence of a big external market for cotton. But by the end of the last century the trade in yarn with China and Japan was lost, consequent on the rapid development of the internal market; and the process of dispersal of the industry to the interior was discernible. In this way, various factors have co-operated in the location of a number of industries in India.

LOCATIONAL DYNAMICS AND DEFICIENCIES IN INDIA

The above brief survey of the role of different factors responsible for industrial location in India was made with the objective of a proper understanding of their respective impelling force on the general industrial development of the country. As already noted, in spite of the primary and basic factors affecting the distribution of industries among different regions, and their location, concentration and dispersal within the individual regions, the dynamic conditions of the modern industrial system modify the effects of these factors considerably. It should be known that there is a correlation between expansion and dynamics of industrial location. Factors of localization undergo constant changes and are changing from time to time. To be more accurate, even the industrial location in a particular region or country in a particular period is closely bound up with the particular stage of economic development reached at that particular time. Later on, changes in different factors—like transport relations, accessibility to markets, sources of power utilised in mechanical appliances in the techniques of production may bring about shift in the locational trends regarded natural or genuine earlier. How far such dynamic changes in location in relation to location of industries have taken place in India and what should be the general lines of policy adopted?

The principal industries located in India in the perspective of the past do not fail to reveal that most of the important industries even at present are chiefly concentrated in the ports of Bombay, Calcutta and to

some extent in Madras, including some other regions. To these were later added other important urban centres like Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Nagpur, etc. It is a remarkable point that since 1918 the shift or dispersal of location of textile and other industries from the coastal regions of the country to new centres in the interior was primarily due to changes in transport relations, and secondarily to higher local rates, taxes, rents, the fall in foreign demands for Indian goods and other labour troubles. But throughout the industrial development of the country, it is rather surprising to note that there has been not even till lately any conscious attempt on the part of the railways to encourage their development at suitable centres. It has been recorded that special rates to raw cotton in Bombay prevented an earlier scatter of cotton industry to up-country centres. The whole range of the industrial development in India till recent times, shows that sugar, iron, steel and jute have had no significant dispersion, in spite of the fact that there has been an expansion in terms of an increase in the number of mills, employees and output. The development of electric resources also has helped in many respects in encouraging the general trends of industries towards dispersal from the original places of concentration. Among the various sources of power of any considerable magnitude for the industrial shifts, hydro-electricity happens to be most important. Till 1918, unfortunately, there was very little knowledge about the extent to which electric energy on the basis of water power could be produced in the country. It was the Industrial Commission, which for the first time hinted on its utilisation for industrial purposes. It is said that the emergence of the large spinning industry in South India (in the districts of Coimbatore, Madurai and Tinnevely) was greatly assisted by the completion of the Pykara Hydro-Electric Scheme and the readiness of the local industrialists to take advantages of the new sources of power. Similarly, in other parts also, the development of water power has been instrumental in the regional distribution of industries in the various parts of the country.

Some basic facts may be generalised here. In spite of the trends of decentralisation and dispersal of older industries after the twenties of the present century to different parts of the country, the general regional pattern, surprisingly enough, of industrial location, with a few changes, has remained more or less the same, practically unaltered. Most of the large-scale industries are generally concentrated in the States of Bengal and Bombay and they also hold a superior place in regard to production. Bengal and Bihar, on account of the presence of coal and iron ore, are the centres of India's iron and steel industries. Kanpur has been the only important industrial centre of Northern India. Madras, though with some of the up-to-date factories along with the south as a whole, is not much industrially developed on modern lines. Thus, ultimately Bombay and Bengal continue to possess a predominant share of the country's

industrialisation and the general picture of industrialisation is in a way the same, as it was some 40 or 50 years back. The names of about half a dozen cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Nagpur, Jamshedpur, Madras, and so on, almost exhaust the list of important industrial centres. Some of these cities have already reached the point of maximum concentration and some others have even crossed that stage and it is warranted that any further additions of new industries are fraught with grave socio-economic dangers. It may be recalled that the social consequences of unregulated location are detrimental to the interests of the social life at large as beyond certain limits, economic concentration results in congestion, over-crowding, ill health, high death rates and other similar devitalising features. This phenomenon of the existence of industrially developed and backward regions should be duly considered in any measures of reforms for the locational deficiencies.

CORRECTIVES OF LOCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES IN INDIA

In the developed countries, the State by taking a fitting care has tried to correct the defective distribution of industries in different areas, consequent on the drive of meddling or intertoring in productive activities due to the advent of the theory of State socialism, even in capitalistic countries. In Britain and America, today the Government considers the problem of industrial location from time to time and accordingly, they have also adopted a necessary policy for correcting the deficiencies. In the Soviet Union, under the Social Central Planning, industrial location has received an important consideration which is manifest in the possibility of a conscious and thoughtful control of both production and distribution. But in India, the Government does not seem to have taken any concerted and serious steps to correct the wrong location, though, no doubt in the Government blue-books various recommendations have been put forth from time to time with little regard to their practicability. The pamphlet on Location of Industry in India by the Economic Adviser has suggested that the two important objectives to be achieved should be (a) a more even distribution of industries as between regions, and (b) a planned development of industrial towns to eliminate social evils. The first objective can be attained as if, with no reference to political barriers, each particular region is developed on the basis of the potential economic resources, not strictly with a view to attain regional self-sufficiency, but for securing optimum production out of the combination of favourable forces. Even the Five-Year plan of

India, in spite of the meagre attention paid to the industrial development in the entire plan, has admitted the continued existence of a large number of inefficient units especially in the consumer goods industries. Accordingly, the Plan suggests, "For that, transfer of some of the units from their present location, as for instance, in the case of the sugar industry (possibility of the shift of the industry from the north to the south, as the contribution of the tropical region to the total production may be increased and that of the U.P. and Bihar reduced substantially), might also be desirable." But, unhappily enough, there is no proper suggestion for adopting measures which would eliminate the existence of inefficient units altogether in the plan.

On the basis of regional development, industries should be decentralised with a diversified economy in consideration to India's snags of adequate capital resources and agricultural preponderance. The decentralised system of industry, by removing the evils of concentration, not only avoids the social costs but also secures for the society additional positive benefits and other advantages. Such a system of industrial pattern has achieved a tremendous success in Japan. With the completion of various multi-purpose projects scheduled, in India there are ample prospects of rural industrialisation based on overall development of 'agro-industry', i.e., industries ancillary to agriculture.

Again, the industrial towns should be developed on a planned basis, so that all the galling evils of industrial concentration can be easily done away with without any catastrophic changes. It has been said that in the Soviet Union the Five-Year Plans of industrial development were so constructed that there was a shifting of industrial capital in favour of undeveloped regions. India also loudly calls for a plan of that nature befitting her conditions and environment. Following the Russian success, Dr. R. K. Mukerjee has gone to such an extent as to suggest for India the adoption of an economic plan, that of the Russian model, for offering differential advantages in favour of industries established in raw material producing and undeveloped economic regions. On the whole, there can be no two views about the necessity of redistribution of industries under the strict control of the State for the national interest. Rightly has the P.E.P. for Britain in 1939 has observed that there must be a large number of wrong locations in all countries and if there were a magic carpet to transport industries, it would be largely in demand.



ETERNAL VALUES IN ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE

By PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

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THE real and permanent interest in history is cultural and not political. 'Culture' is the greatest thing about a people, not its material possessions. The ancient Indian 'Culture' was one of the highest and best. Modern India has grown up, and must grow in the light of her ancient culture. The future of a nation depends upon whether its culture has some eternal and enduring values. If it has, its future is bright; otherwise its future is dark. The Indian culture is the most glorious and redeeming feature of Indian history. As Sri Aurobindo indicated: 'A great past must be followed by a greater future.'

The eternal values in ancient Indian culture were many, but the most important of them were spirituality, *tapasya*, regard for truth, sense of sacrifice, and desire for peace. We shall take them one after another.

Spirituality as against the rank materialism of our days was the key-note of our culture. The distressed world of today may look with confidence and hope to the ideal of spirituality in ancient India. Salvation through the realisation of *Atman* was the goal. A man was respected not on account of his material possessions, but on account of his spirituality and moral discipline. When Yajñavalkya before going to the forest wanted to give his property to Maitreyi and Katyayani, Maitreyi refused it because she said:

"What shall I do with that through which I can not become immortal?" "*Sa hobacha Maitreyi—jenahang nanvita shyang kinhang tena kuryam?*"

And further he instructs Maitreyi:

"And that person in this earth, who consists of Light, who consists of Immortality, that indeed is he who is that self. This is the Immortal. This is Brahman. This is the All." "*Jaschayang ashayang prithibyang tejomayo-amritamayah purushoajamebo sha joayamatma. Idam Amritam. Idam Brahma. Idam Sarvam.*"

This amount of spirituality cannot be found in any other culture. It had its great advantages. Thus any amount of material loss or worldly defeat could never break the spirit of the people. For this very reason foreign invasions and conquests never made any permanent impression in this country, although foreign civilization and culture did. In spite of all worldly losses, defeats, and injuries to the man his *Atman* was ever victorious and ever in its pristine glory.

Tapasya was another noble and enduring value in our culture. Nothing can be achieved without *tapasya*. The sage Sakayana advised king Brihadratha:

"Through *tapasya* Truth is attained, through Truth (control over) Mind is attained, through Mind the Self is attained and through the attainment of the Self (the world) recedes." "*Tapasa prapyate satyang sayat sangprapyate manah: manasa prapyate Atma atmapatya nivartate.*"

In the *Taittiriya Upanishad* we read:

"He (God) performed *tapas*. Having performed *tapas* He created all these." "*Sa tapo tapyata, sa tapas taptva idam sarvam asrajata.*"

In ancient India, success was to be achieved not through external agencies but through *tapasya*.

Regard for Truth was another very strong point with our culture. The famous prayer of the sage in ancient India was:

"I shall proclaim the Real. I shall proclaim the Truth." "*Kutang badishyami satyang badishyami.*"

Truth united beauty and goodness, thus the motto was *Satyam, Sivam, Sundaram*. For the sake of Truth king Dasaratha reluctantly agreed to send Rama to the forest; and for the sake of Truth Rama gladly agreed to go to the forest. The Buddha declared:

"The word of Truth alone is immortal. The word of Truth is the eternal religion."

In the *Upanishads* Truth has been identified with God, *Atman*:

"That (*Atman*) is the Truth. That is the Self. That thou art, O Svetaketu." "*Tat Satyam. Sa Atma. Tat tam asi Svetaketu.*"

The Buddha's last instruction imparted to Ananda was:

"Hold fast to the Truth as Lamp, hold fast as a refuge to the Truth."

'Sacrifice' was another important point in our culture. In the *Gita* it is written:

"God created man according to the law of sacrifice." "*Saha yajna praja srista purobacho Prajapati.*"

This sense of sacrifice or suffering as Sir S. Radhakrishnan points out was for purification.

1. From a letter of Sri Aurobindo to a disciple; quoted in Mr. S. K. Mitra's *The Vision of India*, p. 314, lines 17-18.

2. *Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad*.

3. *Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad*.

4. *Maitrayanyupanishad (Sama Veda)*.

5. *Taittiriyaupanishad (CH. II, 6)*.

6. *Aitareyaupanishad (CH. IV, SEC. 1)*.

7. *Sutta Nipata (Sunnata Sutta)*.

8. *Chhandogya Upanishad*.

9. *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*.

10. *Gita (CH. III, 10)*.

"Suffering is for purification until we realise life eternal."¹¹

The Buddha sacrificed everything to find salvation for suffering mankind. The Great Renunciation of the Buddha is typical of our culture. Sri Rama Chandra sacrificed Sita in fulfilment of his kingly duty. The spirit of self-sacrifice was deep-rooted in our culture. The great self-sacrifice of Dadhichi referred to in the Rig Vedic verse (i. 84. 13.), and in later Puranas is a unique example of self-sacrifice.

"The Grihya Sutras contain rules for the performance of all sacrifices in connection with the important events and incidents of our home-life, viz., birth, marriage, initiation (*upanayanam*), conception, death, etc., as well as of our civic and social life, e.g., the dedication of newly-dug tanks and wells and of fruit-bearing and shady trees for the benefit of the public."¹²

But the ideal that was most stressed was that of 'peace.' The truth: "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."¹³ and also the truth of the remark: "The Peace of God which passeth all understanding."¹⁴ was most completely realised in this country. In this respect it must be said that the ideal of peace occupies a very important place in Christianity. But, whereas, later on Europe practically gave up this Christian ideal of peace in politics, in India it was never given up in completeness. The European nations follow the concept of 'an armed peace,' in India it is always a 'moral peace' or 'a spiritual peace'; for "The only sure guarantee of peace is morality."¹⁵ The desire for peace was so great and sincere that in most of the Upanishads the *sloka* end with the phrase: *Om shanti*. Let us take up the famous *sloka*:

"*Om dvau shanti, antarikshah shanti, prithibih shanti, apah shanti, oshadhyah shanti, banaspatayah*

shanti, vishve devah shanti, Bramha shanti, sarvam shanti, shantireba shanti, sha ma shantiredhi."¹⁶ It means, "Om, let there be peace in Heaven, in the intermediate space between heaven and earth, in the world, on the water, in the herb, in the large trees, to the Gods, to Brahma, let all have peace, and let that peace come to my heart."

In the *Kathopanishad* the illuminating advice:

"Jachheda badang manasi prajna tad jachheda gyanatmani. Gyanam atmani-mahati niyachheda tad jachheda shante-atmani"¹⁷ "The wise should merge the speech in the mind, the mind in the intellect, the Great-Self, and the Great-Self in the Self of Peace."

Thus speech, mind and intellect are all subordinated to the considerations of peace. The work of the Buddha in the interest of peace is without any parallel in the history of mankind. His gospel of *ahimsa* is the greatest manifestation of this desire to promote universal peace. It is really no accident of history that the greatest apostle of peace of this century, Gandhiji was born in this country.

[These are, briefly, some of the eternal values of our ancient culture. There are many more ideals and volumes can be written about them. In the limited space at our disposal, it is not possible to discuss them in greater details.

As Sir. S. Radhakrishnan has remarked:

"The civilization of the ancient Hindus and the Greeks developed in an atmosphere of freedom. When the human mind is enslaved, by tyranny of any kind, social or economic, political or religious, we have a Dark Age."¹⁸

We can say that since the Dark Age is over in this country, we may confidently look into the future with hope. The enduring and permanent values of our culture (and not our political history) point to this hopeful future.

11. Sir S. Radhakrishnan: *The Heart of Hindustan*, p. 99, lines 15-16.

12. Prof. A. C. Das: *Rig Vedic Culture*, p. 488.

13. Milton: *Sonnet to the Lord Gen. Cromwell*.

14. *New Testament*, Philippians, IV. 7.

15. Goldwin Smith: *Essay on Pitt*.

16. *Shukla Yajur Veda Samhita*, XXXVI, 17.

17. *Kathopanishad*, Ch. III, 13.

18. Sir S. Radhakrishnan: *Freedom and Culture*, p. 197, lines 11-15.



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

HINDUISM, DOCTRINE AND WAY OF LIFE: By C. Rajagopalachari. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 3.

Written admittedly for "the ordinary reader who either does not belong to India or who, though of India, has no scholarship or time to go to the source-books," this short but important monograph contains a lucid and closely reasoned exposition of the basic Hindu philosophy and way of life as represented by the Vedanta. In the opening chapters (Chapters I-III) the author makes out, in the context of our present-day world, a strong case for "an ordered economy as distinguished from *laissez-faire*" with a code of values and a culture operating as a law from within and supplementing the necessary external regulation and for removal of the disharmony between religion on the one hand and science and statecraft on the other. These needs, he thinks, are supplied by the teaching of the Vedanta which in India is "as old as civilisation itself." In the following chapters (Chaps. IV-VIII) the author gives clear expositions (supported by translations of some relevant texts) of the fundamental ideas of the Vedanta, such as (the Upanishad and the Gita) concepts of Absolute Reality, Liberation, Yoga, Maya, Karma and the Vedanta ethic. The author concludes with the emphatic statement that the Vedanta presents a religious faith in harmony with science and yet "offers a firm spiritual foundation for the just polity of a new world." The Appendix consists of a few selected texts (with accompanying translations) from the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita. Altogether this work is a welcome addition to the growing literature in our country which recognises in the Vedanta the universal religion of the future. The paper, print and general get-up are good.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SHORT HISTORY OF AURANGZIB: By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Second edition revised. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta-12. Pp. 488. Price Rs. 10.

This edition has been printed in large clear type on thick paper and in a larger form; the binding is strong and attractive. As this work had been out of print for some years and the author has embodied many corrections of the old edition, it will prove a boon to students of this important period of Indian history. J. Sarkar's researches in Mughal India have made his *Aurangzib* a standard authority. We may only quote here the opinion of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*: "The narrative is clear and orderly, the characterisa-

tion of individuals is excellent. . . . and there is very little indeed that could be spared." Sir W. Foster called it "Easily the best authority on the period with which it deals." We are glad that Indian readers who cannot buy the five-volume edition, will get the cream of that standard work in this cheap epitome.

N. B. R.

AN INTRODUCTION TO RAILWAY ARCHITECTURE: By C. Barman. Published by Art and Technics Book Ltd., London, 1950. To be had of Cosment Publications, 11 Oak Lane, Bombay. 102 half-tone illustrations. Pp. 40. Price 15s.

It is a delightfully written volume and generously illustrated and documented by numerous citations of buildings. The age of English Railway building is not merely an episode in the architectural history of the world but is an important phase, and a complete epitome of the architectural movements of 19th century England. Though economic historians agree that the Railway age is one of the most important epochs in history, its architectural contribution had been neglected, a neglect which has been atoned for and fulfilled by the author in a well-documented survey. Railway architecture is shown in its relation not only to other buildings of the period but also to those of earlier and later times. The author has given a fascinating study of the architectural achievement of England in a new and different development, far away from its mediæval and Gothic phases. The book should be of use to every architect in India, anxious to develop a new phase of architecture in India to meet the needs and the psychology of a new age and to push the ancient and mediæval traditions on new and untrodden paths of development.

O. C. G.

ENLIGHTENMENT: By F. D. Engineer. Published by New Book Company Ltd., Kitab Mahal, 188-90 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 270. Price Rs. 4-12.

Thirty-six short chapters into which the book under review is divided treat a variety of subjects such as Creator, Liberty, Faith, Religion, Fate, Prayer, Worship, Education, Life, War, Philosophy, Death and so on. The treatment throughout seems to be unbiased, unsophisticated and unsectarian. In the foreword it is acknowledged that the knowledge given in this volume is taken from the teachings of a book named *Oahspe*. Unfortunately I have never come across this work; but from its teachings it appears to be an ancient book of wisdom. In the ninth chapter of the present book three doctrines of the faithist, idol-worshipper and infidel are discussed and the first of them is found to be positive, highest

and firmest. In the 21st chapter ethereal and atmospheric worlds, that are unseen and envelope the seen worlds, are described. In the last chapter 18 samples of prayers are given for daily use. All this smacks of a bit of theosophy. Whatever that may be, a belief in the Almighty Creator is taught to be the foundational virtue of human life as well as the stepping stone to Enlightenment. Enlightenment which means Perfection, is used mostly by the Buddhists. The following original teaching of *Oahspe* is given in this book: "To know Him is to know all things. He who knows not Him proves not Him. He who knows Him cannot prove Him. To every self He is the Self of that self. Perfect that Self which is in all selves. Such a man is one with Him."

This is indeed the central message of our Upanishads. And this is the quintessence of the book under review. The chapters have no headings and a table of contents is wanting. These two omissions are great handicaps to the readers.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

NO ANKLETBELLS FOR HER: *By Manjeri S. Isvaran. Mitra, Madras, 1949. Pp. 155. Price Rs. 3.*

It may sound a little odd, but the best thing that one encounters in this collection of some exceptionally drab and uninteresting short stories is not a piece from the author's pen, but a translation of a Tamil story (by another writer) to which the author adds a sequel. Mr. Isvaran's literary output, till the publication of the present book stood at seven volumes of poetry, two of criticism a drama and six other anthologies of short stories—a formidable background by any standards. The present reviewer readily confesses to a sad ignorance of this huge mass of material but, if the book under review is any indication, he feels he does not need to cherish any unnecessary qualms about this.

In a sea of utter desolation and futility, it is useless to try to pinpoint things; for Mr. Isvaran's stories, to my mind rarely depart from the standard and quality which one generally associates with prurient, half-baked stuff that one finds in any average college magazine. The impression that quickly and firmly grows upon the reader of Mr. Isvaran's stories is that the author is not always clear in his mind about what he writes. I give a few random samples: "And every minute of a minute it (i.e., the clock) ticked, there was (sic) consummation, birth and death. It would stop ticking if its mechanism broke down, but it would not stop to condole with humanity upon its woes, or to congratulate it on its joys" (p. 19); or, "It is like being invited to a feast with an R.S.V.P. in capitals and an I-shall-be-pleased-to-attend from me by a Registered A/D and dressing up for the feast and finding that not only the host is not there, but no cook, no feast, not even the place mentioned in the invitation." (p. 69). Another teaser (p. 78): "But you can definitely refuse to accept the world as it has been made, from the time a piece of sun was torn out and kicked out, and it started dancing round and round the kicker, without shame or self-respect and not being satisfied with this hoola-hoola, began to take shape and gave birth to vermin—to the time of Einstein, Rama-krishna Paramahansa, Ramana Maharshi . . ." There is, besides all this, a particularly sordid story (*Decision* pp. 93-105) which describes how a childless couple taking inspiration from the calving of the pet cow of the house straightway engaged in "the supreme function of saving a line from extinction . . . and

the gods watched from the high heavens his (i.e., the husband's) manly bid for paternity and were glad."

There is a 10-page Introduction from Mr. John Hampson (whose sculptured head, along with a photograph of the author embellishes the work), but I am sorry I could find little or nothing of Mr. Isvaran's "mastery of subject" or his "exquisite English" of which Mr. John Hampson so enthusiastically speaks.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

RAMAYANA-TRIVENI: *By K. Chandrasekharan. Acton Lodge, 11, McNicol Road, Madras-10. Price Re. 1-8.*

In six chapters the author deals with certain important aspects of the Ramayana, as revealed in three versions of the great epic, viz., Sanskrit, Hindi and Tamil. The book opens with the chapter—'Universal Literature,' and the following chapters are entitled 'Filial Love,' 'Felicity of Marriage,' 'Sita Svayamvara,' 'Sita Svarna Mriga' and 'Vibhishana.' The author's scholarship, critical acumen and power of expression make the work informative as well as pleasant-reading. The North Indian reader will be particularly profited by forming a first acquaintance with Kamban, the author of the Tamil Ramayana.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

CAPITAL AND LABOUR IN THE JUTE INDUSTRY: *By Indrajit Gupta. Published by All-India Trade Union Congress, Bombay. Pp. 63. Price eight annas.*

This booklet is a special study of Bengal's most important money crops and dollar-earning industry from the point of view of workers. This world monopoly industry faced crisis after the partition, when jute-producing East Bengal was separated from jute-manufacturing Calcutta and its suburbs. It is contended that the 'crisis' of jute production and jute manufacture has fallen on workers of mills and cultivators on both sides of the border and the capitalists are maintaining their prosperity by retrenching workers, sealing of looms, allotment of bonus share to shareholders, price depression, etc., and workers are suffering. The writer has put in suggestions for reorganizing jute mill workers in one big federation of workers' unions so that all manipulations by India Jute Mill Associations may be thwarted. The presentation of facts and figures is clear and treatment of the subject is lucid.

LEST WE BECOME SLAVES: *By Paramjit Kumar. Published by Anti-Totalitarian People's Council, 643, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Road, Bombay-7. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 6.*

This is a book of eighteen chapters written by a young author who has made a special study of Communism in all its aspects. He has examined the philosophy of Communism as enunciated by Karl Marx and Engels and later developed and applied in practical life by Lenin and Stalin. The effects of materialistic philosophy on human mind, society and civilization have also been examined by the author in detail. He is of opinion that this godless philosophy will bring degradation and destruction of civilization unless organised attempts are made to check its further progress. He warns the Government of India to be more careful about any further expansion of the People's Republic of China and also in regard to the Communists of India who consider loyalty to their country and State a crime.

A. B. DUTTA

FRENCH

LE VIEUX TIBET FACE A LA CHINE NOUVELLE: *By Alexandra David-Neel. Librairie Plon, 1953. Pp. 241 with illustrations and map. Price 540 francs.*

Students of current affairs will be interested in this detailed account and intimate portrait of Tibetan life by Madame David-Neel, the eminent French scholar and Buddhist. The charm and value of the book lie in the fact that it is based on the personal experiences of the authoress who speaks Tibetan fluently, has lived for many years in Tibet and adopted a Tibetan lama *dgeshes* as her son—experiences matured by deep knowledge and reflection.

She has skilfully analysed Tibetan society into its various component groups and carefully studied the economic and historical background and vividly illuminated the potentialities and the propensities as well as the limitations of each group. Generalizations valid elsewhere are not necessarily applicable to Tibet; for Tibet has many peculiarities. A proper understanding of these peculiarities is indispensable for an assessment of the viability of the old culture in the face of the new and powerful influences now unleashed on the country. The sensational aspects of some of the mystic practices of Tibet receive plenty of publicity, but not enough is written about the conditions of her peasantry, her traders, her fiscal and judicial systems, in other words, about the basic social and economic facts of Tibetan life. A system of vassalage, analogous to the ancient Roman system, prevailed until recently in many regions of Tibet. There were many petty officials and tax-collectors who eked out their living by the customary margins which often reach such proportions as to cause financial anxiety to the Central authorities.

In spite of the hardships natural or otherwise, the Tibetan peasants on the whole are jovial and easy-going. It is true that there are far too many evil spirits to propitiate but although their pranks are innumerable the spirits themselves appear to be appeasable; with luck one can occasionally mislead them. Frequent communal feasting helps to dispel the monotony and dull solitude of rural life. The penalty for a moral lapse might be a village feast provided by the village elders out of the fine realized from the culprit. The meals are gargantuan. And Tibetans have a sense of Rabelaisian humour and some of the anecdotes of monastic vintage related by the authoress easily rival the stories from the *Decameron*.

Madame David-Neel has pointed out that another trait of Tibetan psychology is the masochistic admiration and respect for power. The cult of force has come down from the days of the Mongols and the spectre of Genghis Khan kept alive in folk legends continues to exercise the popular imagination. Perhaps the mysticism underlying the traditional culture has its origin in the deep reverence for power.

The authoress has made many shrewd comments about the monasteries about the administrative and the judicial systems, about the traditional pattern of trade, and about the problem of assimilating the tribes of the frontier regions of Tibet with which readers will be familiar from the writings of Sarat Chandra Das in the 'eighties of the last century. The book contains excellent appendices dealing with more formal matters, such as the new Chinese Agrarian Law and the Treaty between China and Tibet.

MARGARET BASU

HINDI

BHOODAN-YAJNA: *By Vinoba Bhave. Published by the Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 147. Price Re. 1-8.*

A silent revolution has been taking shape and daily gathering momentum as its leader has been striding. Since Gandhi's death a word has been stirring village India. Vinoba is that rare leader. And Sarbodaya is that mighty word.

Bhoodan is the vehicle of that silent revolution which seeks to bring about a change of heart, a change in the way of life, and thirdly a change in the social and economic order of society. Still a misconception is rife there. And it is that Bhoodan merely seeks to transfer a few lakhs or crores of acres to landless agricultural labourers. A perusal of the book under review, would dispel that misconception and give a true appreciation of the movement. We may quote Vinoba here to our profit. He says:

"I will not be satisfied unless the entire village land comes to be freely owned by the whole village as one family. The power and authority which is at present centred in Lucknow or Delhi should get distributed to the villages."

And that points the way where Vinoba is leading us to. It is neither a reformatory movement nor a half-baked revolution that leaves the values of life unchanged. Bhoodan is out to change the values of life. It is, therefore, incumbent on every lover of true freedom to study the movement closely. The book provides the reader with that opportunity.

Vinoba is ever growing and ever presenting new thoughts. So the earnest and the inquisitive reader will have to replenish his knowledge picked up from the book with materials from Vinoba's daily prayer-speeches, carried by daily and periodical papers. And here the Hindi-speaking readers have an advantage over others.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

GUJARATI

SAT JYOTA PRAKASH: *By Popat Lal Maharaj, Amreli, Published by Ambaram Ghemardas Patel, Visnagar, 1949. Thick card-board with illustrations, Pp. 204. Price Rs. 2.*

This is the second edition of a book taken up with the problems of Paramatma and Param Jyoti. It contains the ideas of a student, expressed in verse and prose, as to how to reach Beatitude. The writing is free of fervour. Popat Lal Maharaj who has now attained sainthood was an humble state-employee of H. H. the Cackwad and imbibed his philosophy, humility and preaching at the feet of Kazi Anwar Mian, a poet and a saint of Visnagar, a most remarkable incident—a Hindu receiving inspiration from a Muslim saint, and that too in these days of tension between the two communities. The well-written Introduction of Prof. Hasitkant Buch, M.A. of the Visnagar College brings out in short relief the work of the Maharaj, mostly devotional songs—*bhajans*—and verses—*padas*. Spiritual matters, amongst the lowly, poor and humble, are happily still alive. This is what the book testifies to.

K. M. J.

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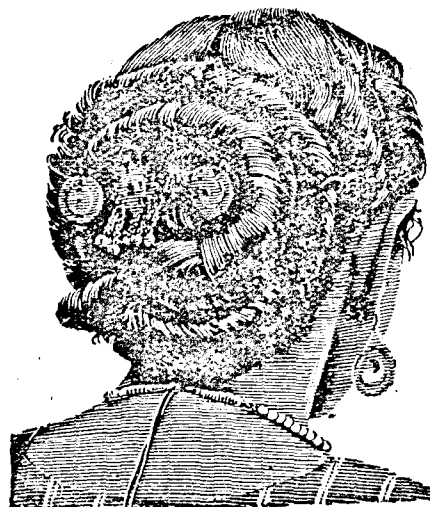
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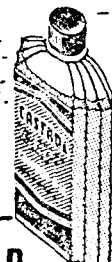
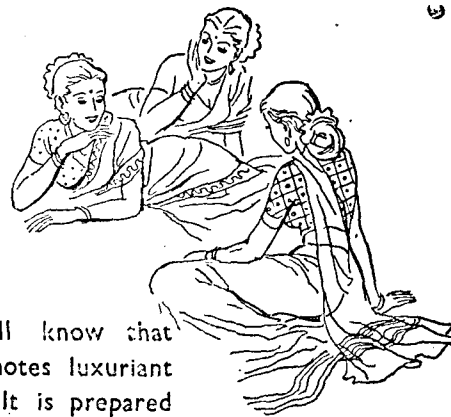
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Role of Cottage Industries

V. R. Natarajan writes in the 40th Annual and Independence Day Special Number of *The Mysore Economic Review*:

The role of cottage industry in the national economy can be determined by examining its contribution towards the solution of the fundamental economic problems of the country, and thereby towards stepping up of the economy to a higher and stable level.

Undoubtedly, the most important problem facing the country today is that of unemployment and under-employment. This is really the major cause of our appalling poverty. Unless we destroy the "giant idleness," the establishment of a decent standard of living in the country would remain merely a pious hope. Let us see to what extent cottage industries will assist us in this all important task. Let us first take the problem of seasonal unemployment in the country.

In spite of some progress made in the field of industrialisation, India still remains an agricultural country *par excellence*. Nearly three-fourths of the people are dependent on agriculture which is a seasonal industry. Consequently, agriculturists and agricultural labourers are generally without work for periods extending from 3 to 6 months in the year. This unemployment occurs at intervals and is of seasonal character. It has been estimated that more than 40 per cent of India's occupied persons are seasonally unemployed. The presence of such a high amount of seasonal unemployment in the country is indeed a very serious thing. It not only unduly depresses the standard of living, but also intensifies the present dead-lock between agriculture and industry.

The provision of work during the periods of seasonal unemployment is of paramount importance.

But what is the most effective way of dealing with this problem? For the successful tackling of this problem, it is necessary that the work provided to the seasonally unemployed must be such which can be easily learnt and operated. At the same time, it must not interfere with the main work. This condition can be fully satisfied only when the nature of the subsidiary job is such that it can be given up without any adverse effects on the main work. All these qualities are well possessed by cottage industries. They will give employment at the very doors of the cultivators without disturbing their main occupation. Hence the best way of dealing with the question of seasonal unemployment is to provide work through the development of selected cottage industries. This will not only give the much needed employment

during the off-season, but will also serve as a second string to the bow because agriculture is a very uncertain industry. The increase in the purchasing power of the cultivators and agricultural labourers will have very favourable effects on agricultural and industrial development of the country.

Cottage industrialism has a strong case from the point of view of equitable distribution. True it is that at present the pressing problem is "to increase the size of the cake rather than its distribution," yet it must be realised that without distributive justice production can never be satisfactory. In India, the grinding poverty of the masses and the superabundant wealth of some is a naked fact which cannot be disputed. It is estimated that about one-third of our national income goes into the hands of one per cent of the people. Such gross mal-distribution of national income is a grave danger signal. It is leading to great social cleavages, discontent and disharmony. And at the same time, it is retarding the development of our economic resources. The needs of the vast majority of the population fail to exercise any influence on the volume of production. The result is under-production, leading to a further reduction in the income of the masses which in its turn, leads to still greater under-production. Besides all these, inequitable distribution may lead to social and political movements of a far-reaching and revolutionary character, destroying the very foundation of democratic society and its institutions. In view of this, it may be preferable to have a population system which, though not so efficient as large-scale factory system, is not likely to lead to such tremendous inequalities of incomes.

The expansion of cottage industries will rectify the unevenness of occupational opportunities in different regions of the country. They will, in other words, cover the void left by the unfilled gaps in industrialisation.

The role of cottage industries is of immense significance in maintaining the employment equilibrium among regions. In fact, it has been recognised by almost all the economists that economic development should proceed on the regional basis so as to secure a balanced and even development of the country as a whole. Regionalisation is the cardinal feature of Soviet economic planning. There the distinction between backward villages and congested industrial centres has been almost obliterated. In England also the question of regional distribution of industries has been thoroughly examined by a Royal Commission which emphasises the need for balanced regional development and made appropriate recommendations to that effect. Since India is yet to plan for the future, she can conveniently provide for the regionalisation and dispersal of industries and

thereby avoid the evil consequences of planned development of the country.

In Europe and America, machinery and advanced technology were a necessity because these countries had plenty of capital, but they lacked an adequate supply of labour. Our problem is just the opposite. What we need is not labour-saving but labour-absorbing device, consistent with a fair degree of productivity. Cottage industries are thus eminently suitable for India in so far as, other reasons apart, proportion of labour to capital is very high in them. As a counter to the modern trend of materialism, which is responsible for so many evils, cottage industries provide a very wonderful contribution. They tend to develop such qualities in the people as are of vital importance for the healthy national development.

We should also pay due attention to certain questions which have a vital bearing on the reconstruction of cottage industries. First of all, there is the need to give up our traditional approach to this problem. Whenever there is any talk of developing industries, we begin to dig the past and search for measures which can bring back the dead industries to life once again. It is very seldom that we think of new industries which can be successfully established in the country. This is a great mistake. We must remember that our problem is not only to bring the dead to life, or to strengthen the vitality of the existing industries, but to arrange for the conception of new ones. In this connection, we have to learn a great deal from other countries, notably from Japan and China.

In the light of above considerations, no one can seriously dispute the extra-special place of cottage industries in our national economy. India's economic, social and geographical conditions are such that cottage industries must be given a vital place in any scheme of economic planning. The above discussion should not, however, give an impression that we are ignoring the large-scale industries which constitute the major bulwark of national defence and the base on which the foundation of the future industrial development will be laid.

As a matter of fact, there is no conflict between cottage and factory industries. Both can and must exist side by side in a planned economy.

In national interests both have to be properly integrated into one co-ordinated economy suited to the welfare of the people at large.

At a meeting of the State Khadi and Village

Industries Board held at Madras recently under the Chairmanship of the States Industries Minister, a decision was taken to appoint sub-committees to enquire into and report to the government on the best ways and means to develop certain important cottage industries in the State. He stressed the need for more intensive development of cottage industries and for co-ordinated efforts in that direction. He also conveyed to the meeting the Government of India's readiness to help with more funds in their development. Discussing their scope the meeting decided that sub-committees should be appointed to make comprehensive enquiries on the best ways to be adopted in the development of the major industries in the country. Emphasis was laid on the help that could be rendered to the industries, by the co-operative department. The Chief Minister who participated in the discussion assured the meeting that the Government would do everything for the development of the cottage industries. He urged the importance of a balanced economy in India so that rural economy will be sustained and at the same time facilitate the improvement of urban industries and cater to the other important needs of the nation.

The Government should prepare a blue-print for the development of cottage industries. The task of planning cottage industries is, indeed, beset with numerous difficulties which require most careful handling. They are scattered over so vast an area and vary so greatly in their characteristic features from region to region that it is impracticable to adopt a uniform all-India plan. Planning will necessarily have to be on regional basis. Each region should appoint a special committee to undertake comprehensive survey of existing cottage industries and their future potentialities. The committee should also explore the possibilities of establishing new industries along with the places where they can be most suitably located. Again, efforts should be made to demarcate the spheres of operation of cottage and factory industries, as far as possible, in order to avoid undue overlapping. To ensure better results, there should be a flexible adaptation and integration of cottage industries to the structure of large-scale industries so that the latter may aid instead of weeding out, the former. Finally, though the responsibility of developing cottage industries will be on the State Government, the Centre must co-ordinate the work done by them rendering specific assistance as and when necessary. This is essential in order to avoid wastes, resulting from regional conflicts and to bring a healthy development of the country as a whole.

Japan's Economic Crisis

M. M. Wagh writes in *The Indian Review*:

If General Dawes failed to rehabilitate the German economy in the '20s, Mr. Dodge, it seems, has fared no better in Japan. Making all allowance for the debasement for the word "crisis," the severity of the economic crisis that faces Japan today cannot be under-estimated.

Nothing can be more revealing than the foreign exchange and foreign trade figures as given out by Mr. Uetani, one of the leading industrialists of Japan. According to him, Japan's credits stood at \$292 million in 1950. In 1951 these rose to \$329 million. Although the second half of 1952 witnessed a sharp decrease in exports, Japan still enjoyed a favourable balance of \$94 million. However, since 1953 the position has taken a definite turn for the worse. In 1953, there was a deficit of \$310 million in Japan's foreign exchange, and the situation has deteriorated progressively. As Mr. Uetani explained, at one time Japan had favourable trade balance with all countries to the tune of \$1170 million. In May of this year this has dwindled to \$800 million. Deducting from this \$200 million owed by South Korea and Indonesia, and the I.M.F. loan and money borrowed for the purchase of cotton, this figure is reduced to a mere \$48 million.

What are the factors that have contributed to this sorry situation? Whatever Messrs. Dodge and Dulles might say, there is no gainsaying the fact that the chief reason for the present situation is the series of mismanaged and misconceived policies followed by America in post-war Japan.

In the first place America never looked upon Japan as anything but a military base in the Pacific, and this was amply proved by the Korean war. Secondly, America never contemplated the economic development of the country. Rather, Japan was a good dumping ground for American products, as India once was for Britain. Before the McArthur regime imposed restrictions on Japan's trade with Red China, Japan imported over 75 per cent of her coking coal, iron ore, and industrial salts from the Manchurian region. These raw materials have now to come chiefly from the U.S.A. at more than double the price for supplies from China. The result has been an abnormal increase in the price of Japanese machinery exports. If we take the steel price for example, it is \$50 a ton higher than the U.S. price.

So long as the Korean war and the boom that it brought in its wake lasted, Japan could easily find markets for her exports in Asia and Australia. Especially in the S.-E. Asian region Japan recorded significant gains in 1951. It was during this period

that Japanese textiles drove most of its competitors out of the S.-E. Asian region. In other sphere also Japanese industry made phenomenal strides. In 1952, the general industrial production index stood at 150 per cent while machinery production was 225 per cent of the 1932-36 levels.

American expenditure, or what are called dollar transfusions also constituted one of the props of the Japanese economy. Thus, \$800 million dollars of American spending in Japan in 1952 covered a trading deficit into a small surplus. It is reported, that nearly \$200 million were spent annually by American troops on "fraternisation" with Japanese women. This factor of the U.S. military and troop expenditure amounted to nearly 50 per cent of invisible exports for Japan.

The props have been withdrawn. The Korean war is no more, American troop enthusiasm for fraternisation has subsided, and the facade of prosperity has crumbled, revealing general instability and weakness.

It is true, that Japan is overpopulated. But on balance Japan had a much better chance of developing her economy than any other over-populated country, say India.

The Japanese Government and business circles feel that the immediate remedy for rehabilitating the economy lies in attacks on trade unions and wage cuts. The recent announcement that the Zaibatsu was to be revived seems to be a step in this direction. But the trade unions in Japan are very strong with a strength of nearly 5½ million, and the revival of Zaibatsu practices would not enable the country to make much permanent headway. Depreciation of currency, another measure which Japan has used very often, will not help much in the long run.

The truth is, Japan's need for expansion cannot be satisfied so long as restrictions on trade with China continue to exist. Since the Meiji era China has played a prominent role in Japanese foreign trade. China headed the list of Japan's export trade, and was never below third place in the import trade. The percentage of imports from China was 15 of the total imports, while exports varied from 15 to 30. Japan imported raw materials and exported finished goods. This pattern of trade holds good even today despite China's struggle for industrialisation.

Many realistic Japanese recognise the urgency of this need. But theirs is the voice in the wilderness. So long as Mr. Dulles persists in his policy of boycotting China and making S.-E. Asia Japanese preserve by driving out Britain and India, Japan's economy will remain as crippled as it was before the Meiji era.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Asia Today

The following speech under the above heading, as published in the *East and West*, Italy, was delivered by Akhtar Hussain, Minister of Pakistan in Italy, at the ISMEO on the 16th March, 1954, for the course "Orientations on the Asian Situation":

I must confess at the outset that the title of the evening's discourse "Asia Today," has been a source of considerable worry to me ever since I accepted Professor Tucci's invitation to come and address this distinguished audience. I feel I must crave your indulgence and patience while I explain some of my difficulties.

First, there is the difficulty of giving a precise connotation to the expression "Asia," especially in the context of the expression "today." For, frankly, I find the term Asia poor, if not inaccurate, as a geographical expression it is highly misleading. Personally I have never been able to comprehend why a continuous land mass of what might have been more appropriately called Eurasia has been split into two separate Continents of Europe and Asia. Was it an accident or a deliberate design? Surely, it could not have been due only to the unusually large size of this part of the globe, for the Pacific Ocean is probably much larger in extent and is still known by a single name. Is it then perhaps that the early European map-makers meant to convey by this means a sense of cultural or racial separateness, if not superiority, of Europe which was just about that time becoming conscious of its common cultural heritage? If so, it must be regretfully admitted that here a scientific truth has been sacrificed for the sake of a prejudice, much to the detriment of the true interests of mankind. For words are "triggers" to action and their effect goes far. Whatever may have been the reason for first adopting it, this unfortunate geographical nomenclature, apart from creating much avoidable confusion of thought has almost certainly been responsible for a great deal of international misunderstanding and inequity in the past. Is it not, for example, surprising that even today one hears of the USSR, sometimes referred to as an Asiatic power, although her vast land mass covers almost one half of Europe? An earlier generation has heard the cry of "Drive the Turks back into Asia," while we, in our own time, have known such geographical absurdities as "Turkey in Asia" and "Turkey in Europe."

Apart from the geographical confusion, there distinctly seems to be in the popular European mind an idea that the expression "Asia" must surely connote some general concept other than mere geographical location on the globe. During the 12th and 13th centuries when your gallant Venetian explorers and merchants opened up the first route to the Orient, Asia was represented in the popular mind by the concept of a Land of Wealth and Splendour. Later in the 16th

and 17th centuries when European scholars began to study the institutions, customs and philosophies of these ancient civilizations, Asia came to be known as the Land of Mystery and philosophical speculation. This was followed by the period of actual European domination during which the pre-dominant concept became one of colossal Sloth and Apathy. Today, however, none of these concepts fits the scene; yet the habit of thought and a desire to give a general label to Asia persists. If we are to grasp the elements of Asia today, we must, I fear, simply break this habit and once for all clearly understand that on a certain fateful day in 1945, a new kind of Bomb landed on the ill-fated Japanese harbour-town of Hiroshima and over-night transformed all the century-old concepts regarding Asian exclusiveness and "other-ness." On that day too was born the new concept of "one-world" of which these ancient lands immediately became an integral part. The vast multitudes inhabiting these regions, comprising over half of the world's population, had lain in deep slumber for nearly two hundred years while you in Europe had been experiencing the thrills of an exciting life of ever widening horizons and possibilities offered by your re-orientation of Science. This new life passed Asia by for a variety of reasons, including the material power that this new Science gave you. But the latest fruit of this very Science, horrible and fascinating came to Asia as a blessing in disguise. Her teeming millions suddenly began to feel within their breast strange stirrings and indescribable longings which previously had seemed like distant and unrealisable ideals. Since then the map of Asia has been changing so rapidly that the map-makers find it difficult to catch up with events. Politically, a number of new nations have taken birth and more are struggling to be born. But this is only the beginning of a total revolution which is relentlessly driving the Asian peoples, as indeed all the other peoples of the world, onward to a destiny of which we can only have the vaguest conception yet,—a destiny which frightens and fascinates at the same time.

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However, the past is not something which peoples, any more than individuals, can altogether wipe out. And, it is perhaps well that this should be so in the interest of human progress and stability. From the past arise not only the present human problems but also the attitudes which are so important in finding the right solutions for these problems. These attitudes themselves undergo a constant change and modification in the light of new problems and situations. Thus, Asia Today, no less than the World itself, must be regarded as a dynamic rather than a static phenomenon. And, if we must give Asia a label, it must be some label expressing action, such as, "Asia on the march." Here again the word "march" may create difficulties and doubts but luckily it can be demonstrated that this march can only be figurative. Its direction and objective is pre-determined by those great forces themselves which have caused the awakening and regeneration of Asia. The goal can only be "One World," where all members of the human family have a place as equal partners, with equal responsibilities and obligations in the interest of the Common Weal of "Mankind."

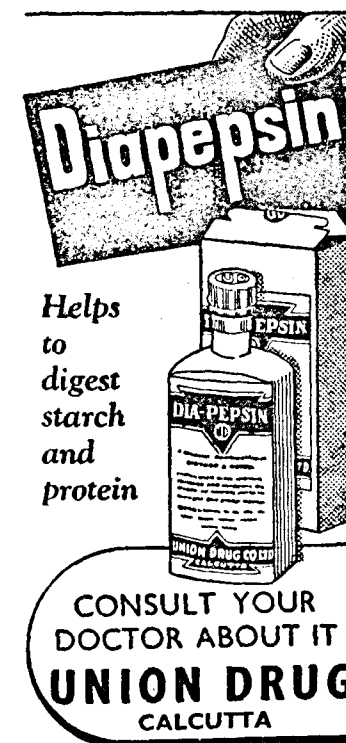
I now come to my second difficulty which is concerned with the scope of the subject I am called upon to discuss. For one thing, I consider it would be highly presumptuous on my part to profess to speak on such a vast and complex subject without possessing first-hand knowledge of the situation in most of the countries comprised in the Asian Continent. Secondly, I realise that in speaking on Asia as an Asian representative, there is a strong almost irresistible temptation to see oneself in the role of a spokesman for the entire Continent and, as such, to indulge in sweeping often quite insufferable generalisations. This is a role that I would personally be extremely reluctant to assume. In my view, such an assumption would neither be fair to the great Asian nations whose distinguished representatives in Rome may well hold different views, nor would it be justified by the known facts of the new Asian scene. For, despite considerable similarity in their basic problems, different Asian nations, in the light of their individual circumstances of geographical location, historical background and national characteristics, are inevitably inclined to react differently to them and have adopted, or are in the process of adopting, substantially different approaches for their solution. Let us take, for example, a cross-section of the Asian reaction to the vital problem of Peace and War and East-West Conflict. We find at least three different, major and mutually exclusive viewpoints represented in Asia in accordance with the interests and circumstances of the different nations who hold them. First, there is the viewpoint of the vast population,—nearly one half that of all Asia,—which lives in China and the Asiatic part of the USSR. These peoples have chosen to live under a Communist regime with its well-known characteristic approach to the problem of Peace and War. Then, we have certain countries situated close to the frontiers of China or USSR. These countries, which incidentally are also the old or original Sovereign Nations of Asia, have a distinctly positive approach to the problem. They are frankly apprehensive of aggression and endeavour to achieve a state of mental and material preparedness to meet it when it comes. We have then the third group of countries,—most of them comprising the nations of recent birth—professing to hold what may be described as the middle path of neutralism or non-alignment. This group can be further subdivided in

accordance with the mental approach of each country in regard to the best method of making its contribution to world peace effective.

This is only one example of divergence of Asian views on one subject. Many more can be cited. But what does all this add up to? Nothing, except more confusion. The question arises; what and where is the Asia of my discourse. The fact is that today Asia does not exist except as a vague geographical entity. Its peoples have been drawn irrevocably into the full-blooded stream of the general life of the world. The revolution that has hit us like a dammed-up torrent is still itself creating opportunities for all peoples, big or small, to shape their own destinies. They are all rapidly evolving their own separate individualities and the pattern which Asia of Today presents is as variegated as humanity itself.

In view of all these complications I have come to the conclusion that it would be best for me to talk this evening mainly about the major situations, problems and attitudes of Pakistan, the country I represent and know most about, and compare or contrast them with those of other Asian countries, who, like Pakistan, have recently taken their place in the comity of nations as free members. With your permission therefore I would like to amend the title of my address to read "Pakistan in Asia today."

Fortunately there is sufficient similarity in the problems that face Pakistan and those that face other young nations of Asia to enable you to form a fair picture of the scene. Moreover, in many ways, Pakistan is a uniquely representative Asian country. On one side, it shares the problems and attitudes of the large and important region of the Muslim Middle East, not only because of its cultural affinity but also



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because one of its two wings is physically contiguous with this region. On the other side, the Eastern wing of Pakistan is located deep into the region known as South-East Asia. On the north, it borders the territory of the new People's Republic of China and almost touches the frontier of the USSR. Through its connection with the British Commonwealth of Nations it possesses a window overlooking the Western scene.

With these introductory remarks, for the inordinate length of which I apologise, we are now in a position to look more closely at Pakistan and some of its major problems and attitudes.

Pakistan, as you know, is one of the two new Sovereign States—the other being India—which arose out of the former British controlled territory of that name. It covers an area approximately equal to that of Italy, France, Belgium and Holland put together and contains nearly 80 million people, most of whom profess the Muslim Faith. I would not worry you with the details of the circumstances which led to the Partition of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, but, I think, it would be useful to mention certain underlying facts which have powerfully influenced, for good or ill, the Nation's thinking and many continue to do so for a considerable time to come.

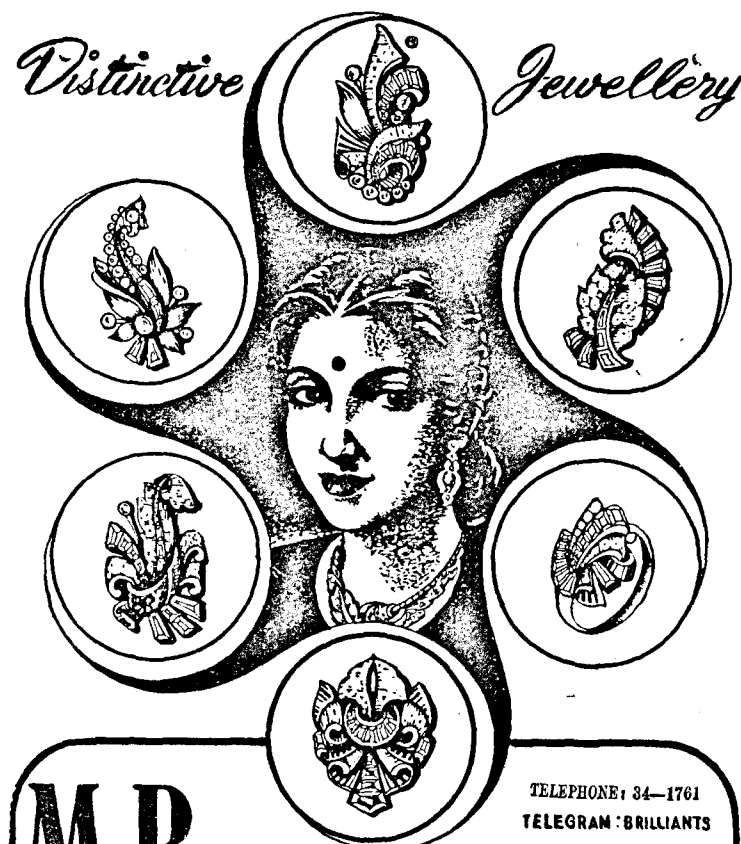
Fact number one is that Partition which created India and Pakistan as separate nations was the result of an irresistible national demand for self-determination on one side and a voluntary renunciation of political power on the other. This unique act of far-sighted statesmanship did not only save the great Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent from a prolonged and fearful civil war, the horrors of which some areas in Asia are still experiencing but also ensured that the two young countries should be set upon a democratic course of development. What it has meant for a large part of Asia in terms of order and stability is quite a remarkable achievement for which the credit largely goes to British statesmanship.

It has done more than this. It has prevented the rancour and bitterness of the period of national struggle from over-reaching itself and vitiating the perspective of our people. It has therefore made subsequent mutually beneficent co-operation between the contending parties possible.

Unfortunately, some other young Asian nations have not been as fortunate as ourselves in this respect. The result is that nationalism in those countries has taken on a more impatient aspect and for the present constitutes a serious danger to the stability of certain regions in Asia. In these disputes we have always advised restraint and moderation on both sides, subject always to the ultimate recognition

of the right of the Asian peoples to order their own affairs in full freedom of choice.

Our own struggle against Colonial rule could not but have given us a deep and abiding sympathy with similar aspirations of other subjugated or exploited peoples elsewhere. We believe that our Asian brethren, wherever and in whatever condition they might be, share this sentiment with us almost as an article of faith. With us, this is not only an emotional offspring of our new and burning nationalism but a deep conviction that so long as odd pockets of oppression and exploitation remain in the world no stable and worthwhile peace can be constructed. In holding this firm faith and in practising it unflinchingly we are not impelled by malice or love of destructive criticism. We have often practised it when it has given us much pain and when it has lost us—temporarily we hope—the understanding of valued friends. We hope we have never made unreasonable



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or irresponsible demands from Colonial Powers who sometimes have genuine problems of their own which need sympathetic understanding. We earnestly hope that the outstanding disputes of South-East Asian and Middle-Eastern regions, both of which are vital areas, may soon be settled along fair and honourable lines in keeping with the legitimate Asian aspirations and in the best interests of the peoples of those regions.

Fact number two is that the Partition of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent was based on the acceptance of the claim of the great Muslim minority of nearly 400 millions that instead of remaining a perpetual minority in a single country, they should be allowed to set up a separate State of their own where they could develop their own characteristic cultural and spiritual values. The translation of this demand into practice has, among other things, resulted in a unique situation where Pakistan consists of two metropolitan areas over 1500 kilometres apart, separated by foreign territory. This fact has undoubtedly created some administrative problems of a peculiar nature for Pakistan. On the other hand, it has demonstrated a remarkable triumph of mind over matter, of the will of a culturally and spiritually unified people to achieve and maintain unity despite physical barriers. Furthermore, this basic urge for developing and promoting what may be called the Muslim cultural values or better still, the Muslim Way of Life, has set the seal upon one of the future directions of Pakistan's international relationships. It explains our close preoccupation with the lands inhabited by the Muslim peoples, especially in the countries of the Middle East. We consider that their stability and welfare spell our own stability and are therefore a major objective of our policy.

I may mention here that this attitude has nothing to do either with Theocracy, of which we have sometimes been accused, or with the revival of Muslim expansionist dreams of political domination. As I have said previously, the atomic era in which we have been launched has swept away all the cobwebs of the past and has introduced entirely new concepts of life. In the present scheme of things there is no place either for Theocracy or for political domination of one people by another. However, there is one old need which looms up larger today than ever before and that is the need for the peoples of the world to worship God in all humility and in the service of mankind, each practising its own Way of Life in freedom and beneficent intercourse with those who share it. We Muslims like to do this and we think that you of the Christian lands of Europe would not like to do less.

Let me take some more time over this problem and try to explain what this Muslim Way of Life may be in its new Orientation and why we in Pakistan emphasise it so much. The Muslim Way of Life is very simple and clear-cut. We hold that the ultimate sovereignty in a State belongs to God and that people hold it in trust from Him. To discharge this

trust, the Muslims, both as individuals and as a nation, must cultivate certain moral virtues among which prominence of place is given to justice, fair-play, moderation and self-restraint. We believe that all human beings whether Muslim or non-Muslim, irrespective of their caste, creed or race, are equal before God and have a right to equal opportunity and civic status and to the enjoyment of the fruits of their honest labour. Those who are strong and wealthy, whether as individuals or nations, are under obligation to help the poor and weak. In international relations, peace is the objective, but aggression, in whatever form it may appear, must be fought and given no quarter. As a community which puts great store by its own cultural and spiritual heritage, we freely concede the right of full and unfettered development to all religions and cultural minorities, big or small, according to their own lights. This is briefly the Muslim Way of Life and we practise it not as a matter of expediency but because it is the only way we know. If you look at this scheme of life closely I do not think you will find it very troublesome or very different from what sometimes has been described as the Christian Way of Life.

But, it may be asked why do we at all wish to adopt any particular way of life. Why do we not simply call ourselves a secular State and be like everybody else? The reason, I think, is that we ourselves have not consciously or deliberately formulated the Islamic Way of Life which we profess to hold. It is simply a part of us. In fact, we Pakistanis are there because there was and is a distinct Muslim Way of Life. Secondly, we find that it helps us in coming to decisions on problems which to others may appear confusing and elusive. In short, it gives our young nation its moral justification and its moral code. It would not be inappropriate here to quote the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, first Prime Minister of our country, if only to show what part such an ideology can and does play in the new Asia of today. He said to an American audience in 1950: "Cast your mind on all the countries of Asia one after another. Almost everywhere you will see intense nationalism, great backwardness, impatience with colonial rule, and in some, a greater or lesser degree of democratic rule. But in many of them you will also see internal strains, moral doubts, ideological conflicts, waverings, hesitations and confusions. Halting democracies and ideological confusions create great anxieties for the Governments of Asia, for the peoples of Asia and for peace-loving and world-minded people anywhere. In the midst of these Pakistan stands unified. It stands unified because its people are free from mental confusions which elsewhere create disruption and cast menacing shadows on the future. They have chosen for themselves the part chalked out for them by their simple practical clear-cut beliefs and decisions."

Fact number three is that although the Partition of the Sub-Continent took place by the common consent of all the principal parties, namely, the British Government, the Indian Congress Party and the Muslim League Party, and according to an agreed plan, unfortunately, in actual practice, the plan mis-



carried for a variety of reasons, the principal one among them being the undue haste with which the transference of power was made. This resulted in much avoidable hardship including extensive loss of life and property. But what is worse, all this has left a legacy of suspicion and bitterness which even after seven years continues to poison the relations between the two sister nations who by all standards should have been the closest of friends. It is not necessary in this address to go into the details of these unpleasant things or to apportion praise or blame to any party but it must be emphasised that the situation which has developed constitutes a problem of far-reaching importance, affecting not only the future of Asia but possibly that of the world itself. For, while the two countries live in a state of perpetual fear and suspicion of each other, they fritter away much of their human and material resources which might well have been utilised for the pressing work of reconstruction and uplift. Who can tell that by their example the rest of Asia would not have marched forward greatly fortified in the hope of a better life for her millions of poverty-stricken people? Apart from these somewhat peculiar problems which affect us in Pakistan, we share with most of our fellow Asian nations the enormous problem of over-population and depressed living standards combined with illiteracy, under-nourishment and disease. In Pakistan we inherited an economy which is far from being balanced. Nearly 80 per cent. of Pakistan's population is directly or indirectly dependent upon agriculture. Although the land is fertile and the peasantry skilful and hard-working, the agricultural industry suffers from out-of-date methods and lack of capital to modernise them. The yield per acre is inevitably very low in comparison with that obtained in more advanced countries. We hold a virtual monopoly in the production of jute and have a sizable cotton crop available for export. In spite of this, the peasantry barely lives above the subsistence level and often faces anxious times depending upon the vagaries of weather or international prices. On the other hand, our industry is very much in its infancy as we have had to start more or less from scratch. The Partition which left most of the best raw material producing areas in Pakistan, gave to India the areas where manufacturing industries relating to these products were concentrated, such as the great jute mill centre of Calcutta and the textile industry of Bombay. The problem therefore that we in Pakistan are facing at the moment is that of creating a balance in our economy by promoting essential industries; at the same time modernising our methods of agriculture. The task is, however, a herculean one, specially when material re-

sources are limited.

Luckily the achievement of freedom has released a considerable amount of energy and initiative in our people which has enabled Pakistan to make quite remarkable progress in spite of heavy limitations. However, these results could not have been achieved if it had not been for the munificence of certain generous and friendly nations. Those worthy of mention are the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These nations have given monetary and technical assistance for many projects that are essential for setting the country on the way to industrial progress and thus ultimately raising the living standards of the people.

While naturally the measure of assistance is nowhere near sufficient for solving the problems within a short period, a welcome beginning has been made and we in Pakistan are extremely grateful to the contributing nations. We are convinced that this new concept of mutual help is the most revolutionary concept

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones? Surely a Hindusthan Policy, the best of all the Pujah gifts.

The pleasure of giving is yours and that of serving you is ours.

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in contemporary international relations and one that marks the beginning of an era of international beneficence which is strictly in keeping with the concept of "One World." These projects and schemes have also benefited many other Asian nations in one form or another and, on the whole, I believe, they have evoked similar reactions to that in Pakistan in spite of some inspired criticism that one hears from time to time regarding the possibility of a new form of imperialism infiltrating through these means into Asia. We, who are, I hope, second to none in jealousy guarding our hard-won independence have subjected this suggestion to a most searching study and have no doubt left in our mind that no sinister designs lurk behind these schemes. Indeed, what in our view they signify in respect of the under-developed nations of Asia, is exemplified by another speech in which our late Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, surveyed the Asian scene before another American audience. He said: "Students of history are aware that during the last two or three centuries of foreign domination our people have not kept pace with the march of civilization. It was during those centuries that Western civilization of which you are the proud torch-bearers discovered a use for science which, though not new, was so fast in tempo and so vast in its magnitude that it gave civilization a new orientation altogether. This is the phase that for various reasons our people missed. The result is that today we find multitudes emerging as large, free nations in Asia with their material and mental resources utterly undeveloped and with their standards of living so low that the world conscience should not be content to leave them stagnant. Our ancient steadfast faith which is such a source of strength to us on the ideological front in these modern uneasy times must be wedded to the pioneering virility of modern technology. This is the synthesis we must achieve and achieve quickly not merely for the sake of progress but for the sake of world peace itself.

"For I sincerely believe that war and peace and prosperity are all indivisible today. The innumerable millions of Asia, heirs to ancient cultures and ancient civilizations, have, after centuries of suppression, entered upon a new and dynamic phase of nationalism. Most of them were accustomed to looking at the West from the position of subject peoples and could see little beyond the less attractive side of what to them was Western civilization. Their newly won freedom has, however, corrected their vision and they are better able to see both the Western world and their own surroundings in their true perspective. While on the one hand they are filled with admiration at the sight of the progress and the advancement of civilization in such great countries as the United States of America, they are more impatient than ever before with their own misery and backwardness and are keenly searching the horizon for the signs of a bright day. They are acutely aware of the great contrast between their own standard of living and the standards of living in the Western World. This disequilibrium is in many ways most disquieting and has in it the seeds of unpredictable upheavals. For the sake of world peace, for the sake of world civilization Asia must be made stable but it cannot be made stable unless discontent is removed and the germs of disruption are killed by better and cleaner living which means no more and no less than enabling the peoples of Asia to enjoy the fullest advantages of freedom and democracy. In this situation, we consider the role of Pakistan to be that of a stabilising

factor in a backward and discontented part of the world. We hope to be able to play this role successfully by our strong faith in God, in democracy and in our own unity, by the resources of our lands and waters and by our will to work. On these points Pakistan stands firm.

"What, however, is the role of the Western world in this situation? It is to demonstrate that true democracy is international in its very conception and does not shirk its responsibility for the maintenance of world peace; that it discharges this responsibility by defying not only this or that particular aggressor, but aggression everywhere; and that it has a constructive and not merely a defiant outlook. We conceive the role of the Western world is to be the enlightened one of sharing its great fund of knowledge, skill and experience with those who were denied their opportunities but who constitute a major part of the world's population and without whose progress, the world will limp along only on one leg, if at all. I have met many liberal-minded and thoughtful men in your country to whom these are the only aims worth pursuing in the domain of international affairs today."

This brings us to another major objective which Pakistan shares, not only with the new formed nations of Asia but with all other peace-loving nations of the world. It is the objective of International Peace and Security. In pursuit of this aim we are perhaps even more passionately earnest than the older nations of the West, as to us Peace and Security are synonymous with our very existence. But the question arises: What can we in Asia do to prevent War and to promote Security. I am afraid the answer must be that we can do very little indeed. As practical men we must realise that the issue of peace and war cannot depend upon the vague sentiments of a multitude of half-clad and half-fed populations of the under-developed countries of Asia. This matter needs a common sense and practical approach instead of a theoretical one. Let us once again turn to Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan who in the course of his brief career had earned a reputation for being a hard-headed and realistic Asian statesman. He says to his Western audience, "Before everything else we must have peace. We need it even more badly and desire it even more passionately than you do. For we are just at the beginning of a new life and have barely stepped across the threshold of freedom.

"But immediate peace in the world does not depend on anything that we in Asia can do. Immediate peace depends only on those who can make immediate war. We in Asia can only hope and pray that the leaders of world opinion will use their power and wisdom not to add to the fears of an apprehensive world but to dispel those fears. We are resolved, nevertheless, to make the greatest contribution we can, in our circumstances, to the maintenance of world peace; and we know that our responsibility in this respect is to keep our own house in order and to go ahead with the enormous tasks ahead of us, of developing our resources and educating our people. This is a long task but how without international co-operation can we give greater weight and substance to our contribution?

"Without international co-operation there are few countries in the world that can substantially contribute to peace. Certainly no under-developed country can. And yet it is in the under-developed countries more than in others that disruption, discontent, strife, and instability are most likely to find a fertile field."

This important statement was made over three years ago. Since then we in Pakistan have been assiduously pursuing the two, in our view, mutually inter-related objectives outlined in it, namely, promotion of our own national stability and promotion of international peace through international co-operation.

The first concrete results of our endeavours have manifested themselves only within the last few days. These are: first, the Turco-Pakistan declaration of closer understanding and second, the United States announcement of her intention to give some military aid to Pakistan. We consider both these to be momentous decisions not only for ourselves but for peace and security in Asia, and in the world.

The first declaration is, on our part, primarily an expression of an urge and a prompting of the heart which we Pakistanis have felt for our Turkish brothers for centuries past. It is for us like two brothers coming together. But it also means a great deal more. It means that for the first time in hundreds of years a concrete opportunity has offered itself to the Muslim peoples throughout the Middle East to translate into reality their dream of mutual collaboration and solidarity—a dream which having been dreamt by the architect of Islam himself, has persisted through centuries of distractions, disappointments and internecine strife.

Looked at from the more practical point of view in the light of the present international situation the Turco-Pakistan solidarity gives fair promise of filling through the voluntary co-operation of the peoples themselves, the power vacuum in the vital region of Middle East which has caused all of us much worry in the recent past.

Similarly, the U.S. project of military aid to Pakistan marks the opening of a new chapter in Asia. For us, it is synonymous with a promise of stability and security. Pakistan has, and seeing the realism of the present world situation, unfortunately has to have a fair-sized standing army. For a young Asian country like ours the maintenance of a good and effective army is essential, and I may add that we are quite proud of our body of men, who, in point of valour and discipline are second to none. However they are for the most part equipped with old and obsolete weapons and therefore dispose of a comparatively small effective defensive power against the attack of a modern army. Still, more than half of our national budget is spent on the maintenance of our defence forces. This leaves very little for the pressing national development activities, such as the exploitation of our natural resources and the education of our people, the two essential requirements of stability. We, therefore, greatly hope that the military aid which the United States has in contemplation for us will enable us to save a part of our own resources for these vital tasks.

I may mention here that neither the Turco-Pakistan understanding nor the United States announcement of military aid are steps designed to promote a military alliance directed against any country or group of countries. On the other hand, both these measures are aimed at securing, as far as lies in our power, our national stability and the stability in our own interest, of the part of the world in which we live and thereby of promoting the chances of peace in the world.

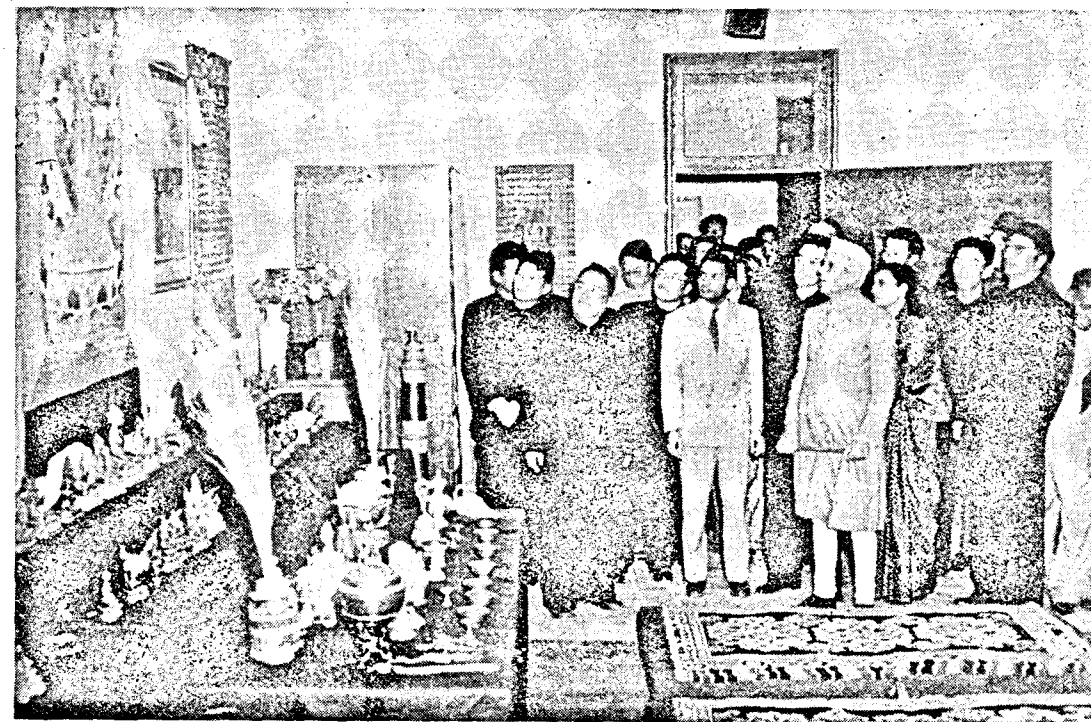
In developing our international co-operation

along these lines we are not conscious of having surrendered any part of our national sovereignty or freedom of choice, as has sometimes been alleged, on the contrary, we feel that our new position gives us an excellent opportunity of making our individual contribution to peace weighty and effective. For, we hold, no less than others, clear and strong views on how international peace and understanding might be promoted without resort to war, and we have vigorously expressed these views whenever and wherever an opportunity has offered. Our record in the United Nations Assembly is, for a young nation, a proud one. On this specific subject I feel I could do no better than quote from a speech given some time ago before the United Nations Assembly by Pakistan's distinguished Foreign Minister, Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan:

"The ideological conflict continues not only to divide the world but also to harass its peoples and to threaten peace and security. We recognize that the complexity of human problems necessitates approach to them from various angles and that diversity of points of view and differences of approach and method are essential conditions of advancement and progress and should, therefore, be encouraged rather than suppressed. What is needed, however, is tolerance, which should provide full scope for ideas to act and react beneficently upon each other. Pakistan's view is that every nation must be free to develop its social, economic and political systems and institutions along lines best suited to its own needs and expressive of its genius. What must be insisted upon is that force, violence or coercion, organised or unorganised, should be employed or permitted to be employed, either inside the nation or from outside of it, to force a people to give up that which they desire to retain or to adopt, that which they are unwilling or reluctant to accept.

"Whatever is attempted to be achieved must be undertaken openly and in the light of day, and carried through by peaceful means. If this could be accepted and put into effect on a world-wide scale, we venture to hope that the suspicion of sinister motives and the fear of secret and violent designs, which are at the moment poisoning international relations and constitute so grave a threat to the maintenance of peace and security, would soon be dispelled, making beneficent co-operation possible between groups of States that are today divided from each other by these suspicions and fears. We believe that one effort that would help to clear the atmosphere would be to foster knowledge in all spheres, and to provide accurate information and to facilitate and promote free intercourse and interchange across national and international frontiers. The activities of the United Nations directed towards lowering and removal of barriers restricting the free movement of ideas, information and individuals, must be intensified as these barriers hinder better understandings and deeper friendly relations between the nations. Pakistan may be relied upon to give its fullest co-operation towards the achievement of the ideals and purposes of the United Nations along the lines of the Charter."

These are concrete proposals and I venture to think that all right-minded people in the world would agree that they are fair. They are also eminently practical.



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Central Institute for Nationalities in Peking, during his recent visit to the Capital of the People's Republic of China. The Prime Minister is seen in the Prayer Hall of the Institute



Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Young Pioneers' Palace in Shanghai on October 28. He is being presented with a scarf by a child



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MAHAKAL—THE LORD OF ETERNITY
By Priyaprasad Gupta

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Defamation of Public Servants

About two decades back a judge of the British High Court at Calcutta, in pronouncing judgement, said "the Police is the Government." This statement was bitterly criticised, the strongest criticism coming from the pro-Congress press and platform. It was true, nevertheless, of that period as the rule of the British *raj* after the imperial period had set in during Lord Curzon's regime, had rapidly degenerated into a draconic police regimen. We desire to forgive and forget the past and therefore recriminations are unnecessary, but all the same our administrators and legislators should not forget the iniquities perpetrated on the suffering masses by the police and the higher executive.

It should be remembered that the police and the executive remain largely what they were during the British period, and given a little rope they would revert back into the old practices. In certain respects the position is far worse now, because the reins of administration are now in the hands of inexperienced and mostly unfit persons, who neither have the capacity to discriminate nor have the personality and acumen, to control and guide the executives under them. Furthermore, most of them are extremely party-conscious and superlatively addicted to the homage of sycophants. These twin last blemishes make them easy prey for the corrupt and the lazy inefficient in service.

Let it be said in this context that, as in the old days, there are a good few men in the higher ranks of the services, who are incorruptible and who have rendered yeoman service to the country and its

nationals. All honour to them, and for them no praise is too high.

But that does not mean, by any means, that the entire administration, all over the country, is filled with irreproachable and incorruptible executives and officers. Indeed, on the contrary.

The press, if it functions freely and fully, can act as the major safeguard of public interests and liberties. If attempts are made to fetter it, as was the case during the last four decades of British rule, then the four freedoms of the nationals of India would be curtailed likewise.

Officialdom may need protection from malicious libels, as Dr. Katju has stated, but a far greater need exists today of protecting the suffering public from corruption and malafide persecution through official malpractices.

It is necessary therefore to see that this new amendment does not have an easy passage. Congress is degenerating fast and therefore public opinion has to be roused in order to guard the liberties and interests of the common man against the inroads of bureaucratic usurpation as proposed under Dr. Katju's Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill.

"Progress with Grace and Glory"

On November 28 last, while addressing a public meeting under the auspices of the Delhi State Congress Committee, Pandit Nehru made outspoken and strong comments on certain aspects of public opinion which deserve full consideration.

"Sri Nehru declared that India had to progress with grace and glory and in her own way. At a time when

many neighbouring countries had gone and 'sat in somebody's lap or at somebody else's feet,' India had held her own. Now it had to progress in her own way. The aim of the Second Five-Year Plan was to end unemployment in ten years, that was no small objective.

"For doing that, it was essential that all forces like communalism, casteism, provincialism which divided the country and its people into separate compartments, should be given a go-by and 360 million should work together for the country's progress. In that case India was bound to go ahead, just as China was bound to go ahead because there was no question of casteism in that country and her 600 million were working together."

Sri Nehru condemned Indian Communists and blamed them for sponsoring the threatened bank strike.

Such a strike, he declared, would not benefit the bank employees at all. It would cause great inconvenience to the trade and commerce and general public. India, however, would not "go under" because of it.

Government, the Prime Minister said, had done something extraordinary. It had expressed willingness to revise its decision, and had appointed an "able and impartial" judge to examine the whole matter.

"If anybody under these circumstances incited strikes, he was obviously not interested in the welfare of India." He probably believes that the country should first be destroyed, and then something may be done for its progress.

"Sri Nehru's charge against the Indian Communists was that they placed the interest of their party above that of the country, that although they had given up the policy of large-scale insurrection of Telengana type, they still believed in "keeping cauldron simmering" by fomenting local conflicts, that they went abroad and 'defamed' India, that they stuck to 'theories and slogans' of 19th century Europe which had no relation to India."

Here, we should like to remark that the Government had, on this question of the threatened bank strike, played into the hands of the professional disruptionist, as on many similar occasions in the past. The Government has never clarified its stand in the matter of Labour *vis a vis* the Employer, and in every instance a heavy emotional weightage has been attached to labour demands, irrespective of equity or public interest.

In all strikes of major scale, particularly where public utility concerns are involved, the major sufferer by far is the common man, who forms the helpless 99 per cent of the majority. It should be the concern of the Government to safeguard the public, whose losses are never reduced either by the Employees or by the State, to say nothing of labour.

The history of the successive Bank Awards makes painful reading as they distinctly show official bungling and neglect of a vital question.

"Pandit Nehru said many people went to China, Russia or America and were almost carried away or

swept off their feet by what they saw there. He had met some such people and had found that they had not seen anything in India.

So far as his visit to China was concerned, he had not gone to be 'swept off' or 'carried away.'

Both India and China, Pandit Nehru said, had shown great vitality of assimilating new ideas and new people throughout the ages. Both had an unbroken record of civilization for thousands of years. The two had a common frontier for 2,000 miles and there was no instance of conflict between the two. India had become free from an imperialist Power and in China there had been a great revolution. Indeed, both were a part of the general Asian resurgence and, therefore, his visit to China and Premier Chou En-tai's visit to India were of historic significance.

Both India and China, Pandit Nehru declared, could learn from each other. In industry, railways and roads India was far ahead of China. In many other ways China was ahead of India. In China the revolution was new and there was enthusiasm.

But, Pandit Nehru emphasised, every country had to develop according to its own genius and own background. Indeed, no country could progress, if its people did not have roots in indigenous soil. In China certain conditions had developed after the fall of Manchus and growth of warlordism. Civil war had raged for 40 years. Similar conditions prevailed in Russia. Revolutions did not spring from air. Would anybody suggest that there should be a 40-year civil war in India also so that there might be a revolution? But there were some people "Communist friends" particularly who had so much enthusiasm that they had very little sense. Sense, in their case, had been replaced by slogans.

Pandit Nehru said, he was coming from China which was a Communist country. Its great leaders were Communists and had built up their country after struggle and fight for 30 years. Yet they had not adopted 100 per cent Soviet Communism. "I respect these leaders; they are wise people and are building up their country in their own way. I am nobody to advise them to adopt this system or the other. Similarly, I do not expect them to tell us what we should do here."

But the Communists of India, Sri Nehru said, were still caught up in what they had read in books written 80 to 90 years ago in Europe. Somehow they wanted to fit Indian conditions, with what they had read in those books. Little did they realize that every country had characteristics of its own. Mahatma Gandhi achieved success because he had almost imbibed an understanding of the soul of India and had moulded his weapons out of that soul. He spoke in a language which the Indian peasant could understand and not repeat slogans and clichés of 19th century Europe.

But then there was another set of people, the communalists, who wanted to take the country not by 30 or 40 years but by thousands of years and wanted to revive

in India precisely what had been the main cause of India's downfall. 'puppets of Britishers and were siding with America's war politics.'

There were communalists among the Hindus, Pandit Nehru said. But although Muslim League had gone to Pakistan, some "offspring of the Muslim League" had started raising their head in India also. But it was on a very small scale. Crores of Muslims living in the country had nothing to do with this. Only a few persons were responsible. Some of them were in Delhi also and there were some newspapers also that were to blame.

But, the Prime Minister stressed, the main responsibility was on Hindu communalists. If anybody thought of blaming all Muslims or of trying to emulate Pakistan in certain respects, he would be doing a disservice and damage to India.

Pandit Nehru said he did not wish to praise his Government. But in history there were very few examples when eight years after liberation from an imperialist rule a country had played such an important role in international affairs as India had done in the last seven or eight years.

Even those who were unhappy about some of our policies acknowledged that we were honestly and earnestly working for peace. It was possible to say that on many occasions when forces for peace and war were nearly balanced, India threw her limited weight in support of peace. And when the two sides were almost balanced even a small contribution mattered.

DEFAMING INDIA ABROAD

Yet, the Prime Minister complained, there were people who went abroad and tried to defame India. He wondered what purpose they wanted to serve by that. It was open to them to criticise each other in India but to go out and defame India was bad. Such people obviously had no feeling for the country.

Pandit Nehru said this sort of people who had no mental or emotional attachment to India and who did not understand the concept of Indian nationhood as well as those who believed in violence should have no place in India's national life.

Although the question of violence, Pandit Nehru said, was not before them in any immediate form, the fact was that the Communists seemed to believe that without violence and disturbance nothing good could be done. They were not at present following the insurrectionary policy of Telengana type. They did believe in "keeping the cauldron simmering" by fomenting local conflicts and strifes. They sought to exploit every grievance and incite strikes which had nothing to do with the betterment of the people involved. In fact, they did not want the country's progress because such a progress would be a handicap for them.

It was strange, the Prime Minister said, that for years the Communists of India refused to recognize that India had become independent. They shouted around that India was not really free and we were almost

He raised a laugh by adding that Indian Communists had such sharp eyes that for years after the freedom they could not see that India was free. But when even the whole world approved of India's policy and particularly those countries, "whom the Communists look to," praised India's policy of peace, the Indian Communists found themselves in a fix. The ground had slipped from under their feet.

"Now, of course, the Communists had started saying that our foreign policy was all right to some extent but still it was basically pro-American. Indeed, the Communists were in a quandary what to do. So they had taken to fomenting troubles that should come in the way of the country's progress. The threatened bank strike was a case in point."

We, on our part, would like to enquire as to who selects the delegates to these "cultural" and other missions. The parties sent abroad consist in the main of a motley crowd of nonentities and notoriety, with a good few figures of fun and one or two decorative figures. Some of them have left a permanent bad record abroad through their misdeeds and bad manners.

The Birla Iron and Steel Plans

The Special Representative and the Political Correspondent of the *Statesman* gave the following reports in the *Statesman* of Nov. 27.

We consider that these reports are of great significance as they mark a move on the part of the Union Government which will have vital significance in the industrial programme of India, if and when a final decision is taken.

Later reports received at the time of writing these notes indicate that the decision is not yet final as the Special Correspondent of the *Statesman* had reported. We have given our opinion on this matter elsewhere in these notes.

New Delhi, Nov. 26.—The two Birla iron and steel proposals, in which private capital was to play a predominant role, have been finally rejected by the Government, it is authoritatively learnt.

The prospects of setting up a 250,000-ton pig-iron plant at Durgapur for which Birla Brothers had asked for a licence have, therefore, ended. The British steel plant proposal, sponsored by Mr. B. M. Birla, must now be transferred to the public sector.

These major decisions have been taken, apparently, in response to the Planning Commission's recommendation that the State must continue to be responsible for further development of a major industry like iron and steel. Promise of attracting substantial foreign finance alone, it was stated, would have justified deflection from this course.

The decision ends a controversy in which the Ministry of Commerce and Industry had presumably taken a contrary view on the ground that the industrial policy

resolution of April, 1948 and the Five-Year Plan had visualized the possibility of the Government's seeking the co-operation of private enterprise in this sphere.

The plan says that the State "will be responsible for further development (of iron and steel) except to that extent that it regards the co-operation of private enterprise necessary for the purpose."

The wording, it is now felt, is susceptible of more than one meaning although the Government's decision would tend to imply that it could not be stretched to effect transfer of iron and steel from the public to the private sector, which would have been the result had the two Birla proposals been accepted.

As the ambiguous clause also governs the future development of coal, aircraft manufacture, shipbuilding, manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus and mineral oil, it is now felt that clarification of an authoritative interpretation of the industrial policy resolution is urgently called for.

This will, presumably, be available during the course of the impending discussion on economic policy in Parliament on Dec. 4.

The Government decision, rejecting the Birla proposals, need not imperil the future of the British steel plant offer, though it is clear that it will now be handled, like the other steel proposals, by the Production Ministry responsible for running State-owned industries.

The matter came up for decision before the Government as a result of the issues raised by the Licensing Committee which dealt with the application of Birla Brothers to set up a 250,000-ton pig-iron plant at Durgapur. The application stated that the plant was a prelude to the ultimate manufacture of 20,000 tons of finished steel per month.

The question arose whether acceptance of the application would be in conformity with the industrial policy resolution of April, 1948. Secondly, the Licensing Committee is stated to have recalled that the application had to be reviewed in conjunction with Mr. B. M. Birla's proposal for the British steel plant which, apparently, was also expected to be installed at Durgapur.

New Delhi, Nov. 26.—Interpreted by many as a calculated counterblast to the Russian offer of a steel plant for India, the rejected Birla proposals for British steel manufacture have proved the cause of a difference of opinion within the Government.

It is widely known that the Birla proposals had the support of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and were opposed, at least in the later stages, by the Ministries of Planning and Production.

These opposite views are believed to have been expressed in the past few days of decisive discussions, which went in favour of the official stand maintained in the industrial policy resolution of April 1948.

While the result will cause wide satisfaction within the Congress Party as a whole, which stands solidly behind the Prime Minister's socialistic line, the incident

raises a question to which the answer is not readily available.

It is not known, for instance, how Mr. B. M. Birla found it possible to go so far with his negotiations in the U.K. without some kind of official assurance in advance without which his efforts would not have been worthwhile.

This question arises inevitably in view of the fact that the broad official policy regarding basic industries has remained unaltered in spite of the recent exceptions in the case of foreign exploitation of mineral oil.

According to lobby reports this afternoon the official decision regarding the Birla proposals, which reaffirms the Government's policy in unmistakable terms, may have an important repercussion within the Cabinet.

Chinese Belligerence and the U.S.

The recent flare-up in the Formosa area has had some repercussions in the U.S. administration at a critical period.

While Moscow was lowering world tensions by the new moves proposed by her for "peaceful co-existence," Peiping has stepped up her military pressure tactics in the Formosa area and has broadcast the details of her military tribunals judgment on U.S. "spies" caught in China.

This is interpreted as being conjoint political strategy of the "Moscow-Peiping Axis" by the *New York Times*. The International edition of the same paper contains an editorial, which we reproduce below, which goes to show how these latest display of belligerence on the part of China, is likely to affect President Eisenhower's new programme for financial aid to the deficit countries of South-East Asia, notably India.

"Peiping's latest display of belligerence came at an awkward juncture for the Administration—just as it was engaged in re-thinking its cold war strategy and just as Senator Knowland was sharply and publicly challenging its policies.

"From his statements over recent months it has been evident that the President views the alternative to atom war as 'competitive co-existence,' as a long period of competition between the free and the Communist system for the allegiance of the peoples now uncommitted. In the struggle for Asia, for instance, the President has become convinced that economic weapons are likely to be more powerful than military—a view which has not had too many adherents in his party nor even in his official family, where economic aid and technical assistance for undeveloped countries have been regarded as foreign 'give-away' programs.

"There were indications last week that the President intends to push an economic program for Asia, Joseph M. Dodge, former Budget Director, has been recalled to a temporary assignment as formulator and co-ordinator of policy along this line. And Harold Stassen, Foreign

Operations Director, invited Western European nations to co-operate in a 'broad development program' in Asia.

"Senator Knowland's position is that the Administration is being lulled by the Russian talk of 'peaceful co-existence' which is designed to give them time to establish an 'atomic stalemate.' Meanwhile, he contends, our policy permits them to 'nibble away' at nation after nation. Mr. Knowland wants the Administration to give the Communists sharp warning—pointed up by immediate severance of diplomatic relations with Russia—that the United States will meet any further Communist expansion, either by overt aggression or internal subversion, by bringing 'the body of the octopus under attack.'

"Questioned last week Mr. Knowland's challenge, the President said softly, good-naturedly but firmly that he was entrusted with foreign policy under the Constitution. But yesterday Senator Knowland put the Administration on notice that he was going to press his views in the Senate and country. He called for a Senate decision on the McCarthy censure issued by December 11, saying: 'The developments of the past few weeks require that the Senate give more time to the honor of the country * * * than to this censure issue.'

"In the struggle that is shaping, Senator Knowland will find his strongest allies in the Republican Right Wing, which was formerly the bulwark of isolationism but which now ardently supports an interventionism in Asia—but an interventionism relying on naval and air power and not on ground forces.

"In a coalition of the 'Eisenhower Wing' and the Democrats, the President has sufficient strength to win a battle on the military aspects of his foreign policy. But he is likely to have much rougher going on his economic foreign policy. Large appropriations for economic aid will be necessary, and these will not find ready favor with Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, nor ready acceptance by the 'economy bloc' composed of conservative Southern Democrats and Republicans who are powerful House and Senate Appropriations and Finance Committee members.

"Furthermore, many Democrats feel the President has weakened his policy by defense cuts—particularly in the Army. They are likely to insist on building up strength in ground forces. This would meet with opposition in the Cabinet and among Republicans in Congress."

"Freedom of the Press" in India

The International Edition of the *New York Times* for November 21, contains the following news from Calcutta:

Calcutta, India, Nov. 20—Dr. C. S. Liu, the editor of a local Chinese newspaper with strong Nationalist sympathies, has been ordered deported by the Calcutta police.

Another Chinese has been told by the police to leave

with Dr. Liu. A third has been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act, which is usually involved against persons suspected of subversive activities.

The police are reticent but it is generally accepted that action has been taken against the three men because of their political activities. It is suspected the police acted at the instance of Communist Chinese representatives here.

Sources close to Dr. Liu said to-day he was going to the United States. A native of Canton, he came to Calcutta about nine years ago. Two years ago he was beaten and his printing works wrecked by Communist Chinese.

The Chinese population in Calcutta numbers about 12,000. Most of the Chinese here are tanners, shoemakers and carpenters and come from Kwantung Province, though there are some from Hupeh and Shantung.

Though many have never seen China, they are keenly interested in home politics. During the Chinese-Japanese war they were strong supporters of Chiang Kai-shek. The subsequent spectacular Communist victory made a great impression and aroused hopes of a strong and effective government in China.

Then disillusionment came with the anti-landlord drive in the homeland, in which many relatives of local Chinese suffered, and the money "squeeze" that followed.

There was deep resentment against Chinese intervention in the Korean war and what is described as the 'sacrifice of millions of Chinese lives to further Soviet expansionist aims.'

The most curious aspect of this piece of news is that we have failed to find any mention of it, in any form in the daily press of Calcutta. Either the news is pure fabrication, therefore, or else the Government, which means the police nowadays in West Bengal, have acted with great secrecy. Even the West Bengal Press Advisory Committee has not been informed by the West Bengal Government. The *Time* of New York for November 29, has given the following version:

"NEHRUNIAN FREEDOM"

"Among India's many minorities are its 20,000 Chinese, a mere handful among India's 360 millions. Some of them have been distressed by Nehru's friendly gestures towards Communist China. Four weeks ago Li Wei-ping, a prominent merchant and former president of the Calcutta Chinese Chamber of Commerce, made a speech roundly denouncing Red China's Mao Tse-tung. Dr. C. S. Liu, who edits the Chinese-language daily, *Chinese Journal of India*, reported the speech in his paper. Last week the Indian government jailed Merchant Li without bail under a law called the Preventive Detention Act, and ordered Editor Liu to leave the country by November 30, 'for offending the head of a State with whom India has friendly relations.'

Comments are superfluous, but if the news be true then the government should openly justify this action taken in secret, to the full satisfaction of the public.

Cyprus Flares up as World issue

The *Worldover Press* for October 8, contains the following reports and commentary on a minor world issue, not all publicized for obvious reasons. Cyprus is an obscure spot which has gained tremendously in importance due to the British evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone. It is important to note the stereotyped moves of British Colonialism.

Sometimes when a Cypriot peasant feels aggrieved, he attaches voting rag to a fig tree and drives in a nail to hex his enemy. In a more figurative and more wholesale sense, the Greek people on Cyprus have come to see the British as their foe, and want to put the hex on British rule.

When Britain agreed to withdraw its troops from the Suez Canal, it decided to make Cyprus a somewhat equivalent military base in the Eastern Mediterranean. As a naval base the island is not promising; it has no adequate harbors. But although a big land base on an island is something of an oddity, the British are spending \$57,000,000 on military installations. Worse than this from the Cypriot point of view is the fact that Britain has recently over-ridden with dictatorial regulations the passionate movement of local Greeks for *enosis*, or union with "the mother country." Greece. And when the British refused to negotiate with *enosis* leaders, the latter, through the Greek government, determined—though without much optimism—to throw the entire issue into the United Nations Assembly.

Colonized in the dim past by Greeks and Phoenicians, then coming under the power of Venice, Cyprus in 1571 was brought under the Ottoman Empire, the Turks holding it until 1878, when the British were granted administration. When Turkey backed the German side in World War I, the British annexed the island, in 1914.

The vast majority of the islanders are ethnically Greek. There is a Turkish minority of about 18 per cent, and a few splinter groups of Armenians and others. The Greek population is practically solid for union with Greece. Their agitation for *enosis* has been sharply stepped up during the last two years, and brought to a boiling point by the Suez settlement and its aftermath.

Last summer, the Conservative British Colonial Secretary, Oliver Lyttleton, revived a 19-year-old sedition law which makes it a serious offense to disseminate by writing or by word of mouth anything which urges a change of sovereignty, even in some cases comments in British newspapers critical of London's action. Anyone found guilty may be sent to prison for five years, and his nationality may be taken away. The British deny all appeals for a plebiscite on the question of Greek union. Cyprus is ruled by methods which have scarcely a particle of democracy about them. Early in August, Lyttleton raised a furore on the island and in Greece by an injudicious speech, on the very eve of his resignation, in which he said: "I can imagine no more

disastrous policy for Cyprus than to hand it over to a friendly but unstable power."

French Militarism

The *Worldover Press* for October 8, carries the following piece of historical retrospect, throwing a lurid light on the sordid psychology of Militarism, French, British, German, or whatever you like:

"On the face of it, Brig.-Gen. Christian de Castries, 'the hero of Dienbienphu,' got a raw deal when he was liberated and made a temporary return to Paris. Because he had made the error of stating that the Viet Minh enemy was made up largely of genuine nationalists, and not dominated by Communist China, he was brought to his home capital incognito.

There is a town in Germany's Black Forest, however, which has found it hard to sympathize. Freudenstadt, population about 10,000, has a monument in the wide central square, celebrating the pluck and zeal of the inhabitants, who have built up the center of the town, all spick and span, after the catastrophe of April, 1945. And this is the story vouched for by reliable citizens of Freudenstadt to a *Worldover Press* correspondent.

The French army was nearing Freudenstadt, shelling it with incendiary bombs. The houses began to burn. Over the open radio, the town fathers offered to surrender. When the French troops came in, the commanding officer ordered all Germans off the streets making it impossible for them to save the burning buildings. He then opened the town to his Moroccan soldiers, for looting. On that night, while the houses were still burning down, 600 women were violated and 48 men were slain in an effort to save their womenfolk. The French commander was a Colonel then, by name of Christian de Castries.

In his dispatch, the *WP* correspondent emphasizes the difficulty such experiences create for a West European Federation or for anything like E.D.C. The French fear their sons may be put under some German who won fame through brutal treatment of French civilians, while Germans who oppose union with France cannot forget the Freudenstadts."

Racial Segregation in the U.S.

In May last the Supreme Court of the United States outlawed the vile and inhuman practice of racially degrading the Negroes of America. The U.S. Supreme Court has thus upheld its age-old reputation as an unsullied forum of justice. But how would the White Man of the "South" take it? The following extract from the *Worldover Press* for September 17 gives an illuminating answer:

"Talladega, Alabama (W.P.):—On a northbound train several years ago a white Southern sociologist remarked to a fellow passenger that there was in the North a rising tide against racial segregation. It was a tide comparable in moral force to the anti-slavery move-

ment 100 years ago. With such fervor being directed like gunfire against the South, segregation, he said, could not long endure.

On May 17, 1954, when the nine-man U.S. Supreme Court unanimously outlawed segregation in public schools and in its decision gave greater weight to moral and sociological considerations than to technical legal arguments, a Negro college president promptly declared to reporters: The back of segregation has been broken.

During six weeks of travel in two states of the 'Upper South' and three of the 'Deep South,' this writer has found in educated white and Negro circles a general belief that, like it or not, legalized segregation is doomed. Because of ingenious devices being contrived for the avowed purpose of circumventing the Court's decision, that doom will not be fully sealed for perhaps a generation.

In Orange, Texas, a gang known as the "Moonlighters" has threatened death for "any Negro who tries to go to a white school." In Virginia, a small-town editor of an unimportant weekly is holding out a dream that, after the death or retirement of five or six of the Roosevelt-appointed and Truman-appointed justices, the Court in a few years may reverse itself and legalize segregation once again. In Arkansas, a politician suggested that another McCarthy investigate the Court to determine if the Justices are Communist-infiltrated. In Alabama, a number of Negroes are signing petitions inspired by their white employers, urging that segregation be retained.

But in each of these states impersonal economic, political and cold-war pressures, supplemented by arduous efforts of white and Negro individuals, are at work to expedite compliance with the Court's ruling. In the traditionally Democratic Southern states which in 1952 voted for Eisenhower, largely in the hope of blocking President Truman's civil rights program, the disillusioned voters are now learning, in the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*, that "the same social forces (which caused the Democratic Administration to champion equal opportunity for Negroes) are continuing independent of Mr. Truman, under the republicans.

In this context of political reality, even the Southern politicians whose statements have promised defiance of the Court imply in the same statements that they are fighting a losing battle. Attorney-General Eugene Cook of Georgia has said, for example, that the segregated school system will remain in Georgia "until we are forced to abandon it by legal action applied to every school unit in the state." The equally bitter Governor of Mississippi called a special session of the legislature to pass a proposed amendment to the state constitution allowing public schools to be abolished if necessary to retain segregation. Under this plan some system of "private" schools with state funds would be set up as a last resort.

Legal experts, however, both pro and con segregation, predict that as soon as Negroes challenge this

device, the Court will prohibit the use of public monies to perpetuate in so-called "private" schools the segregation it has outlawed in public schools. One Mississippi legislator cautioned his colleagues not to make their state "the laughing-stock of the world," although there is no doubt they represent the majority sentiment of their constituents.

The "probable certainty" that, despite local opinion, all schools in the South will eventually be mixed does not contravene the validity of several pessimistic statements by liberal organizations, nor does it eliminate the prospect of extra-legal tactics to thwart the Court's decision. In the McCannsville section of Talladega, Alabama, there is a perfect opportunity for Negro parents to petition the federal courts to order prompt integration of the schools. For at the present time, with no school bus provided, Negro children of ages 6-16 must pass several nearer and better-equipped "white" schools as they walk two to three miles from their homes each day to the "Negro" schools in another part of the town. But already an attempt is being made here to intimidate Negro parents by a vague, rumored threat to tear down their homes and to put factories where they have long resided. In Southern cities such as this, almost all Negroes are also dependent on whites for their jobs.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has pointed out further that "unless segregation in housing is broken up, the recent schools decision of the Supreme Court can never be successfully carried out" in many a place. As long as "ghettos" exist, the Negro children in those areas, required by law to attend the schools nearest their homes, will continue to face, as already in the North, "segregation in disguise."

The biggest club of all in the hands of those determined to prolong segregation is the sociological fact that in the South "every white man is a policeman." This writer has heard Negro parents express the very real fear that, if integrated into hostile white schools, their children might be exposed to violence. Somewhat counterbalancing this fear is the realization that the social climate of the South has changed considerably in the past decade and that perpetrators of violence against Negroes are now on the defensive. With the worldwide Communist apparatus prepared overnight to advertise every injustice to Negroes, Southern mobs are rarer and they no longer win the plaudits of local editors or of Southern Senators in Washington. It is known that the Southern offices of the F.B.I. immediately investigate all violent attacks on Negroes, including cases of police brutality, to determine if any federal laws have been violated. In serious cases which the Communists exploit, the State Department dispatches its own investigators.

Besides this international factor which will tend to keep down violence against Negro school children, all Southern officials will feel certain within-the-South pressures to abide peacefully by the high court ruling.

On the future treatment of Negroes the white South is profoundly split—in terms of geography (border states *versus* the deep South); in terms of sex (white women *versus* their generally less liberal menfolk); in terms of the dominant economic institutions (a withering plantation system *versus* rapidly expanding industries); in terms of age (more flexible youth pressing their conservative elders for the right to be brotherly toward Negroes).

Already several of the border states have announced their intent to obey the Court, and the town of Sheridan, Arkansas, by deciding to integrate its schools in September, 1954, cracked the weakening solidarity of the Deep South. A Negro school supervisor in a rural Virginia town told this reporter that during a full two months after the Court's decision not one white *male* associate in or out of the school system was sufficiently recovered from the shock even to mention the issue to him. But a prominent white *woman* in the community had nevertheless praised the Court to him.

In North Carolina I was informed that in some "feudalistic" countries where one white man may own a 5,000-acre plantation with Negro tenants, it will be very difficult psychologically (differences in status being so rigid in closed communities) to integrate white and colored schoolchildren. But in the same state the more far-sighted industrialists, under pressure to develop a mass market for their consumer goods, recognize the need to give Negroes a good education and thereby to increase their purchasing power. Leaders of industry also need trained men of all races to man their ever more complicated machines.

The plus and minus factors—the point and counterpoint—that thus will determine the uneven speed with which the schools will be integrated, are nowhere more visible than in the emotional and intellectual struggles of a number of influential white and colored Southerners who, despising violence, the appeals made by politicians to hatred or evasion, will sway first one way and then the other in an effort to ease the South on to what they consider a middle-of-the-road course toward an inevitable destination. A Negro school principal in Virginia, for instance, said he did not want to see "another Reconstruction period," because he traces the distressed position of Negroes today to the inflamed and self-righteous attitude of Northerners and Southerners after the War Between the States. He wants integrated schools, he says, "but not overnight."

In Mississippi the pro-segregation President of the State Bar Association surprised the public by stating: "Mississippi can't afford to pass laws to outsmart the U.S. Supreme Court.... Let us not sacrifice our own children to prevent an occasional Negro from getting into a school."

In a moderate-sized town in Virginia a white school superintendent told me in private that, like many other educators, he accepts the findings of anthropologists that no race is superior or inferior, and he therefore cannot justify segregation. But Virginia, he pointed out, is

almost completely controlled by one man—the very conservative Democratic Senator, Harry Byrd, who favors segregation. In that context school officials and teachers are not free agents able to expound their views publicly without inhibition. If, as a hired employee of the local school board, he is invited to guide the members along a path toward integration, he will do so. But, he confessed, he is primarily an executor of policy as framed by others, and he does not know what will happen in his country or in Virginia as a whole during the next several years.

As for Negro opinion in the South, the one colored member of the Greensboro, N.C., school board declared Negroes are in a position somewhat comparable to that of the newly freed slaves. Some, fearing insecurity, stayed with "old master"—as many now will want to avoid any risk of their jobs. In Talladega, however, one such Negro mother, after hearing a speaker argue that Negro parents owed it to their children to give them an education in a setting of equality, said: "I guess I'd better not feel as I did any more", and sat down amid applause."

"The Frontiers of Survival"

The International Edition of the *New York Times*, for November 21, carries an editorial with the above caption. We are reproducing it for our readers to show that responsible voices in U.S. are already being raised to sound an alarm, where the portents of the race for atomic weapons are cancelled.

If sanity returns to the jingoes of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. then much good may yet come out of the discoveries in atom fission. As it stands today, it can only be regarded as a curse, the wages of the sins of the power-drunk maniacs of the West.

"The resolution on the peaceful uses of atomic energy which in spite of unexpected delays seems certain to pass in the U.N. General Assembly's Political and Security Committee this week scarcely touches the peril that menaces the human race today. It does nothing directly to abolish or reduce the atomic weapon. Yet any agreement among the nations, and particularly between the Communist and non-Communist nations, that affects the uses of atomic energy contains hope.

"When we consider together these peaceful uses—the cure or prevention of disease, increases in the food supply, the provision of energy to take the great load of toil off men's backs, further additions to knowledge—we are drawing back from that form of mutual suicide that is called war. As President Eisenhower put it when he proposed his plan for U. N. action in this field last December, this country's purpose—and of course the purpose of the plan that came out of the suggestion—is to help us move out of the dark chamber of horrors into the light to find a way by which the minds of men, the hopes of

men, the souls of men everywhere, can move forward toward peace and happiness and well-being."

"The resolution under debate is therefore an appeal for common sense, a drive toward sanity after the atomic madness. It does not, to be sure, confer any powers on anybody. If its provisions are carried out, a scientific conference will be held next summer at which as many phases as possible of the peaceful uses of atomic energy will be discussed. Out of this conference will come some sort of international atomic agency. President Eisenhower assumed that this body would become one of the specialized agencies under the United Nations. The Russians objected to this. They desired that it be put under the Security Council, in which the built-in veto might operate. The acceptable compromise suggestion was that the conference be held but that negotiations on the status of the agency continue. The veto fight is therefore not over.

"Since 1946 the Soviet Government has rejected all atomic control plans under which an international agency would have power and functions inside its boundaries. After all these years of disillusionment such a plan would also doubtless meet opposition in our own country. But it may be that in Russia as here men are beginning to realize that their choice may be between some sacrifice of sovereignty and the complete sacrifice of civilization.

"When we compare this frightful nightmare with the plan contemplated under the current U.N. resolution the disproportion seems lamentable. The United States has allocated 220 pounds of fissionable material for use by other countries for experimental purposes. Britain has allocated 44 pounds. These contributions will accomplish something, but they will not save the world from destruction. What we have to count on to do that is an enlightened spirit of self-preservation in all countries, including those behind the Iron Curtain."

Industrial Credit Corporation

The proposed Industrial Credit and Finance Corporation which is going to be set up in January next will involve issues that call for clarification. The Corporation will be owned solely by private enterprise both Indian and foreign. Its paid-up capital will be Rs. 5 crores, of which Rs. 3.5 crores will be subscribed by Indian nationals—institutions and individuals—and, of the balance, Rs. 1 crore will be subscribed by British investors and Rs. 50 lakhs by US investors. No return on capital is guaranteed and the Corporation will receive a deposit of Rs. 7.5 crores from the Government of India free of interest for 15 years and repayable thereafter in 15 annual instalments. The Corporation has negotiated with the World Bank for a loan of 10 million, roughly Rs. 5 crores, which might be availed of as and when necessary by the Corporation.

The Corporation would take a direct interest in

securing technical know-how for various concerns where necessary and getting experts to examine the concerns which require loans, to give technical help to such concerns both in the managerial and technical aspects of their administration. The Corporation would deal exclusively in the private sector of industry. The Corporation will promote industrial development in the country by granting loans either for establishment of new industries or for expansion or rehabilitation of existing industrial concerns. It might also take shares in some industrial concerns to promote these ventures or underwrite the issue of shares of such concerns. Where the Corporation will take shares or underwrite the issue of shares it will try not to have a controlling interest in the capital structure or the management of the industries concerned.

The Corporation will be in the form of an all-India investment trust which India needs most at the time. Now that the consortium or syndicate of banks and insurance companies in India, as proposed by the Shroff Committee, is perhaps not going to materialise, the I.C. and F.C. will be welcome by the Indian industrialists. But the most controversial issue is whether the British and the US investment in the share capital of the Corporation will be direct or of portfolio type. If it is direct, then there is doubt as to how the workings of the Corporation shall reconcile with the industrial policy of the Government of India, particularly the Industrial Development and Regulation Act. Under this Act, the Government of India has been empowered to take over an industrial concern in the event of its failure to follow the industrial policy of the Government. It is yet to be seen how far the British and American capital with their ideals of private enterprise will submit to the controlled economic structure of India.

To make the Corporation a success the Government of India will of course have to follow a path of least interference and that may involve in sidetracking the Government's industrial policy to a certain extent. The World Bank will also participate in the concern and it inevitably follows that so far as the workings of the Corporation shall concern, the Government of India's hands shall be off as far as practicable. Anyway, the Corporation will be totally a new form of organisation and its activities call for delicate balance and adjustment from all concerned. It will be a great experiment in mixed economy and the general apprehension in India is that it will negative the Government of India's drive towards a socialistic economy in the near future.

The industrial Finance Corporation of India will by implications be relegated to a secondary position in the affairs of promoting new industrial concerns and it is indicative that the new Corporation will mark a departure in the Government's industrial policy—that is, more liberal treatment of private enterprise. Simply speaking, it is a backward step towards liberalism at the cost of socialism.

Blurred Vision

India is a land of diversity and discords, unity being a rare phenomenon. Our thought swings between the opposite extremes and dogmatism liquidates balance. While inaugurating the conference convened by the all-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, on November 17, 1954, Dr. Rajendra Prasad uttered some discordant notes over the process of industrialisation of the country. The President said that in a predominantly agricultural country like India the only result of excessive industrialisation would be more production by fewer men which instead of solving unemployment problem would render it more complicated. The President warned that disappointment was in store for India if it imagined that it could solve this problem through industrialisation. Although the country had advanced sufficiently on the road to industrialisation, the incidence of unemployment instead of going down appeared to have gone up. The President said that when the problem of unemployment threatened to assume alarming proportions, nothing could be of greater advantage to the nation than an avenue which promised employment. He hoped that keeping in view the fact that village industries were the biggest source of employment, Government would do all that was possible to encourage them.

India today suffers not from excessive industrialisation, but from lack of industrialisation. Therefore, for rising unemployment the slow pace of industrialisation is responsible. The relative backwardness of industrial development in India may be judged from the fact that in 1948-49 factory establishments accounted for only 6.6 per cent of total national income. The total labour force engaged in such establishments is about 2.4 million or 1.8 per cent of the working population in the country. While in the aggregate India's industrial output may look massive, per head of population it is very much lower than the industrial output in advanced countries.

The backwardness of the Indian economy is reflected in its unbalanced occupational structure. About 68 per cent of the working population is engaged in agriculture, about 14 per cent in industry (large and small scale), some 8 per cent in trade and transport and the remaining 10 per cent in professions and services including domestic service. The Planning Commission holds the view that productivity per worker in organised industry, commerce and transport is about three times that in agriculture, but this sector of the economy has not been expanding rapidly enough to absorb the surplus population on land. The large-scale underemployment in the rural areas which these conditions have given rise to constitute a big economic and social problem. A change in the occupational pattern in the direction of greater employment in the industrial sector and in services is clearly necessary if the associated phenomena of mass poverty and unemployment are to be tackled effectively.

Employment by itself is not enough unless the employment is secured through maximum productivity

which is socially useful and necessary. In the medieval ages, village communities were fully employed working with primitive implements. But the living standards in India were much too low because the productivity was low. Higher productivity means higher standard of living and opening up of new employment opportunities.

The central objective of planning is to create conditions in which living standards are reasonably high and all citizens, men and women, have full and equal opportunity for growth and service. The drawback of the Indian Economic Plan is that it has ignored to step up the establishment of heavy industries which would have solved the unemployment problem to a great extent. Russia ever since the inception of its economic planning has directed its attention and energy mainly towards establishing capital goods industries, and it has not frittered away its resources and energy in the production of consumer goods. The consumer goods can be imported against the export of capital goods the production of which raises a country's industrial potentiality and provides larger employment opportunities.

Cottage industries in India has no doubt an important role to play in the economic reorientation of India—but its importance is essentially subsidiary and complementary. To call a halt to the pace of industrialisation by diverting and pinning down resources in the cottage industries will be a retrograde step—it will not solve the unemployment problem, it will create unemployment. In the name of developing cottage industries, there is the risk of creating or perpetuating pseudo-employment, which might result in a rise in money incomes without a corresponding increase in the supply of the goods needed for sustaining the newly employed. The problem cannot be solved satisfactorily without a substantial increase in the productive equipment of the community, which, in turn, means more investment. While planning for fuller employment, it is also necessary to keep in mind the distinction between a pattern of employment which can be sustained after the development process has gone some way and a pattern that has to serve for the transitional stage. Rigidity of the occupational pattern is incompatible with rapid economic development. Too much development in cottage industries will discourage rather than encourage the mobility of labour, geographical and occupational.

Financing of the First Five-Year Plan

In the three years ending March 1954, Central and State Governments are estimated to have spent about Rs. 885 crores, of which the Centre's share of expenditure amounts to nearly Rs. 444.9 crores. Over the three years, expenditure on the Plan works out at about 40 per cent of the total outlay proposed for the five-year period. The Plan started in a low gear. The expenditure levels for 1951-52 followed closely the budget allocations for that year, which were finalised before the Plan was published. In 1952-53, there was only a small stepping up of expenditures. These lags in expenditure are

attributable in part to the late finalisation of the Plan, in part to the late commencement of some of the schemes, and in part to what might be called insufficient working out of the schemes in advance. In some cases the lack of availability of certain types of equipment, shortages of technical personnel and the time needed for setting up the necessary administrative machinery have prevented more rapid progress.

The major items on which expenditure is markedly behind the schedule are—Community Projects, Railways, Industries, Education, Housing and Rehabilitation. In some sectors, progress of expenditure as well as of actual work has been more or less up to schedule. Thus, expenditure on irrigation and power schemes, for example, has been Rs. 300 crores in the first three years as compared to the five-year estimate of Rs. 617 crores. If the budgeted expenditure of Rs. 168 crores this year materialises fully, the balance to be spent in 1955-56 will be about Rs. 150 crores. The programme of tube-wells which came into operation after some initial delay has picked up satisfactorily. The expenditure on industry has been remarkably low during the period 1951-54. Only a sum of Rs. 34.2 crores has been spent on it as against the estimated expenditure of Rs. 178.1 crores during the Plan period, that is only 19 per cent of the estimated expenditure has so far been spent. Of the estimated expenditure under the Plan, only 29 per cent has been spent on Agriculture and Community Development, 49 per cent on Irrigation and Power, 42 per cent on Transport and Communications, 41 per cent on social services and 36 per cent on others.

Of the total outlay incurred so far a little over 60 per cent has been financed from normal budgetary resources representing savings from current revenues, surpluses of Government-owned enterprises, loans, small savings and miscellaneous capital receipts. About 15 per cent of the total outlay has been financed from external assistance, and the rest, that is, a little under 25 per cent, represents financing through drawing down of cash balances, sales of securities held in reserve and short-term borrowing. Even if, as has happened, these last-mentioned modes of financing have not led to recrudescence of inflationary pressures, they are not a dependable source which can be counted upon in the future. There is clear need, therefore, for measures to strengthen normal budgetary resources.

While the contribution of revenue surpluses and profits from commercial enterprises has turned out to be smaller than was expected, the receipts from loans and small savings seem likely to turn out to be larger. In other words, one may reasonably expect that the public at large will, over the whole five-year period, make available to Government by way of loans at least part of what the latter did not find it possible to raise through taxation or surplus earnings on commercial enterprises.

Budgetary resources for the Centre and the States worked out at Rs. 535 crores in the first three years as

against the five year estimated total of Rs. 1258 crores. Under public savings from current revenues, there is, obviously, a large shortfall in the States, which found from this source Rs. 160 crores in the first three years as against the five-year target of Rs. 408 crores. At the centre on the other hand, the five-year target of Rs. 160 crores was reached in three years' time, and if one were to assume that this rate will be maintained in the two remaining years, the total under this head available for the Plan period would work out at Rs. 268 crores, which would be highly satisfactory.

The surpluses from Railways have fallen below expectations. This shortfall was due partly to a decline of Rs. 20 crores annually in receipts and partly to an increase in staff expenses. Thus, while in 1951-52, the surpluses of the railways were Rs. 38 crores, they declined to Rs. 23 crores and Rs. 14 crores respectively in the two subsequent years. On small savings and other unfunded debt, the receipts so far work out to an annual rate of Rs. 50 crores as against the target of Rs. 54 crores assumed in the Plan. The small savings movement has been considerably intensified in these years, and there is every hope that they will contribute over the five-year period up to the total envisaged under this head in the Plan.

It was assumed that for financing the outlay of Rs. 2,069 crores under the Plan, the Central and State Governments would find about Rs. 1,258 crores from their budgetary resources. After accounting for deficit financing of Rs. 290 crores against releases of sterling balances, the net gap in resources to be covered by external assistance, additional borrowing and/or additional deficit financing was estimated at Rs. 521 crores. As a result of recent adjustments and addition as in the size of the Plan, this gap has increased to Rs. 701 crores. As against this, authorisations of external assistance over the period April 1951-June 1954, together with the undrawn portion of the loan sanctioned by the International Bank during the pre-Plan period, amount to Rs. 234 crores. Of this, Rs. 18 crores were authorised during April-June, 1954. Utilisations during 1951-54 amounted to about Rs. 132 crores. For the current year, the budget takes credit for Rs. 48 crores by way of external assistance. The following table sets out briefly the extent of assistance authorised by various countries and agencies and the utilisation during the first three years of the Plan:

	(Rs. crores)	
	Authorised	1951-54 Total
Loans:		
US Government (Wheat loan)	94.4	90.2
International Bank:		
Undrawn balances of loans		
extended in the pre-Plan		
period	7.1	5.5
Steel Project loan (December, 1952)	15.0	
Loans for Damodar Valley		
Project (Jan, 1953)	5.0	
Total loans	117.5	95.7

	(Rs. crores)	
	Authorised 1951-54	Total
Grants :		
US Government (Technical Co-operative Assistance) ..	81.6	21.1
Grants under Colombo Plan :		
From Canada	26.4	9.2
„ Australia	5.7	4.1
„ New Zealand	0.3	0.3
„ Ford Foundation	2.4	1.5
Norwegian Government	0.3	
Total Grants ..	116.7	36.2
Total Loans and Grants ..	234.2	131.9

The slow utilisation of external assistance during 1951-54 is accounted for by several factors. To begin with, considerable delays were involved in formulation of programmes and in notification of authorisations. For schemes selected in the earlier stages, equipment of a complex nature was required and that was not readily available. As a result, authorisations made were not utilised in the same year. In addition, there were administrative difficulties involved in procuring materials from contributing countries. Taking into account the external assistance utilised so far and the amount budgeted this year, the balance left over for the fifth year of the Plan will be about Rs. 54 crores.

On recent estimates, the aggregate shortfall in expenditure over the whole Plan, Central and State, would be about 12½ to 15 per cent. The deficit anticipated when the first Plan was prepared was Rs. 811 crores. This has increased by about Rs. 400 crores made up as follows: Rs. 220 crores by which the size of the Plan has been increased and Rs. 180 crores by which resources have fallen short of the target. The total deficit will thus be Rs. 1,200 crores in a total Plan of Rs. 2,290 crores. Against this, India will receive foreign aid of Rs. 228 crores. This leaves an uncovered deficit of Rs. 975 crores. India shall have to draw on her sterling balances to the extent of Rs. 290 crores.

How Far Socialism?

Pandit Nehru in his address to the National Development Council on 9th November last is reported to have stated: "The picture I have in mind is definitely and absolutely a socialistic picture of society . . . A system based on what is called the acquisitiveness of society is absolutely out of date; in modern thinking, it is also considered immoral. I consider it immoral, that is, basing your society purely on acquisitive instinct." This observation has again raised great apprehension in the minds of the business community in this country and it has been utilised to provide a bearish twist to the share markets. Then what is the real implication of this observation by the Prime Minister of India? Is India determined to adopt a purely socialistic system of econo-

mic structure? Is it a departure from the stand he took on private enterprise at the last annual meeting of the Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industry and at the Ajmer session of the A.I.C.C. in July last? Definitely not. Although the Prime Minister condemns the acquisitive instinct as immoral, he admits the usefulness of private enterprise in the present pattern of Indian economy. He said, "That does not mean that we are doing away with private enterprise. I think there is much scope for it, and where you allow private enterprise, you should give scope, freedom and encouragement to it to develop, but we must realise that the day of the acquisitive element in society has not passed but is passing." He says that undoubtedly the private enterprise is useful so far as our country is concerned; he wishes to encourage it but warns at the same time that the dominance which private enterprise had throughout the world during a certain period is no more.

The truth of the statement is obvious. India is not definitely a socialistic country and the State ownership of several public utility services and a number of industries does not amount to socialism in the true sense of the term.

Moreover, these statements are mere wishful thinking without any sanction for their materialisation. They are the less said, the better. India has been going abegging with a beggar's bowl for foreign capital and raking heaven and hell for securing its inflow. But such statements of rosy idealism have prevented the inflow of foreign capital to the desired extent. Because the sources from which foreign capital would come are definitely capitalistic and not socialistic. The main drawback to the introduction of full socialism in the country is that the central cabinet is not a homogeneous body in its political ideologies. There are a few influential personages who have grown up politically in the bureaucratic tradition of private capitalistic enterprise and the idea of socialism is just a closed book to them.

Sugar Profits

The extent of profit earned by the Sugar factories in India may be gauged from the fact that the Mysore Sugar Co. Ltd., which made a net loss of 15,00,759 for the year to June, 1954, has declared a dividend at the rate of 20 per cent per share.

The company had made a profit of Rs. 17,73,396 in the previous year. The loss this year was because the sugar factory remained idle nearly throughout the year. The directors reportedly anticipated the loss and Rs. 21,64,836 had been carried forward from the accounts of the previous year. Therefore the company showed a surplus of Rs. 6,64,077 despite the loss. Dividends would absorb Rs. 4,35,856 and a balance of Rs. 2,28,221 would go forward, says a report in the *Bombay Chronicle* on Nov. 24.

Future of Atomic Energy In India.

The November issue of *Science and Culture* devotes its leader to an examination of the progress in the development of atomic energy in India and its future prospects.

Commending the views expressed by Professor Meghnad Saha before a distinguished gathering of Parliamentarians and Ministers of the Government of India, presided over by the Prime Minister, the periodical points to the fact that the importance of atomic energy research did not lie in development of atomic missiles or the hydrogen bomb, "but in the promise which it holds out for meeting the 'Energy Famine' which exists in many countries of the world, or the insatiable Energy Hunger which some highly industrialised countries have developed."

The journal refers to the fact that no other source than atomic energy could take the place of coal, which had so far been providing nearly 90% of the bulk of industrial power supply of the World and cites the example of the leading nations of the world who had accepted the position that nuclear energy alone could meet the impending 'Energy Famine' of the energy-starved areas of the world (to which belonged India) and of the Energy Hunger of highly industrialized countries of the world (U.S.A. and U.K. in particular).

India's efforts in this regard, the journal notes, had not been to the extent desired. Though India's total coal reserve was only 60 billion tons, of which only ½ was economically exploitable against China's 1500 billion tons, the Government of India had not made any serious attempt either at developing atomic energy or at a rapid industrialisation of the country. The impressive effort made by the neighbouring Government of the People's Republic of China presented a marked contrast. The composition of the reconstituted Chinese Government, in which of the 36 Ministries, 22 were devoted to economic reconstruction, 9 to industries, 2 to over-all planning, showed the seriousness with which the Chinese were tackling the problem of industrialisation. The journal does not conceal its criticism of the Government of India's attitude and says that "so long our Government has only been playing with these two vital items of national development."

The Government of India had appointed in 1948 an Atomic Energy Commission, with the objectives:

- "(a) To survey the country for raw materials.
- "(b) To take steps to develop these materials industrially.
- "(c) To set up a nuclear reactor [Atomic Furnace—Ed. M.R.] within 5 years.
- "(d) To promote fundamental research in laboratories."

Referring to the Indian Prime Minister's admission that the Commission had failed to achieve its objective of setting up an Atomic Furnace (Reactor

or Pile) within 1953 the journal notes that apparently "the Government has either been not serious in its intentions or has not been properly advised."

In its opinion one of the major defects of the Constitution of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission was the fact that none of the Commission's members had been whole-time men though in every other leading country, which had taken seriously to atomic energy, the chief men entrusted with the work were whole-time workers.

Another defect, according to the journal, had been the excessive insistence on secrecy. The Indian Atomic Energy Commission did not publish any budget or account of its activities and had not hitherto invited the co-operation of the general body of Indian scientists for that great work. "Attention has been drawn to the sterilizing influence of secrecy, but though some explanations have been given, we are not at all convinced of the soundness of these arguments. We think that there should be complete disavowal of secrecy as in France," the editorial runs.

The structure of Atomic Energy Organisation in every country was now taking a definite pattern with the Prime Minister or the President whoever really administered the country at the head of the organisation. In this respect the suggestion made by Prof. Saha, in the speech already referred to, has been recommended by *Science and Culture*.

In that speech Prof. Saha said that the Prime Minister at the head of the Atomic Energy Organisation in India should be helped by a high power Committee consisting of ministers, scientists and technicians to advise him in laying down the policy and to review the work done and sanction the budget. The actual work of administration should be entrusted to an Atomic Energy Commissariat which should have administrative experience, scientific and technical knowledge, and knowledge of financial administration; and its members should be whole-time workers. The scientific and technical work was to be entrusted to a number of directorates, viz., of Prospecting, Procurement and Processing. There should in addition be a Board of Nuclear Studies and Research to interest universities and laboratories in the work connected with nuclear energy development and fundamental research in nuclear sciences and so on.

It is further pointed out that the Government of India had not as yet seen its way to establish any Atomic Energy laboratory which had become the most important unit in the development of atomic energy in every country. Three examples—British, American and French—were before the Government of India in this respect. India might profit from U.S. assistance after the recent amendment of the MacMahon Act of 1947 in the USA.

"But," the journal strikes a warning, "India should not allow herself to be dependent on the USA or any foreign power for the development of atomic

energy within her territories. *She must aim like France, on Atomic Autonomy* (original italics). For this purpose, a Central Atomic Energy Laboratory is needed whose aim should be:

"(a) To organize prospecting work for Uranium and Thorium on a much vaster scale than has so far been done;

"(b) To process the ores to metal, and process Graphite and other moderators [to be used in the Atomic Furnace—Ed. M.R.];

"(c) To build Reactors out of Indian materials and carry out researches on Economic Power Reactor Development; and

"(d) To organize a Central Science for Atomic Energy work in the country.

"Fundamental research may be left to the existing institutions but all of them should be organized in a well-knit, purposeful groups."

In conclusion the Government is reminded of the importance of the selection of a proper site and of the right type of administrative machinery to carry the project to fruition.

Middle Class Housing

The Government of India is understood to have approved a scheme for providing loans for low income housing and facilities to acquire and develop land for that purpose. The Scheme envisaged granting of loans by the Centre to the State Governments at an interest of 4½ per cent recoverable in thirty annual instalments. The State Governments in turn would loan that amount against suitable securities to individuals, co-operative housing societies and housing finance corporations for building residential houses. The assistance thus provided would not exceed eighty per cent of the total cost of the house including the price of land, subject to a maximum of Rs. 8000 per house. The applicants under the scheme would therefore have to raise on their own at least twenty per cent of the estimated price of the house and land. Only persons with an annual income of less than Rs. 6000 would be eligible under the scheme. The Scheme, formulated by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, would shortly be forwarded to the State Government for implementation, reports *PTI*.

The Uttar Pradesh Government is also reported to have decided on a scheme for providing housing for middle classes. According to an article in the *People* November 13, by "Observer," the State Government had decided to spend twentyfive lacs of rupees for providing residential accommodation to three hundred middle class families in eight towns in the State. There would be four different types of houses, A,B,C and D, costing Rs. 19,000, Rs. 10,000, Rs. 7,500, and Rs. 4,000 each respectively. Lucknow would have 100, Kanpur 40, Agra 30, Allahabad 30, Meerut 30, Benares 30, Dehradun 50, Bareilly 15.

The Government efforts for housing projects, the

writer points out, was very inadequate compared with the needs. But as a step in the right direction it was nonetheless welcome. In the five towns (Kanpur, Agra, Allahabad, Benares and Lucknow) the number of minimum residential units needed was 106,844 and "it is easy to imagine how the 300 houses that the government proposes to construct will in any way meet the demands," writes Observer.

Various suggestions are said to have been presented before the Housing Committee constituted by the Government of Uttar Pradesh regarding the machinery for the implementation of the housing scheme. In general, everybody agreed that the Government alone could solve the problem. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies had suggested that all the existing housing co-operative societies should be amalgamated and construction should be done by that body.

The State Government is also reported to have come round to a suggestion for setting up a Housing Corporation—to be composed of legislators and technical experts. "The question was discussed whether a type of insurance scheme may be launched for purposes of making people own their own houses at a later stage. This proposal seems to have been ruled out on the ground that technical difficulties may arise and lack of precedent for it may create complication in successfully working out the scheme," the writer adds.

Commenting on the Central Government Scheme of assistance to State Governments to help middle class people build their own houses, the *Hindustan* in a leader on November 18, urges the State Government to give a more serious and earnest consideration to the Central offer than they had accorded to a similar offer regarding industrial housing. The newspaper writes: "We are emphasising this point because in the case of the subsidised housing scheme for industrial workers, where the Centre offered to the States 50 per cent of the total cost as subsidy and the balance as 25-year loans, the State Governments were very apathetic. In fact, last year the Union Housing Minister had to issue a special appeal to the State Governments to utilise the Centre's allocation for this purpose."

The real trouble, in our own opinion, originates from the party-conscious mentality of our governments. India is supposed to be an "Welfare State," as is loudly proclaimed by our Prime Minister on all occasions. But in reality, the welfare schemes do not extend beyond the immediate purview of officialdom and the political satellites of the ministries.

All housing and land schemes will therefore remain futile until such time as we have all become politically conscious of our rights. In these last seven years we have only considered our own particular needs individually and never attempted to place demands communitywise. If this attitude remains then all these schemes will merely benefit officialdom and political Yes-men, and the Man-in-the-street will

remain where he was, without assured shelter and assured health services.

Until the old-guards of all our political parties die off or are eliminated by the influence of new-blood, such schemes will only go to enrich the contractors and the real-estate gamblers.

Pattern of Unemployment in India

Sri Prabhat Chandra examines the pattern of unemployment in India in an article in the *People* on October 30: "Unemployment, or involuntary idleness on the part of a section of the population, arose 'not only from ineffective demand but shortage of capital, comparative immobility of labour, change in industrial organisation, method and technique of cultivation, decline in cultivated land per capita. The present educational system are (*sic.*) also responsible for it."

Sri Chandra puts the unemployed in India in three categories: Rural (Agricultural); Industrial (Non-agricultural) and Educated.

Unemployment in agricultural population was of three types: Seasonal unemployment, Underemployment and Disguised unemployment.

Seasonal unemployment was there because in our country agriculture was a part-time occupation which could not keep the cultivators engaged throughout the year. Agricultural population remained idle for a large part of the year from one season to another as a result of the traditional method of farming.

Underemployment arose from excess of agricultural labour in relation to cultivated land. The increase in cultivated land in our country could not keep pace with the growing population. "And therefore," the writer points out, "cultivated land per capita has been declining for the last twenty years. In 1931, the area of cultivated land was 104 cents, in 1941, it was 93 cents and in 1951 it was 81 cents only. Thus there has been an excess of agricultural labour in relation to the area of cultivated land. Consequently work done by agricultural labour is below its capacity." And underemployment was the result.

Disguised unemployment existed because of the decline of cottage and village industries due to competition with manufactured goods.

Quoting the 1951 Census figures, the writer shows that while non-agricultural population had been increasing at the rate of 14.7 lakhs per year, factory employment had increased by 261 thousands "since the last five years," at an average rate of 56 thousands per year. Thus the rate of employment had failed to correspond with the rate of increase of non-agricultural population resulting in a rapid rise in industrial unemployment.

Paradoxically though, industrial production had increased much over that of 1946—by 45.8 per cent in 1948. But the increase in production had not been

due to any new investment but almost exclusively to the utilization of the full capacities of the existing factories.

Regarding the contribution of the educational system to the growth of unemployment in India, Sri Chandra quotes an estimate of the *Eastern Economist* to show that about half of the three lakh or so students passing out of the secondary schools every year joined the Universities. The rest and many others who did not succeed in Matriculation examination swelled the ranks of the unemployed. Another half a lakh appeared to stop education in the Intermediate class every year. In addition there were 19,000 graduates of various kinds but nearly two-thirds belonged to the general category of graduates in arts and science who often competed for clerical jobs. "On an optimistic estimate the present rate of absorption may be placed at only half of 25 lakhs of educated men joining the ranks of those seeking the employment each year," the estimate said.

The writer also refers to an *ad hoc* enquiry held in 1952 by the Director-General of Resettlement and Employment which had revealed that in case of technical jobs applications awaiting jobs had been eight times the number of vacancies notified against which for the clerical jobs those had been roughly 25 times the vacancies notified.

Tertiary unemployment, resulted from limited employment in agricultural and industrial sectors and also from acute unemployment in the middle class consisting of unemployed educated youths. About 18 per cent of the working population, according to Sri Chandra, was engaged in tertiary occupations.

Congress Legislator's Party Dues

A message from the Indore Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*, published in the November 24 issue of the newspaper, says that the Madhya Bharat Congress was worried about non-payment of the fixed contributions by Congress M.L.A.'s and M.P.'s to the party. A sum of Rs. 3000 was outstanding from state legislators and Rs. 4000 from M.P.'s among whom Dr. Katju owed Rs. 2000.

Bombay Government Prizes

Mr. Homi J. H. Taleyarkhan, Secretary of the Congress Legislative Party in Bombay, disclosed in the course of a speech at a symposium on "Books and the Reading Public in India To-day" at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan on November 22, that the Bombay Government was considering a scheme of awarding prizes worth a lac of rupees to encourage authors in the regional languages, the *Bombay Chronicle* reports on November 24.

He reportedly suggested the compilation of a critical anthology containing summaries of well-known Indian works to cultivate better taste in the reading public.

Sri H. V. Divetia, Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat

University, who presided over the symposium, said that the Government should take the initiative and encourage authors and publishers to bring out good books at a price within the reach of the common man.

Unfortunately, Sri Divetia said, English was going to lose much of its familiarity with a large number of Indians in the near future. That was why authors should take to writing and publishing in the national and regional languages.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand said that Government should launch a vast literacy drive and overhaul the education system to create a larger reading public. He added that the Second Five-Year Plan must give impetus to new literature and counter the bad influence of "horror, squalor and evasion type of foreign films." (*Bambay Chronicle*).

Disarmament

The United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution sponsored by the U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., France and Canada recommending that the Disarmament Commission should reconvene its sub-committees, composed of the above five Powers, which had met in London last summer. The next step would be for Disarmament Commission to meet to take action on the Assembly's resolution.

According to a report of the *British Information Services*, London observers considered the resolution as strictly procedural without conveying any message of policy. But, it was added the debate in the Political Committee of the General Assembly had clearly indicated the relative positions of the U.S.S.R. and of the four western members of the Disarmament Commission sub-committee, the latter being based on the Anglo-French proposals and the U.S. paper on the functions and powers of the proposed control organ, both submitted during the London meeting.

The news agency summarises the attitudes of the Soviet Union and the Western Powers in the following manner:

1. Ban on the use of nuclear weapon:

The Soviet Union had dropped its insistence upon an immediate ban, unconditional and unsupervised, on nuclear weapons in advance of consideration of any other proposals. Without expressly accepting the Anglo-French proposal that, as an immediate step, the Five Powers, and subsequently all signatories to the proposed disarmament treaty, should reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to use nuclear weapons except in defence against aggression, the Soviet Union suggested that the proposal should be studied.

2. Phasing of disarmament programme:

The Anglo-French proposals envisaged that the control organ would decide when each successive phase of disarmament should begin. The Soviet Union proposed to fix a time limit for each phase, and that the next phase should automatically start thereafter. The Soviet Union now accepted the schedule of phasing put forward in the Anglo-French proposals but disagreed on the

timing of the second phase. The Anglo-French proposal was that, in the second phase, total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons should follow completion of the agreed reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. The Soviet Union appeared to favour compulsory prohibition from the outset of the second phase, and elimination to proceed throughout the second phase.

3. Control and enforcement:

The guiding principle of the U.S. paper was that control organ's power should increase *pari passu* with the execution of phased disarmament. The Soviet Union rejected the U.S. paper and wanted two control organs: the first would be temporary and would supervise the first phase; the second would be permanent and supervise the second phase. While the Soviet Union now agreed that agreement of the functions and powers of the control organ should precede the commencement of the disarmament programme, it did not accept the Western proposal that the representatives of the control organ should be stationed on the spot in the various countries and ready to function before the process of disarming begins. The Soviet Union suggested the consideration of the question later on.

The Western Powers held that the control organ should be adequately empowered to carry out inspection anywhere in the world. The Soviet Union accepted the principle that supervision must be adequate to ensure detection, but offered no powers of inspection for its temporary control organ, and did not make it clear whether the permanent control organ would have ubiquitous powers of inspection.

The Western Powers and the Soviet Union differed on the question of the measures which the control organ could take to enforce compliance with the disarmament treaty. The Western view was that in certain cases which could not be held to constitute threats to peace, the control organ could itself apply enforcement measures without reference to the Security Council where the veto could be applied. The Soviet Union wanted all enforcement measures to be sanctions imposed by the Security Council.

4. Reduction of Armed Forces:

Another point of difference between the Soviet and Western standpoints concerned the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces. The Western Powers proposed balanced reductions, on a sliding scale, according to relative positions in different countries. The Soviet Union insisted on proportional reductions of armaments of different countries.

Atoms for Peace Plan

The United Nations Political Committee on November 23, unanimously approved a resolution—jointly sponsored by the seven Western "nuclear" Powers, Britain, the U.S.A., France, Canada, Australia, South Africa and Belgium—envisaging a concrete plan for world co-operation to develop the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

It was the second unanimous vote in the 60-nation Political Committee during the current session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. A few weeks earlier there had been unanimity on a call for renewed private five-Power talks on disarmament.

The Soviet Union voted for the resolution after her two amendments had been defeated.

The Plan would now go to the General Assembly for final disposal. It grew out of President Eisenhower's proposals in his address to the General Assembly in December, 1953.

The resolution called for:

(1) Establishment "without delay" of an international agency for exchange of nuclear materials and information for peaceful purposes; (b) Linking of the agency with the United Nations through "an appropriate form of agreement"—the details still to be decided—which would prevent the Security Council veto from affecting operations of the agency; (c) Collection of contributions to the project. (Up to November 23 four nations—India, U.K., U.S.A. and Peru had offered fissionable materials to the agency); (d) Summoning of an International Technical Conference by August, 1955. All U.N. members and non-members associated with the specialized Agencies—84 nations in all—would be eligible to participate in the conference.

An advisory committee was set up by the resolution, comprising representatives of India, Brazil, Canada, France, the Soviet Union, Britain and the U.S.A. to issue invitations to the Conference, to prepare and circulate a detailed agenda and to provide the necessary staff and services.

Prof. Einstein and U.S. Democracy

The increasing difficulties scientists in U.S.A. have to face in their pursuit of independent research have been poignantly revealed by Prof. Albert Einstein, the great scientist, who said the other day that if he had his life over again he would not try to be a scientist, scholar or teacher. "I would rather choose to be a pedlar or plumber in the hope of finding the modest degree of independence still available in the U.S.," he added.

Prof. Einstein migrated to the U.S.A. about twenty years ago leaving Germany when the Nazis under Hitler came to power in that country. Prof. Einstein has since acquired U.S. citizenship.

The public disgrace of Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, the noted American atomic Scientist by the U.S. Government for his alleged political association in the remote past evoked strong protests in U.S. scientific circles. Prof. Einstein's statement has been interpreted as an indirect denunciation of the U.S. Government's action.

U.S. Elections

The Constitution of the United States of America provides for election of members of the House of

Representatives every two years. Though the members of the U.S. Senate are more fortunate in that respect as they have to face the electorate only once in six years, it is provided that one-third their number should come up for election every two years. The biennial elections held accordingly this November have resulted in a majority for the Democratic Party in both Houses of the United States Congress with a Republican President at the head of the Administration. Here are some interesting facts about this year's elections.

Analysing the incomplete returns Mr. Leon Egan writes in the *New York Times*, International Edition, November 7, "It now appears that the total vote in Tuesday's (Nov. 2) mid-term elections was somewhat less than had been expected. Recent trends had made a turn-out of 45,000,000 citizens seem probable. The actual number now appears to have been about 42,000,000," which approximated the number of votes in 1950, the last time mid-term elections had been held. But this represented a sharp fall from the votes cast in 1952, when the Presidential elections had been held.

"Assuming a total vote this year of 42,300,000," writes Mr. Egan, "this would represent a decline in the nation as a whole of 31 per cent from the vote cast for President in 1952 . . ."

The decline from 1952 was particularly steep in the New York State. There was a sharp drop in the number of persons who registered in cities, particularly in the City of New York, where the registration had declined by 346,000—a decline of 34 per cent compared with 1952. In the rest of the State the decline averaged 25 per cent.

"In many other States, the internal pattern of voting was much the same as New York's. The biggest drop in turn-out was in the largest cities with a smaller decline in smaller cities and an even smaller decline in the suburban and rural areas," adds Mr. Egan.

Another remarkable feature of this year's mid-term elections, according to the writer, was the number of extremely close votes for major offices. "While the issues and factors responsible for this closeness differed in each case, the multiplicity of such contests suggested a 'middle way' in American politics."

"In the majority of instances, the closest races involved moderates of both parties. Many of the Democratic candidates took a position to the right of the more ardent New Dealers. Many of the Republicans made their stand to the left of traditional party policy," Mr. Egan writes.

In Asia, the repercussion of this change in party strength may be felt in a new orientation of the policy so far followed under Eisenhower. It is rumoured that the U.S. President may now make his own opinion more clearly felt in this matter.

British Atrocities in Kenya

In an article in the *Vigil* on November 20, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Labour Member of the British Parliament, presents a picture of the British administration in Kenya at which every human being with a soul within him would shudder in horrified disgust.

The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox Boyd, had stated in reply to a question in Parliament, Mr. Brockway reports, that up to September 25, 1954, 6608 "Mau Mau fighters" had been killed. The number killed among the Security Forces in actual fighting had been 476 whilst 1,234 Africans, 25 Europeans and 18 Asians had reportedly been murdered.

The number of Africans detained at the end of September had been 48,022. "Up to October 1st, 686 Africans had been executed. Less than one-half of these, 245, were found guilty of murder. A large number, 258, were sentenced to death for being in possession of arms and ammunition, and 145 for 'consorting with terrorists'."

Mr. Brockway writes that the great uneasiness expressed by the press and public in Great Britain over the executions might induce Mr. Lennox Boyd to report some modification soon, "but the effort of hanging people in cold blood will remain."

"Another appalling fact which Mr. Lennox Boyd has acknowledged is that during last year 1145 persons were sentenced by the courts in Kenya to be flogged. This is by no means the total. The 48,000 detainees and prisoners may be flogged without any court decision. The 'Officer in Charge' may order detainees to be given twelve strokes for 41 different offences."

As might be expected under such circumstances the situation in Kenya was getting worse day by day and, as usual the new Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox Boyd, had proved himself to be "still more of an imperialist" than his predecessor, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, belying all hopes of a change for the better.

Feeling that they were on top of the military situation and "that Mau Mau can be shot out and starved out," the Kenya Government with the approval of the Colonial office, had adopted a harsher policy and had withdrawn the offer of no death penalty for those who laid down their arms. That offer had been part of the terms of the negotiations started last April by Mr. Lyttleton through "General China" with the Mau Mau leaders to bring about an end to the fighting.

"That negotiation very nearly reached success, 1,000 Mau Mau adherents adhered together to lay down their arms. Then firing began from the Kenya Government forces within earshot, and the Mau Mau adherents, thinking they had been trapped, dispersed, writes Mr. Brockway.

On top of all this the revocation of the offer of no death penalty, notes Mr. Brockway, had blocked

the way of any settlement, removing the only alternative to fighting before the Mau Mau leaders, who, according to a report of the Kenya War Council, were "determined in the absence of any alternative to continue fighting."

Science in U.S.A. and USSR.

Mr. Benjamin Fine, in an article in the *New York Times*, International Edition, elaborately deals with the progress of scientific and technical education in the Soviet Union and the Western Democracies over the recent years and writes: "The free world is in danger of losing the important technological race for trained scientists, engineers and technicians."

There was a great shortage of scientists, science teachers in the USA and UK. Despite the urgent need for additional engineers and other technically trained personnel, in USA the supply had gone down in the last four years. In 1950 the peak had been reached when the colleges in USA had graduated 50,000 engineers. This had dropped each year since then, going to a low of 20,000 last June. Many high schools reported that fewer students were taking science course than ever before.

"In the last four years," Mr. Fine writes, "the number of college graduates trained for high school teaching of science has fallen 56 per cent. The United States is not training enough high school teachers of mathematics, science or physics to meet the needs of an expanding secondary enrolment."

In England, according to the writer, there was a shortage, estimated at from 1300 to 2500, of scientists and engineers. The shortage varied according to the skill of the men, with the highest qualified men in the shortest supply. This applied to aeronautical engineers and men needed for research and development work.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, presented a directly opposite picture. There the number and quality of the technical schools and colleges were steadily rising. In 1928, 11,030 engineers had been graduated. By 1950 the number had jumped to 28,000. "But in the last four years the increase has been little short of phenomenal. The number of graduates rose to 40,000 in 1953, and to 54,000 this year. At the present time, the Soviet Union is graduating two and one-half times as many engineers each year as in the United States."

The Soviet Union had at the moment 175 technical schools at the university level situated in more than fifty cities, with a student body of more than 300,000. By contrast, the USA had just about 160,000 engineering students. In addition there were 3700 intermediate training schools in the Soviet Union with an enrolment of 1,600,000 students. The corresponding number in the USA was approximately 1000 with an enrolment under 50,000.

"On the scientific level, the same trend is seen. The Soviet Union is hammering away at the preparation of top-flight scientists." The number of degrees of candidates of science (equivalent to Masters degree in the USA) had jumped from 3188 in 1946 to 8,530 in

1953. "The total number of people seeking a candidate's degree now is well above 25,000, with several thousand working for their Doctorates," Mr. Fine writes.

That was not all. The Soviet Union had undertaken an extensive program to help China and the Eastern European Democracies train technicians and scientists. In China, 25,000 persons were graduating every year from two-year engineering courses. In the Eastern European countries, nearly one-half of all the students in higher educational institutions were studying technical subjects.

Referring to the importance given upon science teaching in the Soviet Union, Mr. Fine writes, "Science in the Soviet schools is stressed from elementary grade upwards. One-third of the seven-year elementary school curriculum consists of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, the natural sciences, physics and chemistry. Then, in the secondary schools, 40 per cent of the curriculum is devoted to science and mathematics (there are no electives). The universities continue this tremendous emphasis on the sciences and technical fields."

"This is not done by chance. The Soviet Union has deliberately set out to take the lead in the scientific and engineering fields." (November 7.)

China's New Constitution

The first session of the National People's Congress, the highest organ of State power in the People's Republic of China, was held at the Huaijintang Hall in Peking from September 15 to 28. The session was attended by 1210 Deputies and was opened by Mao Tse-tung in a speech in which he outlined the task of the Session as the adoption of a constitution; enactment of important legislations including the adoption of the "Organic Laws" of the National People's Congress, the State Council and the People's Courts; endorsement of the report on the work of the Government, and election of Chairman, Vice-Chairman and other leading personnel in the State apparatus.

The new constitution of China was adopted on September 20 by the unanimous vote of 1197 Deputies present. The Central People's Government Council of China had appointed a Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution under the Chairmanship of Mao Tse-tung on January 13, 1953. In March, 1954, that committee had accepted the first draft of the Constitution submitted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The Draft Constitution had been further revised in the light of country-wide discussions and was approved by the Central People's Government Council on September 9, 1954. The Draft Constitution was then placed before the National People's Congress.

On September 27, on the motion of 109 Deputies, Mao Tse-tung was unanimously elected Chairman and General Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China. Liu Shao-chi, until recently one

of the six Vice-Chairmen of the State Administration Council, and one of the big four of the Chinese Communists was elected Chairman of the powerful Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Chou En-lai was reappointed Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

Liu Shao-chi submitted the report of the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution before the National People's Congress on the opening day of the Congress on September 15.

China had known three types of constitutions, according to Mr. Liu: The "bogus constitutions" of the Manchu dynasty, the Peiyang War Lords and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang; "Bourgeois democratic" constitution established by the 1911 Revolution which had before long been scrapped by Yuan Shih-kai; and lastly the "constitution of a people's republic led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants"—that was the constitution now adopted.

Explaining the necessity or the adoption of a new Constitution Mr. Liu said:

"To bring about socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation of our country is an extremely arduous and complicated task. To carry out such a task we need to mobilise the forces of the people of the whole country, develop the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses and overcome all kinds of difficulties under a correct and highly centralised leadership. Therefore, we need, on the one hand, to bring the people to take an ever fuller part in democracy and to extend the scope of people's democracy; on the other hand, we need to bring about a highly unified leadership of the State. For this purpose, there is every necessity for us to adopt a constitution much more comprehensive than the common programme, such one as is now being submitted to you."

Dealing with the steps to be taken in the transition to a Socialist Society from the present new-democratic order, he said that at the moment the ownership of the means of production in China fell mainly into the following categories: State ownership, i.e., ownership by the whole people; Co-operative ownership, i.e., collective ownership by the working masses; Ownership by individual working people; and Capitalist ownership. He defined the task of the State to be a constant effort for strengthening and developing the first two categories, that is the socialist sector of the economy, and the bringing about step by step of the socialist transformation of the latter two categories, that is the non-socialist sector of the economy. He added that the system of people's democracy in China could ensure the peaceful elimination of exploitation and building of socialist society in China, though minor clashes here and there were not ruled out.

In agriculture, the Government would henceforward follow a policy of restricting the rich peasants.

In the industrial sector, the State would utilise the qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which were beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood, and on the other hand, restrict the qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which were not so.

Though people's congresses at all levels were based on universal suffrage it was still necessary to deprive feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalists for a given period of their right to elect and be elected; to specify that the number of Deputies relative to population differs in proportion (advantageous to workers) as between cities and villages; to adopt a multi-level electoral system; and to use the show-of-hands methods in most basic level elections. "Our electoral system will be gradually improved and when conditions are ripe, our country will adopt the system of completely universal, equal, direct and secret ballot. The present electoral system, however, is appropriate to present conditions in our country and the most convenient for the people," Mr. Liu said.

"Our political system has," he continues, "a high degree of centralism but it is based on a high degree of democracy."

"While people are themselves still subjected to oppression, they cannot fully concentrate their will and strength. It is precisely for this reason that the Chinese people in the past were ridiculed as being the 'loose sand.' The revolution concentrated the people's will and strength and, having liberated themselves and set up their own state, the people have naturally concentrated their whole will and strength on building up their State apparatus, making it a powerful weapon. The stronger the people's State apparatus, the more powerfully can it defend the people's interests, protect the people's democratic rights and assure the building of socialism."

The Constitution guaranteed full rights of criticism and self-criticism in all the State bodies and thereby ensured democratic exercise of the rights of the people.

Mr. Liu then went on to deal with a number of amendments suggested to the draft constitution, explaining the reasons for accepting some and rejecting others.

"Should Pakistan be a Secular State?"

Welcoming the statement of General Iskander Mirza that religion and politics should be kept apart, the *Star*, weekly newsmagazine of Lahore, comes out categorically in support of a Secular State for Pakistan, dismissing all suggestions of an "Islamic" State.

The newspaper advises the Pakistan Government to curb the "Mullahs, Maulvies, Maulanas and

Ulema," who "represent a class whose members (exceptions possible) have been, historically speaking, the most contemptible courtiers, time-servers and opportunists, subsisting on the twin art of intrigue and sycophancy."

Refuting the claims of the Ulema that they alone were competent to speak in the name of God and on behalf of Islam, the *Star* writes: "Is it not a tragic revival of the debunked theory of Divine Right? Is it not an anachronistic cry in the modern world to demand the creation of a body which is not answerable to the electorate and responsive to the people's will? Is it not a negation of democracy and constitutional form of Government? Is it not a challenge to the supremacy and sovereignty of the people?"

The newspaper goes on to say that if Pakistan began with the rule of persons who supposedly have an authoritative verdict on Islam, "we are sure to end up with an authoritarian regime, a kind of religious fascism we have tasted in the past. . . ."

The Ulema claimed certain rights and prerogatives but there was no standard to judge the admissibility of their claims. What educational, social, moral and religious qualifications would entitle one to claim oneself as an expert on Islam?—asks the newspaper.

"If Islam is a common fountain for the common Muslims of Pakistan and not the personal property of Mullahs, Maulvies and Ulema, let our legislators and constitution-makers not betray the country by installing this class in an office which does not belong to them and can never belong to them," it says.

In another editorial article on the 19th November, the *Star* writes: "Is an Islamic State Possible?—Our categorical reply to this categorical question is an emphatic No."

It is pointed out that the craze for an Islamic State had prevented the country from adopting a constitution even after seven years. It had further lowered the prestige of Pakistan in the eyes of the world by making it appear as a country "where fanaticism is swallowed as food, where orthodoxy is preached as a code, where bigotry is practised as an art and where religion is administered as a dope." The foreigner, it is said, could not legitimately be blamed for holding such opinion.

The newspaper considers that it was "criminal madness to waste our valuable time and energy, our reformatory zeal and constructive genius on matters which cannot but appear frivolous in the context of our larger national interests. The Islamic State-mongers have subsisted on the belief that any Islamic stick is good enough to beat the Musalmans with, but they have wielded the bludgeon a little too long. It is high time we exposed the class which has used the bogey of Islam to thwart our progress and hinder our march on the road where we find today all the modern and civilized nations of the world. . . ."

FORMOSA—HARBINGER OF WORLD WAR III?

By Dr. H. L. SAXENA

"The geographic location of Formosa is such that, in the hands of a power unfriendly to the United States, it constitutes an enemy salient in the very centre of its defensive perimeter, 100 to 150 miles closer to the adjacent friendly segments—Okinawa and the Philippines—than any point in continental Asia. An enemy force utilizing installations currently available could increase by 100 per cent the air effort which could be directed against Okinawa, as compared to operations based on the mainland, and at the same time could direct damaging air attacks with fighter-type aircraft against friendly installations in the Philippines. . . ."

"... Utilisation of Formosa by a military power hostile to the U. S. may either counter-balance or overshadow the strategic importance of the central and southern flank of the U.S. front-line positions. Formosa in the hands of such a hostile power could be compared to an unsinkable aircraft carrier and submarine tender, ideally located to accomplish offensive strategy, and at the same time checkmate defensive or counter-offensive operations by friendly forces based on Okinawa and the Philippines. . . ."

"Historically, Formosa has been used as a spring-board for just such military aggression directed against areas to the south. At the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, it played an important part as a staging area and supporting base for the various Japanese invasion convoys. The supporting air forces of Japan's army and navy were based on fields situated along southern Formosa. . . ."

"Should Formosa fall into the hands of a hostile power, it would again be fully exploited as the means to breach and neutralise our Western Pacific defence system, and mount a war of conquest against the free nations of the Pacific basin."

The above excerpt from the message sent by General Douglas MacArthur of the American Army to be read at the convention of the veterans of Foreign Wars in August, 1950, which he had to withdraw under orders of Harry Truman, the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S.A., gives a clear insight into the importance of Formosa to America.

While Harry Truman, the Democrat, was American President, he had neutralised Formosa by posting the Seventh American Fleet to see that neither was Formosa attacked by the Chinese Communists nor did the Chinese Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek indulge in attacking the Chinese mainland.

But, Dwight Eisenhower, the Republican, after being elected as the new President, announced in the course of his very first Message on the State of the Union to the American Congress, in January 1953, that he was issuing instructions that the Seventh Fleet would no longer be employed to shield Communist China. Nationalist China was thus given freedom to attack the Chinese mainland as and when it wished to do so. More than a year-and-a-half have elapsed since.

LIBERATING "TAIWAN"

In the course of his Report on Foreign affairs submitted recently to the Central People's Government Council of China, Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, referred to Formosa, thus:

"Only by liberating Taiwan (Formosa) from the rule of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek, only by fulfilling the glorious task, will we achieve the complete unification of our great Motherland, will we complete victory in the great cause of liberating the Chinese people, will we further safeguard the peace and security of Asia and the whole world," and he went on to dare the Americans to stop him from doing so.

And, on August 17 last, Dwight Eisenhower, President of the United States, had accepted the challenge.

What this challenge and its acceptance may lead to nobody can say yet, but the potentialities of mischief contained in these ominous exchanges are unlimited. Who knows it may prove to be the ignition-point for World War III, and the whole world may any day find itself enveloped in a conflagration unprecedented in the history of the world, with atom bombs and hydrogen bombs devastating vast areas of land on various continents.

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

Though Chou En-lai may be held immediately responsible for this coming crisis over Formosa, General Eisenhower cannot escape his share of responsibility for what may come, as it was he who reversed the most sagacious decision of the Truman administration neutralising Formosa after he became the American President.

Following the outbreak of the Korean War, President Harry Truman had announced on June 27, 1950:

"It (North Korea) has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In

these circumstances, the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to the United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area. Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action, I am calling upon the Chinese Government on Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations . . ."

No Logic?

And, in January, 1953, President Dwight Eisenhower declared:

"In June, 1950, following the aggressive attack on the Republic of Korea, the U.S. Seventh Fleet was instructed both to prevent attack upon Formosa and also to insure that Formosa should not be used as a base of operations (by the Chinese Nationalists) against the Chinese Communist mainland. This has meant, in effect, that the U.S. Navy was required to serve as a defensive arm of Communist China . . ."

"There is no longer any logic or sense in a condition that required the U.S. Navy to assume defensive responsibilities on behalf of the Chinese Communists. This permitted those Communists, with greater impunity, to kill our soldiers and those of our United Nations allies in Korea. I am, therefore, issuing instructions that the Seventh Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China. Permit me to make crystal clear—this order implies no aggressive intent on our part. But we certainly have no obligation to protect a nation fighting us in Korea . . ."

The Korea War is ended now, but these instructions of the American President, Dwight Eisenhower, still stand.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To understand and appreciate the situation obtaining in Formosa at present, it is necessary to go into the historical background of this small island from the earliest of times.

This island of Formosa seems to have been known to the Chinese from very early times, but it was not settled extensively by them for quite a long time.

It was in the 16th and 17th Centuries after Christ that Portuguese, Spaniards and Dutch adventurers from Europe made some efforts at establishing their settlements on this island. The name Formosa was given to it by the early Portuguese navigators who first sighted it in 1590. They were so enamoured by its vistas of purple mountains rising out of lush, green lowlands that they called it *Ilha Formosa*, meaning "the Beautiful Isle." The Spaniards and the Dutch reached there in about 1620, and fought the aborigines there and created their own strongholds.

In 1624, the Dutch built a fort Zelandia on the east coast of the island and maintained a Settlement

there for 37 years. In 1644, they captured the Spanish stronghold of La Santissima Trinidad at Keelung, but their victory was short-lived.

CHINESE SUPREMACY

When, at this time, the Manchus conquered China from the ruler of the Ming dynasty, the Chinese adherents of the defeated Ming ruler, fleeing southward, inundated this island, and some of them, under the leadership of one Koxinga, turned up with a fleet and an army of 25,000 men, and they soon succeeded in overwhelming the small Dutch garrison there. Koxinga took possession of a large part of the island within a very short time and proclaimed himself as the king of the island. But, he died within a year of this proclamation, with the result that the island was annexed to the Manchu Empire of China in 1683. Immigrants from the Chinese mainland then poured into the island very rapidly, and they soon controlled the best land on the island. These immigrants gave this island the Chinese name of *Taiwan*, meaning "the Terraced Bay," from the successive terraces in which the two north-south mountain ranges fall away in the west.

Chinese supremacy over the island continued for 212 years. In 1858, a Treaty was signed at Tientsin, according to which Taiwan and Tamsui, two ports on the island of Formosa, were opened for foreign trade. Christian missionaries reached there shortly afterwards.

CESSION TO JAPAN

In 1874, Formosa was invaded by the Japanese for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction for the murder of a ship-wrecked crew by the aborigines there, and war with China was narrowly averted on this issue. In 1884-85, there was a Franco-Chinese war, during which the French partly blockaded the island and held Keelung for a few months.

In 1895, following the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War, China had to cede Formosa to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Admiral Viscount Kabayama became the first Japanese Governor-General of the island and he sailed down to Formosa in triumph. But the Formosan Chinese raised a standard of revolt against the Japanese regime and proclaimed a "Republic of Formosa," which, however, could not last long and the rebellion was crushed within a period of three weeks.

But, the question of handling the Formosan aborigines was a much harder thing for the Japanese to manage, and they had to build what they called "the Savage Guard Line," consisting of 360 miles of barbed wire fencing, of which 230 miles was electrified in 1920, to segregate the aborigines from themselves. Along this Guard Line, the Japanese had to maintain a force of 5,000 men, who, as late as 1930, were

besieging the aborigines with field guns, land mines and bombing planes.

In 1920, the Japanese enacted special regulations for the island and ever since then till 1945 the administration there was carried on like that in Japan itself. There was a civil governor-general who supervised the administration of the five prefectures of Taihoku, Shinchiku, Taichu, Tainan and Takao, in which he was assisted by a Prefectural Council. The prefectures, municipalities and villages were to a large extent self-governing, their officials being appointed by the governor of the prefecture to which they belonged.

ATTENTION TO DEVELOPMENT

The Japanese paid great attention to education, though vigorous efforts were made by them to enforce the use of the Japanese language and to assimilate the population to Japanese culture and civilisation, as also to ensure loyalty to Japanese rule.

They shaped the economic development of Formosa with a view to providing Japan with raw materials and foodstuffs in which it was deficient, as also for expanding its trade with foreign markets. They developed an irrigation system according to which water falling during the rainy season could be stored up for use in the dry months, and extended it to cover two-thirds of Formosa's culturable land. The paddy crop thus almost doubled under Japanese rule. As much of this excess production was diverted to Japan, it removed the rice shortage in Japan proper. The cultivation of sugarcane was increased to such an extent that in the years preceding the Second World War, the Japanese Empire stood fourth among the world's sugar-producing nations. The Japanese also transformed the fragrant Oolong Tea into a big-money crop. Commercial fruit-growing has been another aspect of the agricultural economy of the Formosan plains, the chief fruits being bananas, oranges, pineapples and longans, which the Japanese encouraged to flourish. Sweet potatoes, beans, groundnuts and jute are also grown. The forest resources of Formosa are also enormous and they have been well preserved.

As regards industrial development, the Japanese established sugar mills, pineapple canneries and factories to produce textiles, chemicals, paper, aluminium and industrial alcohol. They harnessed Formosa's short, swift-flowing rivers and built a large 300,000 kilowatt hydro-electric power station at Jihyuehu, the Sun-Moon Lake. They also worked its coal deposits totalling about 400 million metric tons and exploited her oil, refining it at the rate of 5,000 gallons of gasoline per day.

They also constructed 2,463 miles of railway and 11,300 miles of good road. They also developed

deep-water ports at Keelung and Kaohsiung, and built a grand Government Building for the capital in Taipei.

A MILITARY BASE

In addition to its economic development, Formosa was also steadily developed, specially after 1931, as a forward base for military, naval and air operations, and soon it gained considerable strategic importance for the Japanese programme of southward expansion. A large naval base was maintained at Mako, in the Pescadores. Following the outbreak of the Second World War, Formosa served as an advanced base for the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1941.

In December 1942, Formosa was formally designated as an integral part of Japan proper and was thereafter no longer treated as a Japanese colony. During the war, it was periodically bombed by American planes, as a result of which almost all of its 42 sugar mills were hit and the other industry was also put out of commission. But, it was not invaded as such before the Japanese surrender in August, 1945.

RESTORATION TO CHINA

As it had been decided at the Cairo meeting of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin held in 1943 that Formosa would be restored to China after the defeat of the Japanese, it was given over to Chinese sovereignty on the conclusion of the War, with the understanding that final possession of the island would be given to China when the war with Japan was ended officially. It then became a province of China.

In October, 1945, General Chen Yi, administrator of Fukien province, became the Governor on behalf of the Chinese National Government. But he proved to be too despotic a ruler and a rebellion by the Formosans broke out in February, 1947, which was centred in the capital of Taipei, formerly called Taihoku. The Formosans convoked an autonomous assembly to institute new laws, pending recognition of their demands by the Chinese Government. But, the revolt was put down by Chinese troops from the mainland by the end of March, 1947. General Chen Yi was thereafter replaced in April, 1947, and he was succeeded by Wei Tao-ming, former Chinese Ambassador to U.S.A.

COMMUNISTS IN CHINA

Following the advances of the Chinese Communist forces on the Chinese mainland at the end of 1948, elements of the Chinese Nationalist Government of Chiang Kai-shek began moving to Formosa. In December, 1948, Wei Tao-ming, the Governor, was replaced by General Chen Cheng, former Chief of Staff of the Nationalist forces in Manchuria.

On January 21, 1949, Chiang Kai-shek retired from the presidency of the Chinese Nationalist

Government, so as to facilitate peace negotiations and General Li Tsung-jen, a well-known Liberal, became Acting President. A peace delegation was sent to Peking early in April, 1949, but the discussions proved abortive and they were cut short on the 17th by a Communist ultimatum demanding virtual unconditional surrender by the Nationalists within three days, following which the last remnants of the Nationalist Government fled to Canton on April 23, and the Communists entered Nanking on the following day. Chiang Kai-shek had by then removed all the government treasure, as well as the troops believed to be about 400,000 and the bulk of the navy and air force to Formosa as a base to carry on the war against the Communists.

As relations between Chiang Kai-shek and Li Tsung-jen had never been cordial, Li retired to Hong-kong on October 21, 1949, when Chiang apparently resumed the presidency, though formally he did so six months later, on March 1, 1950.

On December 8, 1949, the capital of Nationalist China was moved from Chengtu in Szechuan on the mainland to Taipei in Formosa, and on December 15, Wu Kuo-cheng (K. C. Wu), former Mayor of Shanghai, succeeded Chen Cheng as the new Governor.

It was estimated that at this time, Chiang Kai-shek had on Formosa about 200,000 troops, an air force of some 250 bombers and fighters as well as a navy of about 150,000 tons consisting of destroyers and smaller vessels. There were also about 200,000 troops on Hainan Island, the only other possession still held by the Nationalists. But this island too was lost in April 1950, leaving Formosa as their only possession.

After reassuming Presidency of Nationalist China on March 1, 1950, Chiang appointed General Chen Cheng as Prime Minister in succession to Marshal Yen Hsi-shan. A Legislative Assembly of 702 elected members was also formed, which was presided over by Liu Chien-chiu. On March 16, 1950, Chiang once again took over the supreme command of the Nationalist armed forces.

QUESTION OF AMERICAN ASSISTANCE

After the Communists had driven away the Nationalists from the Chinese mainland, the question as to whether the U.S. Government should help the Nationalists in holding Formosa was discussed in Washington, and the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff came to the conclusion that the U.S.A. should not do so. But, shortly afterwards, persuaded by the views of General MacArthur, the Joint Chiefs reversed themselves and decided that the U.S. should send at least a military mission to advise the Chinese Nationalists. The Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, however, objected to this position, and the matter was included in the agenda of a meeting of the

Nationalist Security Council, consisting of the Vice-President, Secretaries of State and Defence, and the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, for December 29, 1949, when this new proposal was dropped, as the representatives of the Armed Forces said they were not prepared to commit major portions of U.S. military strength to the island of Formosa.

THE KOREAN WAR

The Korea War then broke out on June 25, 1950. Chiang offered 33,000 men to the United Nations to fight in Korea, but the U.S. State Department did not accept the offer. And, two days later, President Truman had ordered the neutralisation of Formosa.

In the last week of July, 1950, the Chinese Communists seemed to be getting ready to attack Formosa. For two days, their shore batteries shelled Quemoy Island three miles off the mainland port of Amoy. On July 31, General MacArthur paid a visit to Formosa, and on August 2, Chiang stated that he and MacArthur had reached agreement on the problems they had discussed and a foundation for Sino-American military co-operation and a joint defence of Formosa had been laid.

MACARTHUR Vs. TRUMAN

Hardly had a month passed, when a rather serious incident occurred involving General MacArthur in a clash with President Truman.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars were holding a convention in Chicago in the last week of August 1950. The convenors of the same asked the General to send them a message to be read out at the convention. MacArthur agreed and sent them one. In this message of his, after dealing with the situation in Formosa and its strategic importance to the United States, in words quoted in the opening paragraphs of this article, he said: "Nothing could be more fallacious than the threadbare argument by those who advocate appeasement and defeatism in the Pacific that if we defend Formosa we alienate continental Asia . . ." which was a direct attack on the Far Eastern policy of the Truman administration.

As Dean Acheson, the then Secretary of State in the Truman administration, was at that very time trying to get the United Nations to adopt the neutralising of Formosa as the United Nations' own foreign policy, this statement of General MacArthur was regarded by the administration as most improper, as well as altogether unauthorised and very untimely. So, President Truman ordered MacArthur to withdraw it immediately. But, by the time its withdrawal was announced, it had already gone into print, and became public property in no time. The publication of this statement created a great stir all the world over, and President Truman had to state in the

course of his fireside chat in the first week of September that the U.S. had no designs on Formosa. He reiterated that Formosa was a territory in dispute and its future should be settled by international action after the Korean peace, and that U.S. policy towards his island continued to be to "neutralise" it. A day earlier at his press conference, Truman had said that the Seventh Fleet would be pulled out as soon as the Korean War was over.

MACARTHUR'S RECALL

Though this incident was closed for the time being, it left behind a trail of bitterness between MacArthur and Truman which ultimately led to the former's recall from the Far Eastern Commands.

On March 14, 1951, the U.N. forces in Korea re-entered Seoul, and on March 24, MacArthur issued a statement in Tokyo offering "at any time to confer in the field with the Commander-in-Chief of the enemy forces in an earnest effort to find any military means whereby the realisation of the political objectives of the U.N. in Korea, to which no nation may justly take exceptions, might be accomplished without further bloodshed."

He had also included in this statement of his an implied psychological threat that

"The decision of the U.N. to depart from its tolerant effort to contain the war to the area of Korea through expansion of our military operations to the coastal areas and interior bases would doom China to the risk of imminent military collapse."

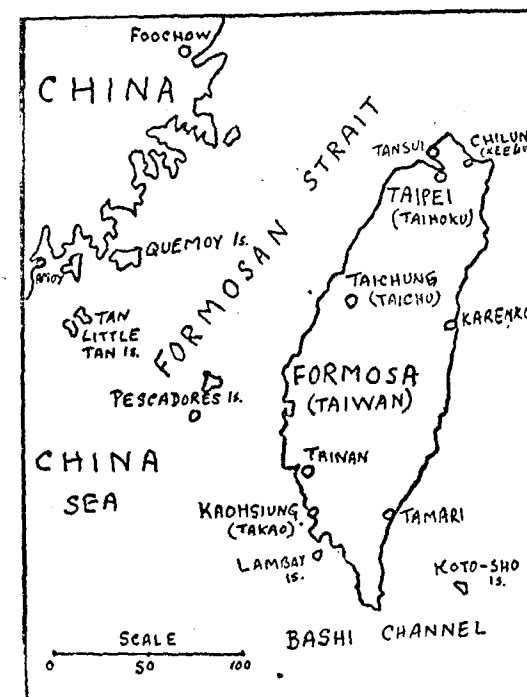
But, before this offer was issued, without securing clearance from Washington, the Truman administration had already handed to its Allies maintaining forces in Korea a proposed statement of war aims. It was said to be the purpose of this statement to bring about a new approach to a cease-fire. And, late in March, there was a vigorous debate in the U.N. General Assembly on a proposal to discuss all Far Eastern problems with Communist China after an armistice. The British then expressed the wish that the U.N. forces should stop at the 38th Parallel.

This offer of MacArthur's was rejected outright by China. The Peking Radio retorted:

"War-monger MacArthur made a fanatical but shameless statement . . . with the intention of engineering the Anglo-American aggressors to extend the war of aggression into China . . . MacArthur's shameless tricks . . . will meet with failure . . . So long as the United Nations does not withdraw its shameless action of branding our country as an aggressor, and so long as the American aggressor and his accomplices block . . . the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue and the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Formosa . . . the people of China must raise their sense of vigilance by doubling their effort for the sacred struggle . . . until . . . the complete driving out of all aggressors . . . is accomplished."

And, there was no abatement in the fury of the Korean War.

China was not the only country which regarded MacArthur's statement as that of a war-monger, Washington, London and the other non-Communist countries too condemned it as such. Top diplomats all the world over were unanimous in demanding that MacArthur be either silenced or recalled.



To add to the confusion, Joseph W. Martin, the Republican minority leader in the House of Representatives, in the course of a speech lashing the Truman administration for its failures, introduced a letter he had received from General MacArthur wherein the latter had demanded that Chiang Kai-shek's forces in Formosa be turned loose to open a second front on China's mainland, as that would be in conflict neither with logic nor with tradition.

In this letter, MacArthur had written bitterly:

"My views and recommendations have been submitted to Washington in most complete detail. It seems strangely difficult for some to realise that here in Asia is where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest, and that we have joined the issue thus raised on the battlefield; that here we fight Europe's war with arms while the diplomats there still fight it with words; that if we lose the war to Communism in Asia the fall of Europe is inevitable; win it and Europe most probably would avoid war and yet preserve freedom . . . We must win. There is no substitute for victory . . ."

The publication of this letter led to an outcry against MacArthur from all the world capitals. Even the London *Times* had to call MacArthur's letter the "most dangerous" of an "apparently unending series of indiscretions."

President Truman was thus left with no alternative other than to sack MacArthur. And, on April 11, 1951, he announced the inevitable decision regarding the removal of MacArthur from his Far Eastern Commands. He said:

"With deep regret I have concluded that General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is unable to give his wholehearted support to the policies of the United States Government and of the United Nations in matters pertaining to his official duties . . . Full and vigorous debate on matters of national policy is a vital element in the constitutional system of our free democracy. It is fundamental, however, that military commanders must be governed by the policies and directives issued to them in the manner provided by our laws and constitution . . ."

General MacArthur returned to the U.S.A. on April 17, and two days later, he appeared before the Congress in joint session and stated his view of the needed policies for the U.S. in the Far East.

Since then till the end of the democratic administration of Harry Truman in January, 1953, there was no further development in regard to Formosa.

ADVENT OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION

But, with the advent of the Republican administration of Dwight Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles, this question came to the forefront once again, as the new President brought the "neutralisation" order of Harry Truman to an end and gave freedom to Chiang's forces in Formosa to commit raids on the Chinese mainland. The present trouble about Formosa is the direct result of these orders of President Eisenhower.

Whether the present pinpricks by the Chinese Communists in the form of attacks on the Quemoy Islands will result in a big flare-up involving the whole world is anybody's guess.

FACTS AND FIGURES

There is no doubt, however, that the situation of Formosa is such that both the United States and Communist China must covet this island.

It is quite a large island in the Western Pacific separated from China by the 90-mile wide Straits of Formosa, covering an area of 13,906 square miles, including Pescadores and about 75 neighbouring islands. According to the 1940 census, its population was 58,72,084, but in mid-1951, it was estimated to be about 1,00,00,000 including the Chinese Nationalist troops and refugees from the mainland. Two-thirds of Formosa is covered with tropical forest trees, banyans, deodars, teak, black ebony and most of the world's camphor trees. Its backbone is formed by two north-south mountain ranges which thrust up sixteen peaks of 10,000 feet or more. On the east coast, the mountains become sheer rock walls, dropping 1,500 to 7,000 feet into the sea, while on the west, they fall away in successive terraces down to a wide coastal plain. The climate and fertile soil combine to produce vast quantities of rice, tea, sugar and fruit. The paddy fields give two crops a year, followed by a third crop of turnips and cabbages. The language spoken in Formosa is mainly Chinese, while the religions followed are Buddhist, Confucian and Taoist.

The chief towns are Taipei, formerly called Taihoku, with an estimated population in 1950 of 4,50,800, which is the capital; Kaohsiung, formerly Takao, 2,75,600; Tainan 2,29,500; Taichung, formerly Taichu 2,07,000; and Chilung, formerly Keelung or Kiirun 1,45,200.



INDIA'S NEW PATTERN: ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

By K. M. MUNSHI,

Governor, Uttar Pradesh

THE other day, sitting on Flag-Staff Hill, I was thinking of the 'Mission and Heritage of India.' As I cast my eyes over the plains of Uttar Pradesh, stretching out into the haze, it seemed to me that I saw clearly before me the pattern of life which India has been weaving for the last seven years.

Then I began to trace the pattern—not as an active weaver, but as a spectator, detached and critical, against the background of contemporary events.

II

Things do not happen by force of events or of personality alone. There is a mightier force which unfolds itself by means of events and personalities which weaves the pattern of life. And it is that force, again, which, working through the centuries, led to the most determinative event in modern Indian history: our independence.

Independence did not come to India, as to so many other countries, by revolt or revolution. It came without bloodshed, in friendship between the conqueror and the conquered; in an atmosphere of mutual confidence between the British and ourselves. We have been saved from the tortuous fate of Ireland in the past and of Indo-China in the present. We have emerged free, with our institutional continuity and stability unimpaired.

Non-violence was part of our heritage. We were a people with faith in God, so that a non-violent struggle came to us easily. In Gandhiji we saw both the embodiment of our heritage and the apostle of our mission. That was why his appeal for collective action was irresistible.

Independence, achieved in this way, brought not only political freedom, but marked the beginning of an era of expansion for India's soul. With it began our search for the strength inherent in us. As the nightmare of centuries was lifted, it also brought back our self-confidence in India's mission and heritage.

Most of the pattern which we have been weaving has, therefore, been the result of forces released by our heritage. Our outlook has always been characterised by that which the *Gita* describes as: 'In the Self, is the Self satisfied.' Al Beruni, nine hundred years ago, considered this arrogance. Modern critics might call it insularity; but the bridge which separates self-reliance from arrogance and insularity, has not been crossed. By looking to ourselves for our salvation, we have maintained our strength and vitality even in our worst days.

During the last seventy-five years, we slowly became conscious of our own power to replenish our

own inner strength. This accelerated the tempo of our self-reliance. Under Gandhiji, we rejected the strength which comes from violence or dependence on others. *Satyagraha* became a characteristic solution of our ills.

So, when we parted with the British we discarded not only their political domination, but the desire we might have had for extraneous leadership. The policy which India has since followed is in the direct line of its heritage.

Our ideological roots are our own, and, though the surface growth has been enriched and strengthened by foreign contacts, the sap that feeds it belongs to us. We want no other.

This search for inherent strength is in marked contrast to the policies followed by countries which aspire to a world position. In this great venture of ours we have no 'Big Brothers,' nor even what may be called a 'senior partner.'

III

During the British period, the political tradition of Britain was engrafted on our way of thinking. Our Constitution in consequence, has come to be based largely on the British model. Even the Government of India Act of 1935, on the lines of which we drew up our Constitution, was largely the product of British political traditions, which in their application to Indian conditions, had become part of ours. Departing from the British precedent we accepted a written Constitution. This was the result of our age-long faith in a fundamental law: *Esha Dharma Sanatana*. Parliamentary democracy and fundamental rights appeared to us as parts of our inalienable *dharma*. And so they will continue to do unless some serious political misfortune overtakes us.

A few democratic devices were borrowed from the United States, but we copied nothing blindly. We altered whatever we chose to suit our genius and our needs.

Though the social standards of a decadent age have made for inequality, our philosophic outlook has always been egalitarian. From the days of the *Gita*, many doctrines and many sects have laid emphasis on the individual and his innate duty. And when the West brought back the notions of individual dignity to India, we accepted the equality of rights and opportunities as part of our national outlook.

The unequivocal emphasis laid in the Constitution on equality was our own solution for our ills. In no Constitution in the world has it been so much emphasized as in ours.

We have also emphasized those quasi-autonomous village organisations—the *Panchayats*, which are a

part of our social and political heritage from ancient times. In keeping to them firmly, we have maintained our own pattern of democracy and fundamentally departed from the traditions of the West. Turkey largely follows the Western model in this respect, while China has adopted the Russian model of collectivised villages.

Since the British left the country, power has continued to be in the hands of one party. But its pattern has not been European; it has thrown up neither ruthless leadership nor unquestioned regimentation. It set up a free Constitution regardless of its own interest. It created fundamental rights for all. It accepted the Rule of Law. In an independent integrated judiciary, it deliberately set up its super-critic and regulator.

The One Party set-up thinks only in terms of all-inclusive nation. It acts as a self-chosen instrument of the people as a whole. It operates under conditions of freedom which it has created itself and which all its enemies can equally exploit. It uses no violence; it relies only upon the tenure provided by continuous service rendered from day to day.

Trying its best to stand above class conflicts, caste rivalries and group tensions, it has before it India as a whole; predominantly a farmers' country; a nation whose perennial vitality is replenished by the stable element represented by six crores of farmers. This outlook was reflected in the Five-Year Plan, when the agricultural sector was made its primary concern. India has deliberately rejected collectivisation and industrialisation at all costs. No country can keep its foundations stable only by fastening the iron-hoops of a class-conscious leadership from above, and escape totalitarianism.

The pattern of our State, in matters of religion, is typically Indian. It is not a Godless State. Temples, mosques and shrines flourish; religious festivals are freely observed by millions. It is a State in which all religions may be followed freely; where the need of sympathetic appreciation of all religions is constantly emphasized. This religious freedom was achieved by a Constituent Assembly in which an overwhelming majority of the members followed one religion; at a time when the country was passing through a phase of intense religious and communal bitterness; in spite of opposing groups pledged to vigorous proselytization.

This is a typically Indian performance; it could not have been done elsewhere; for the majority drew its inspiration from the roots of India's culture.

In the thirteenth century, when the armies of Qutbud-Din and Iltutmish were destroying thousands of temples in the country, Sārangadeva of Gujarat was, with the blessings of the head of the shrine of Somnath, giving a grant to a Muslim for building a *misgit* (Sanskritization of *masjid*) in Prabhas Patan

itself. The Edict of Asoka inculcates that all religions are to be respected; criticism of religion is to be forborne; the divinity of all religious truths is to be recognised; religions of all sects are to be studied. And long before, thus spoke Shri Krishna:

"I am the same to all beings. Whosoever wishes, with true devotion and faith, to worship whatever form he likes, it is I that grants him the steadfastness to continue in that faith of his."

IV

Free India's present leadership is English-educated. However, its outlook is not anchored to the political ideology of any other country. More often than not, it turns for inspiration to the urges of the collective Indian mind. It tries to identify itself with the best in it. It does not look upon the masses as having to be coerced, drilled, moulded and uplifted to a new pre-concerted pattern.

In the true tradition of India, our present policies have foresworn expansion. According to the *Smritis*, Bharatvarsha is between the Himalayas and the sea. The Bharat of our present hopes is territorially restricted, but we are quite content with what we have.

India has, in practice, elevated peaceful co-existence into an international canon. In international affairs, she would aspire to be the one 'who harasses none and is harassed by none,' a way with which nations, ancient or modern, have not so far been any too familiar. The ideal is difficult to attain. But India has tried to attain it—at least in so far as it can humanly be done in a world of suspicion and distrust.

India, certainly, has the urge to spread her moral and cultural influence outside the country. If there were no such urge, she would deny the mission which she stands for. But there has been no desire on her part, much less an attempt, to bring other countries within the orbit of her power.

India is, what now-a-days is termed, a 'backward' nation. She naturally needs help in money and technical skill, and hopes that foreign countries will not deny her a helping hand. But she will not tie herself down to any single country for it. Her regard for independence, in this respect, is almost aggressive. She resents being offered crutches; rather than have them, she will walk her own way—may be stumbling now and then.

India makes no effort to swing the balance of trade in favour of one country, or one set of countries. At the same time, she places no restriction or limitation upon communications with any other country, except when it singles Indians out as its enemies. Thus, we are trying to evolve a new technique in world relationship which is characteristically Indian.

We borrow no ready-made 'isms.' If we try to achieve socialism, it is different in pattern from its Western or Communist namesakes. We adopt the

tried policies of other countries, but never so as to disturb a steady evolution along our own lines.

V

Similarly, though we are anxious to acquire modern technical skill, we do not relish 'tidal waves of learning' from any one country flooding across India. Nor are we prepared to destroy the prestige of our culture, or of the art and traditions that have arisen out of it. While we want to build anew, we do not want to dig up our stable foundations. We are determined to preserve, promote and develop our cultural heritage.

There are nations which have taken to one or the other foreign language in order to achieve quick progress. We, on the contrary, believe that the full growth of our national stature requires a development of our own tongues.

In art and literature also we have accepted the leadership of no single nation. At one time, impact with the West, and particularly with Britain, brought about a new awakening. But during the last 100 years, the Indian Renaissance has been developing steadily, keeping its gaze fixed all the while on the best traditions of its own land.

Though we are anxious to deal with problems in a way suited to the needs of a scientific age, the efforts of our intellectuals—except for a very small group—have never been directed towards breaking the continuity of our historic development. On the contrary, they have done their best to keep the inspiration of the past alive.

We seek no structural relationship with any alien culture. Our collective mind unconsciously revolts against adopting a pattern of life foreign to us. We borrow freely from others; at any rate, where such loan is essential for our progress; but we wish to remain Indians.

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PRIME MINISTER'S MISSION TO CHINA

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

The visit of the Prime Minister to China is, undoubtedly, one of the most important and significant events in recent world history. It marks a turning point in the history of Asia. Although the *New York Times* has 'deplored' Shri Nehru's trip to Peking, the memorable meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and China has been hailed by the world press as a "major event." The *News Chronicle* of London declared that the meeting may "change history," because "one of the greatest problems today is to bring understanding of China to the West, and to bring understanding of the West to China." The *Pravda* describes Shri Nehru's visit to China as "an important step for the consolidation of peace in Asia and in the whole world." Shri Nehru himself described his visit as "one of the biggest events of the year and of the decade." "The Prime Minister of China coming to India and the Prime Minister of India going to China are world events in a potential sense." The reception that was accorded to Shri Nehru in Peking was unprecedented in the history of China. She gave "the biggest welcome ever extended to a visiting statesman," when nearly a million people cheered Shri Nehru as he drove in a Sedan car along the ten-mile road from the airport to the city. Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of China, said that

VI

This attitude, which flows from India's heritage and sense of mission, has its drawbacks. It precludes us from receiving short-term benefits from other countries which we might otherwise have. Our progress, in the nature of things, is also not likely to be spectacularly modern, or, to use the fashionable phrase, 'revolutionary.'

It is likely that this choice might, in the race for 'modernization' keep us somewhat behind the countries which have chosen a different path. It may somewhat arrest swift industrialization. It may perhaps keep economy a little old-world, though self-sufficient. It may lead to our temperamental insularity assuming a more pronounced form.

Because of tardy industrialization and a consequent lack of defence equipment, our idealistic approach to independence might, in conceivable circumstances, endanger freedom. But in these days of liberation movements, of arms-aid and foreign-led internal parties, no one can be sure either way as to what the results of a particular policy will be.

But one thing is certain. Whatever we build by following the bent of our genius will be built for immortality. We have chosen the way of self-respect and self-reliance—the true Indian way. India has something to give to humanity. The way in which she secured her freedom and has been organizing her democratic life cannot but have a meaning and purpose for the more struggling, grasping nations. She has therefore to 'be' herself first.

In this way, we hearken to the voice of our past—a voice which, I am confident, will lead us and others, if they heed it, to a better world.

Perhaps, indeed, India is leading the way to a world situation wherein nations 'harass none and are harassed by none.'

"Peaceful existence and friendly co-operation between China and India will certainly facilitate the gradual realisation of peaceful co-existence among other Asian countries and countries of the whole world."

Shri Nehru remarked that in the present confused and difficult world, the relationship between China and India would be a matter of great significance.

"Ultimately, human beings count more than anything else and the nearly one thousand-million human beings who live in India and China must count."

On his way to China, Shri Nehru had also the opportunity of visiting Burma and the three States of Indo-China, namely, Laos, Viet Nam and Cambodia. His meeting with Dr. Ho Chi Minh "in a long embrace" was of great value in cementing the forces of peace and brotherhood in Asia. He assured Shri Nehru that he would continue to give "full co-operation to the International Commission supervising the Indo-China Cease Fire Agreement." He reaffirmed his faith in the "Five Principles" for bringing about friendly relations and peaceful co-operation between different countries. The Dalai Lama of Tibet, who saw and spoke with Shri Nehru for the first time was surprised that the 65-year Indian Prime Minister "looked so young." Shri Nehru's meeting with Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Republic at the Forbidden City, the ancient palace of Chinese Emperor, was also a "historic scene" which may prove to be of extraordinary significance in the annals of not only Asia but of the world.

India and China have been good and friendly neighbours during the last two thousand years. Both of these ancient countries are now coming into their own. They have shed the shackles of serfdom and colonialism and are now destined to play a vital role in shaping the future of the world. The Western Powers have so far been trying to dominate the Asian countries. They have been playing off one Asian country against the other. But the times have now changed. The West can no longer dominate the East. The two biggest Asian countries, India and China, have combined together not in organising collective aggression but for forging "collective peace." As Shri Nehru observed in a broadcast from Peking:

"The two countries will co-operate and help each other in the greatest adventure of all—the firm establishment of peace in the world."

The parting scenes between Mao and Nehru at which Mao quoted an old Chinese poem, showed the friendly feelings of the Chinese people towards India. Shri Nehru also expressed deep gratitude to the Government and the people of China "for all the kindness of friendship" shown to him during his brief stay. Shri Nehru described Mr. Mao Tse-tung as a "great warrior, a great revolutionary and a great builder and consolidator." Shri Nehru added: "May he now be a great peace-maker also."

It is wrong to think that by establishing closer contacts with China, there is a likelihood of encouraging Communist forces in this country. Prime Minister Nehru has made it abundantly clear that India is wedded to the ways of peace and democracy. Our National Planning is founded on democratic principles and does not visualise any totalitarian system. China, on the other hand, though by no means an appendage of Soviet Russia, is following different methods. It is clear that India does not subscribe to all such methods. She is determined to follow the path of democracy in accordance with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Yet, there are many ways in which the two great countries, India and China, can co-operate with each other for the common good. In a broadcast to the people of China, Shri Nehru observed that

"India and China can co-operate in many ways, even though their problems may differ to some extent and their methods might not be the same. The essential thing between two nations and two peoples is tolerance and friendly feeling. If these are present, the other things follow. I am convinced these are present in India and China."

India has always believed in the principle of unity in the midst of diversity. This ancient country of ours has tolerated and successfully absorbed different races and cultures through the centuries. The same principles can be applied to the international sphere. Although the political and social ideologies of India and China may differ even basically, there is no reason why the two countries cannot draw nearer to each other and work ceaselessly for creating "an area of peace" for the good of humanity. The principle of "co-existence" is in conformity with the well-known principle "live and let live." If the world shakes the "fear psychosis" and different countries learn to live together despite fundamental ideological differences, all will be well with us. Today, America is afraid of Communism and Russia is afraid of Capitalism. If a policy of co-existence and non-interference is followed sincerely by different nations, all these fears can melt away like the morning mists.

There is, however, one special point to which we would like to refer. In his *Glimpses of World History*, Shri Nehru observes that

"The strength and perseverance of India in the past seem to have lain in her widespread system of village republics or self-governing *Panchayats*."

"As in India, so also in China," continues Shri Nehru, "the strength of the social system lay in the village."

Mahatma Gandhi always laid emphasis on this aspect of democratic institutions. To him decentralised democracy in the form of village republics was the best system of Self-Government and Swaraj. Centralisation and totalitarian methods ultimately

resulted in violence and regimentation of humanity. In the modern world, there is a titanic struggle between the forces of democracy and totalitarianism, violence and non-violence, peace and war. In economic terms, the conflict is between Capitalism and Communism. All these conflicts can be effectively resolved only through a policy of bold decentralisation which would eschew both the extremes and harmonise the good points of both the ideologies. If India and China could co-operate with each other in this great experiment of decentralised democratic and economic system, a lasting solution can be found for the various ills that plague the modern world. We earnestly hope and trust that out of the present goodwill between the two countries, there shall be a better opportunity of carrying out such an experiment.

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AGRARIAN FINANCE IN INDIA

By PROF. BHUBANESHWAR PRASAD, M.A.

ITS IMPORTANCE

In a country like India, where agro-economy has been playing the most important role in the sense that as much as 47.6 per cent of our national income is contributed by it and as much as 65 per cent of our population depend on it for their living, the urgency of agricultural finance needs no reiteration. Its importance can very well be realised by understanding (a) the nature of our agriculture itself—subsistence farming, (b) its dependence on rainfall which is said to show all the vagaries of an oriental potentate, and (c) the grinding poverty of the farmers. Agricultural finance is the finance of the 65 per cent of the population and as such it needs no emphasis for the realisation of its proper importance and place in all the economic discussions either of the public or the Government. Unfortunately, however, while recognising its overwhelming importance in theory, there has been little objective study of the issues involved and little practical achievements so far. It is painful that all the books on Indian Economics are silent over this topic or have given a passing treatment to this subject. In fact, in any economic reconstruction of India with a predominant bias for agriculture, the role of agricultural finance cannot be minimised. It is a matter of great pleasure that the importance of this agrarian finance has been realised by the Planning Commission in the First Five-Year Plan in order to raise yield per acre by provision of sufficient timely credit at fair rates of interest to Indian farmers.

For the reconstruction of agro-economy, the nature of our agricultural finance has to be under-

The role of India in international affairs is that of a peace-maker. India has carefully avoided to align herself with either of the two Power Blocs. Her policy of peace is not a negative or a passive policy. It is a positive and dynamic idea. Real peace in the world would prevail only if there is a genuine synthesis of conflicting ideologies. Such a synthesis could be obtained by following the Gandhian way of decentralised democracy and decentralised industrialisation. Mere pious wishes cannot take us very far. In this great task of evolving a true ideological synthesis, India and China together can play a very important and significant part. We earnestly hope that the bonds of friendship between the two countries would pave the way for this great and noble work.

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stood in all its aspects. Financing agriculture is a type of operation different from industrial and commercial financing in view of (a) the degree of poverty and illiteracy of the farmer-borrowers and (b) the important role which Nature plays in our agriculture. The Indian farmers can only hope, while Nature largely determines production. Agricultural production cannot easily or quickly be adjusted to fluctuations in demand or the changed economic conditions. Supply is inelastic and when once work has been started, it cannot be dropped. There is, thus, a constant need for finance irrespective of the prospects of the undertaking. To the Indian cultivator agriculture has become more a mode of living than a business and this complicates the problem of agricultural credit still further, for production has to be financed even when costs ordinarily exceed the return. He has hardly any security to offer and the least he has is in the land itself. In other words, in our small-scale individualistic system of agriculture, the relatively low turnover and low return on invested capital and the virtual absence of control over production and prices, preclude the credit resources open to large industrial concerns being readily available to farmers; they also impede the extensive application of corporate financing by way of long-term bonds so widely used in business financing. In consequence, the ordinary credit agencies find it difficult to finance agriculture because of (a) the existence of small peasant-proprietors and tenants with whom agriculture is not so much a profession as a mode of living; (b) the lack of substantial assets of the farmers; and (c) uncertainty of profits of agriculture. Besides, our agri-

culture suffers from several handicaps: uneconomically small and scattered holdings, dependence on precarious rainfall, poor soil, and primitive technique—all leading to a very low level of productivity and incomes. It is, therefore, said that our agriculture is a deficit industry and the repayable capacity of our farmers is very low. In fact, the War has brought in this character of our agronomy a change which has allowed certain classes of the rural population, such as big landholders and tenants and traders, except during periods when conditions are abnormal, a margin of saving. But there should be no problem of the provision of agricultural finance for such people who have enjoyed agricultural prosperity and who have invested their surpluses in the purchase of lands, in acquiring additional business stock and in agricultural improvements like the development of means of irrigation, construction of bunds, etc. It is most urgent for those who do not have any surplus to lay by or for whom agriculture is definitely a deficit industry, but he cannot leave it, because he has nothing else to engage himself upon. Thus while making provision for the agricultural finance, we should not lose sight of the fact that most of our farmers use their credit for meeting the deficit of their income rather than for productive purposes.

NORMAL NEEDS OF OUR FARMERS

The normal credit needs of our farmers are classified into (a) Long-term (above 5 years), (b) Medium-term (from five months to 5 years), and (c) Short-term credit needs according to the amount of loan and the period of time for which the loan is contracted. Long-term credit is generally required by the farmers for the purchase of land or for effecting permanent improvement in their holdings for the repayment of old debts. Medium-term credit is required for the purchase of livestock and farming implements, viz., sinking wells, purchase of bullocks, pumping plants, etc., while short-term credit is required for meeting the current requirements of the agricultural operations and for consumption purposes, viz., purchasing seeds, manures and fertilisers, and labour charges. These are expected to be repaid after the harvest. A quantitative assessment of the amount of the finance required under these heads is extremely difficult as adequate data for the purpose are not available. It is, however, clear that there is a wide gap between funds at present available on reasonable terms and the requirement of the cultivators.

The classification of the normal credit needs of the agriculturists does not look, on its face, so useful as each group shades into another group and it is wellnigh impossible to draw a distinct line of demarcation between all groups. And the distinction generally drawn between short-term and long-term

finances is by no means academic. It has immense practical implications. The distinction is vitally important for the effective and efficient arrangement of institutional finance for agriculture in India. It means that the establishment of suitable institutions is required for separately dealing with the two types of the financial needs of the Indian farmers. This has become almost a platitude in all Western countries where the vital distinction has long been overdrawn between long-term and short-term agricultural loans. While the nature of institutions advancing such loans as well as the terms and methods of advancing them have varied from country to country in accordance with local conditions the line of demarcation between the two has never been lost sight of; and such institutions have, in general, specified in dealing with either the one or the other type of agricultural finance. This principle has been gaining ground in India also.

THE COMPARATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THESE NEEDS

As long-term credit is required for the permanent improvement in land, it is generally thought that the provision of the long-term credit will serve the agriculturists and agriculture of India most. The present backward condition of our agriculture seems to provide a wide scope for long-term credit. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee has noted that there is almost an unlimited scope for the grant of long-term loans to the cultivators in India. But there should not be any confusion between the development of agriculture in the field of its productivity and the scope for the utilisation of long-term loans. A careful examination of the condition of the different classes of farmers will at once reveal that this scope is very much limited inasmuch as nearly 80 per cent of our farmers do not feel the necessity of long-term credit because of the fragmentation and subdivision of their holdings. Any investment on such loans will raise the cost of production and as such it will render production unprofitable for the farmers. Long-term credit is, of course, profitable to those farmers who have got sufficient acreage of holdings to render the expenditure of long-term improvement profitable. But these farmers constitute, in the first place, only 15 per cent of the total Indian peasants and in the second place, they are generally better off not to require any financial help from outside. Whenever they do so, they do so not because they intend to bring about any permanent improvement in the land, but because they want to purchase fresh land from others. Besides, they do not think of making any permanent improvement in the land because of its extreme fragmentation and subdivision. Permanent improvement in land in the shape of wells, canals, and dams, etc., involves not only the necessity of money expenditure on a scale which is not

possible for the poor farmers to make, but also the willing co-operation of the adjacent farmers. Agricultural improvement is, therefore, less a function of agrarian finance, than that of consolidation of economic holdings, only which can provide the maximum scope for the maximum utilization of internal and external economies arising out of the investment in canals, wells, roads, dams, etc. To take one particular instance, in the construction of a well to irrigate his lands an agriculturist is at once confronted with two difficulties—first, he has no funds to invest, and second, even he has funds, he has not sufficient acreage of land at one place to utilise to the full capacity of the well to irrigate. In the matter of utilization of long-term finance, it is an obvious fact that it is utilised for two purposes: mainly (a) for the purchase of land from smaller and insolvent farmers, (b) for re-investment as loans to them at a higher rate of interest, which ultimately results in transfer of lands from the hands of the small farmers to those of the big ones. Thus the long-term finance has proved to be more an instrument of concentrating lands in the hands of a few than a means for agricultural improvement. Even the bigger landlords who have sufficient acreage of holdings cannot utilise these loans to their maximum advantage because of their indirect participation in cultivation. The direct participants—the Bataidars, the Burgadars, and the Thikadars, etc.—do not feel sufficient interest in land improvement as the sword of Damocles is always hanging upon their heads. Thus long-term finance is not only a matter of supply of credit at cheap rates of interest, but also a matter of the scope of its utilisation which is at present, extremely limited and circumscribed. The Planning Commission have also noted this fact and have, therefore, written:

"Consolidation of holdings and other schemes for improving the productivity of agriculture by increasing the size of the unit of cultivation are bound to widen the scope for long-term loans."

MEDIUM-TERM AND SHORT-TERM FINANCE

These two types of finances shade into one another and are required most by the farmers. The National Planning Committee has also recognised their importance and in absence of any other word has called it 'Intermediate Credit' the duration of which is something like two, three or four years, or from 15 months unto 5 years. While short-term loans meet the immediate and pressing needs of cultivation, medium-term loans enable the farmers to raise the standard of their tillage and to bring about an improvement in the yields. The Planning Commission have differentiated these two types of loans from one another by defining their functions. They say that short-term loans are required for purchasing

seeds, manures, and fertilizers, for meeting extra charges, etc. Medium-term loans are granted for purposes, such as, sinking of wells, purchase of bullocks and other implements.

The bulk of rural finance falls under this category and is contracted mainly for consumption purposes because of the deficient source of income to the farmers. It is admitted on all hands that our agriculture is a deficit economy and our agriculturists who fall upon this for their only source of income remain perpetually in want of financial help. This character of our agronomy has caused the majority of the farmers to look for loans and has caused loans to remain unpaid. According to the article "The Question of Agrarian Finance in West Bengal in the Post-War Period" written by Prof. Govinda Chandra Mandal in *The Modern Review* for February, 1950, 92 per cent of the agricultural families having holdings up to 10 acres of land are badly in need of credit for financing their work or meeting their difficulties in their domestic budgets. Thus the nature of the source of their income makes the problem of debt-repayment not only very difficult, but also creates difficulties for the institutions dealing in finance in realising their loans from the farmers.

Besides, much of these loans are contracted in dribbles in time and off time according to the ordinary or urgent needs of the borrowers concerned. They are advanced generally against landed security. But very often, in most cases, personal relationship and attachment between the Mahajans and the borrowers forms the chief security of loans advanced. This personal relationship includes the honesty and integrity of the borrowers and the strength of the Mahajans to realise the sums advanced in case the borrowers turn dishonest. The lenders have to be sure more of their realising capacity than of the repayable capacity of the borrowers. Besides, these loans are generally advanced in kind and seldom in cash. The rate of interest charged on such loans ranges between 50 to 100 per cent and is repayable after the harvest. 'Deorah' and 'Sawai' are still in vogue in villages, and 'Posian' and 'Batai' still form one of the chief methods of procuring bullocks or calves by the small farmers from the big ones. It is this type of loans which is required most by the farmers in rural areas.

SOURCES OF RURAL FINANCE

The following agencies provide finance to the cultivators:

Private Agencies: (a) Moneylenders and Indigenous Banks, (b) Commercial Banks.

Public or Semi-Public Agencies: (a) The State, (b) Co-operative Societies.

MONEYLENDERS AND INDIGENOUS BANKERS

The village moneylenders and the indigenous bankers were the only agencies from whom the cultivators could raise loans in early times. They were

1. First Five-Year Plan, page 239.

2. First Five-Year Plan, page 234.

engaged in various types of activities depending upon local customs and usages. They provided the bulk of the rural finance with or without security according as the amount was large or small, sometimes on the signing by the borrowers of a conditional sale deed. In early days, there were social organisations and conventions, viz., the Grampanchayat or the system of Damdupat, which restricted the practice of usury on the part of these moneylenders. But since the inception of the British rule in India, and their new land tenure systems conferring on the peasants permanent tenancy rights in land and their transfer, the usurious activities on the part of the moneylenders went on increasing so much so that today a large part of village lands are owned by the non-agriculturists and parasitic class.

THE ROLE OF MONEYLENDERS

Even up to 1945, the moneylenders were playing the most important role in the field of rural credit, particularly that of credit required by the middle and poorer classes of cultivators.³

The amount supplied by the Provincial Governments and by the co-operative movements was relatively small and joint-stock banks also played little part in the supply of credit to the agriculturists, and did not look upon agricultural credit as a part of their general business. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee, 1931, also referred to the very small share of the finance required by the agriculturists provided by the Government under the Land Improvement Loans Act, 1883 and the Agriculturists Loans Act 1884, and up to 1945, according to the Bengal Famine Commission (1945), there was no change in the position.

The evils associated with these moneylenders will compel any one to do away with them and their moneylending business. These moneylenders—the Mahajans, the Sahukars, the Kistwalas, the Pathans, the Beparis, the Banivas and the Behbaris, etc.—generally thrive on high and exorbitant rates of interest and on the system of compound rate of interest which leads to the exploitation of the ryot who 'was as easily shorn of his gains as the sheep of its fleece' (Darling). The evils associated with them are:

- (a) Compulsory payment of high rate of interest.
- (b) Demand for presents in the shape of umbrellas, shoes, etc., for advancing loans.
- (c) Getting blank-papers with thumb-impression of illiterate debtors.
- (d) Getting promissory notes signed for much larger amounts than the actual amount lent.
- (e) General manipulation of the account to the disadvantages of the debtors.
- (f) Insertion in written documents of sums considerably in excess of the actual money lent, and

- (g) Using coercive methods to obtain conditional sale deed, etc.

The Bengal Famine Enquiry Committee wrote:

"The evils of the system are, first, that though there has been a reduction from the unconscionable high rates of interest of the past, the rates are still high in many parts of the country; secondly, that the professional moneylender tends to abuse his influence over the debtor, particularly in order to secure possession of the latter's saleable produce at a low price, and similarly, the non-professional moneylender often advances money with a view to the eventual acquisition of the debtor's land." (p. 294.)

On account of these evils associated with these indigenous moneylenders, they are branded as 'unnatural monsters of cruelty and inhumanity.' But on an analysis of the actual sources of agrarian finance in the rural India, one will find these moneylenders as 'the only oasis of thrift in a desert of improvidence and extravagance and is the very foundation of the simpler system of Indian rural economy and a fount of ever-ready credit on which the villager can draw for all his needs.'⁴

Besides, their high and sometimes exorbitant rates of interest are, in certain cases at least, justified on the following grounds as noted by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee of 1931:

1. The assets of the farmers excluding lands are generally flimsy in the extreme.
2. The moneylender himself suffers from shortness of capital.
3. The expenses of collection and management of loans are very high.

The facts mentioned above lead to the conclusion that until and unless a better system of credit fully meeting the needs of the rural economy is evolved, the moneylenders cannot be dispensed with. The Famine Enquiry Commission (1945) also think, "It is inevitable that the private moneylender will continue, for long time to come, to be the main agency for the distribution of rural credit, particularly short-term and intermediate-term credit. Policy in relation to rural credit must be based on the acceptance of this fact, as well as on the recognition of the need for improving the working of the system. Reforms are necessary which would protect honest borrowers and lenders alike, which would ensure the maintenance of fair, and equitable relations between them, and which would not only increase the supply of credit for productive purposes but also diminish the supply of credit for avoidable unproductive purposes. To this end we consider it necessary (i) that the money-lending business should be licensed; (ii) that the reciprocal obligations of the lender, and the borrowers should not be regulated by law in such matters as the interest chargeable of different types of transactions, the maintenance of proper accounts, the periodical settlements of accounts, etc. and (iii) that adequate machinery

should be established for administering the licensing system and reviewing the effect of regulation, with a view to continuous improvement in rural credit facilities. Thus it is clear that they are indispensable elements in the financial system of the country though their resources are limited and methods antiquated. The true remedy, therefore, is not to end but to mend them."

The Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee (1944) also made the following recommendations:

1. The existing law regulating money-lending should be improved to make it more effective. The Act in all provinces should provide (a) licensing of moneylenders, (b) maintenance of accounts in a prescribed form, (c) prohibition against showing in books of account or in any other document a sum larger than what has been lent, (d) furnishing periodical statements of accounts to the debtors, (e) furnishing of statements to the debtors in the prescribed form from giving full particulars about each as and when advanced, (f) issue of receipts to the debtors for every payment received, etc.

It also recommended for the comprehensive definition of moneylenders, for the establishment of inspecting and supervising agency in each province, which should carry one periodical and surprise inspection of the books of moneylenders.

MEASURES TO REGULATE MONEY-LENDING

Thus the need for protecting the peasant-borrowers from the rapacity of the moneylenders was keenly felt. At first, the Government proceeded very warily, partly out of *laissez-faire* prejudice and partly because any excessive stringency in regulation might have the effect of withering away rural credit. However, since 1818, Government legislations have been passed in various provinces in order (a) to check usury, (b) to prevent the transfer of land from the poor peasants to the moneylenders and (c) to regulate accounts, etc. The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879 restricted the alienation of land and the practice of usury by authorising the court to examine the history of the farmer's debt in suits against him, to make an estimate of the sums actually due to him and to withhold unreasonable rates of interest. It also provides for the appointment of debt conciliators. The Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Act of 1904 and the C.P. Land Alienation Act of 1916—all laid down that lands mortgaged to a member of the non-agricultural class could remain in force only for a limited number of years, whereafter they were to be returned to the mortgagor free from all encumbrances. The Punjab Regulation of Accounts Bill or the British Moneylenders' Act of 1927 were recommended by the Royal Commission on agriculture to be imitated by all the provinces of India, which since 1954, has passed legislations on the same lines.

The chief features of these legislations, though

not uniform, generally provided for (a) maintenance of proper registers of transactions by the moneylenders showing the amount of each debtor separately, (b) to supply the debtor periodically or on his requisition a statement of accounts in respect of each transaction, (c) showing him the outstanding amount of principal and interest, and (d) to issue receipts. Failure to comply with these regulations was punished with (a) a loss of interest found due and costs of suits for the recovery of loans and (b) the dismissal of the suit as in the Punjab or (c) imposition of a fine as in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Bombay, and the U.P. The Usurious Loan Act of 1918 provided for (a) the fixation of the rate of interest, (b) the variation in the rate of interest according to the nature and amount of loans, secured or unsecured, big or small.

These measures, however, failed in their main objectives, particularly for the reasons that (a) the conciliation had only been misused in favour of the creditor and (b) the law permitted the transfer of land from the debtor to a moneylender if he was an 'agriculturist.' Indeed there appear 'monster fishes in the agriculturist community encouraged by law to swallow smaller fishes.'⁵ The Land Alienation Act was also a failure as the measures contained in it were not sufficiently comprehensive. The regulation of accounts met no better fate on account of the financial helplessness of the peasants, moneylenders dislike to go to courts, and the ignorance of the debtors. Besides, these measures have not been beneficial in their effects. They have, in most cases dried the source of rural credit, have compelled the farmers to sell their lands and have created possibilities of evasion either by agreement in favour of a higher rate of interest out of court, or by entering a fictitious large loan at the legal rate of interest. Thus, to my mind, no remedies against these evils can be effective and efficient unless these palliative checks are replaced by some permanent and perennial source of cheap, elastic and prompt credit to the poor and small farmers.

During recent years, as the Planning Commission has pointed out, there has been a considerable decline in the operation of the moneylenders and the landlords on account of various legislations, viz., the Debt Relief Legislation, Registration and Licensing of moneylenders, etc. The abolition of all privileged tenures and the impending reforms both in zamindari and ryotwari areas have discouraged investment by the landlords and larger cultivators. There are two types of opinion regarding the causes of this decline in the operation of the moneylenders: (1) To some, the estrangement in their relationship with borrowers and the growth of co-operative societies seems to

5. Nanavati and Anjaria: *Our Rural Problems*.

have contributed towards this decline. (2) To others, the void left in rural India by the decline of moneylenders' activities remains yet to be fulfilled. Both these views contain some elements of truth, but it is no use exaggerating them. A closer study of the sources of credit in the rural areas in the last 20 years reveals that this decline in the activities of the moneylenders has been not in their volume, but in their extent and area. Registration and licensing do not restrict money-lending up to Rs. 500 or above Rs. 500 or in instalments of Rs. 500.

95 per cent of the peasant-borrowers borrow sums below this amount. Thus it is not the Registration and licensing but the process of proletarianisation of the lowest strata of the rural population, viz., Dhanuk, Dhobi, Monchi, Kuhar, Kurmi, Gorhi, Teli, Tanti, Barai, etc., during the last decades, which has limited the extent and area of the moneylenders' activities. It is not a fact that this class—styled now as proletariat—does not need loan, but it cannot contract loan because it cannot provide any security, either landed or personal. Lands they have transferred to the big farmers, personal security they have none as they are not secured of their employment. On the other hand, concentration of capital or loanable funds has gone on increasing in a few hands and it would be wrong to suppose that the moneylenders have decreased their activities as they have lack of funds. The real fact is that their operations have not decreased in volume, but have come to be confined to the higher strata of the rural population, (viz., farmers who have repayable capacity either in terms of landed property or personal security) on account of (a) the process of proletarianisation of the lowest strata of the rural population and (b) the insecurity of their employment. Thus the contraction in the activity of the moneylenders is actually due to (a) the reduction in the number of moneylenders and (b) to the proletarianisation of the lowest strata of the rural population. The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee, 1950, have expressed their disagreement with either the proposal of strict regulation and inspection of the moneylenders' activities or the proposal of Dr. Naidou of compelling the moneylenders to join co-operative societies to execute all their transactions through them. Because these proposals overlook the fact that such legislation had already had the effect of driving a large number of moneylenders out of business, or encouraging them to resort to evasive practices, resulting in restricted and costlier credit, particularly to the smaller agriculturist. It has, therefore, suggested that in implementing legislation intended to restrict and control the activities of moneylenders, Government should take note of the pace at which an alternative machinery of a satisfactory type can be made available to agriculturists, and that nothing would be gained by depriving

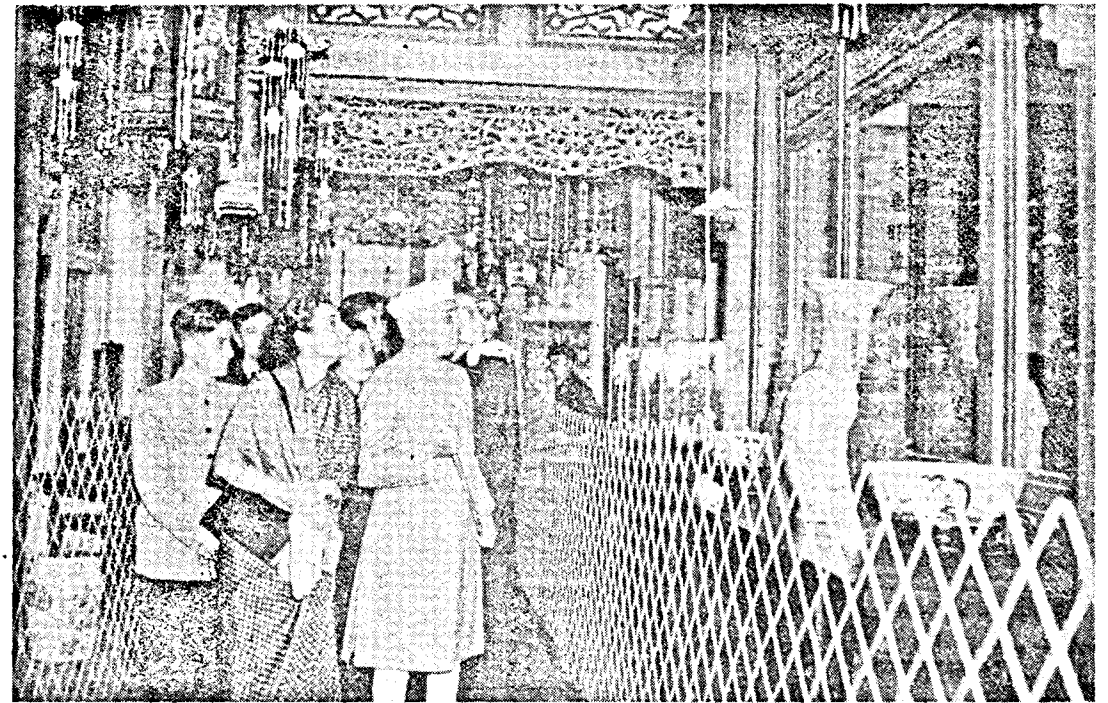
the majority of agriculturists of even the existing facilities for credit long before any alternative could be arranged. The Committee have not suggested any scheme of alternative supply of rural credit to the non-members and non-creditworthy agriculturists, nor have they defined the term, 'creditworthiness'—whether it should be expressed in terms of property or personal honesty and integrity? The first definition will exclude not less than 50 per cent of the total agricultural population from the orbit of the credit operations of the alternative machinery suggested. The second will include all the agricultural population, but will raise the problem of security. It is obvious that the second definition of the term, 'creditworthiness' is more inclusive, more beneficial to the agricultural prosperity, if gainful employment is provided to all employable unemployed among the rural population.

THE INDIGENEOUS BANKERS

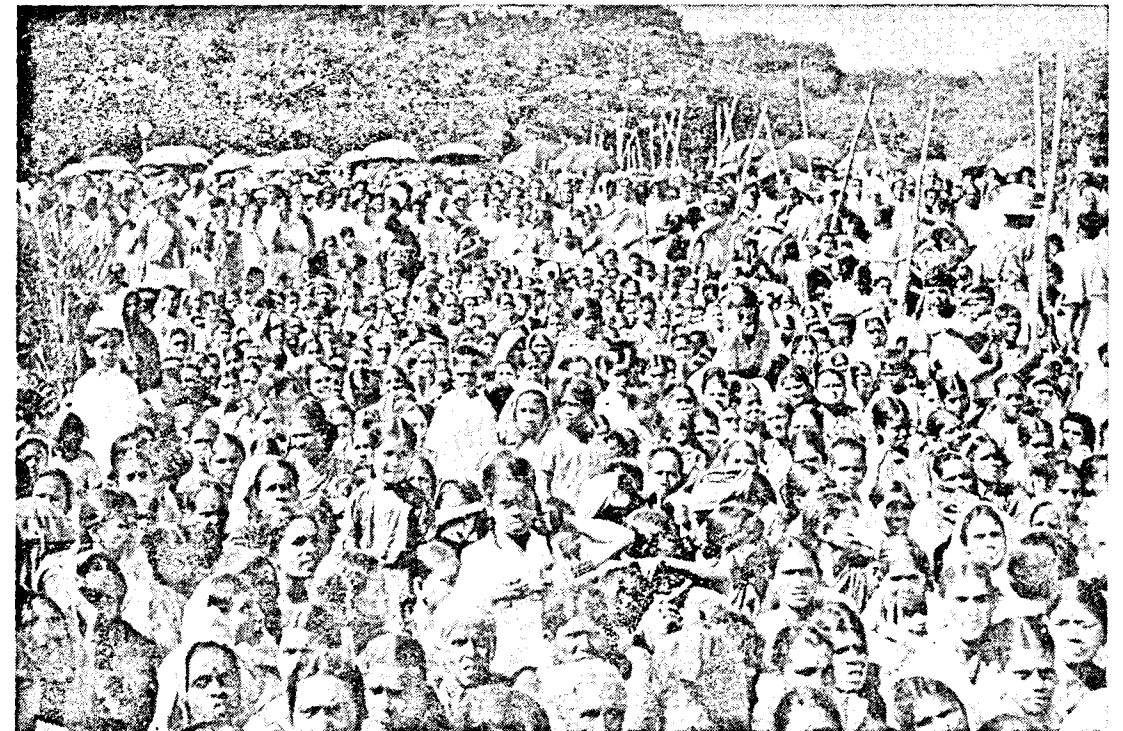
The indigenous bankers usually finance agricultural operations not directly, but only through local lenders and traders. They belong to distinct castes and undertake banking as a family business. The Jains, the Marwaris, the Chettis, the Khatriis, and the Shikarpuri Multanis are principal castes engaged in indigenous banking in the different parts of India. They invest their funds more in trade than in indigenous banking and although they discount agricultural paper, they have to carry on their activities through local moneylenders and traders of rural areas and thus have no direct relation with the cultivators. Besides, they are disorganised, scattered and ubiquitous, and there is hardly any well-defined relation between them and the organised money-market of the country.

COMMERCIAL BANKING

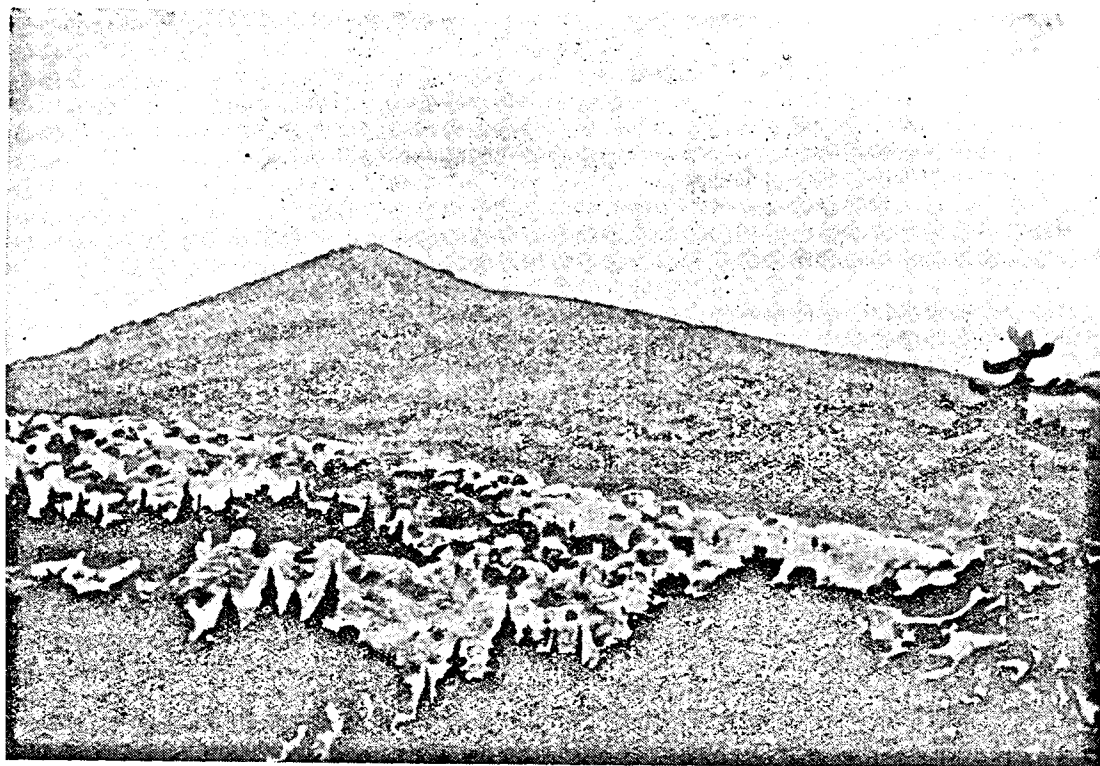
The Commercial Banks of India have hitherto figured little so far as their direct participation in the rural credit system is concerned. The joint stock banks in the country do not look upon agricultural finance as part of their business. Even in the advanced countries of the West, also, the Ordinary Commercial Banks are not regarded as suitable agencies for normally providing agricultural credit. The peculiarities of agricultural production, the special credit requirements of cultivators for a long period, the lack of proximity between the ordinary bank and the agriculturists and the absence of business accounts makes ordinary banks chary of dealing with the cultivator. On account of these difficulties the Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended the establishment of commercial law mortgage on a joint stock basis to meet the long-term requirements of the peasant-proprietor who could give adequate mortgage security. As for the existing Commercial Banks the Committee did not think that



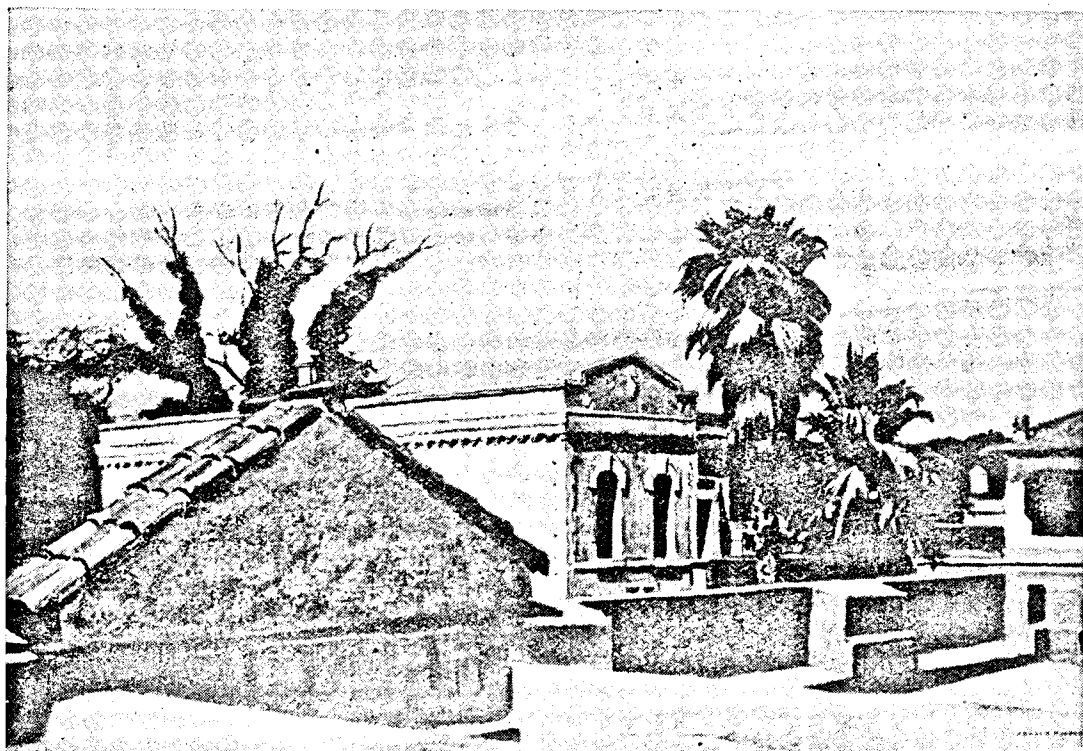
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visited the famous Summer Palace in Peking. Srimati Indira Gandhi is also seen in the picture



The Government of India took over the administration of the French establishments in India with effect from November 1, 1954. The formal transfer of power ceremony was held at the Government House in Pondicherry



New England mountain landscape by Winslow Homer



Palms at Saltillo by Edward Hopper

they could play any considerable or useful part in regard to the smaller cultivators. Besides, there are some who think that the extension of Commercial Banks to rural areas would only serve to drain away available funds through deposits for urban investments. But the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee (1950) think that, although commercial banks do not provide long-term or medium-term credit to agriculturists, nor short-term credit for agricultural operations, they are in a position to provide short-term credit for financing the marketing of agricultural produce, either directly to agriculturists or indirectly through traders to the extent of crores of rupees every season. Indeed they are considered equally able to make advances directly to agriculturists against their crops as well as to grant loans for the purchase of expensive equipment. In order to enable them to play an important part in the rural credit organisation and to provide finance to the agriculturists on a wider scale than at present the Committee has suggested the following measures to be adopted:

1. The establishment of regulated markets;
2. The development of the gradation and standardisation of agricultural produce; and
3. Satisfactory arrangements of warehouses.

In general, the Committee believe in the wide scope for the Commercial Banks with the extension of their branches to play a greater part in providing credit to rural areas in the shape of advances against produce and loans for the purchase of expensive equipment, such as, electric pump and oil-engines, and loans on the security of gold, harvest, etc.

In the field of competition between the Co-operative Banks and Commercial Banks, the Gadgil Committee (1944) said:

"All reasonable facilities which do not in any way hamper the growth of the co-operative credit system should be afforded to the commercial banks."

The Rural Banking Enquiry Committee also believe that

"Both in respect of functions as well as clientele there can be a broad division of labour between commercial and co-operative banks, and their activities thus can be co-ordinated."

It may be noted, however, that the mechanism of such division of labour has yet to be defined.

THE STATE

To some extent the Government also finance the needs of the agriculturists through Taccavi loans. These loans are advanced under the Land Improvement Loans Act, 1883 and the Agriculturists Loans Act, 1884, for effecting permanent improvements in lands and for the purchase of agricultural necessities, such as, seed, cattle and fodder.

The Government also assists the agriculturists in

times of distress by remission or suspension of land revenue which benefit the landlords directly but as they are conditional on remission or suspension of equivalent rent, they benefit the tenants.

The Taccavi loans have never been popular as the system suffers from the following defects: (a) Delay in the disposal of loan applications; (b) Adoption of coercive methods of realisation; (c) Introduction of joint responsibilities in the borrowing and the repayment of loans, and absence of any educative value of these loans, and (d) *Nazarana* of the clerk dealing with such loans, invariably at the rate of 5 to 10 per cent. Besides, these loans are mostly advanced to tide over emergencies and are not intended to supply normal finance to the agriculturists. This is the reason as to why the amount of loans so advanced by the government has been very small and little of financial assistance to the more substantial class of cultivators, leaving practically untouched the lowest strata of the agricultural community. It has played an insignificant part in the supply of rural credit. As regards their aims, they are intended to alleviate temporary and emergent distresses, viz., flood, famine, drought, etc., and to reinstate agriculture after such natural calamities have passed away. In practice, however, the first aim is realised, but reinstatement of agriculture is invariably replaced by re-investment in small shops and repayment of old debts contracted at higher rates. On account of the joint responsibility of the borrowers, each group of five, for the repayment of loans, the recovery of such loans becomes difficult and in many cases the loans have to be written off and become grants-in-aid.

During and after the Second World War, the State has assumed increased responsibility for the development of 'finance' especially as a result of the Grow More Food Campaign. Both the Famine Enquiry Commission and the Planning Commission have noted that this system also suffers from (a) considerable delay in the disbursement of loans, and (b) considerable inconvenience in the procedure followed. A large number of cultivators may possibly avail themselves of these loans if a quicker method of providing these loans could be devised though not at the cost of a sound system of financing. Thus it has three-fold problems to solve: (1) The amount of such loans has to be increased; (2) A quicker and convenient method of disbursement has to be evolved; (3) The proper and appropriate use of such loans has to be guaranteed. For the last, it seems advisable to suggest that these loans should be advanced not in terms of cash but in the shape of seeds, manures, agricultural implements, etc., through the co-operative credit societies which shall also determine, supervise and inspect the purposes and uses of loans advanced.

RISE AND FULFILMENT OF NATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

First Phase: Rise and Growth (1908-1942)

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

The beginnings of Indonesian nationalism can not be precisely dated, not even approximately. Its articulate and organised phase is however about fifty years old. Many of the elements of this nationalism are, it may be noted, much older. Some of them are at least as old as the Dutch rule.

"It might be argued," points out George Mc-Turnan Kahin, "that latent nationalisms of an embryonic character have existed within the chief Indonesian societies since then (the beginning of the Dutch rule) and that their active manifestation was kept in abeyance because there was no leadership."—*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, p. 41.

Dutch rule welded together divers (linguistic) cultural and linguistic groups into one political unit and helped the evolution of a "consciousness of kind." The archipelago's many local patriotisms united "into an all-embracing nationalism." Western education and political ideas coupled with events in the Philippines, Turkey, China and India, Dutch racial arrogance and economic exploitation completed the process of Indonesia's national awakening.

Pre-1912 Indonesian nationalism was more cultural than political except for its "Pan-Islamic and Modernist Islamic currents." It should be noted however that "political overtones" were often present. An organised Indonesian cultural and nationalist movement came into existence during 1906-1908 through the efforts of a retired Javanese physician. The movement was modernist and revivalist at one and the same time.

The Boedi Oetomo (pure endeavour), founded in 1908 specially through the efforts of two students of the medical school at Batavia, is Indonesia's first national organisation. Its programme, essentially non-political in character, included the development of traditional and Western education among the peoples of Java and Madura, the advancement of agriculture, industry and commerce among them, and "everything that will guarantee them the life of a dignified people." The leadership of the Boedi Oetomo in its earlier days was bureaucratic and aristocratic, the leaders being all of them Javanese aristocrats of the bluest blood. The Boedi Oetomo enrolled 10,000 members within a year. But then a decline set in from which it never recovered fully. To quote an authority, the Boedi Oetomo were "able to arouse support, but they were unable to exercise driving power, because they did not know how to reach the people and therefore got little power behind them."—*Verspreide Geschriften*, p. 54, by P. H. Fromberg.

The Sarekat Islam, founded in 1912, was the first politically based nationalist organisation in Indonesia. It demanded complete independence for Indonesia, which was to be achieved by force, if necessary. The popularity of the party increased rapidly. It had about

2.5 million members on its rolls in 1919. The Government were alarmed and struck the first blow at Sarekat Islam in 1914. An Act passed in that year conferred legal status on the various branches of the Sarekat Islam, refusing such status for the organisation as a corporate whole. The central leadership of the party, moderate exponents of Modernist Islamic ideas, lost hold over the branches in consequence. These latter were finally captured by more radical elements, basically Communist in character.

The National Indies party came into existence in the same year as the Sarekat Islam (1912). It advocated social equality, socio-economic justice and ultimate independence for Indonesia. It was a champion of Indonesian-Eurasian co-operation and admitted both to its membership. The National Indies was, however, promptly suppressed by the Government. Its leaders were forced to leave the country. Most of its Eurasian members joined the Insulinde, an exclusively Eurasian organisation with a moderate programme. A handful of the members of the National Indies interested in Marxism joined the Indies Social Democratic Association founded by a Dutchman, Hendrik Sneevliet. The membership of the Association grew steadily. Its Marxist tendencies too became more and more pronounced. The European leadership of the organisation realized before long that its ideal of a new order in Indonesia based on political independence and socialist economy could not take shape without popular support. To obtain a popular backing for the Association, Sneevliet contacted the Sarekat Islam leaders of Semarang. They joined the Indies Social Democratic Association. They, however, continued their membership of the Sarekat Islam as well. These neophytes carried the ideology of the Indies Social Democratic Association to the rank and file of the Sarekat Islam and by 1917 a revolutionary current was clearly manifest in the latter. The moderate central leadership of the party reduced to ineffectiveness by the Act of 1914 mentioned above looked on helplessly and had to bow down finally to the rising tide of extremism. The Second National Congress of the Sarekat Islam (October, 1917) laid down independence as its goal and made it clear that if methods of non-violence failed, another approach might be necessary. It condemned "sinful capitalism." "Sinful capitalism" was, however, explained later on as foreign capitalism inferring thereby that Indonesian capitalism was acceptable.

In the first session of the newly created Volksraad (People's Council) in May, 1918, the Sarekat Islam members strongly criticised the Government. The potentially revolutionary character and increased socialist emphasis of the party came to the forefront in its Third National Congress a few months later

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(October, 1918). In the last month of the year, the 'Radical Concentration'—a combination of all the principal Indonesian parties in the Volksraad—forced the Governor-General to promise far-reaching political reforms at an early date. Indonesian leaders were in consequence emboldened to embark upon more extreme nationalistic programmes.

Hendrik Sneevliet was arrested and packed out of Indonesia in December, 1918. His work however continued. The Indonesian members of the Indies Social Democratic Association captured the leadership of the Sarekat Islam branch organisations. The central leadership of the Sarekat Islam and the party's leftist wing came to a parting of the ways in the Fourth Congress of the party in 1919. The central leadership refused to accept the extreme proposals of the leftists led by Semaen. Semaen and other leaders of the Indies Social Democratic Association thereupon converted the Association into the Communist party of the Indies (PKI). The new party was inaugurated at Semarang office of the Sarekat Islam on May 23, 1920. Semaen became the first President of the party.

The PKI joined the Comintern a few months later. Semaen was arrested and forced to leave the country in August, 1923. A similar fate had befallen all his Dutch colleagues by the end of the year. The departure of the Dutch leaders was a benefit in disguise to the PKI as it raised the prestige of the party in the eyes of the masses. The central leadership of the Sarekat Islam had been following in the meanwhile an increasingly active policy. It vigorously allocated the Government. The people were excited and there was a short-lived insurrection in Celebes in the middle of 1919. A Sarekat Islam leader of West Java took up arms against the Government of his own initiative shortly after this.

A number of labour unions had sprung into existence in the meanwhile. By the end of 1919 the Sarekat Islam had united 22 of these unions with a membership of 77,000 into the Trade Union Central (PKB). Semaen was elected chairman. He and his supporters tried to wrest control of the PKB from the central leadership of the Sarekat Islam. Having failed in the effort, Semaen and his faction organised a rival trade unions association—the Revolutionary Trade Union Central—in June, 1921.

The Sixth National Congress of the Sarekat Islam (1921) decided to abolish double membership. No member of the party was to be a member of another party at the same time. The Communist members of the party present at the Congress resigned. The Communist-controlled branches of the Sarekat Islam in Semarang area threw off their allegiance to the parent organisation.

Within four years, the Communists obtained control of a probable majority of the branches of the Sarekat Islam. The peasantry was, by and large,

alienated. The Communists decided to set up a Red Sarekat Islam headquarters in 1921. Tan Malaka, one of their leaders, made an abortive attempt to organise a general strike in 1922. He was arrested and exiled. Semaen, who had been away in Moscow at the time of the attempted strike, organised the Union of Indonesian Labour Unions later in the year. The Communist leaders dominated the organisation. The Communists next organised sections of the Red Sarekat Islam in all places where there were branches of the Sarekat Islam and had recruits from among the members of the latter. The name for these Communist-controlled organisations was changed into People's Association (Sarekat Rakjat) and they were conceived of as "the foundation of the Communist party in the masses." In 1924, the PKI accepted the dissolution of the Sarekat Rakjat in principle. The process of dissolution was to extend over a number of years, the Communists were to concentrate their forces on the trade union movement and a Soviet Republic of Indonesia was to be set up. The year 1925 was marked by increased PKI activity among the trade unions. The Comintern leaders in general and the Soviet leaders in particular accused the Indonesian Communists of Leftist deviation. They were advised to "form a united and anti-imperialist front with the non-Communist Indonesian nationalist organisations and to utilise the Sarekat Rakjats as an independent national-revolutionary organisation linked up with the wide masses." The advice was not acted upon however.

The PKI under the influence of Dahlan, Soekra, Aliman and Musso decided upon open revolution in October, 1925. A strike by the railway workers was to be the signal for a general strike which was to develop into a revolution to overthrow the Dutch power. The Communist party was to take over the administration of Indonesia. The plan miscarried. The Government "cracked down hard" arresting most of the important labour leaders concerned and three of the few top-ranking Communist leaders still in the country—Darsono, Aliarcham and Mardioha.

A great schism developed in the ranks of the Indonesian Communists, a schism that has yet to be healed. Deprived of its ablest leaders, the Communist party was compelled to operate more and more underground. It lost the support of the peasantry. The contemplated revolution was postponed and it did not break out till November 12, 1926. Risings took place in Java and on the West coast of Sumatra. They were suppressed with comparative ease. The failure of the rebellion was due to the indifference of the workers in cities as well as on plantations.

Musso, Alimin and other PKI leaders held Tan Malaka and his associates primarily responsible for the debacle. The Indonesian Republic party (Pari) was organised by Tan Malaka in Bangkok in 1927.

To train Indonesian underground workers in Bangkok was its immediate objective. These in their turn were to train underground workers in Indonesia. The long-term objective was to build up a co-ordinated proletarian movement in Asia, i.e., South-East Asia and Australia. The objective was not attained. Tamin, one of Tan Malaka's lieutenants, however, built up an underground organisation in Indonesia. It did not attract many recruits and had but local influence in one or two places.

The Indonesian Communist organisation was crushed after the failure of the rebellion mentioned above. The large majority of its leaders who had not already escaped or been exiled, were now deported. 13,000 in all—a number non-Communist labour and nationalist leaders among them—were arrested by the Dutch police. 4,500 of those arrested were gaoled, 1,308 interned and the rest released after a time. An attempt to revive the Communist party in 1928 ended in a failure because of the Government vigilance. Musso built up the Young Communist party (PKM) as an underground organisation in 1935-36. The PKM as well as the PKM were paper organisations more or less and never acquired much influence in the country. The non-Communist leaders and their organisations alone were in the picture during the remaining years of Dutch rule in Indonesia.

The bitter feud between the Sarekat Islam and the PKI and the sharp re-action by the Government to the Communist rebellion of 1926 later on led to large-scale withdrawals from the first-named party. Many of its members joined the Mohammadjah, a non-political organisation founded in 1912. Primarily concerned with the propagation of Moslem culture and the non-political ideas of the Modernist movement, the Mohammadjah "could not be divested of political overtones . . . It was a still, but deep, tributary of the stream of political nationalism and quietly but sustainedly nourished and strengthened that stream." —*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* by G. M. T. Kahin, pp. 87-88.

A more or less similar part was played by the Taman Siswa movement started in 1921. It aimed at developing an educational system based upon a realistic synthesis of Indonesian and Western culture. The Taman Siswa schools—at one stage more than 200 of them functioned all over the country—did much to develop a nationalist outlook among the Indonesian youth. It is no accident that many an old boy of the Taman Siswa schools became important members and leaders of various political organisations with nationalist policies and programmes.

The Indonesian Union (PI) was the most important organisation in determining the character of the Indonesian nationalist movement in the years following the Communist rebellion of 1926. An organisation of Indonesian students in Holland, it was founded in

1922. The Union's policies and lines of thinking henceforth played a significant role in the development of Indonesian nationalism. A majority of Indonesia's top nationalist leaders after 1927 had been at one time or another active members of the PI. By 1923, it had adopted a programme of complete national independence, to be attained by the efforts of the Indonesian people as a whole. Non-co-operation with the Dutch was prescribed as the weapon of the national struggle. Most of the members of the Indonesian Union, their strong pro-Marxist leanings notwithstanding, were not doctrinaire Marxists. The Union sought the support of and association with all anti-colonial groups and organisations—Communist and otherwise. Only a small proportion of its membership finally emerged as members of the Communist party. The control and guidance of the Union passed into the hands of Setiadjit and Abdulmadjid late in 1932. It fell in line with the Comintern policy under their guidance and adopted the policy of co-operation with the Dutch in 1936. The demand of full independence for Indonesia was dropped. An alliance between the Indonesian Union and the Indonesian Communist party was all but achieved in 1926 when Mohammad Hatta, the leader of the Indonesian Union, and Semaen signed a united front contention. According to this agreement, the Indonesian Union "was to assume top leadership and full responsibility for the nationalist movement in Indonesia and the PKI and its subordinate organisations would refrain from any opposition to the Perhimpunan Indonesia's (Indonesian Union's) leadership so long as it consistently continued to follow the policy of independence for Indonesia." Semaen, however, repudiated the agreement in December 1927. Semaen's repudiation widened the gulf between the Communists and the Indonesian Union and the gulf was never bridged. The latter cut off all connections with the Comintern-dominated League against Imperialism in 1929.

The Indonesian Union deeply influenced the nationalist movement through the return of its members to Indonesia and through its publications. It maintained close contact with the larger number of Indonesian students at Cairo and Mecca and had a great influence on their thought and outlook. Almost all the members of the Union embarked upon political careers on their return home. 'Study clubs' organised by them disseminated the Union's ideas.

The returnees of the Indonesian Union founded a political party—Indonesian Nationalist party (PNI)—in June, 1927. The Bandung Study Club chair-manned by a young engineer, Soekarno—President Soekarno of today—took the initiative. The PNI stood for complete political and economic independence of Indonesia with a government elected by and responsible to the Indonesian people. It believed firmly that their goal could be reached only by non-

co-operation with the Dutch and by the efforts of the Indonesians themselves. Unity among Indonesians and self-reliance were held to be of primary importance. Soekarno warned his countrymen as early as 1929 that in the approaching Pacific war among the Great Powers unity was absolutely necessary to defend Indonesia. The PNI from its inception devoted itself to the tasks of organising labour unions, development of co-operatives and the support of national education, specially in the Taman Siswa schools. The PNI grew in popularity with an amazing rapidity. Its popularity is attributable, among others, to its programme, its able leadership and the brilliant oratory of Soekarno. Within two years its membership exceeded the 10,000-mark. Many of the members had been once members of the Sarekat Rakjats and formerly Communist trade unions. It may be noted in passing that the relatively lenient policy of the Dutch Colonial Government also contributed to the growth of the PNI. De Graeff, the Dutch Governor-General of Indonesia at the time, was much more tolerant of the nationalist movement than any of his predecessors or successors.

The PNI soon became the most powerful nationalist organisation in Indonesia. Supported by the leaders of the Sarekat Islam, it established a sort of loose federation of all the important nationalist organisations. The federation known as the Union of Political Associations of the Indonesian People (PPPKI) gave a unity to the Indonesian nationalist movement hitherto unknown.

The Government arrested Soekarno and a number of other PNI leaders in December, 1929. He and three of his colleagues were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The PNI itself was banned later on. Its members joined three new organisations. Two of these adopted much more cautious policies and more mature programmes than the PNI. The Indonesian People's Party (Partai Rakjat Indonesia), one of these parties, was founded in 1930 by Mohammad Tabrani, a prominent Indonesian journalist. It discarded non-co-operation and called for the eventual achievement of self-government by parliamentary means. The party never attained much popularity. The majority of the members of the PNI joined the Partai Indonesia (Partindo) founded by Sartono in 1931. The Partindo stood for complete independence and prescribed non-co-operation as the weapon for the national struggle. Its policy was, however, much more moderate than that of the PNI. A small group of the PNI known as the Golongan Merdeka (Independent Group) held aloof from both of these new parties. It was fortunate in obtaining two brilliant leaders—Soetan Sjahrir and Dr. Mohammad Hatta. The Golongan Merdeka was re-named Indonesian National Education Club in 1932. Hatta and Sjahrir believed that a nationalist movement could have

enduring strength "only if a significant number of the Indonesian people were educated to political maturity and a thorough understanding of nationalist principles." Their idea was reflected in the policy of their organisation. Hatta and Sjahrir were soon arrested and exiled to New Guinea. They were kept confined till their release early in 1942 on the eve of the Japanese invasion of Indonesia.

Soekarno, released in December, 1931,—his prison term had been reduced—joined the Partindo in July, 1932, and was unanimously elected the chairman of the party. The party adopted a firmer nationalist line under leadership. Its popularity increased. The Government grew nervous. Soekarno was arrested and exiled without trial.

The nationalist movement was weakened by the arrest and exile of dynamic nationalist leaders, the repressive policy and the increased efficiency of the secret police. Though some of the most important parties advocated non-co-operation, "there was a general shift in the centre of gravity" of Indonesian politics towards limited co-operation. In the midst of these currents and cross-currents of nationalist politics the old Sarekat Islam split up into two factions. The division, needless to say, considerably reduced the none too great influence of the party.

The Greater Indonesian Party (Parindra) formed out of a fusion of some of the more moderate political groups in 1935, advocated co-operation or non-co-operation with the Government as the occasion demanded. Led by Dr. Raden Soetomo and others, the Parindra grew into the most influential Indonesian group in the Volksraad. It achieved little in the political sphere—within the Volksraad or without. Its record in other fields is quite a creditable one however.

The Parindra and other moderate nationalist groups in the Volksraad were disappointed by the Netherlands Government's rejection of the Soetardjo Petition. The Petition, a proposal passed by the Volksraad in mid-1936, requested the Government that a conference be convened to discuss plans for "the evolutionary development of Indonesia over a ten-year period towards self-government within limits of the existing Dutch constitution." Its rejection was a sobering dash of cold water in the face of the Indonesian moderates who believed that co-operation with the Dutch was a sure, may be slow, road to self-government.

Reaction to the negative attitude of the Hague to the Soetardjo Petition and the growing consciousness of the Indonesian intelligentsia that Fascism was a menace to the world led to the organisation of a new party—The Indonesian People's Movement or Gerindo—in 1937. Members of the now defunct Parindo as well as individuals dissatisfied with the moderate leadership in politics rallied under the banner of the Gerindo. Its growth was almost

spectacular. It soon became the powerful left wing of the nationalist movement under Mr. Sartono, Mr. Amir Sjarifuddin and others. It felt at the same time that the threat of world conquest by Fascism was the problem of problems—one to which all others must be subordinated. The fate of the struggle for national independence was in its opinion dependent upon the global conflict between the forces of Fascism and anti-Fascism. The Gerindo therefore co-operated with the Government and exerted pressure upon it at the same time for the granting of self-government to Indonesia. The Gerindo further made it clear that co-operation the basis of equality between Holland and Indonesia was the condition precedent for fighting the menace of Fascism.

The principal nationalist organisations of Indonesia were drawn together into one large federation in May, 1949, under the name and style of the Federation of Indonesian Political Parties or the Gapi. It owes its existence mainly to the untiring efforts of Mohammad Hoesni Tramrin of the Parindra and was composed of eight of the most important nationalist organisations. The Federation demanded (i) right of self-determination for Indonesia; (ii) national unity founded upon democracy—political, economic and social; (iii) a democratically elected Indonesian Parliament responsible to the people of Indonesia and (iv) solidarity between Indonesian political groups and the Netherlands in order to maintain a strong anti-Fascist front.

The Indonesian People's Congress sponsored by the Federation a few months later (December, 1939) adopted the Indonesian language as the national language, a national flag and the song "Indonesia Raya" (Greater Indonesia)* as the national anthem. The Congress adopted a resolution at the same time that in view of the ominous international situation Dutch-Indonesian co-operation was essential and that

more democratic rights to Indonesia were the price for co-operation. The principal demand was that the Government should be responsible to a democratic, broadly based representative body which would replace the Volksraad. "Indonesia Berparlemen" (Parliament for Indonesia) became the slogan of the Indonesian People's Congress.

The Winwoho Resolution passed by the Volksraad in February, 1940, demanded self-government for Indonesia within the framework of the Netherlands Constitution. It envisaged the enlargement of the Volksraad, the responsibility of the Heads of Departments of the Indonesian Government to the Volksraad and the revision of the powers of the Governor-General. The proposals embodied in the Winwoho Resolution were rejected by the Dutch Government. The rejection was followed shortly by the statement of the Dutch Government in exile—Holland was overrun by Germany in August, 1940—that the Atlantic Charter with its promise of self-determination for all peoples meant no change in the relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

Indonesia was disillusioned. The ideology of Dutch-Indonesian solidarity popularised by the threat of Fascist expansionism was undermined. A few intellectuals however still clung to it. But they had no following in the country. There was a re-alignment of forces in Indonesia. The Dutch and the educated Indonesians drifted farther and farther apart; the latter and the masses were drawn closer.

Setan Sjahrir thus sums up Indonesian reaction to events in Europe in 1939 and in the following years: "The fall of Holland evoked secret satisfaction . . . As the war (in Europe) developed in those first years, the people derived a vicarious satisfaction from the misfortunes of their rulers. And this provided a stimulus for further estrangement from the Dutch and for the growth of a national self-consciousness."

"For the average Indonesian, the war was . . . a struggle in which the Dutch colonial rulers finally would be punished by Providence for the evil, the arrogance and the oppression they had brought to Indonesia. Among the masses, anti-Dutch feeling grew stronger and stronger. This was naturally reflected in the nationalist movement and in its leadership, part of which expressed sympathy for the Axis openly."—*Out of Exile*. English translation by Charles Wolf Jr., pp. 218-19.

The solidarity among the Indonesian nationalists steadily increased during the last two years of Dutch rule. A Second Indonesian People's Congress, which met in September, 1941, decided to establish the Indonesian People's Council. The Council was regarded as a permanent representative body of the nationalist movement. Its principal demand was a representative Parliament for Indonesia to which the Government of Indonesia would be responsible. The popularity of Japan was on the increase. An overwhelming major-

ity of the nationalists either welcomed the invaders from the north or remained apathetic when these latter set foot on the Indonesian soil in February, 1942.

Indonesia stood at the cross-roads of history. Indonesians were on the *qui vive*.

(To be continued)

THE MODERN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE—ITS ECONOMIC ROLE

By PROF. DAYANIDHI TRIPATHY, M.A., O.E.S.

THE Chamber of Commerce may be defined as a voluntary association of merchants and businessmen in general, financiers, industrialists—the Big Business—and others generally connected with business organised to protect, promote and represent the interests of trade, commerce and industry; improve trade conditions, urge legislation beneficial to commerce and social welfare, and above all to encourage the growth and prosperity of its several communities. These are organisations unlike associations of specific trades and industries which concern themselves only with the problem of those individual trades and industries which they represent. Chambers of Commerce today are well-established institutions originally operating through Boards of Directors, various committees and sub-committees.

The contemporary type of chamber of commerce is the child of modern civilization and, therefore, in keeping with the historical process, had its origin in Europe towards the end of the 16th century and was later transplanted to other countries. Its genesis may be traced back to the first Chamber of Commerce—a voluntary association formed by the merchants of Marseilles (France) in 1599 though not definitely organised until 1650.

The functions of a Chamber of Commerce are very extensive and varied. Its primary function is to support, help, encourage and promote trade, commerce and industry, and to protect the commercial, mercantile and manufacturing interests of the country. The functions basic to chambers of commerce can be broadly classified into two divisions: Firstly, they render a variety of technical and administrative services to their members, viz., supplying information on markets, freight rates, prices, credit standing, general trade conditions and trade routes, etc., providing for commercial arbitration, issuing certificates of origin, maintaining research bureaux and publishing their findings, promoting integrity and good faith, just and equitable principles of business, discovering and correcting abuses; establishing and maintaining uniformity in commercial usages; advancing commercial and technical education in the country, and acting generally as consultant on trade and related matters; secondly, they interpret and represent to the Government the attitude and views of the commercial class with a view to promote, stimulate, protect and safeguard the interests of trade, commerce and industry. With growing State control of economic activity,

such liaison work has increased in volume and importance, and chambers of commerce have increasingly taken upon themselves the function of explaining Government regulations to traders and industrialists, suggesting to the Government, on the other hand, as to how best these can be satisfactorily administered and the difficulties of businessmen in this connection be removed.

The main purpose of a Chamber of Commerce is to stimulate foster and promote the commercial and industrial activities of the community through co-operation and co-ordination on the part of the citizens. Civics, social betterment and welfare work are only collateral subjects. The discussion in this essay will, therefore, be strictly confined to their economic role.

The early chambers of commerce were, for the greater part of the period, deliberative bodies meeting infrequently, debating problems of local or national interest and adjourning. But it is different in the case of modern chambers of commerce. Evolution has produced a new organisation conducted by the best type of citizens and businessmen, and interested not only in the upbuilding of commerce but also in the betterment of community life. In the words of Wheeler:

"The commercial organisation of today is the most beneficent form that community life has ever known."

The Chambers of Commerce are destined to play an important role in the economic development of a country, in raising the standard of living of the masses through industrialisation and commercial progress. It has already been observed that one of the primary objects of a chamber of commerce is the promotion of enterprises in the matter of inland and foreign trade, transport, industry and manufactures, finance and all other economic subjects. In the Western countries they have been valuable instruments for the industrial development of the cities. They directed the industrial development not only by promoting new enterprises but also by supplying the financial and technical needs of those enterprises. For example, Cleveland's industrial development is directed by the Chamber of Commerce through the latter's Industrial Development Committee. While rendering its greatest service to home industries the chamber encourages new enterprises. To this end it classifies the needs and resources of the city. Its records include traffic, transportation, freight records and cost figures on sites and materials. With the help of these statistics the manu-

* Composed by Wage Rudolf Supratman (1903-38), a journalist, a teacher and a violin player at different times, it was first sung by the composer himself before the All-Indonesian Youth Congress in 1928. The anthem, a long one, is known as the 'Indonesia Raya' (Great Indonesia) from its refrain which runs as follows:

"Indonesia Raya, Merdeka, Merdeka,

"Tanahku negriku, yang kucinta,

"Indonesia Raya, Merdeka, Merdeka,

"Hinduplah, Indonesia Raya."

("Indonesia Raya, Proud and Free, Proud and Free,

"Our Motherland, Our Nativeland whom we love,

"Indonesia Raya, Glorious and Illustrious,

"Long Live Great Indonesia.")

The song played a great part in the evolution of Indonesian nationalism and embodied the aspirations of a nation in making. The part played by it in Indonesia's national struggle was analogous to that played by *Vande Mataram* in ours. The Youth Congress of 1928 passed a resolution that "Indonesia Raya" was to be the national anthem of Indonesia. The song brought national consciousness to the remotest parts of Indonesia. "It awoke the masses, kept their minds open and kindled their desire for independence."—(National Anthem of Indonesia—Feature Article in the Information Bulletin from Indonesia. Vol. V, No. 16, Q. 10.7.54, p. 3).

facturer who contemplates moving his plant to Cleveland is able to analyse local conditions affecting his project. The chamber also approved a plan for the promotion of an Investment Company with an initial capital of not less than \$500,000 to finance Cleveland industries. Similarly, the Boston Chamber of Commerce was responsible for the organisation of an Industrial Development Company. Another leading example of economic improvement due to the efforts of a chamber of commerce is the Houston Ship Channel in the U.S.A.

Indian Chambers of Commerce have, no doubt, a long record of service behind them. They have certainly done useful work by establishing greater unity among businessmen and industrialists, and helping in the creation of conditions favourable to the growth of trade, commerce and industry.

"The chambers furnished the vertebrae round which the specialist associations began to articulate themselves in the 'eighties of the last century. As the units of business and industry grew in size and economic life became increasingly complex it was the chambers of commerce which provided the background of knowledge, the corpus of experience and continuing secretarial services which were essential to the associations' successful functioning. In every matter from the ethics of the market place to problems of occupational health, the chambers of commerce have been consulted and said their say."

Historically, they grew in the days of a foreign government. In the past they have acted as watchdogs of national interests and as well-informed and pertinent critics of the alien government. Yet their achievement is very insignificant and unimpressive, their activities in the establishment of industries and in the promotion of civic interests very meagre. They have to learn some valuable lessons from the experience and achievements of their counterparts in the Western countries and to apply them to practice. They have to accomplish a good deal to get their right seat by the side of, and to hold their heads high before the latter.

With the dawn of political freedom new and pressing problems have come to the fore; the problem of raising the standard of living of the teeming millions from the present appallingly low level has assumed gigantic proportions, and has become glaring seriously engaging the pointed attention of the Government, the economists, the politicians and every patriotic-minded citizen of the country. The need for accelerating the pace of economic progress for raising the standard of living of the masses has become more urgent than ever before, and with the attainment of freedom a more congenial environment for economic development has been created. The institution of private property has been recognised by our Constitution and the private sector has been assigned a honourable place in the economic set-up of the country. Rightly they have been assigned a significant role in the economic construction and industrial development programme—the First Five-Year Plan—of the country. Thus the oppor-

tunities before the financiers, capitalists and industrialists of the country for raising the standard of living of millions of India through industrialisation and commercial progress have been all the more widened. The Chambers of Commerce—associations of merchants industrialists, financiers and capitalists, the Big Business of the country—have, therefore, a conspicuous part to play in the noble task of upbuilding the country, in all matters relating to the country's economic and industrial advancement. They have to contribute their mite in attaining high levels of production and prosperity in the crucial times ahead. They should therefore, no longer remain merely watchdogs of sectional interests or mere critics of Government policy. They must discharge their social responsibility and justify their existence. It is interesting to note that of late the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has begun to realise the importance of the need to step up the pace of industrialisation from the points of view of balance of payment, growth of population, employment, etc. It, therefore, conducted a survey and study on Imports and Industrial Development in India and has recommended a five-point policy in its official report designed to give assistance to indigenous industry in the country and encourage production in those industries to their maximum capacity, which, according to it, is the key to improve the standard of living of the people and economic strength of the nation. But they should be allowed certain obvious freedom of functioning within its limited sphere of activity. The State should create a favourable atmosphere for the springs of private initiative. They should not, however, expect to function in their own way.

There is no denying the fact that India's industrial progress has been greatly handicapped due to lack of investment companies in the country. The Industrial Finance Corporation—the only of its kind—serves merely as a long-term lending institution for a very few enterprises only. There is now rightly a move afoot for the promotion of an Industrial Development Corporation under the auspices of the Union Government with American capital and World Bank's aid 'to help to promote new industries and to expand and modernise existing ones.' But it must be recognised that the establishment of one such corporation for financing a few industries cannot be a perfect solution of the long-term financial requirements of our industries. A myriad of such corporations have to be formed before planning any further industrial expansion for a country of India's dimension. This lacunae can well be fulfilled by the chambers of commerce as has been done in Western countries. As our Prime Minister Sri Nehru has aptly observed:

"In the changed circumstances of today we can no longer look to other countries for any great economic aid. We have to remember always that

we must have to rely more and more on ourselves alone. We have to develop full confidence in ourselves. So we have to tap fully our inherent strength and resources so that we may not have to depend on others."

It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the Chambers of Commerce in India should make earnest efforts to promote Industrial Development Corporations for supplying the long-term financial needs of our industries. It is gratifying to note that the Committee on 'Finance for the Private Sector' has also suggested the creation of a privately owned and managed Industrial Development and Finance Corporation, a consortium of banks and insurance companies, and a special Development Corporation to meet the financial needs of small industries in particular.

Stocks of such corporations, if organised as is hoped, should be issued to the members of Chambers of Commerce. The Corporation should operate largely in industrial securities which always involve business risks while promising business profits. Along with this function the Corporation may also guarantee on the security of a credit fund, the notes of men with enterprises to establish who should be previously recommended by the chamber. The right to reject such recommendation should, however, be reserved by the directors of the Corporation. The directors should, moreover, have the right of supervision over any firm applying to them for financial assistance. The scheme would not lend the Corporation in any undue risk. The liability of each subscriber to the credit fund has to be limited to the amount of his guarantee. The management of the affairs of the Corporation should be entrusted to the member-chambers who are best fitted for the purpose. The flotation of such a corporation would present no great task since it will have the backing and support of Chambers of Commerce—associations of merchants, industrialists, financiers and capitalists, the Big Business. Its activities should cover a wide range of industrial undertakings and should not be confined to advancing of loans alone unlike those of the Industrial Finance Corporation. It should not limit its scope to any specific sphere of industry. Along with advancing of loans it should participate in equity capital, underwriting of shares, furnishing of technical services and managerial aid, if possible through training centres, to industries. Flexibility should be the keynote of its functions. The present is the most suitable time and opportune moment for setting up such a corporation.

Another sphere in which the Chambers of Commerce can make themselves useful is port improvement and development. They should undertake the present campaign for port improvement and development which can give us an insight into a great modern struggle for commercial supremacy, the pleasure of seeing our country's flag flying in others' water. They

must develop a powerful co-operative force which will enable them, in the face of many obstacles, to effect improvements and reforms. It should be borne in mind that constructive work by Chambers of Commerce is in itself their best reward.

We have seen that one of the chief functions of Chambers of Commerce is the promotion of enterprises in the matter of inland and foreign trade, and the discovery and correction of abuses prevailing amongst the business community. The unfavourable balance of payments has been a menacing problem. The Chambers of Commerce can render their utility in this field as well. They ought to greatly enhance the commercial standing and importance of India among foreign nations by materially improving and extending our trade and creating a high standard of business ethics—the key to business success—amongst our businessmen. They should make earnest endeavours to upkeep the country's fair name in the field of foreign trade. Recently the Committee on 'Finance for the Private Sector' has drawn pointed attention to the need for increased effort on the part of organised bodies like Chambers of Commerce to root out the many unhealthy practices that still prevail in the business sector and to raise the standard of business management and morality.

The history of Chambers of Commerce in this country so far is one of struggle and not of achievement. They have to realise the power of co-operative effort and the application of that power to things worthwhile.

"We need more than anything else something to create a sense of a city, a feeling of unity and dependence, of common obligation and purpose."

The stage has now arrived, when, in order to contribute their mite, they have to play the role of practical and constructive adviser to the Government in measures relating to commerce and industry, and act as an effective liaison between commerce and industry on one hand, and Government and the public on the other. They have to educate public opinion and make it more aware of the nature of economic problems of an underdeveloped country like ours. In view of the absence of separate representation of commercial and industrial interests in the legislatures they have to acquaint the legislators with the culminative implications of various legislative measures affecting commerce and industry. To perform these functions effectively and adequately they have to take on new responsibilities which they, it is hoped, will not shirk. But these additional responsibilities are also additional opportunities for service, for dispelling the paradox of poverty amidst plenty, and for ushering in a new era of plenty and prosperity, of peace and progress. The ultimate test by which these organisations will be judged is by the service they render to the Indian people.

KAILAS AND MANASA-SAROVAR

By D. V. REGE, I.C.S. (Retd.)

KAILAS and Manasa-Sarovar region can be called the cynosure of the world as it is considered very holy by the Hindus and the Buddhists who number about 90 crores. Our great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the Puranas, describe the region in glowing terms and consider Mount Kailas as the abode of Lord Shiva and his consort Parvati. The mountain

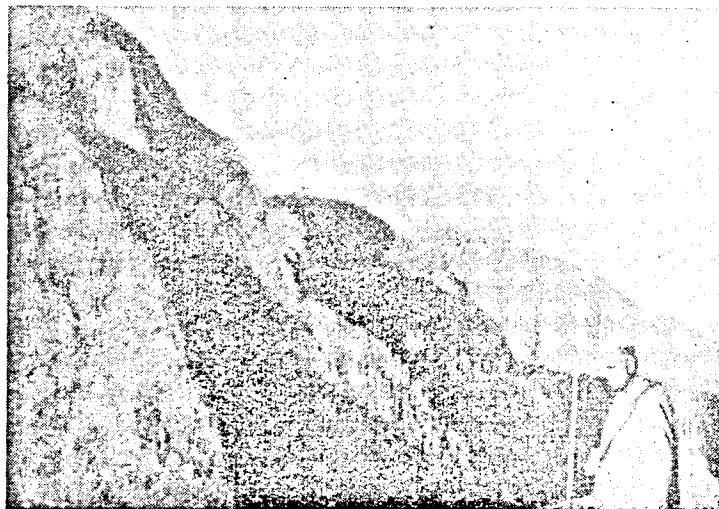


Mount Kailas

no doubt looks like a Shiva Linga from certain angles though the peak is really tetrahedral in shape. The Buddhists believe that Lord Buddha and his 500 Bodhisattvas reside on the Kailas peak. Manasa-Sarovar or Manasarovar is said to be the creation of the Manas (mind) of Brahma and is the holiest, the most fascinating and the most famous of all the lakes in the world. Though the Aryans must have left this region about ten thousand years ago in their southward march, there is no doubt that it still exercises an unrivalled fascination on the minds of the Hindus.

We were a party of 15 persons including His Highness the Rajasahib of Miraj (Senior) and went by the Lipu Lekh pass with Swami Vidyanand Saraswati of Shree Geeta Satsang, Kailas Kshetra of Naini Tal. Though there are several routes to Kailas, the easiest and the most popular one is from Almora or Pithoragad via this pass (16,750 ft.). Kailas is 220 miles from Almora and 175 miles from Pithoragad. The Johari ghat route from Almora is also popular, but it involves crossing three passes, about 18,000 feet high, in one day. Again, pilgrims are troubled by rains both ways on this route, as the passes are not open before the end of June.

There is no proper cooly agency at Almora like the one at Rishikesh, though there are some commission agents who supply ponies and coolies; but this fact is hardly known to pilgrims. Again, the ponies and coolies hired at Almora generally do not go beyond Dharchula and fresh coolies have to be engaged from Dharchula to Garbyang, our last village on this border. This portion of the road, especially between Khela and Garbyang is narrow and full of steep ascents and descents and ponies or dandis are practically of no use here. Fresh coolies, yaks (Tibetan hairy bull) or Jhabbus (a cross between yak and India cow) have to be engaged from Garbyang to Taklakot in Tibet and again from Taklakot to Manasarovar and Kailas. A portion of the journey, i.e., after the Lipu Lekh pass is also in a foreign territory (Tibet). We therefore, thought it advisable to go with the Swami who has considerable experience of conducting parties to these holy places and has contacts with the local people. He however, undertakes this work as a business proposition



Mount Api

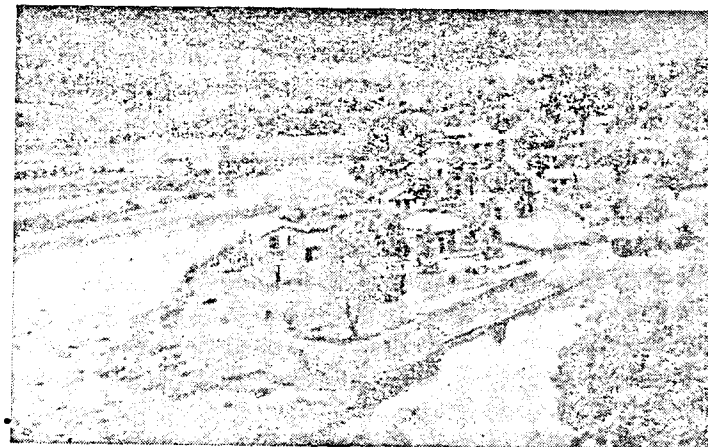
and, of course, tries to make as much money out of the pilgrims as possible. The food and tent arrangements were definitely bad. Rs. 400 are charged for a pony but the hire charges for the days a pony is provided would not exceed Rs. 150. Intending pilgrims would do well if they contact the head of the Ramakrishna Kutir, Almora, who would give them sound advice and put them in touch with

KAILAS AND MANASA-SAROVAR

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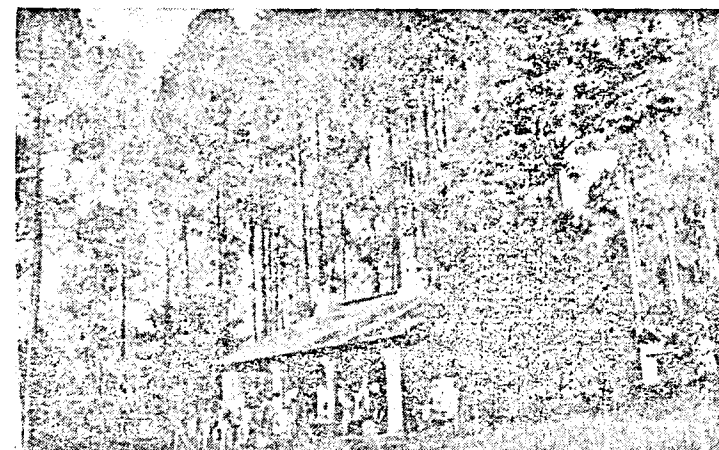
people who help in transport arrangement.. They will be able to do the pilgrimage with less expense and more comfort if they do it independently.

Our party (except His Highness who hired a car) left Naini Tal by a special bus on the 28th May in the afternoon and reached Tanakpur (45 miles), a station on the North Eastern Railway, by evening. We left



Baijnath

Tanakpur on the 29th morning and reached Pithoragad (95 miles) the same night. This is a newly constructed road which often becomes impassable in the rains due to land slides. By taking this route instead of the one from Almora, pilgrims save 45 miles. On the way, some of us visited the Advaita Ashram at Mayavati which is three miles from Loha Ghat on the main road and is situated in a forest of pine trees. Swami Vivekananda stayed here for about a week in December, 1899. Prabuddha Bharat is edited from here, but the press has been removed to Belur Math. The Ashram maintains a well-equipped hospital of 12 beds.



Forest Rest-House, Thal

We halted at Pithoragad in the District Board dak bungalow for a day to arrange for transport. It is a Sub-divisional headquarters in the Almora district and is the last telegraph office on this route. The town is spread out in clusters of houses at different levels nestling under trees as is usual in the Himalayas. His Highness took a dandi, Shri V. N. Pai, Manager of the Cement Factory, Banmor, myself and a lady from Nagpur side took ponies while the others decided to walk. We have to travel light as coolies generally do not take more than 30 to 35 seers of weight. The essential things are a foldable camp cot, light bedding,

Bata hunting boots, raincoat, woollen socks, woollen sweater and muffler, vaseline, torch with spare cells, thermos, goggles and a few necessary medicines. A stick about five feet high and with iron point is an absolute necessity.

PITHORAGAD TO DHARCHULA

We left Pithoragad on the 31st morning and reached Kanali China, (13 miles) where we stayed in the small inspection bungalow. There was heavy rain in the afternoon followed by thick fog and chilly wind. We left for Askot (11 miles) next morning and reached there at about 1.30 p.m. We stayed in a dharamshala built in 1928 by two Ranis of Askot in memory of their husband. Askot is 5,000 feet high and is on the banks of the Gori Ganga. Assi-kot means 30 forts and 30 kings are said to have ruled here once. The route from Almora joins here. After leaving Askot there is a steep descent of about three miles to Garjiya suspension bridge through a pine forest and we reached Jauljibi

at 9-30 a.m. on the 2nd June. The village is situated at the confluence of Gori Ganga and Kali Ganga which comes from the Lipu Lekh pass. From here up to the Lipu Lekh pass, the route goes almost along the river Kali, the boundary line between India and Nepal. Jaul means confluence and Jibi means a narrow strip of land like the tongue between two rivers. There is a small temple of Mahadeo a little above the confluence and a big fair is held in November which lasts for three or four days. Tibetan goods, such as woollen blankets, skins, salt, wool, musk, etc., are brought for sale by Bhotia merchants and a brisk trade of about four lakhs of

rupees is done every year. We took our meal here and reached Kuchia dak bungalow on the Kali river in the evening (12 miles).

Next morning, we left for Dharchula (9 miles) and stayed there in the dak bungalow which is also on the river Kali. It has only one suite of rooms but there is a big *pipal* tree in the compound. There are a large number of mango, plantain and lemon trees in this fairly big village which has a Panchayat, a hospital and a post office. There is an American Evangelical Alliance Mission here with the Rev. Stiner at its head. This Mission has got four centres in the Almora district and maintains a school, a hospital, and a Church here. There are no dak bungalows after Dharchula up to Garbyang.

DHARCHULA TO GARBYANG

We left Dharchula on the 4th morning and reached Khela (10 miles) at about 2-30 p.m. on foot as ponies are not generally available beyond Dharchula. Two miles from Dharchula is Tapovan which used to have a centre of Ramakrishna Mission till 1932. We camped near a platform (*Pranava-Vedi*) built by Swami Pranavananda about 10 years ago under a big *pipal* tree and there is a rickety *dharamshala* full of bugs below it. Near the platform there are two stone images of Mahatma Gandhi. Next morning on our way to Sirdang (11 miles), we had to cross the roaring and foaming Dhavli Ganga by a shaky wooden bridge with ropes to support on both sides. After a very steep ascent of about three miles, we reached Pangu which is nearly 7,000 ft. high, but is very dirty and full of flies. This is the first Bhotia village on this route. Though we originally intended to have our mid-day meal here, we continued our march not only because the village was dirty but also because we had found it difficult to walk after a meal and reached Soosa after another two miles of steep ascent. Sirdang, our destination, was only two miles from here, but some of us were keen to see the famous Shri Narayana Ashram though this involved a detour of three miles. The bridge path to the Ashram is easy and goes through a thick forest. The Ashram which was started in 1935 is built on the top of a mountain about 9,000 feet high. The Ashram buildings took 10 years for their construction. It is an unimaginably beautiful place in the heart of the Himalayas. There are nice residential quarters, a guest house and a fine double-storied temple with a library in one wing. The Ashram has a beautiful garden, grows fruits and vegetables and maintains bee-hives and about 60 cows. It has its own post office. The Swamiji is doing valuable educational work in this region. We stayed there for the night and left for Jipti (14 miles) on the 6th morning. We reached Jipti late in the evening and stayed on the first floor of a shop. After halting for a day for rest, we started for Budi on the 8th. The beautiful Najang falls are about 5 miles from Jipti and are about 70 ft. high. After resting for a while in a small wretched *dharamshala* at Malpa, we pushed on

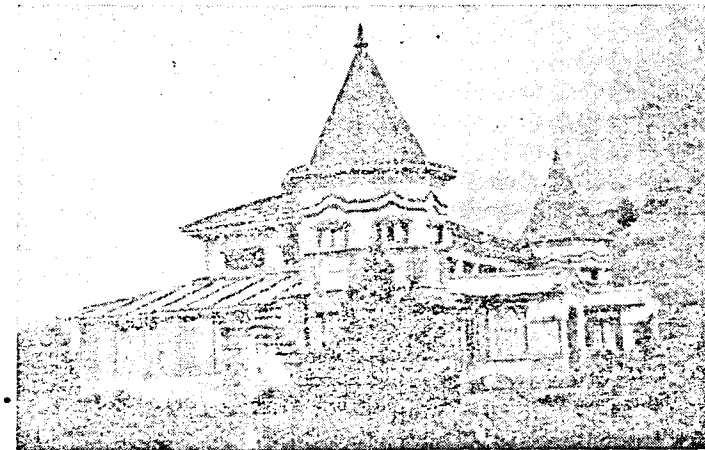
to Budi which is about 17 miles from Jipti. We stopped there for the night in the school building which was not kept clean. It is a big Bhotia village and we could get a fine view of the snow-slopes of Namjung on the Nepal side from the school building. On the 9th morning, we left for Garbyang which was only five miles away and reached there at about 10. This is the biggest Bhotia village of about 200 houses and is about 10,000 feet high. One gets a fine view of snow-clad mountains and of mountain slopes covered with a thick forest of pine trees from here. People from this village and Budi generally go down to Dharchula in winter, leaving only a few persons to guard them. Here we met Capt. Puri and one member of the Italian expedition to Mount Api in Western Nepal. We pitched our tents in the dak bungalow compound. There is our check-post and a unit of armed police constabulary here. The hospital is located in a fine building and the medical officer has been here for more than a month, but the hospital was not functioning as the medicines had not yet arrived. Though the recent agreement with China does not prohibit taking arms and cameras into Tibet, we left these articles at the check-post, as the Chinese officials at the check-post at Pala in Tibet do not allow pilgrims to take them.

GARBYANG TO TAKLAKOT

We left Garbyang on the 10th at about noon after arranging for fresh transport and reached a camping ground called Kalapani (11 miles) by evening. We crossed the Kali river to its left bank and went through Nepal territory for about six miles. There is a big spring gushing out of huge boulders near Kalapani. The spring is dedicated to Goddess Kali and hence the place is called Kalapani which is corrupted into Kalapani (black water). We left Kalapani on the 11th morning and went only up to Ngavidang, (5 miles) to enable us to cross the Lipu Lekh pass in the small hours of the morning. The Kali starts from here and the place is surrounded by mountains covered with snow. Lipu Lekh pass which is the boundary between India and Tibet is five miles from here and we left our camp on the 12th at 5 a.m., as it is very desirable to cross the pass before the sun gets hot and chilly winds begin to blow. The scenery in the pass was extremely beautiful and there was snow all around. We had to cross the snow at about a dozen places, some stretches being about 100 yards wide. We reached the top of the pass at about 9 a.m. and had no trouble about breathing, etc. Four miles from here is Pala, the Tibetan check-post. There is no village here but only a small mound on which a Chinese soldier with a rifle stands guard. Near the mound there are two rows of four rooms, one for the officials and the other for the soldiers. The officials checked our luggage thoroughly for about 1½ hours. Even a small compass box which is used by school children was seized. We did not venture to argue with them, lest we might be asked to go back. Taklakot,

the first Tibetan village, is about four miles from Pala and we reached there in the afternoon.

This is the biggest village in the Purang valley of Western Tibet and contains about 200 houses scattered in different areas. This is the headquarters of the Zongpon (keeper of the fort or Governor) of the Purang valley. His position is now much reduced after the Chinese arrival in Tibet. At the entrance of the village we found



Narayana Ashram

a heap of stones inscribed with the famous Mani Mantra, viz., *Om Ma Ni Pa Dme Hum*. The mantra means "Oh! jewel (of creation, i.e., the Purush of the spiritual element) is in the lotus (which symbolizes *Shakti* or *Prakriti*)" and is the most popular and sacred mantra of the Tibetans. The letter *hri* is often added to it. *Hri* is an abbreviation of *hridaya* and it implies that the mantra is to be meditated upon in the Heart—Lotus. Such heaps are seen in Tibet at all important places such as entrances of villages, tops of passes and camping grounds. The Tibetans repeat this mantra at all times and also carry a prayer-wheel (a small copper cylinder with a handle) containing slips of paper on which the mantra is written several times and turn it round and round in a clock-wise direction. The houses were also bedecked with white flags. A magnificent view of the Lipu Lekh range is obtained from this village. Just outside the village were green fields with barley and pea crops and stone fencings. There are said to be about 200 Chinese here and they are building houses of sun-dried bricks for their use on the other side of the Karnali river. Though it is clearly mentioned in the agreement that Indian pilgrims do not need a permit

to go to Kailas and Manasarovar, pilgrims are not allowed to go beyond Taklakot without permit from the Chinese Officers. They seem to think that only *Sadhus* and *Sanyasis* are *bone fide* pilgrims and anybody having a camp cot or a *sola topi* is suspect in their eyes. They delayed giving us permission and made a reference on the wireless to Lhasa. We waited for two days on the bank of the Karnali in our tents, but no permission came. His Highness's tent was raided on the 13th night at about 10 by a Chinese official with four soldiers armed with tommy-guns in the mistaken belief that a Nepalese military officer was staying there.

We utilised these two days in visiting two Gompas (monasteries). Gumpa means a solitary place and is a combination of a temple, a *math* and a *dharamshala*. The first one was the famous Simbiling Gumpa which is on a hill about 300 ft. high and which overlooks the village of Taklakot. This is the biggest monastery in Western Tibet. When we visited it on the 13th June, *havan* (oblation) ceremony was in progress. The head Lama was sitting on an elevated platform and 16 junior



In front of Garbyang dak bungalow
Sri Regi H. H. of Miraj, Sri Pai and Sri Jangpangi

Lamas or Dabas sat on the ground in two rows on his left; some of them had pipes and some had cymbals and there was also a big drum. These instruments were sounded when the head Lama chanted some hymns and offered oblations of *yak* ghee, various grains, green *samidhas* (twigs), etc., in the fire below in an enclosure of cowdung cakes. All the Lamas wore picturesque dresses. We sat there for an hour watching the ceremony and were then shown round the monastery by two attendants. There is a big gilded image of Buddha

about six feet high in the main image hall of the monastery and butter lamps are kept burning in front. The congregation hall is festooned with scroll paintings and the walls are decorated with fine mural paintings. There are a large number of Tibetan books in the library room and there are many *Thankas* or banner paintings in the monastery. It is stated by Swami Pranavananda in his book *Kailas-Manasarovar* that the testicles and one hand of General Zoravar Singh, Commandar-in-Chief of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir who conquered Ladak and invaded Tibet in 1841 are kept in this and the adjacent monastery, but we could not see them as the attendants did not know anything about them.

On the 14th, I went to Khocharnath Gompa which is at a distance of about 12 miles from Taklakot. This is one of the most interesting monasteries in Western Tibet. In the image hall there are three fine images of three of the most important *Bodhisattvas*, made of silver, standing on a beautiful pedestal about five feet high. The images are placed on big silver lotuses. The famous image of Jambyang (Manjughosh) is in the middle and is about 8 feet high. Here also butter lamps made of gold and silver are artistically arranged in front of the images. There are many other big and small images in this monastery.

Taklakot has a *mandi* or bazar where Bhotia merchants sell their piece goods, gur, wheat, rice, tea, etc. from June to October and buy in exchange or for cash Tibetan wool, salt, sheep, hides, blankets, etc. They hold their shops in enclosures made of stones and tents are set up temporarily over the walls, as Indians are prohibited from constructing roofed houses in Tibet by the 1904 agreement. It is high time that this agreement is now annulled. There are about 300 such enclosures in the *Mandi*.

TAKLAKOT TO MANASAROVAR

The Swami told us that he had obtained permission to go up to Manasarovar by bribing the Zongpon and we left for Manasarovar on the 15th afternoon. At Toyo, one mile beyond Taklakot, is the memorial raised by the Tibetans in honour of General Zoravar Singh who was ambushed and killed here by the combined Tibetan and Chinese forces when he was returning from Gartok with a handful of men after leaving his wife there. He fought so bravely that the Tibetans believed him to be endowed with supernatural powers and shot him with a golden bullet as they believed that no leaden bullet could penetrate his body and afterwards hacked him to pieces. The memorial is known as Singba-ka-Chhorten. Perhaps this is the only instance in the history of the world where a memorial is raised by the enemy in honour of a defeated general. The route is by the side of the Karnali and we reached Barfu village in the evening (12 miles). Next morning we started for Manasarovar which is about 18 miles from here. On the way, we passed through Gori-Udyar which is said to be the birth

place of Shri Ganesh. From here up to Gurla pass (16,200 ft.), it is a steep ascent of about three miles. From the pass which we reached at 3.30 p.m. on the 16th June, (*Vat Purnima day*) we got the first view of Kailas and Manasarovar. The sight was magnificent and compensated us for all our troubles. The majestic mount Kailas (22,028 ft.) stands as the guardian deity of sapphire-watered Manasarovar and its sister lake of Rakshas Tal on its left. The Manasarovar is at an altitude of 14,950 feet and covers an area of about 200 square miles. Its circumference is about 51 miles and it is nearly 300 feet deep. Both the lakes might have been one continuous lake once and the range of hills now separating them might be due to a subsequent upheaval. Manasarovar looked very close but we took nearly four hours to reach the bank. We saw the Kailas peak by the moon light on the *Purnima* night and the scene was extremely enchanting.

Early in the morning before we were out of bed, four Tibetans armed with old matchlock guns, swords and daggers came to our tents and started looking round our things. They departed in about 15 minutes and did not visit us again at night as anticipated; but they visited His Highness's tent at night and showed their desire to purchase some things but ultimately went away in peace. We camped here on the 17th also. We had a bath in the lake, lighted a fire on the bank and made *havana* or oblation, chanting some hymns and prayers. It was a clear day and we had a glorious view of Kailas for several hours. Even though the mountain is 16 miles from the bank of the lake, it looked as if it was very close on account of the high altitude and rarefied atmosphere. From the bank of the lake, Kailas looked exactly like the *garbha-gudi* (sanctum sanctorum) of the new Somanath temple recently built at Prabhas Patan in Saurashtra. On the Kailas peak beginning from the apex right up to 100 yards above the base is seen a series of bare rocky horizontal projections like a huge black ladder against the background of the silvery white snow peak. The lake is between Mount Kailas in the north and Mandhata in the south and the peaks of these mountains are seen reflected in the lake on clear days. We saw a few brahminy ducks and bar-headed geese which may be considered as approximately corresponding to the *Raj-hansas* or swans said to be dwelling in the lake in the Sanskrit literature. We did not see any lotuses in the lake. The approach to the lake is marshy and is full of small thorny bushes. Three of the principal rivers of India, viz., the Indus, the Brahmaputra and the Sutlej as well as the Karnali have their sources within a distance of about 45 miles (as the crow flies) from the shores of the lake. There are eight Gompas on the banks of the lake. The nearest Gompa from our camp was Thugolho Gompa where two of our party stayed behind for doing the Kailas *parikrama* (circumambulation). Near this Gompa, a sacrificial platform (*Yajna-Vedi*) has been built by Swami Pranavanand and *havana*

is performed there on Shri Krishna's birth day and on other festive occasions. Mahatma Gandhi's ashes were immersed in the Manasarovar near Jiu Gompha and construction of a memorial on the spot is under contemplation. As no permit to go to Kailas had come and as the food and tent arrangements were not also good, we left Manasarovar on the 18th morning and reached Taklakot on the 20th evening. We purchased Chinese Dollars at Rs. 3/- each, Nepalese Mohurs (rupees) and half Mohurs and Tibetan Tankas. Tanka is the only Tibetan coin now in circulation and is worth eight annas. Indian currency is freely in circulation here. We could not get any curios except yak-tail (*chamar-punch*) as the *mandi* was just starting to function.

THE TIBETAN PEOPLE

Tibet is a flat barren country and is at an altitude of 12,000 to 14,000 feet. Western Tibet is a very thinly populated region and one often does not meet a human being for miles together. About half the population subsists on cattle breeding. There is a Bhotia saying that sheep goats and yaks are the chief crop and wealth of Tibetans. Tibet is a big wool-producing country and if the wool produce is improved scientifically, it will be one of the finest wool supplying countries in the world. The sheep are also the chief means of conveyance in the Himalayas. The staple food of Tibetans is meat, roasted barley powder (*sattu*) and dairy products. They do not eat fish or birds. They boil China tea, add salt and butter to it and drink from 50 to 150 cups a day and night until they retire to bed. Their national beverage is *chhang* which is prepared from barley. Men wear a long double-breasted woollen gown with a waist-band (*komarband*) and woollen shoes and English felt hats, while women wear almost the same dress with the addition of a horizontally striped woollen piece in front and a tanned sheep skin on the back. Rich people, Lamas and officials wear costly dress and silk. Both men and women plait their hair. Monogamy is common but polygamy is not unknown. Polyandry and widow remarriage are also in vogue. The Tibetans generally wear tattered clothes and are very dirty in their habits, but are, on the whole, cheerful. The dead bodies of well-to-do monks are cremated while those of poor monks and house-holders are hacked to pieces and thrown to vultures or in a river if there is one nearby. The religion of Tibet is primarily Buddhism with a quaint mixture of *Tantrism* and pre-Buddhist devil-worshipping religion of Tibet. It is a priest-ridden country and one or two children from every family become monks and nuns at the age of two or three. About one-fourth of the population take to this vocation and the standard of morality is low. There is no caste system in Tibet, but the smiths are the only class with whom the rest of the society does not intermarry or interdine. The Communists have almost eliminated dacoits and *begar* (forced labour).

TAKLAKOT TO ALMORA

We left Taklakot on the 20th morning and reached at the foot of the Lipu Lekh pass at about 11-30. There was no checking at Pala though His Highness's party which came one day later was thoroughly searched. He started climbing the pass at about 12 against all accepted canons and reached the top at about 1-30. Fortunately, the sun was not hot and there was no chilly wind also. There was much less snow this time. We heaved a sigh of relief when we crossed the border and came to our territory. We arrived at Garbyang on the 21st even and learnt that a Madras pilgrim was found murdered on the ridge between the Manasarovar and the Rakshas Tal. We met Thakur Laxmansingh Jangpangi, our Trade Agent at Gartok, in Western Tibet and narrated our experiences in Tibet to him. After resting at Garbyang for two days, we left for Malpa on the 24th. The road between Malpa and Jipti and had become very unsafe and slippery on account of rain and we had to cross a big boulder near the Na'ang falls as the narrow bridle path by its side was washed away. My foot slipped after descending the boulder, but fortunately there was sufficient space to recover my balance; otherwise, I would have fallen 30 feet deep in the rapidly rolling and raging Kali and been carried away. Such accidents are not unknown on this road and coolies with luggage are known to have fallen in the river without leaving any trace behind. We reached Dharchula on the 28th and halted there on the 29th for arranging our transport. This time Shri Pai and I visited Rev. Steiner. He has been here since 1927 and has been to Kailas twice. He said that Missionaries were under suspicion as they were believed to be giving information to the American Embassy and added that they were here mainly for evangelical work and for saving people through Christ. He agreed that there was more need to teach Christianity to the so-called Christians but did not believe that all religions were true and led to the same God.

From Dharchula we rode on mules without any saddle or stirrup but it was quite comfortable. We arrived at Askot on the 1st July and stayed in the forest rest-house. We decided to return *via Almora*, as the Pithouagad-Janakpur route is not safe in the rains on account of land slides. We left Askot next morning and visited the Bapu Maha-Vidyalaya at Narayan Nagar which is three miles from Askot. This Intermediate College was started by Shri Narayana Swami about four years ago and the top class was opened only last year. About 30 boys including five girls are studying in the college which has also a hostel with accommodation for about 100 students. The building is quite decent and is said to have cost about Rs. 65,000. The temple in the premises is not yet completed. The Askot-Almora road is far better than the Askot-Garbyang road. It is wide and shady and has mile and furlong stones. We arrived at Thal (17 miles) in the evening. It is a beautifully situated village with tree-clad hills all

around. It is situated on both sides of the Ramaganga river which is crossed by a suspension bridge. We stayed for the night in the forest rest-house which is about 500 feet above the road and is in a cluster of pine trees. Next day, after reaching Berinag (9 miles), we took to Bageshwar road on the off-chance of getting a bus from there to Almora. We reached village Nargoli (6 miles) in the evening and stayed in the Middle School which is finely situated on a hillock. This road is not so good as the Almora road. We arrived at Bageshwar (18 miles) on the 4th evening and stayed in the District Board dak bungalow on the Sarayu river just near the suspension bridge. We learnt there that the bus service was stopped from the 15th June. There are some temples on the confluence of Sarayu and Gomati near the dak bungalow. The famous Pindari glacier is only 48 miles from here. We reached Garur (13 miles) on the 5th afternoon and visited the temples in Baijnath which is a mile away. Motor buses ply from here to Almora and Kathgodam throughout the year.

We boarded a special bus on the 6th morning and reached Almora (43 miles) by about 11. On the way, we saw Kausani where Mahatma Gandhi had stayed in 1929 for about four months to write his book *Anasakti Yoga* which is a commentary on the Bhagwat Gita. A good view of the Himalayan range and its peaks is obtained from here but we could not see them as it was cloudy. We halted for half an hour at the Gandhi Ashram at Chanauda. It was started in 1938 but was closed during 1942-1946. Tibetan wool is purchased and woollen fabrics, such as rugs, mufflers, etc., are made and dyed here. The Ashram has suffered a loss of about Rs. 60,000 so far and has paid over a lac of

rupees in wages. At Almora, we were cordially welcomed by Swami Aparnananda, head of the Ramakrishna Kutir, and stayed there for four days. This Ashram was started in 1918 by Swami Turiyananda. His room and bed are kept as they were in his time. During our stay in Almora we visited Dr. Sen's Swami Vivekananda Laboratory experimental fields where he grows improved varieties of wheat, jawar, maize etc., and supplies seeds to institutions and individuals. We also visited the famous apiary started by the Ramakrishna Dham. There are about 300 bee-hives and practical training in bee-keeping is imparted here. We left for Kathgodam on the 10th morning by a special bus. Good peaches, plums and apples are available at Bhowali on the way. We reached Mathura on the 11th morning. It was *Ashadha Ekadashi* and some of us went in the city to see the spot where Lord Shri Krishna was born. I caught the Punjab Mail at Mathura and returned to Indore on the 12th July.

The journey from Pithoragad to Manasarovar and back to Almora takes about 35 days. Five more days will be required if Kailas *parikrama* (32 miles) is to be done. The pilgrimage to Kailas is becoming popular and this year the number of pilgrims is expected to reach about 1,000. Much of the inconvenience to pilgrims would be avoided if the U.P. Government were to establish a regular coolie agency at Almora with branches at Pithoragad, Dharchula and Garbyang, improve the road between Khela and Garbyang and build small dak bungalows at Khela, Sirdang or Sirkha, Jipti and Malpa. The Chinese Government which has agreed to build rest-houses on the Kailas route in Tibet should also be reminded to implement their promise.

(Photos by courtesy of Shri Kodalihar, Arun Photo House, Miraj)

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SCIENTISTS DISCOVERING NEW FACTS ABOUT AMERICA'S INDIANS

UNDER the American Government's tremendous program for developing the water resources of the western and southern States more than 200 large dams and water-storage projects are now planned or being built. These projects, located in some 30 States, will expand the nation's irrigation, hydroelectric power and flood-control measures.

At the same time, however, they will cover with water thousands of square miles of river valleys that are now dry land. Huge artificial lakes will be created in many places in which water will be stored to prevent it from flooding farming areas and for use in irrigation.

These developments are good news for the country as a whole. But to American archaeologists they are a matter of considerable concern. They realize that the huge and beneficial Government projects will inundate many of America's most important archaeological sites, which have not yet been explored. The great majority

of the early American Indians lived along the rivers where fish and game were abundant and the soil could be worked most easily.

In view of this situation, Dr. Frank H. H. Roberts, eminent scientist of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D.C., warned his colleagues some years ago that "whole chapters covering thousands of years of the aboriginal history of North America" would be lost unless steps were taken to save them.

Heeding this warning, American archaeologists formed a co-operative group called the Inter-Agency Archaeological Salvage Program. It started its work in 1946 and today is the biggest organized "relic hunt" in the world's history.

The Agency's work is financed with Government funds, allocated through the National Park Service, which is the Government agency charged by U.S. law with preservation of historic and archaeological sites. In the



Archaeologists study and classify skulls of early American Indians recently discovered throughout the western part of the United States



American scientists study bison bones believed to be 11,000 years old recently discovered in the State of Nebraska



American archaeologists excavate an Indian earth lodge recently discovered near Pierre, South Dakota

eight years since the program started, it has explored 241 reservoir areas and located more than 4,200 archaeological sites, only a few of which had ever been touched before.

Of the total number of sites, 852 were chosen for immediate exploration. Work has already been completed at more than 300 of these sites. In many areas the engineers working on water-control projects have entered into the spirit of the scientific "dig" and have lent the archaeologists bulldozers to speed up the process of scraping off topsoil and exposing ancient American Indian villages. Their use has saved many weeks of tedious hand spading.

Already, many old Indian villages have been unearthed and several hundred thousands of specimens of Indian handiwork have been discovered. These include arrowheads, pottery fragments, flint knives, scrapers and grinding tools, colored beads, buffalo-horn spoons and stones for grinding corn. The specimens are now being cleaned and studied and sent to museums and scholars throughout the United States. Many of them will be exhibited in small museums to be built at the places where they were found.

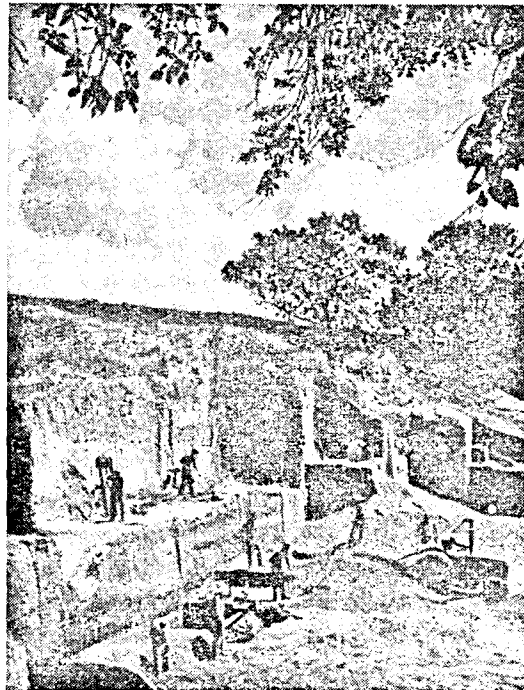
Much new information concerning the American Indians has already been gleaned from this great research operation. Previously, for example, it had been believed that most of the Indians were nomadic hunters and extremely warlike. Now it appears that a large proportion of them lived fairly settled and peaceful lives in small villages of several hundred houses. It was these settled village dwellers who reached the highest level of culture, rather than the roving hunters.

These village Indians, who lived about 1100 A.D., stored their crops in big underground granaries. They lived in rectangular houses consisting of a log framework over which were laid branches, with sod or earth covering the branches. They tilled the soil with hoes made of buffaloes' shoulder blades and raised corn, beans, squash and sunflowers. Beautifully-carved bone fishhooks were used for catching fish.

One of their deities was known as Grandmother, or the Old Woman Who Never Dies. She protected the Indians' crops and had help from her animal friends in

the cultivation of her own garden. The mouse and the mole loosened up the soil, the deer raked it with their antlers, and the ducks and geese and blackbirds picked harmful insects off the plants.

Some villages have been found which, by radiocarbon dating, were inhabited 10,000 years ago. The evidence suggests that these early Indians lived mainly by hunting and by gathering wild berries, nuts and roots.



Power equipment aids in unearthing the site of a village built early American Indians in Nebraska

Piece by piece, the archaeologists are fitting together the jigsaw puzzle of America's ancient past. When the work is completed, there is no doubt that more will be known than ever before about the character and way of life of the early American Indians.—USIS.



ERANIEL AND COLACHEL

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

THE ERANIEL PALACE

A short detour of seven miles from Mulagumood, or Azhakiyamandapam at the 30th milestone on the trunk road from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin, leads to the famous port of Colachel via Eraniel. The well-laid-out road to Colachel Port passes through Thiruvithamcode, Neyoor and Eraniel, pretty villages famed in history and folklore. Fraught with rich and romantic tradition, this region evokes sacred memories.

The village of Eraniel is an ancient one, and greatly conspicuous in the annals of Travancore. In ancient days, before the Maharajas of Travancore shifted their capital to Padmanabhapuram Palace, they lived in the famous Eraniel Palace. The Palace at Eraniel, a fine example of typical Kerala style architecture, with its gable roofs, exquisite wood carvings, and finely sculptured *Mandapams*, is one of the famous architectural entities in South India.

THE SACRED STONE COT

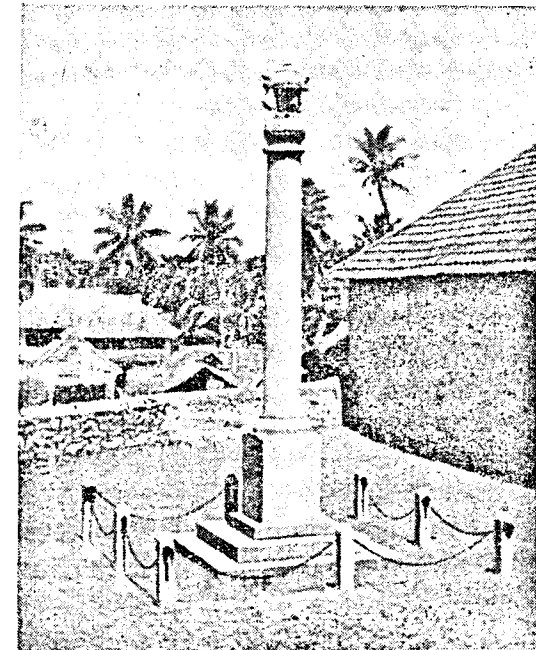
The *Vasantamandapam* in the old Eraniel Palace is the most famous and sacred part of the Palace, for here is the stone bedstead from where, according to tradition, Bhaskara Ravi Varma, the last and greatest of the celebrated Cheraman Perumals, Rulers of Kerala, ascended to heaven with his physical body. The stone cot used by Bhaskara Ravi Varma Perumal is a sacred relic of the past. In commemoration of his ascent to heaven a light has been kept burning in front of the cot ever since, throughout day and night. The room in the *Vasantamandapam* of the Palace which contains the stone cot is regarded by Hindus as sacred as the *sanctum sanctorum* of a temple, and lamps are lighted and other acts of traditional worship offered here. The stone cot is a masterpiece of the art and craftsmanship of the sculptor.

THE LAST OF THE GREAT PERUMALS

Bhaskara Ravi Varma is said to have been born in the year 3444 of the Kali Era corresponding to 342 A.D. His kingdom extended over the whole of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. He held the reins of Government for about 44 years. As years advanced, he became more and more an ardent devotee of Siva, receiving initiation into the Saivite mysteries from Sundramoorthi Nainar, one of the greatest of Saivite saints. As he wanted to devote the rest of his life wholly to the practice of religion, he divided his kingdom among the members of his family. Kolathunad (Malabar) was assigned to his son, who founded the family of the Zamorins. The nephew of the Cheraman Perumal was made the Ruler of Cochin; Sthanoo Ravi Varma, the

brother of the Cheraman Perumal became the Ruler of Venad (Travancore).

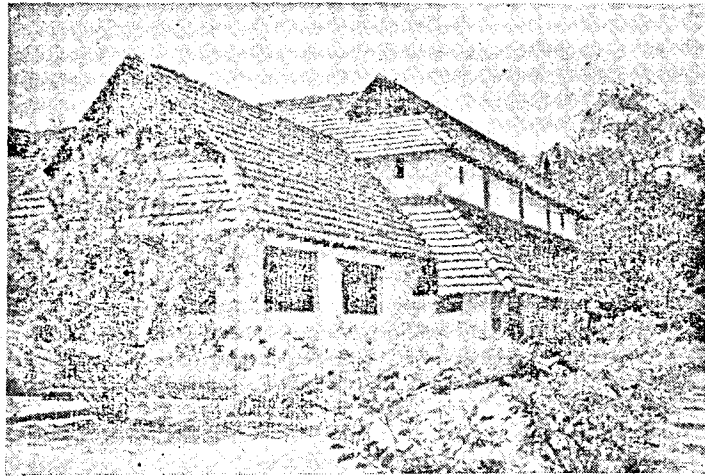
After making the necessary arrangements for the administration of his kingdom, one day he left his Capital with his Guru. His intentions were closely guarded. There is a legend that when the Cheraman Perumal came to a place called Cherianad in Central Travancore, a serpent was noticed coiled up in his head-gear. This was interpreted as an expression of Divine desire for the establishment of a temple at the place. A serpent grove was accordingly consecrated in the neighbourhood. When the king came to a place called Valvachagoshtam (near Padmanabhapuram), where there is a Bhagavathy temple, he deposited his Royal sword, the emblem of his temporal power, before the deity.



Tower of Victory in commemoration of Travancore's victory over the Dutch

While the king was staying in the Eraniel Palace he suddenly disappeared with his Guru. It is possible that the legend about his being taken to Heaven in his physical body is traceable to his sudden disappearance from the Eraniel Palace. Bhaskara Ravi Varma's death, or self-appointed liberation from his physical frame, is said to have occurred in the *Swathi* day in the month

of *Asharha* in the year 3528 of the Kali Era, corresponding to 426 A.D. The bedstead in the *Vasantamandapam* is said to be the one used by the great Cheraman Perumal on the day he left the Eraniel Palace.



The Eraniel Palace

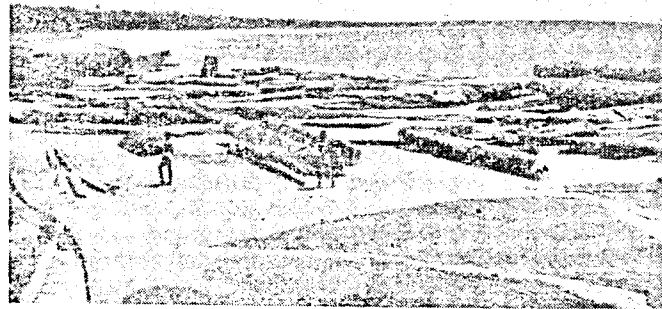
Tradition has it that his Guru, the great Sundaramoorthi Siva Yogi, chose to close his sojourn in this earth on the very same day. This day is still celebrated in the great Siva temples, on the East Coast. There is also a celebration in the Suchindram temple, on that day, in the course of which, the images of Sundramoorthi Nainal and Cheraman Perumal are taken in procession, from the Perumal Devasom to the Kailasanatha shrine within the Suchindram temple. This is something like a pictorial representation of the story of the illustrious couple attaining *Moksha* (Salvation) on the same day.

COLACHEL FORT

About three miles beyond Eraniel, is the well-known port town of Colachel one of the ancient and most southern of sea ports in Travancore, used by the earliest traders who visited India in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The name of Colachel recalls the great Battle of Colachel in 1741. Although divested of its former glory, Colachel continues to be the principal outlet for palmyra—fibre and mineral sands. Shipping from this port is rendered easier by a group of picturesque outlying rocks in the sea forming a partial backwater. Steamers anchor about a mile off the shore and small vessels anchor less than a quarter of a mile off. On the sea coast near Colachel are two large ilmenite factories. Colachel is the centre of a

thriving fish industry. Famous for its Salt Pans, Colachel has some of the best *Alams* (salt factories) in the State.

In the early years of the 18th Century, the Danes had a small factory at Colachel but later on they left the place. The Dutch who at the time traded with Travancore made a valiant but unsuccessful attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Travancore with sinister motives, by establishing their headquarters at Colachel. The armies of Maharaja Marthanda Varma inflicted a crushing defeat on the Naval forces of the Dutch at the famous battle of Colachel on the 31st July, 1741. At this battle rang the death knell of Dutch ambitions in Travancore. It was at this battle that Eustachio De'Lannoy, a Dutch Captain, was taken prisoner. In commemoration of Travancore's great victory over the Dutch a Pillar has been erected at the site of the great battle of Colachel and the surrender of the Dutch to



Colachel Port. Ships of various nations of Europe regularly came to this port in the 18th and 19th centuries

Maharaja Marthanda Varma.

THE BATTLE OF COLACHEL AND DE'LANNOY

Eustachio Benediatine De'Lannoy was born in far-off Holland in January 1715 A.D., and strange enough, fate had ordained him to guide the martial destinies of Travancore. It is an intriguing story how De'Lannoy was charged with the task of serving an alien Royal Master many thousands of miles away across the seas.

De'Lannoy came to India as a Captain of the Dutch

regiments scheduled for duty in the East, at a time when the Dutch held a sort of supremacy in Malabar Coast and possessed a number of factories at Cochin. Travancore was then ruled by the warrior Prince Marthanda Varma, the Maker of Modern Travancore (1729-1758 A.D.), whose prowess and organising capacity brought under one sovereignty the hinterlands of Kerala extending the Central State to the North-West and South-East. The State then occupied only a fourth of its present area. The rest of the country consisted of a number of petty principalities ruled over by ambitious and unscrupulous Chiefs who were always warring with one other. The Dutch entered into political alliances and intrigues with these kingdoms with the secret and diplomatic motive of maintaining balance of power and of perpetuating their own commercial supremacy.

In 1734 A.D. when the Raja of the principality of Quilon died the Raja of Kayamcolam, the neighbour chieftain, tried to annex Quilon. The Maharaja of Travancore who was a born conqueror demanded Quilon. The Dutch found in Maharaja Marthanda Varma of Travancore a powerful rival and they were alarmed at the might of his arm. The Dutch Governor at Cochin despatched an envoy to the Maharaja's Court to remonstrate with him about the unreasonable aggressions on Kayamcolam and Quilon. The Maharaja, with characteristic courage and precision, asked the Dutch to attend to their own business. Soon, under the lead of Rama Aiyen Dalawa, the warrior statesman of the Travancore Army prepared to attack Kayamcolam. The Dutch were alarmed at this and they deputed Van Imhoff, the Dutch Governor at Ceylon, to prevail upon the Maharaja to refrain from launching the proposed attack on Kayamcolam, whose ruler was an ally of the Dutch. Marthanda Varma was not to be won over either by persuasion or intimidation. He made it clear to the Dutch Governor that he was prepared to meet the Dutch in open battle. Van Imhoff grew indignant at this challenge and he forthwith sent a well-equipped army from Ceylon which landed at Colachel. The Dutch army fortified Colachel and took possession of the country from Kottar to Colachel and planned to attack Padmanabhapuram, the then Capital of the State.

Maharaja Marthanda Varma, who was at the time engaged in defeating the army of the Elayadithu Swaroopam, an ally of the Dutch in Central Travancore, hurried to Colachel. He worshipped at the Adi Kesava Temple at Thiruvattar and then advanced upon the Dutch forces. For two months the war was waged

and it was one of the most severe battles recorded in the history of the State. The Dutch ships were watched by Travancore's fleet of boats. In the first encounter not one soldier of the Dutch regiments survived and in the second and decisive battle the Dutch Army retreated to their ships, leaving behind many of their compatriots dead and wounded and twenty-four Europeans as prisoners. The famous battle of Colachel at which the Dutch suffered a crushing defeat was fought on the 31st July, 1741 A.D. The Travancore army captured from the Dutch 389 muskets, cannon and swords. Some of these are exhibited in the Padmanabhapuram Palace.

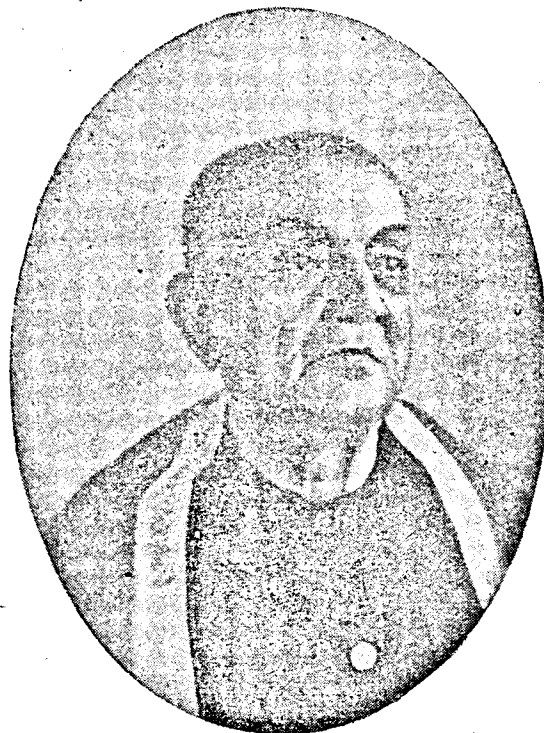
Among the twenty-four Dutch prisoners who were captured at the battle of Colachel were Eustachio De'Lannoy, a young man of twenty-six who was destined to become the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of his Royal Captor, and Donadi who was also raised to a position of responsibility in the Travancore Forces. The Maharaja himself a mighty warrior discovered in De'Lannoy and Donadi military geniuses who later on distinguished themselves as the most competent and trusted Captains in the Travancore Army. The kindness and consideration with which the Dutch prisoners were treated by the Maharaja induced them to place their services at his disposal. Maharaja Marthanda Varma forthwith appointed De'Lannoy as a Captain and Second in Command under the soldier—Dewan Rama Aiyen. Donadi was also made a Captain.

De'Lannoy served his Royal Master faithfully and fought many a successful battle for the Maharaja which resulted in the wide territorial expansions of the State. He held a succession of important commands and in every major conquest between 1741 and 1777 A.D. he played the leading role. He reorganised the Travancore Army on Western lines and made it efficient and up-to-date.

This foreign-born Commander of the Travancore Army served Maharaja Marthanda Varma for seventeen years, and with equal zeal and fidelity served his successor Maharaja Rama Varma for nineteen years. After thirty-seven years of devoted and strenuous service under two of the greatest Rulers of Travancore, De'Lannoy, or *Valia Kappithan* (Great Commander) as he was affectionately called by the people, took his eternal rest in the year 1777, at the Udayagiri Fort which was built under his personal supervision. With the battle of Colachel is linked the name of this valiant soldier who though an alien in nationality fought for Travancore with honour, zeal, fidelity and daring.



THE resuscitation of India's dying industries was one of the main aims in our struggle for Independence. The Hindu Mela sought to encourage our cottage industries—arts and crafts, by organising annual exhibitions in the late 'sixties and during the whole 'seventies of the last century. The people of Dacca, especially the famous handloom weavers, held a meeting in 1875 to voice their feelings of discontent and protest against the import of the machine-made cotton-goods of



Bhola Nath Chandra

Manchester. Bholanath Chandra wrote a series of articles for *Mookherjee's Magazine* in 1876 on the economic deterioration of India, due to the strangling of our own industries and the extensive import of foreign goods. Bholanath noted that these foreign goods had not only "crept into our houses, bed-chambers, curtains, cushion and chairs but they had penetrated into our food, drink and habiliments, and were being used in our very *Poojahs* and *Sradhs*." Bholanath suggested measures for counter-acting this contingency. In his view, "Moral opposition is unmatched in its omnipotence and efficacy." He wrote:

"Without using any physical force, without incurring any disloyalty, and without praying for legislative succour, it lies quite in our power to regain our lost position. Naught but our active sym-

pathy has helped the cause of Manchester. The contrary of that sympathy is sure to produce a contrary effect. It would be no crime for us to take to the only but most effective weapon—moral hostility left us in our last extremity. Let us make use of this weapon, by resolving to no-consume the good of England, and the counter-vailing tendency of such a resolution will put to right all matters that have gone wrong."—*Mookherjee's Magazine*, January June 1876, p. 12.

The politico-economic movements conducted first by the Indian League and later by the Indian Association directed the attention of the educated people of Bengal to this miserable state of things. But scarcely any successful effort could be made for want of sufficient capital and necessary technical knowledge. It was left for J. N. Tata and his compatriots in the Bombay Presidency to start Swadeshi Cotton Mills on modern improved methods in the late eighteen eighties. Here in Bengal Pramatha Nath Bose of the Geological Survey of India circulated a pamphlet in 1886 and wrote an article in *The Calcutta Review* for January, 1888, in both of which he stressed the need of scientific and technical education in the country, without which our industrial regeneration was not at all possible. The Government passed resolutions on the subject, and the Indian National Congress, the Indian Association and other politico-economic bodies also moved in the matter. But these early efforts did not bear any fruit for some time.

It was in 1891 that the first Indian Industrial Conference was held in Calcutta with P. N. Bose in the chair to devise ways and means for the resuscitation of our dying industries and starting new ones in the country. The Industrial Association, formed as an offshoot of the Conference, turned its attention towards three directions, namely, (1) to adopt measures for the spread of technical education, (2) to collect information about indigenous Indian products and (3) to point out new openings for industrial enterprises and to facilitate their establishment. For the realisation of these objects, the Association adopted some preliminary measures, such as, organising lectures by experts on industrial subjects and annual exhibitions of our country products, both industrial and agricultural. These exhibitions were held till 1901, when the Indian National Congress took up the exhibition part as its annual adjunct. The Indian Industrial Association served its purpose by thus rousing our leaders to the urgent need of the revival of the national industries.

Some joint-stock companies were started by our countrymen in Bengal. But due to want of experience and skilled labour most of these had to be wound up. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, started by Sri. P. C. Ray in a very humble way in about 1893, however, has proved a tremendous success. Stores of

Swadeshi goods were opened. J. Chaudhury was the principal promoter of the Indian Stores' Ltd., of Bow-bazar. It was founded just in the wake of the Congress Exhibition of 1901 to supply Swadeshi goods to the people all the year round. Even before this another store of indigenous products had been opened by Poet Rabindranath Tagore and his nephew Balendranath Tagore. The "Lakshmir Bhandar," a famous Swadeshi store, of Sarala Devi (later Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhuran) made its appearance in 1904 in Calcutta.

For the rapid industrialisation of the country it was imperative for our countrymen to acquire scientific and technical training of a certain standard. But in spite of the agitation for the purpose for a long time, no institution was established on this side of India for this purpose. It was in 1904 that attempts were made in two directions for meeting this need. The Government offered scholarships to students for higher scientific and technical studies abroad. But this they did in a very niggardly way and it was not at all sufficient. Some patriotic Bengalis, headed by Jogendra Chandra Ghose, founded the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, after mature deliberations, in March, 1904. The Association raised funds and sent Indian students to Europe, America and Japan to receive training in various technical subjects. Seventeen such students were sent in 1904 and forty-four in 1905.

The subject of the revival of our cottage or 'national' industries as well as the rapid industrialisation of the country on Western scientific lines was discussed in the early years of the present century in various journals and newspapers. In this connection, the services of the *Dawn* and the *Dawn Society's Magazine*, edited by Satish Chandra Mukherjee, should be specially mentioned. Satish Chandra aroused his countrymen to the urgent need of resuscitating our *Swadeshi* or cottage industries in the pages of his paper. Pramatha Nath Bose, later famous for the discovery of the Gorumohishani iron ores of the Tatas, pleaded in 1903 for the establishment of a central body which might effect the industrial regeneration of the country. He wrote:

"A great central organisation with branches in all important towns having for its objects the promotion of the interest of indigenous manufactures will go a long way towards at least a partial solution of the complicated problem of industrial improvement. Such a movement will need in its apostles the exercise of even greater energy, greater patriotism, greater self-sacrifice than the National Congress. . . . A properly organised *Swadeshi* movement will demonstrate even more forcibly than the National Congress, that the apparently heterogeneous peoples of India are capable of uniting for the common good of their country. It would do for struggling industries in India what is done for them by Government in independent countries by bounties and tariffs."—*The National Magazine*, May, 1903.

This suggestion of Pramatha Nath materialised two years after, when the Swadeshi Movement was started

on a nation-wide scale in Bengal in August 1905. The movement received an unusual momentum with the partitioning of Bengal by Lord Curzon on the 16th October, 1905. The boycott of British goods, national education and the movement for political autonomy, all provided fresh impulse for the industrial regeneration of the country. Besides the Indian Stores and the Lakshmir Bhandar, other Swadeshi stores had already started. The most prominent of these were the United Bengal Stores and the United Bengal Co. They sent volunteer-agents to distant parts of the country for the sale of these Swadeshi articles.



Pramatha Nath Bose

The Bengal National Fund, instituted on 16th October, 1905, the fateful day of the Bengal Partition, was utilised in establishing a Central Weaving School in Calcutta with branches in several mofussil towns. Charkhas were introduced. Flyshuttle hand-looms were purchased and utilised in weaving cloths. Young men and women took to spinning and weaving. It is interesting to note that the Poet Rabindranath Tagore founded the Tagore Weaving Institution in his Zemindari in Kusteia. Fresh industrial enterprises began to be started soon for producing other necessary articles of domestic consumption.

But it was necessary to harness these efforts and enterprises together for the permanent and lasting benefit of the country. New avenues had to be explored at the same time for her economic betterment. It was time that the suggestion of P. N. Bose for a central organisation should be given effect to. At the Benares Congress

of 1905 an adjunct named the All-India Industrial Conference was held under the Presidency of Romesh Chunder Dutt, an ex-President of the Congress. This Conference established provincial Committees. And Bengal was to have a branch of this Conference. In Bengal the Swadeshi Movement was at its height in 1906. During the Congress session in Calcutta this year the second session of the Conference was held under the presidency of the great Bombay industrialist Vithaldas Damodardas Thackersay. It should be mentioned here that the Bengal Branch Committee of the Industrial Conference had P. N. Bose as its permanent Chairman. He was also the Chairman of the reception Committee of the Calcutta Conference, and took an active part in its deliberations.

In these Conferences many useful papers were read on different subjects by experts and authorities. E. B. Havell, Principal of Government Art School, Calcutta read a paper at the Benares Conference in 1905 in which he advocated the utility of developing the handloom industry which would save the people from the dangers of Western industrialism. In a very thoughtful and illuminating paper on "The Development of Mineral Resources of India" read at the Benares Conference. T. H. Holland, Director, Geological Survey of India, asked Indians to benefit by utilising the mineral resources of their Motherland and starting enterprises thereof. He wrote:

"As far as our mineral resources are concerned, there is unlimited room for profitable enterprise. The country is sufficiently endowed by Nature, not only to meet its requirements, but to take advantage of its central position for competing with others in the Indian Ocean markets; but until we found the chemical, metallurgical and mechanical workshops as attractive to our high-caste students as the classrooms for law and literature now are, the cry of *Swadeshi*, no matter how worthy the spirit it embodies, will remain but an empty word."

And it was here that the Bengali national leaders made technical education a distinct department of the Bengal National College. The Bengal Technical Institute was solely meant for the technical education of the students. Both the institutions were started in 1906 and began to supply this desideratum to the industrial enterprises within a few years of their start. The Bengal Luxmi Cotton Mills, the Hindusthan Co-operative Assurance Society, the Bengal National Bank, the Bengal National Tannery, the Bengal Pottery Works, and some other manufacturing concerns were the first fruits of this Swadeshi impulse. Some of them did not prove successful while others have developed into big industrial concerns. The cult of Swadeshi, so enthusiastically advocated in Bengal in the late nineteenth century, found its proper avenues for fulfilment in the Swadeshi Movement of 1905 and 1906.

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THE AMERICAN WATERCOLOUR EXHIBITION IN CALCUTTA

THE American Watercolour Exhibition, consisting of the works of seven noted American artists, viz., Winlow Homer, Maurice Pendergast, John Marin, Charles Demuth, Edward Hopper, Charles Burchfield and Andrew Wyeth, have been selected from the various museums and galleries of the United States. This Exhibition is sponsored by the American Federation of Art in collaboration with the United States Government, and organised by the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society. The 63 paintings which form the collection, were specially selected by the American Federation of Art from, amongst others, the Brooklyn Museum, the Newark Museum, the Cleveland Museum of Art, Columbus Gallery of Arts and the Addison Gallery of American Art. In Delhi, the Exhibition was opened on October 11, 1954, in the Society's premises at Old Mill Road, by Mr. A. K. Chanda, Deputy Minister of External Affairs. In Calcutta, the Exhibition is scheduled to be opened on November 15, 1954, by Dr. H. C. Mookherji, Governor of West Bengal, and in Bombay, it will be inaugurated by Shri G. S. Bajpai, Governor of Bombay, on December 9, 1954. In Madras the

Exhibition will be inaugurated in the second week of January 1955 by Shri. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras.

It may be recalled in this connection that the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society organised exhibitions of individual foreign artists and collections received from foreign countries, in the past. In 1946, the Society organised the First International Contemporary Art Exhibition; in 1947, the First Inter-Asian Art Exhibition; in 1948, the Belgian Art Exhibition; in 1950, the Indonesian Art Exhibition; in 1951, the Chinese Arts and Crafts Exhibition; in 1952, the Soviet Art Exhibition and in 1953, the Second International Contemporary Art Exhibition. Apart from these, various oneman exhibitions by foreign artists were also organised by the Society.

In undertaking such a country-wide exhibition, the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society intend to enable as many people of our country as possible to study and appreciate the best watercolours and hope that such contact will promote closer cultural understanding between the two countries.—*All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society.*

INDIA'S MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

By REZAUL KARIM, M.A., B.L.

THE glory of India is not a distant echo of the dim past; but a living reality from the hoary history of our beloved land; ample evidence might be gathered to prove the fact that long before the Greek and Roman civilization took any tangible shape India was on the zenith of her glory. The basis of Greek and Roman culture was materialism, pure and simple. From their art and literature, legends and fables, philosophy and science, paintings and sculptures and other allied branches of culture and civilization, we can find the traces of a mind that was thoroughly imbued with a materialistic conception of life. The spiritual aspect of life, even if there were any trace of it in their works, was vague and shadowy, like the half-understood mutterings of an infant just emerging into manhood from its state of nonage. But in India, the basis and foundation of her culture and civilization was something higher, nobler, sublimer than that of the ancient countries of the Western world. It was this spiritual and moral basis of her culture and civilization that India has survived all the trials and tribulations which swept away in their wake almost all the nations of antiquity. Nations and kingdoms and empires were founded and overthrown. Babylon, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Persia,—Where are they now? Gone are they into the eternal abode of peace. It requires the scrutinising pen of a Gibbon and Mommsen to revive their ancient glories from the limbo of oblivion. India also faced the same trials and tribulations, the same mighty and cruel hand of time; but still she is standing on her own legs in all her glory and greatness with added lustre and splendour. Where are those races of the Greeks who gave birth to Socrates, Plato and Aristotle? Where are those people of the mighty Rome who produced Cato, Cicero, Seneca, Virgil and Marcus Aurelius? Gone and vanquished are they. No trace of those people is to be found anywhere in the world to-day. Our mother India had survived all the difficulties and dangers that overwhelmed other countries of antiquity. How is it that while other countries could not survive the shock, India could? The answer is to be found in the very basis of India's civilization and culture. The Greeks and the Romans were Aryans, just as the Indians were. But oh! what a difference! India knew how to make compromise with alien elements, how to make others friends, how to behave properly, nobly and grandly, how to love and serve mankind and how to infuse a spiritual principle of life into everything that she touched. It is this all-embracing, all-loving, all-equalising power and spirit, this loving nature, this sublime spirituality

that stood her in good stead against all the dangers and difficulties that came to overcome her. Even today, if this noble spirit be our guide, be our beacon-light, then we will never be beaten down by any power on earth. Rather our culture and ideal will inaugurate a new age in this tempest-tossed and heat-oppressed world, where might and not right and justice is the measure of things. So long India was under grinding pressure of a foreign domination, India's encased soul was crying for emancipation. But still, it must be admitted that the eternal spirit of India could not be crushed by any foreign power. The genius of India has withstood the test of ages, since it has flowered out a consciousness co-eval with that which created the universe. Through crystal concentration and fiery discipline innumerable sages and seers have garnered the essence of life's truth and beauty and gathered rare beauties of vision unconquerable and everlasting. The gift of intuition has never been denied to the Indian thinkers whose thought is a challenge to changing circumstances and shifting ideals which may for brief periods in India's history, seem to cloud it, but never transform it from its inherent values of the eternal to the superficial and fleeting values of time. It is a paradox of history that how after centuries of foreign domination India could retain her vital energy and her own robust civilization and spiritual culture. It is because in its very essence here was the breath of an eternal soul, a never-dying energy which kept her alive through all these terrible and trying ages. The Scythians, Huns, Greeks, Pathans, Moghuls and Englishmen came to India with different aims and motives. All of them, except the last one, were absorbed in her all-embracing bosom, and were made one with her. Such a harmonious blending of divergent elements into one body is rarely to be found anywhere in the long course of world's history. In fact, India presents a unique example of unity in diversity which is one of the essential features of India's culture. India has conserved all, made nobody her enemy, befriended with everyone with whom she came into contact. If anybody refused to be woven into the wonderful texture of India's unity, he had to go away from her. But it is unthinkable that a man should live in India, and would not become a part of India. The English had to go away because they refused to be one with India. India has a message to the world and that message is love, truth and non-injury to any living creature; be it small or great, which has been very finely enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi as the message of Non-violence.

Now that India has been politically emancipated from the bondage of foreign domination, a great duty has fallen upon her children to fulfil the unrealised dreams, dreamed by the sages and seers of the past generations. It is up to the Indians of the present day to raise the standard of that love, truth and harmony of human races which is the distinctive characteristic of Indian culture. The present-day world with all its agonies and miseries, with all its atom bombs and explosives and other destructive forces is on its trial. Can the materialistic concept and outlook of life of the Western civilization save the modern world from impending catastrophe? The Western civilization is nothing but an extension of the Greek and Roman civilization with all their sins and crimes minus their vigorous sense of subjective beauty. Of the earth and earthly, of the flesh and fleshly, the present civilisation of the West has no inner soul, the spiritual urge behind it. Its Churchills and Trumans, its Hitlers and Mussolinis cannot change the face of the world, nor can they establish abiding peace on it. If any country can save the modern world, it is India and India alone. But it is not the Indian of Nathuram Godse, rather it is the India of Rabindranath, Mahatma Gandhi and Sri Aurobindo.

What is the fundamental evil of the modern world? It is the non-recognition of the fact that love and truth are panacea for all evils. Where love and truth reside, there cannot reside lust, greed and violence. After two great devastating wars the whole world is sick of violence. But has the West learnt any lesson from them? Rather all the Western countries are now rushing headlong to another war of more destructive nature. Can this Europe with whom the be-all and end-all of life is the founding of new empires, newer markets, bring peace in the world? They cannot solve the world problem; they cannot establish world peace; they cannot think in terms of "one world" based on love, peace, equality, fraternity and brotherliness of the whole human race. Materialism and imperialism are twin brother which are eating into the vitals of the entire world. In their very nature they are bound to create world-war. And when the war will come, they will dance with joy, for then fresh opportunity will present themselves for further exploitation. Things of which the origin is violence, which gather their food and life from violence and which express themselves in the outbursts of ruthless warfare are the root cause of most of the evils of the modern world. Violence is a curse on the body politic of human society. No greater sin on mind and soul of a nation can be imagined than the mobilization of the people on a gigantic scale to kill a fellow-brother of one country for no offence of his. The administrative system of the modern world, of which the fundamental basis is violence, is against all canons of justice morality, love and truth; nay more, it is against the concept of God. What we find in the modern world is nothing but the manifestations of violence, bloodshed, rapine, malice, lust, greed and a negation of all that is good and noble, and godly in life. The

remedy lies in a cult of love, peace and brotherliness, in a word, complete non-violence in word, thought and deed. Long ago the great seers and thinkers of India gave solutions of all these evils that are the cankers of modern civilization. The fundamental principle of their message is love, truth and non-violence. The great teaching of Buddha and Mahabir are still applicable to the conditions of the modern world. They thought not of man alone; but the entire living creature was the object of their tender care. "Harmlessness to all living creatures," that was the message of Buddha and Mahabir. Shri Chaitanya taught us the lesson of love to all creatures. His was a life devoted to the service of mankind. Prince Dara Shikoh preached the message of unity of all religions of the world. His famous book *Majmaul Bahrain* is a monumental work in which he tried to establish a synthesis between Hinduism and Islam. He also translated the Upanishads and other Sanskrit books into Persian, and tried his best to create a fusion of different cultures into one harmonious whole. Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Kesab Chandra Sen Ramakrishna Paramhansa Dev, Swami Vivekananda—all of them taught the lessons of love, truth and sacrifice as the panacea for the ills of the modern age. Last, but not least, come our Bapuji Mahatma Gandhi, and with his message of Ahimsa (non-violence) he roused the slumbering people from their age-long lethargy. It is certain that he gave us no new lesson, but out of the old principles of non-violence, love and truth he created a new outlook of life, a new ideology, and a new background from which he launched a ceaseless struggle against the modern materialistic age. He showed to the world that by a method of peace, truth and love the sorest evils of the world could be remedied, the greatest difficulties could be overcome and a nation fettered and cribbed under the iron chain of a powerful imperialist power could be emancipated by non-violent weapon. To redress a grievance, to remedy a wrong, non-violent method is more powerful than any weapon the world has ever conceived. You can eradicate all evils by non-violent methods. The fundamental thing in Gandhiji's teaching is, "End does not justify the means. Your means should be as pure as your end." He extended the scope of non-violence and applied the teachings of Buddha on a more extensive field, and made world-wide appeal for its acceptance as the surest means to solve the difficulties of the age, the riddles of materialistic civilization. Non-violence is the security of human life. It is the preserver of culture and civilization of the world. It is the law of life. All the good and noble qualities that are necessary for making up a fully developed 'man' come from non-violence. But it is not the non-violence of the weak, rather it is the non-violence of the strong which is worth having. Gandhiji has again and again told us that non-violence is not the weapon of the feeble and dullard, it is a weapon of the brave, strong and able-bodied person. It is not an abstract and unrealistic ideal, not an unrealistic catchword of a visionary

idealist. Our great Bapuji has made experiment with it, and amidst a situation of diverse difficulties and dangers has proved the efficiency of non-violence as surest means to establish a just cause and redress a just grievance. After making his own experiment with it he gave it to the world as the final message of India. There is an inner contradiction between the ideals of non-violence and all those ideals that have created imperialism, capitalism and fascism. The latter ideals cannot linger for a moment where an atmosphere of non-violence has been created. Non-violence is a complete religion, a perfect system of life, and a whole code of moral and ethical law. Standing upon the solid foundation of non-violence one can base his life, mould his ideas and thoughts, guide and control his action and remains as an ideal, an exemplar, a beacon light to the world from which will radiate the refulgent glory and splendour of heaven. That day might be far off when the whole world would adopt non-violence as the basis of life. But we can predict this much that unless the people of the world adopt non-violence, there never would dawn the much expected "Millennium" on this war-worn earth. Today the world is guided by the noxious theory of "Preparedness for war is the best prevention against war." But history has proved that this theory is an additional impetus for war. It is preparedness for non-violence, for creating an atmosphere of love and truth that is the best prevention against all wars. The message of non-violence as propounded by Gandhiji is the message of India to the war-weary and materialistic world. It is the message of hope to the millions of toiling and moiling masses who are being daily exploited by a few handful of interested persons. Today the world problem has reached such a crucial stage that nothing can save it except some radical changes and thorough over-hauling of the entire ideology of the cult of war and violence. The world can be saved by the message of non-violence and all those ideals that are inseparably linked with it. Gandhiji as a torch-bearer of love and truth has shown to the world, not by precept alone, but by a noble example realised in his life, that non-violence can be used as the surest weapon to fight against all the evils of the modern world. Non-violence has proved the fact that in the whole world-order an inner soul, an underlying spirit pervades in and through every phenomenon. If truth, love and peace be the basis of life, then there is no contradiction in the world-order, no conflict between man and man, between nation and nation, and country and country. Conflicts arise when claim of love and truth is abandoned for the attainment of selfish ends, undue privileges and wrong interests and false hopes and aspirations. Create that atmosphere where love and truth can have their complete mastery, then you will find that all conflicts will end, all contradictions will cease to exist. Look at from a higher plane, there is no difference between man and man, nation and nation. Every man, each nation is the handiwork of God who is love

and truth. Can two truths be accepted and rejected at the same time? Why then do we see conflict and contradiction everywhere? It is because we look at every thing with jaundiced and atrophied eyes. And so we find clashes and conflicts. Remedy the defect of your eyes by the ointment of non-violence, and you will find that there is no difference, no conflicts and clashes among mankind. For want of proper foresight and noble-hearted generosity we cannot understand and appreciate and feel the pulse of inner unity of mankind. If love and truth be the guide of our life, then we can feel that indwelling unity that pervades among all mankind. Basis of non-violence is love and truth and from lust, greed, hatred and malice springs violence. Shall India abandon her soul and spirit in search of material happiness and earthly well-being?

In the past India had showed to the world the path of truth and love. Now that she has attained her freedom by following the path of non-violence, can she follow a different course and be a hand-bound disciple of Europe? The ideal of Europe is in every way different from the ideals of India. For many years the theory of exclusive salvation was the guiding force of all the European nations. But in India the right of private judgment in matters, secular and ecclesiastical, has been accepted as the surest guarantee to civil liberty. In Europe the theory of "end justifies the means" was always the golden rule of conduct. But India hated and abhorred such ideas. Here stress was always put more on means than on ends. The Indian theory of conduct is that means must always be as pure as the ends. Europe believe in the principle that "a good death is better than good life." Therefore often times some murderers of men were canonised as saints, on the theory that the cause of such murder was noble. But India never made murderers her heroes, however noble was the cause. Therefore India believes that a good life is better than a good death. It is for this reason that religious persecution was unknown in India. There was no Inquisition Court in India, no burning of heretics, no order of the Jesuits to enforce a system of beliefs upon an unwilling people. Peace-loving India has worshipped her Buddhas, Nanaks, her Kabirs and Chaitanyas more than her heroes of war. Europe taught people to protect religion by murder and persecution. But India taught people to save religion by serving men irrespective of caste, creed and nationality. "Nara-Narayan" is the ever-recurring slogan of Indian sages and seers, warriors and patriots. Europe says that a good death is better than a good life. India has rejected that theory, and has declared once and for all that a good life is better than every other way of life. The ideal human being in India is the just, noble, reasonable, peaceful, humane and cultivated man living in an ordered and harmonious society. The famous author of the *Imitation of Christ* has remarked that all men desire peace, but few desire those things that make for peace. Gandhiji by his creed of non-violence has

sought to create that state and atmosphere in the world which would make for peace. To create, to remould and to shape a mentality that will set its face against all sorts of violence in all shape and form that is the real solution, and Gandhiji strove to do that, and he gave his life for the realisation of that ideal. With him success was not the end—but pure and peaceful means, noble love, lofty truth, the unsoiled hand, the free mind, and unshakable courage that will bring a millennium on this earth that will establish lasting peace in the world.

After freedom an additional burden has fallen upon the shoulders of the youth of our country. But what are they doing now? Faction, party and party-politics have engrossed all their attention. It is not so that life should be lived. Our young generation should remember that the whole world is looking towards India.

Our Rajaji is no longer with us. It is up to the youths of our country to complete the unfulfilled tasks of Gandhiji, and to carry the message of India to the four corners of the world. Every individual young man and woman would so strive that he or she might become so many little Gandhijis with all his grandness and nobility. Each individual should fulfil in his life the message that India has to give to the world. Each group of young men and women should construct here and now some working model of better society imagined by saints and prophets of India. Let our people give up that fisticaporous tendency, that party spirit and factious method, and make their motherland an ideal heaven and noble abode of love and truth and peace and security so that the whole world might declare that at last a Utopia has been established, a kingdom of God has come upon this earth. Amen.

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SOCIAL ADULT EDUCATION

Its Possibilities

By RAIHARAN CHAKRABARTI, W.B.E.S.,
Principal, Banipur Janata (People's) College

"We must have to accept the things that we cannot change, have the courage to change things we can, and the wisdom to know the difference"—with these living words of faith and friendship the adults of Denmark, rightly guided and controlled, changed the history of Denmark with the gospel of co-operating truths. We wonder at the practical achievements of the people of small Denmark making such large contributions. Dr. Peter Manniche, M.A., L.H.D., Principal, International College, Elsinore, Denmark, a competent authority on Social (Adult) Education, entertains the opinion that through co-operative societies, formed and fostered by the adults, the people obtain half the capital for the purchase of lands, buildings, implements and good livestock. Of 200,000 farmers he says, 190,000 are members of one or several Co-operative Societies exchanging mutual needs.

It is really wonderful that 90% of Europe's milk and 88% of pigs are supplied by Denmark Co-operative Societies. Contributing one-third of the world trade in butter, and one-half of the world trade in bacon, Denmark has left many a large country behind. These Co-operative Societies owe much to the average Social Adult Workers who have ability to speak in local dialects to the unlettered people living in the seclusion of cottages. They have broad outlook, sincerity of purpose and intensive application, have good judgment and resourcefulness to inspire and attract, are mature in age and experience and have cultivated dignity of labour. They are

accustomed to hard conditions of life and are forgetful of personal difficulties. Thus the vision, imagination and application of the Social Adult Workers contributed much towards the consolidation of the co-operating adult farmers and co-ordinating adult workers under different centres into concentrated Co-operative Societies for the welfare of the whole of the country.

Denmark's example is inspiring. Some representatives of West Bengal have sailed for that land of action. Denmark's inexhaustive world supply of butter and bacon is really wonderful. What is Denmark? Where lies the secret of success? Why is it so successful while the other countries, having great resources of health, wealth and education, have met with disappointment and failure? Denmark has lessons to teach! We in India are lacking in sincere co-operation and unity of thought, action and speech. Denmark has lessons for those who are ignorant of the active potency of Adult Education and of Co-operation.

India has keenly felt the necessity of community projects, social projects and individual projects on the basis of Social Education Schemes. Bihar is going ahead of all other provinces in India with reference to the spread of Adult Education. India could not materialise the dream of the Father of India in the true sense of the term. The illiterate adults in villages have been neglected. Many of the villages have sunk to the level of stark ignorance. Poverty, starvation and hunger

have stared the farmers and workers in the face. The villagers, driven by the force of blind destiny to soul-killing superstitions, and body-killing pestilence and disease, have been heading towards the inevitable end.

Within these few years after the introduction of Social (Adult) Education in rural areas, agricultural output has, by every possible means, increased, the problem of unemployment in rural areas has been tackled through the introduction of new schemes and plans, village communications have improved, indigenous handicrafts and small-scale industries are being promoted. Social Education Organisations have infused life into the dry bones of the illiterate people who, with their eyes open, could not see what was in front of them. In some parts of 24 Parganas where Social Education has been accepted as a living force, children at the age of 7 and 8 were seen to recite beautiful poems of Rabindranath, some women on the wrong side of forty were heard to deliver speeches and recite long poems freely. Cottage industry products of these places are of finished excellence.

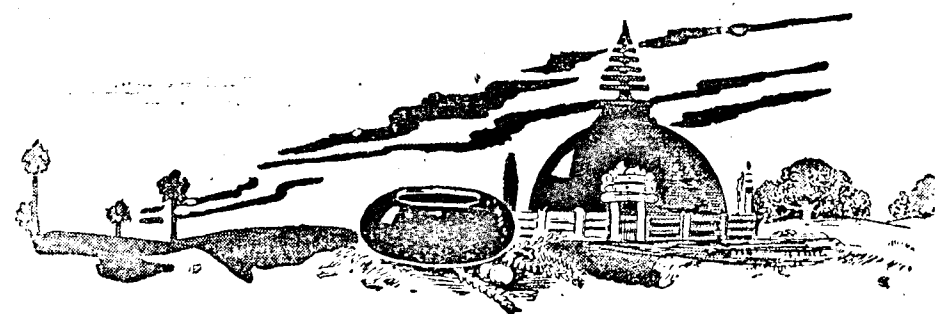
There are cross-currents of country politics. In villages many leaders will have to face stern realities. They must not be lost in the labyrinths of village politics. Project workers and social education workers will have to inspire people by identifying themselves with the villagers and making the villagers' cause their own. Adult Education is one of the primary factors that may do away with many an evil.

In *The Outline of History* by H. G. Wells we find this interesting 'Outlook for Mankind':

"Whatever be the fate of mankind, there can be little question that the attainment of a federation of all humanity, together with a sufficient measure of social justice to ensure health, education, and a rough equality of opportunity to most of the children born into the world, would mean such a

release and increase of human energy as to open a new phase in human history. The enormous waste, caused by the mutual injuries of competing great powers and the still more enormous waste due to the under-productiveness of great masses of people either because they are too wealthy for stimulus or too poor for efficiency, would cease. There would be a vast increase in the supply of human necessities, a rise in the standard of life, and in men's ideas of what is considered a necessity, a development of transport and every kind of convenience, and a multitude of people would be transferred from low-grade production to such higher work as art of all kinds, teaching, scientific research, and the like. All over the world there would be a setting free of human capacity, such as has occurred hitherto only in small places and through previous limited phases of prosperity and security."

There is wastage in India in the field of education, in the field of religion, in the work of demand and supply. After the attainment of Political Independence there has been an honest and sincere attempt at having a proper adjustment of demand and supply and solving economic and educational problems but it has not always been successful. Many a constructive scheme and plan fell through. The reasons are not far to seek. There was a great want of co-operative minds and co-ordinating actions, among the adults in stagnant villages in the dark days before Independence. Now a certain change has taken place. There are raw minds with raw ideas and actions. Unless these raw materials are converted into finished products in accordance with the co-operative Adult Educational principles of Denmark which has created a history of economic and educative reforms and reorganisations on the basis of Adult Education, the future of Free India cannot be promising. Adult Education is a panacea of many village evils that are sapping the foundation of society.



MUSIC OF THE SPHERES

By SOCHI RAUT ROY

1. The World of Voices

In the sphere of resonance,
we shall meet,
A meeting, not of the eye,
but in an aura of soulful resonance:
On the checkerboard of diverse tunes,
hemmed in by the haze of multiple notes.
In every sound
with its distinct hue entwined,
Your thought-image takes shape:
Woven in criss-cross colours
of multiple melody,
Your diverse echoes keep me emblamed:

In the hieroglyphic maze of form and flesh,
smell, colour and rhythm,
I catch a glimpse of thee:
Lose for a moment,
to hold it again:
But, Oh when shall it be,
Beyond all reach,
In the realm of pondering,
Where words fail,
and the mind fears to tread.
Silhouette of sounds,
Where the fragrance of life-blossoms
melts into the sonata of non-life,
In the blaze of beauty
which no eye may ever see,
Upon the non-terrestrial plane
without sound and colour,
Silhouettes . . . only silhouettes . . .

2. The Serenade

Is it a drink of honey,
or heaven's ambrosia,
in the goblet of the sky:
In the whisperings of air
is it love that speaks?
The soft breaths
shiver like first love,
Rainbow lilting notes
ripple like the stream.
Peeping from behind a curtain of green,
a beauteous fairy queen,
A bird,
A bride,
A brook gurgling by.

The earth,
lips parted in sweetest dream,
A serenade nonpareil.
The scorching breath of noon
Swoons in every tautened note,
Underwriting the sounds that reach the air;
Like the deepest peal of thunder
sleeping at the bottom of the sea,
and floating up to the world of hearing,
Negating the senses,
In the suggestiveness of notes ethereal
Broiled in sun-fire.

3. Voices in the Dark

Soft and dark
Voices in the dark and solitary room
beat their wings like mossy-grey moths . . .
Worms of voices;
The craggy walls echo through their dead lips
To the fading footsteps of tombstoned days . . .
The voices gently stir,
taking foggy shapes, and vanish
Into the frozen garden out of doors
where fins of lifeless trees point to the sky.

Darkness hovers like a lover's ghost
over the tomb of a girl lying cold,
Soundless clatter of the planets moving
through the alleys of heaven,
drowned in quietude,
like laughter in sleep.
Dead voices hear and speak.

Walls whisper thro' their shaggy cracks
The shadows on the staircase
rise in Infanta's flesh
by sudden cyprian touch,
(fingers of time pointed at them)
They fade away and are lost
amidst the dead trees outside
washed by the gilt lime of the moon
hung from the heaven's archipelago.
Tides of shadow-faces roll by.

Dark voices
Still voices speak,
Walking in sleep
through the needle-eye of time.

MATISSE

By JACQUES GRELLET

Henry Matisse, born in 1869 in Northern France, belonged to that extraordinary generation which gave to France and to the world such glorious names as Bergson, Jean Jaures, Romain Rolland, Charles Peguy, Paul Valery, Andre Gide, Paul Claude, Leon Blum, Debussy or Cezanne.

His parents sent him to Paris to study Law, which he did up to the Bachelor's degree. But as soon as he could he joined the Ecole des Beaux Arts where he had as fellow-students Marquet and Rouault.

In 1895, Impressionism was still flourishing and in spite of the reaction which Seurat, on the one hand, and Gauguin with the "Nabis" on the other had started, Matisse was first of all influenced by Claude Monet and Pissaro.

But his personal inclination as also Cezanne's influence soon led him towards more intellectual research; he made use of pure colours, without any mixture, so as to provoke intense contrasts from which forms arose.

Little by little he was heading towards that aesthetic known as "fauvism": predominance of the coloured surface, flat but rich, overvolume; a simplification which does away with details, keeping only the essentials; a search for rhythm and harmony.

The birth of cubism in 1907 had not left Matisse indifferent (indeed, he was considered its sponsor). In 1912 he inclined towards a more abstract form of painting, if not entirely hermetic, and restrained his palette to dark and dull shades, while his drawing, always very pure, became hard.

But shortly afterwards he reacted violently against "non-figurative" art, in which he had dabbled for a

time. This marked the birth of a new Matisse. Settled in Nice, in the South of France, he was gripped by the joy of living and tenderness which manifested themselves in voluptuous compositions: happy feminine figures, immobile or asleep, intimate scenes in oriental luxury (*Young Oriental Woman*, 1919; *The Piano Lesson*, 1923).

But, it was in 1931 that he had the opportunity of showing the mastery which he had acquired: he was commissioned to execute an immense fresco on "Dance" for Pittsburgh (U.S.A.). The long dancing figures, which are never less than 12 feet high, stretch out into linear arabesques which encircle a uniform colour without any care for relief: grey on a pink and black background.

Matisse combined the various contrary aspirations which he had successively experienced: charm and grandeur, sensualism and intellectualism. The subject is simplified in the extreme.

From this individualism, or rather from that sincerity towards oneself, sprang the sincerity of the work, alternately abstract and coloured, immediate and thought-out, rich and bare, voluptuous and voluntary, brilliant but reasoned.

In 1937 he studied a new mode of expression, "paper cut-outs" which he used for the first time in a decor for ballet and which he was later to utilize very often.

From 1942, he devoted himself to the construction and decoration of a small chapel in Vence, near Nice, which he finished in 1952 and which remains, in all probability, as the artistic testament of this great painter.

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DR. GUPTA'S HISTORY OF THE INDIAN STAGE A Review*

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

Ever since the pioneer work of Sylvain Levi, *Le Theatre Indian*, was published in 1830, materials have been accumulating for the study of the origin and history of the Indian drama and Indian theatre, and various scholars (Schuyler, Fischel, Keith, Liders, Coomaraswamy, Manbad Pisharaoti, Raghavan, Yagnik, Monmohan Ghose, S. K. De) have from time to time dealt with important aspects of a great

theme. And to Dr. C. B. Gupta belongs the credit of bringing under focus and scholarly critical examination all the available data bearing on a very fascinating theme. Unstinted praise is due to the author for presenting with commendable brevity a large mass of data within a small compass of only 210 pages, covering 12 chapters. The most important of his researches are contained in Chapter III (Con-

struction of the Theatre), Ch. IV (Scenic Representations), Ch. V (Paraphernalia) and Ch. VI (Accessory Arts). The author's valuable contribution consists in the discussion of the origin of the curtain (*yavanika*) and his successful demolition of the so-called Greek influence on Indian drama. His bibliography, though fairly exhaustive, proving his extensive reading, is not perfect, and is marred by important omissions (e.g., Harowitz: *Indian Theatre*, Keith's article in *BSOS*, I, Dr. K. C. Pandey's *Abhinavagupta*, 1935, Wijesekhara's article, *I. H. Q.*, June, 1941, Saunder's "Portrait Painting as a Dramatic Device in Sanskrit Plays," *JAOS*, Vol. 39, and the present reviewer's "Evidences for the Early History of Indian Drama," *N.J.A.*, June 1942). It is not clear if the author had studied the text of the *Natya-Vedavivriti*. But, for these bibliographical omissions, the supervising Professor and the insufficiency of our research libraries in our Universities are to be blamed and not our author. While high commendation is due for the author's interpretation of *Mattavarani*, an important structure of the Indian Stage, he has placed himself under a difficulty by preparing a speculative diagram of the Triangular variety of Stage (p. 43), where the two *Mattavaranis* (solid structures) shut out a view of the *Ranga-pitha* by the audience seated in the *Ranga-mandala* (auditorium). He has missed Dr. M. M. Ghosh's significant remark: "No *Mattavarani* has been prescribed in case of the Triangular play-house" (*Natya-Sastra*, Bib. Indica, 1951, p. 58). Another serious demerit of the thesis is the unfortunate and unscholarly avoidance of any discussion of chronology. His suggestion that the reference in the *Avadana-sataka* (p. 149) is the earliest record of a play being enacted on the stage is not supported by any suggestion for date. The author has not followed the usual practice of thesis-writers of citing original passages of the texts discussed. These citations would have made his presentations more useful and avoided misunderstandings. The citations of references to *Employment of Painting* (pp. 64-65) are quite irrelevant without citations of the nature of pictorial decorations of the stage. After citing references to portrait painting in some Sanskrit plays (fully documented by Saunder's article not read by the author), the author is left to indulge in surmises: "Then (?) the walls between the *ranga sira* and *nepathya griha* might have been painted to represent the most interesting scenes of the play. Pillars and ceiling of the theatre might also be painted as we find paintings in the Ajanta Caves" (p. 68). While the make-up of actors included painting of the limbs (*anga-rachana*), the author has maintained a mysterious silence on the question, if any background-painted scenes indicating landscape or architectural environments of the happenings visualised in the plays were ever used in ancient Indian Stages. The

author has not adequately dealt with the problem of the origin of the Indian drama. It had been suggested by the earlier writers that the drama must have developed from the dialogue of the Vedic texts (*Sambada*); he does not make any attempt to demonstrate this development (ignoring the Yama and Yami episode). It is quite probable that the Indian drama developed from Vedic dialogues as well as from various primitive forms, such as the "Shadow-Play" and the "Puppet Play" (which the author summarily rejects) as well as the Picture-rolls of the *Saubhikas* referred to in Patanjali. He has certainly misunderstood the famous passage in Patanjali (*Mahabhasya*, II, pp. 36, 294) which he has wrongly taken as proving the existence of full-fledged drama. This misunderstanding could have been avoided by a study of Coomaraswamy's article: "Picture-Showmen" (*I.H.Q.*, V, p. 182). And there is no justification for the assertion that the *Mahabhasya* passage proves that *Kamasa-bandha* and *Vali-bandha* were acted on the stage. The probabilities are that even after the full-fledged evolution of the Indian stage (at the time of the Buddha, as suggested by Coomaraswamy), the earlier and the more primitive forms of the *Saubhikas*, the Shadow-Plays and the Puppet-Plays continued to be patronized by the populace as cheap and ready form of popular dramatic entertainment.

Our author with commendable adventure, has attempted to cover the contemporary developments of the Indian stage under European influence, with a view to indicate the paths on which our national theatre should or might develop. It is well known that our new stage has developed without any contact with our ancient traditions so that this excursion into modern times is not strictly relevant to the thesis. And it was an embarrassing and a very difficult task to make any useful survey of the New Theatre now in the making, within the limits of the thesis. The greatest modern contributions have come from Bengal but the author's treatment of the Bengal theatre is quite inadequate and clumsy (pp. 164-65).

We have been at some pains to point out the minor blemish in this otherwise excellent thesis as we are cherishing the hope that Dr. Gupta will pursue the subject further and give us the result of his maturer studies in the form of an exhaustive treatise on the Indian stage, which he is eminently equipped to present. A word of praise is due to the publishers, whose past ventures have established their reputation by the publication of many inspiring volumes on Indian culture.

* The Indian Theatre (Its Origin and Development up to the Present Day) by Chandra Bhanu Gupta, Hindu College, Delhi University, being a Thesis for a Doctorate presented in 1949, under the title "Presentation of Sanskrit Plays," to the Benares Hindu University. Published by Motilal Banarashidas, Post Box No. 75, Benares 1945. Pp. 210. Three diagrams. Price Rs. 10 (First Edition of 1,000 copies).



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

SACRIFICE IN THE RIGVEDA (Its Nature, Influence, Origin and Growth): By K. R. Potdar, M.A. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953. Pp. xi + 299. Price Rs. 15.*

This is the most thorough and the most critical work on the fascinating but difficult subject of Vedic sacrifice that has appeared in recent years. The author bases his work on an exhaustive study of the original texts, his examination of the prevailing views is marked by sound judgment, his style is admirably lucid and clear and is occasionally enlivened by striking and original similes. In the first chapter aptly called *Diksha* the author passes in review the opinions of previous scholars from Max Muller to Renou and sums up their differences under six heads. These pertain to the relation between the stages of the ritual in the *Rigveda-Samhita* and the later Vedic literature, the extent of growth of the ritual in the Rigvedic period, the stages of growth of the sacrifice during the period of composition of the Rigvedic hymns, the mutual relations of the Rigvedic hymns and the sacrifice, the basic idea of these relations and lastly, the nature and influence of the sacrifice in the Rigvedic times. At the end of his discussion the author gives us a valuable summary of his views on the origin and development of the conception of sacrifice in the *Rigveda*. His conclusions may be summarised in the following way. The Rigvedic sacrifice originated with the idea of propitiating the divinities through *Agni* with the help of the hymns and the offerings so that the progress of the individual as well as the group should become possible. There were four stages of its growth. The first stage, that of individual effort, was marked by the worship of individual divinities with the help of the fire kindled in the household and the hymns composed in honour of the particular deity, the composer and the priest being the same person. The second stage, that of co-operative effort, was marked by the addition of a second priest (*adhvaryu*) to the original *hotri*, the worship of joint divinities and groups of divinities as well as *Visvedevas* and so forth. The third stage was marked by the rise of different categories of priests with the *brahman* or the *purohita* at their head, the introduction of animal sacrifice and the division of the priests into two classes, one concentrating on the technique of sacrifice and the other engaged in its intellectual pursuit. The fourth stage was marked by the transition to the mechanical aspect of the sacrifice in the Brahmanas. The author (rather surprisingly) fixes the separation of the Indo-Aryans from the Iranians at the end of the second stage. An index of important passages, a general index and a select bibliography bring this highly useful and informative volume to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MAHAYOGI (Life, Sadhana and Teachings of Aurobindo): By R. R. Diwakar, with a Foreword by K. M. Munshi. Published by *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chhapatty, Bombay, in 1953, under Bhavan's Book University. D.C. 1/16. Pp. 238. Price Re. 1-12.*

Written by the present Governor of Bihar, a patriot, philosopher and scholar, once a professor of English and journalist, and admirer of Sri Aurobindo from his school days, these pages are as the author himself says, "indicative rather than exhaustive, stimulative more than narrative, suggestive instead of being exhaustive." Dates and facts mentioned appear to be quite reliable. Read along with *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother* (published by Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry) one gets a full glimpse of the great life it portrays.

The book is the outcome of the endeavours of the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* whose aim is to bring our present and coming generations into close contact with *Bharatiya Vidya* "through a study of forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative life-energy through which it has expressed itself in different ages as a single continuous process." "Their objective being not to sacrifice an ancient form or attitude to an unreasoning passion for change; nor to retain a form or attitude which in the light of modern times can be replaced by another form or attitude which is truer and more effective expression of the Spirit of *Bharatiya Vidya*."

These are very good and healthy objectives for any institution that intends to serve any nation in making. First part of the objective is easy to follow and is well taken care of in the book. But with due deference to the learned author and the respected editor, we must say that the second objective has not been attended to with the same care. It is a pity when the author brands the pioneers of Indian awakening as "sponsors of reformist movement based on Western pattern," (p. 11) and counts among them Raja Rammohun Roy and Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen. Even the names of Keshub Chunder Sen and Devendra Nath Tagore have been omitted from the index. It shows a lack of proportion, of study and knowledge of history of recent times. Let us look around and see as to what is the pattern of life today all the world over? Is it not a march towards a harmonious blending of all? Mere toleration is out of date. This is the age of active participation. Does not Universalism come first in our life today fostering nationalism within its bosom as the spring of originality and variety having organic unity? Are not patterns daily undergoing complete metamorphosis? Today conservatism or sectarianism is sin. It is not within human power to stop the chariot of the Lord. Rammohun and Keshub were prophets of the New Age and put their hands to the work of the Lord. They nationalised foreign ideas and institutions.

They discovered the Oriental Christ and enriched the whole of the oriental life thereby. They accepted science and harmonised it with life. And by their foreign missions as early as 1833 and 1870 they spread the message of Indian spirituality which has been accepted by the West in a great degree. A re-discovery of our modern history and personalities and their intimate connection are essential before we can put our hands to writing about any particular person or movement that is expected to advance our objective.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

OUR COUNTRYMEN ABROAD: By Kumari Mukul Mukherjee. Published by Indian National Congress, 7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi. Price Rs. 3.

Attention has been focussed for many years on the condition of Indians overseas. Wide publicity has been given to the plight of the Indian settlers in not a few of their lands of adoption. From long before independence the Indian National Congress have been championing the cause of these unfortunate migrants. Very little could be done however. It is high time that the problem should be solved once and for all honourably and satisfactorily for all concerned. We do not claim any special privilege or concession for Indian settlers or residents abroad. All we want is equality of treatment with other foreigners and if an Indian has settled in any country outside India, he must be recognised as a full citizen of that country.

A word of friendly advice to a section of Indians abroad may not be uncalled for. Indians in foreign lands should remember that they are the unofficial representatives of Mother India in the lands of their sojourn or adoption. Mother India expects them to set an example of honesty and purity, of truthfulness and manliness, before others. Kumari Mukul Mukherjee's *Our Countrymen Abroad* hints that many Indians in some foreign countries do not always adhere to the above principle.

The authoress and the publishers are both to be congratulated for having brought out the excellent volume under review. It is a storehouse of very useful information and deserves an honoured place on the book-shelf of every serious student of current history.

INDIA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA: Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi. Price not stated.

South-East Asia was once within India's sphere of cultural and religious influence. India gave language, religion and culture to this region with an area of 1,533,775 square miles and a population of 134,917,819. Indian missionaries and merchants—not legionaries—were the spearhead of progress and civilization in this wide area. Distance, lapse of time and the subsequent history of South-East Asia have brought changes in all walks of South-East Asia's life. The pattern, however, is still essentially Indian.

The brochure under review is a timely publication. It will go a long way to acquaint India and South-East Asia with each other and to build up a lasting friendship between them. Friendship will help both and will at the same time strengthen the hands of the champions of an area of peace in a world divided against itself.

WHITHER BRITAIN?: By R. W. G. Mackay. Published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. R. W. G. Mackay points out that England has been in the throes of one economic crisis after another since the Second World War. Her sufferings

are due to an altered economic relationship with the outside world. Economic integration of Europe and the creation of a European Federation are suggested as the only way out. The suggestions deserve a careful and critical, yet sympathetic, consideration.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

YOUR BIRTHRIGHT: By Swami Rajeswarananda, M.A., D.Litt. Second edition. Published by Upanishad Bihar, Kailasgiri, Pungal Post., Chittoor Dist., S. India. Pp. 136. Price Re. 1.

Swami Rajeswarananda is a learned and respected monk of South India and reputed author of several books on practical religion and Advaita Vedanta. The book under review contains about 250 passages gleaned from the leaves of his valuable diary and is a necklace of inspiring thoughts. Each passage is complete in itself and enshrines a pearl of sacred wisdom. The thoughts are not collected from books but are spontaneous outpourings of his enlightened life. From his heavenly hermitage with the sylvan surroundings of Kailasgiri in Kalahasti as the background and the river Subarnamukhi flowing in front, the saintly Swami broadcasts his Vedantic thoughts all around. Rightly he observes in one passage: "Vedanta is the real soul of India in particular and of the world in general . . . Pessimism, nihilism, pluralism, fanaticism, atheism and the like cannot breathe in the rarefied air of Vedanta." In another paragraph he pertinently remarks: "Education is neither blind suggestion nor dead imitation, nor phonographic repetition. It is dynamic training of the mental faculties and physical abilities." The main theme of these inspired exhortations is to point out to everybody male or female that to reveal the divinity latent in each soul is her or his legitimate birthright. Indeed a perusal of this booklet will awaken this idea in the reader. Though a topical index is appended yet a table of contents is wanted. The book is competent to serve as a companion for religious aspirants.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

STRAY THOUGHTS ON LIFE: By B. C. Sen, I.C.S. Published by the author from Romola Villa, Kurseong, D. H. Rly. Pp. 135. Price not mentioned.

The aged author of this little cloth-bound volume is a retired member of Indian Civil Service. This book, as he confesses in the Preface, is a collection of essays written at different times and necessarily intended for more or less different readers. He expresses in the last chapter briefly some aspects of Nature as he understands them. Though an index of important words is appended yet no table of contents is given.

In all the eight chapters into which the booklet is divided, the author freely gives vent to his well-considered views on life, religion, morality, determinism, free-will and other topics. The chapters are readable and bear testimony to his independent thinking. The writer seems to be more influenced by the philosophers and thinkers of the West than those of India. He observes at the outset of the book, "To know the Ultimate Truth is not given to man. We know nothing of the Ultimate Cause or God beyond what are revealed by the forces and laws of Nature. All else is speculation and imagination on the part of religion and philosophy." Every thought in the above quotation goes against time-honoured Indian tradition. It is unequivocally proclaimed in the principal Upanishads that man is born to realise God and to do that is his highest goal. It is strange why an Indian Civil Servant in his mature retirement has started a crusade against religion and philosophy. If all statements of religion and philosophy are mere speculations, then how could

Sri Ramakrishna, Sri Aurobindo, Raman Maharshi and other saints of Modern India realise God and talk with Him? To disbelieve them is to deny all our cultural heritage. But as diversity of opinion is tolerated in our times, we recommend this thought-provoking book to readers who may be benefited by his views.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

SRAMIK DHARMA RAJYA—A CULTURAL RETROSPECT: By R. Mandeswar Sarma, Vidyamandir, Kovvur, W. G. Dt., Andhra. Price 12 annas.

Sri R. Mandeswar Sarma, the founder of the Andhra Sramik Dharma Rajya Sabha is not only an indefatigable worker but also an erudite scholar and a gifted writer. His comparative study of Indian culture and Marxism has opened a new avenue of research. The philosophical exposition of his Sramik Dharma Rajya approach, has been appreciated by a great philosopher like Dr. Radhakrishnan who inaugurated the All-India S.D.R. Cultural Conference on 28th December, 1953. The present work under review will be regarded as a preamble to Sri Sarma's previous publications. It is a retrospect of Synthetical Continuity of Indian culture through different ages. After ten years of extensive and intensive studies on the Vedas, Puranas and other Scriptures of the Hindus, the writer has come to the conclusion that the basis of our social life is spiritualism but with the advent of the British in the latter part of the 18th century our whole social structure was upset due to the predominance of socio-materialistic approach and industrial civilisation. The learned author does not decrie Marxism but advises the reader not to belittle the value of India's spiritualism, her cultural heritage which, according to him, indirectly influenced Marxism to some extent at least so far as its technique was concerned. Finally, he says that a synthetical understanding of Marxism, Indian culture and Gandhism is essentially necessary for lasting peace in the modern world. The reader may differ with the author on some points but he cannot but admire his original outlook, clear exposition and deep erudition which really make the book worth its weight in gold.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

THE CRISIS OF INDIAN ECONOMY: By B. T. Ranadive. People's Publishing House Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 3-12.

Comrade Ranadive, ex-General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, presents in this volume a study of Economics of Free India, criticises Sri Nehru for omissions and commissions of his administration and holds him responsible for the present state of affairs which is described as a 'crisis.' The subjects discussed are: Indo-Anglo-American economies, Lengthening shadow of the crisis, Business figures of industrial production, Agrarian crisis, Causes and results of February slump, Preponderance of British Imperialism, American penetrations, Government policy intensifies crisis, Crisis in Balance and Payments etc.

The analyses of figures and presentation of thesis by the author have been admirably done but Communist bias has led the author to conclusions not always warranted by premises. His condemnation of India's economic relations with Commonwealth countries and America is not always justified. Although his advocacy of larger economic relations with USSR and Peoples' Republic of China and other minor Communist countries has certain justification, absolute dependence on their countries for our foreign trade

is a practical impossibility. However, his suggestions for India's economic reforms deserve serious consideration in the hands of the administrators. Evils of partition, after-effects of World War II and the peculiar conditions that prevail in the country, all contribute towards the present difficulties, and as such condemnation for everything done by the Congress Government is regrettable. However, Mr. Ranadive's outspoken and cruel criticism will serve as an eye-opener to administrators blinded by friendly admiration.

The book may be described as a thorough study of Indian economy in a short compass from the Communist point of view. Supported by 62 statistical tables, the book deserves study by persons interested in the subject.

A. B. DUTTA

THERE SHALL BE PEACE (Anthology): By N. Gangulee. Hind Kilabs Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 3-12.

Peace must be maintained and war avoided—never a diverse opinion is heard on the point. In spite of that there is war. From this, it can be safely presumed that the people are peace-loving and the root of war lies elsewhere. This must be found out if the evil is to be avoided at all.

In this anthology Dr. Gangulee has done a service to his readers reminding them of the many authoritative pronouncements on peace by eminent politicians, writers, philosophers, scientists and religious leaders of both East and West. The excerpts, essays and poems quoted from Upanishads, Mahatma Gandhi, Aurobindo Ghose, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Rabindranath Tagore, Lin Yutang, Erasmus, George Fox, Immanuel Kant, Einstein, Freud, Jacques Maritain, Albert Schweitzer, Goethe, Thomas Mann, Romain Rolland and others at once acquaint us with the thoughts of the world on peace with constructive suggestions. The book is really instructive, a service to humanity and well worth perusal.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE TATTVASANGRAHA (Vols. I & II) of Santarakshita with the commentary of Kamalasila: Translated into English by Ganganath Jha. Baroda Oriental Institute. Price Rs. 37.

Dr. Jha is one of the few Indian scholars who devoted their lives to the propagation of Indian culture through the medium of English. His translations of original Sanskrit texts enable inquisitive scholars without any knowledge of Sanskrit to be acquainted with the different aspects of Indian thought.

The volumes under review give a translation of the *TatTVasangraha* of Santarakshita—a Buddhist savant with the *Panika* of Kamalasila, his disciple. Both were great scholars hailing from Bengal, fully conversant with all the systems current in contemporary India. Their works seek to establish the doctrines of Buddhist philosophy after refuting the views of other schools.

Dr. Jha's translation is lucid and literal like his translations of other similar texts.

It may be pointed out in this connection that his doubt (Vol. II, Intro. p. vii) with regard to the exact significance of the expression *matri-vivaha* seems to have been solved by the *Sammatitarka-prakaranatika* (p. 712, l. 19) and the recently pub-

lished *Pramanavartikalankara* (p. 329, Sloka No. 565) referring to the prevalence of the custom of the marriage of the mother among the people of Persia.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

SANSKRIT

MADANAMAHARNAVA of Sri Visvesvara Bhatta: Edited by the late Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya and M. R. Nambiyar Sahityasiromani. Nuayabhusana. Gold Medalist. Superintendent. G. O. S. Section, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXVII, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 24.

This is a critical edition of an interesting work dealing with rituals expected to bring about cures of various diseases written by a polymath who wrote many works under the royal patronage of Madanapala of Kastha. The name of the patron is associated with the titles of some of these works including the one under review. It is rather curious, however, that the name is not found in the colophons of the present work as recorded in the manuscripts used for the edition though we have it in the latter. Instead the name of Mandhata, son of Madana, is mentioned in one of the introductory verses as well as in the concluding verse which occurs *mutatis mutandis* at the end of each chapter as the patron of the author. The editorial introduction draws attention to external evidences in justification of the title of the volume and the resulting surmise with regard to the patron of the author. The edition is based on a little-known printed edition and several manuscripts of which four are specifically mentioned in the Introduction which *inter alia* discusses the authorship of the work and gives a summary of its contents. There are two appendices: (i) Index of authors and works cited in the text. (ii) Corrigenda. At least one name however, not included in the Index *viz.* *Virnavidhana* (n. 261) came to our notice. The corrigenda covers three pages and a half and corrects errors detected in the text portion without noticing those not very few in the Introduction. The price of the volume containing about 500 pages, Royal octavo appears to be rather prohibitive for the proverbially poor Indian scholar.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

ACHCHUT: By Mulk Raj Anand. Nishkam Prakashan, Meerut. Pp. 195. Price Re. 1-8.

PASHU AUR MANAVA: By Aldous Huxley. Benit Printers and Publishers, Chandni Chauk, Delhi. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 3-8.

These are two commendable Hindi translations of the respective authors' well-known novels in English; namely, *The Untouchable* and *The Age and Essence*, made by Shri "Nishkama" and Shri Mohanlal respectively. The first is a moving tale of the harassments and humiliations of the Harijans, up in the North, in the vicinity of a military cantonment, and of the awakening consciousness of their sense of self-respect under the stress of Gandhiji's holy crusade to reclaim them and in the light of fitful gleams of humanity shining here and there. The second is a terrible indictment of our modern civilization and its values and its ways—reminiscent more of the ape in man than of the divine in whose image he is supposed to have been made—by a social group living over a century and a half hence, without, however,

any outline of what in the illustrious author's opinion should be the stratum and shape of human society. Perhaps, the author himself is still groping in the dark for the light that like the sun illumines everything. There is a certain heaviness in the translations but, presumably, this was inevitable in the nature of things.

G. M.

MOBI: By Krishna Chandra. Maktaba Jamia Limited, Jamianagar, Delhi. Price Rs. 2-8.

It is a collection of seven short stories. *Mobi* being the name of the last, so named after the hero, all translated from Urdu, composed by Kissenchand, one of the best writers of short stories in Urdu or, for that matter, in modern Indian languages. There is no doubt that the author's acquaintance with the lowest strata of society is wide, and that his delineation of characters has a glow of colour and an aspect of truth in it; and the gifted writer has a sympathy which outlasts all rancour; it is a sympathy which transmutes the base metal into gold. There is nothing drab in the realism which is touched with the hue of imagination.

PRET KI CHHAYA: By Jyotindra Nath, M.A., B.L. Published by Arun Pustakmala, Laheria Serai. 1954. Price Re. 1-3.

A collection of nine short stories by the author, the first of the stories lending its name to the book. Many seem to be experiments, and the first is the best, describing how the spirit of an artist murdered long ago could find no peace until it could satisfy its hunger for art creation, albeit through the fingers of a mere modern aspirant and that at an interval of centuries. His language is simple and natural, and there is a variety in the collection, from the lively to the severe.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

THOUANK ARTHADARSHARIO: By Principal Ratilal Mohanlal Trivedi, M.A. Published by the Gurjar Grantha Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 249. Price Rs. 3-8.

Principal Ratilal Trivedi's thoughtful observations on Life and Literature in the shape of lectures and contributions to magazines are published here. He has divided them into four sections: (1) Humanity, (2) Form of Literature (3) The influence of Sanskrit literature on Gujarati literature, (4) Research in History, Language, etc. There are 35 writings in all. Each one bristles with something valuable and original to say and displays the writer's wide reading and intimate study of subjects on which he writes with the eye of a thinker and scholar, modest and humble.

DABA HATHANO BALAVIT: By Rao Sahab Purushottam Jaqibhai Bhatt, B.A., LL.B., (Retd.) Diwan, Cambay State. Printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thin paper-cover. Pp. 52. Price six annas.

Rebellions of the Left Hand, this is what the title means. The booklet is written in the form of a farce, or a humorous skit, but it embodies a problem in which Hindu society is split into two opposing sections at present, *viz.* the burning problem of the Harijans. The Left side of a human body till now has remained subservient to the right side. Right hand and right leg, right eye and right ear, etc., have enjoyed precedence over their left side counterparts. The latter have there-

fore rebelled. Arguments from both sides, the orthodox (*Sanatani*) and the unorthodox or modernists, have been marshalled in a fair spirit and the reader is left to judge for himself, though not without a shrewd suspicion that the Sonatanist author's inclinations lie the rightist way and he does not favour the leftist way and ridicules it.

(1) **BALAKONI MHAVJAT:** By Shrimati G. K. Upadhyaya. Pp. 112. Price 10 annas.

(2) **BALAKONA ACHAR:** By Somabhai Bhavasar. Pp. 48. Price 8 annas.

(3) **BALAKONA ANAND:** By Somabhai Bhavasar. Pp. 96. Price 6 annas.

(4) **KHOTANO KHUNDNAR:** By Pitambar Patel. M.A. Pp. 144. Price 10 annas.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board covers. Illustrated.

The preservation of the health of the juveniles, their upbringing, their behaviour and education are subjects firstly of domestic and secondly of national importance. The first two books contain easy and popular verses on the subject. The third is in prose and gives directions as to how best to bring children up. The fourth book is a collection of six stories, interesting and such as one would like to read of Gujarat's village life. The first of the book means "Romper in the Lap" and is the heading of one of the six stories.

(1) **SATSANG MATA:** By Maganlal H. Vyas. Pp. 96. Price 6 annas.

(2) **TULASI RAMAYANNAN MAHAVAKYO:** By Gopalji Odhavji Thakkar. Pp. 96+8. Price 8 annas.

(3) **VEDANT RASA BINDU:** Translated by Swami Shri Madhavtirtha and Labhshankar M. Pathak. Pp. 96. Price 12 annas.

(4) **SANT GURUNO PARICHAYA:** By Swami Prakashanandji. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 2.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Bombay and Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board covers.

The first book is designed for obtaining quietness for the mind and finding out means for getting delight. It consists of 108 precepts, corresponding to the number of beads on a rosary and in case the precepts are followed, quiet or peace of mind is sure to be begotten. The second book contains as its name sets out, great thoughts from Tulasi's Ramayana or as its first edition was called "Flowers of Ramayana." The most notable of Tulasi's thoughts on devotion (*Bhakti Rasa*) towards Rama (God) are selected and translated into Gujarati by Mr. Thakkar, a well-known thinker and writer. *Vedant Rasa Bindu* is a dialogue between a Guru and his disciple on the metaphysical problems of Vedanta. Life and Death figure in the discussion. This highly technical and philosophical subject is tried to be made as understandable as possible by the masses. The fourth book is a unique one. A householder (*grihasthi*) hardly ever plays the role of a preceptor or Guru but in this book are set out the preachings and precepts of Rao Bahadur Lallubhai Gvordhandas of Srisal, a Huzoor Deputy Collector an officer in the Revenue Department (who died in 1903) communicated to an ascetic (*sannyasin*) full of wise saws and enduring truths. The disciple—Swami Prakashanandji—has described in great detail and in a highly popular style, the reminiscences of that part of his life which he passed in Lallubhai's company. It is a very notable book.

K. M. J.

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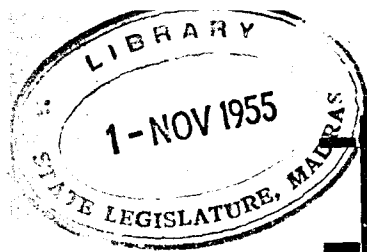
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Marco Polo in India

The famous traveller's 700th birth anniversary is being celebrated. The following article by H. P. Collins in *The Aryan Path* is topical and interesting:

The Iron Curtain of mediæval Islam was far harder to penetrate than that of modern Moscow. For centuries before the Mongol conquests the vast tracts of Asia east of the Pamirs had been legendary territory to Europe. Even the numerous Asiatic converts, Nestorians, Manichees, Jacobites, had lost all living contact with the sources of their beliefs. Marco Polo, who arrived at the court of the Khakhan Kublai nearly 50 years after Chinghis Khan's death, was actually the first European to give an account of the Buddha, and he remains the only eyewitness of the Hindu civilization of Champa, Crivijaya and Java. Otherwise only the recently excavated ruins of that lost civilization survive to tell of the rather mysterious triumph of Hindu over Chinese culture in South-east Asia—a phase that passed away at the same time as the Mongol empire itself, and as completely.

But the one traveller to whom the wonders of mediæval Asia were revealed was the most prosaic of observers. It was a self-satisfied, pertinacious and grasping shopkeeper, to whom the Queen of the Adriatic gave birth 700 years ago, one who was no scribe and had no formed language in which to tell a story orally, though he was enough of a linguist to patter four Eastern dialects. His *Travels*, really a geography rather than a travel book, was dictated rapidly in 1298, in a Genoese dungeon, to one Rustichello, a fellow prisoner of war. We have no original text, nor even a copy of the original parchment, and it is only with the discovery in 1932 of the "Zelada" Latin MS. at Toledo that the later half of Polo's account, including India, has taken on the appearance of a fairly consecutive narrative.

Except for the Siberian north, the general outline of Asia was familiar to Europeans, but Islam had long curtained off the vast complex civilizations revealed to Marco Polo. Not that Christianity was incurious, though proselytizing zeal was greater than intellectual curiosity. Long-standing Papal curiosity culminated in the arrival of the friar John of Pian of Caroini at the Mongol capital of Karakorum under the Khakhan Cui in 1247; and in the 1250's St. Louis of France sent William of Ruysbruck on the same journey. Both survived the rigours of the enterprise with difficulty, and though they were better equipped narrators than Marco Polo their circumscribed accounts have made little impression. Neither knew the Indias. When the elder Polos on their first journey home left Kublai's court in 1266 it was on the understanding that they were to ask the Pope for a hundred holy men to expound Christianity to the East. The Mongols had invaded Europe half-a-century earlier, and the crafty Kublai was possibly more

anxious for military details than religious enlightenment. In 1271 the Polos started back with their nephew and two holy men deputed by Gregory X, the newly elected Pope. A Mongol war broke out in Persia, and the monks soon turned tail, but young Marco was made of sterner stuff. From the moment of his arrival at the magnificent summer palace of Xanadu (Shandu) he became the directing spirit of the trade expedition and the real emissary of the West in the eyes of the sagacious Kublai.

Unlike most great explorers Marco Polo discovered a civilization higher than his own. The pattern revealed to his eager, limited gaze was a longfinished pattern. He was enough of a student or scientist to record fact and suppress his own adventures. His frequent dryness has the excuse of a good motive, and he had an insatiable appetite for the marvels which were no marvels to him. His cautious, methodical attempt to bridge two remote civilizations resulted in his name becoming a byword for liar and his being ironically named *Millioni* For, like the child before the giraffe, he could not believe his eyes and scarcely knew what was true or untrue. "I did not write half of what I saw," he declared.

His "Indie" is a body with the head missing, but the torso is easily recognizable. Of Oriental religions or cultures he had no conception; but his book is an invaluable (because innocent) testimony to the changeless integrity of the East. "Idolaters" in Cathay or Manj meant Buddhist to Marco Polo and in India it meant Hindu; but the authentic unchanged lineaments are all the evidence the initiated need. He divides India into three: Greater, Less and Middle, by which last he means the explored portion of Africa, not then known as a continent. In the Less he included roughly every thing between Bengal and the straits of Malacca. Hindu India proper he visited twice in the service of the Khakhan. It was the age of multiple sovereignty: many of the rulers were still free of the Khakhan, while many paid tribute to him. The essential India was still untouched by Islam or the West. At the time of Polo's first visit about 1286 the Mongols had taken Champa but Burma was not conquered yet. His mission was probably—though he does not identify them—the one to Ceylon he mentions elsewhere, to acquire certain sacred relics the Khakhan coveted, of which the chief was the Buddha's tooth. The Commissioner sailed west-southwest from the port of Zaitun to Champa, a country very wealthy and large, whereof the people are idolaters and have a king and language of their own and send yearly tribute of elephants and aloë-wood to the Khakhan.

He did not comment upon the long Hindu ascendency in Champa, so recently ended, nor the sculpture-ivories of the land but he did remark that its wild forests were the source of ebony chessmen. He sailed on southward, apparently missing Cambodia with its

magnificent temples at Angkor, so soon to be lost in the jungle for centuries. Touching at Pulo Condore, he veered westward across the Gulf of Siam and landed near historic Hindu Ligor. Here he found an independent people, secure in the wilds of northern Malaya, who were probably Shans migrating southward from the Mongols' dominium. These must have been the future conquerors of Cambodia, the founders of modern Siam. Marco Polo is perhaps the only European venturer to have seen the kingdom of Locac, with its brazils, in the days of the Shans, when its cowries and gold were exported, the gold to be coined for the bulging treasuries of the great Kublai.

Crivijaya was then in the throes of the Javanese encroachments and Singapore was already lost. Marco Polo said little about these historic changes, but he was shocked to find Mohammedanism flourishing in several of the eight kingdoms of "lesser Java" (or Sumatra) where he was marooned for some months. But as these urbanized Moslems had been recently the cannibal sun-worshippers so memorably described by Ludovico Barthema, he counted them no great spiritual loss.

The mission reached "Greater India" by way of Seilan, the home of true Hinayana Buddhism. Here Marco Polo observed that the "wretched and cowardly people" were no warriors but held the richest jewels of the world, and King Sendeman the great ruby even the Khakhan's wealth could not buy. The naked and vegetarian ways of these highly civilized islanders had a strange fascination for the Venetian. Kandy had been for over a century the most important shrine of the Buddhist world, from which had spread the enthusiasm that filled Burma with her matchless pagodas and the realms of the Shans with their unique religious sculptures.

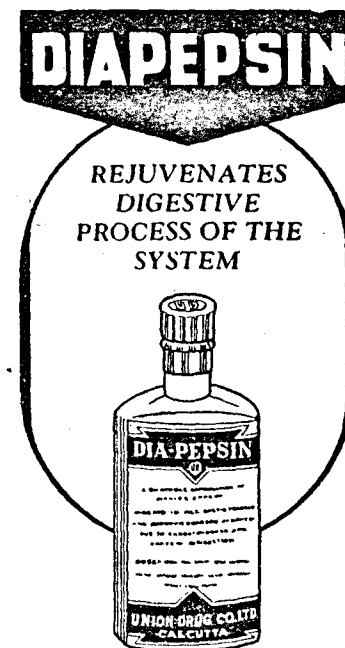
Marco Polo's long account of Sagamoni Borcan is, so far as it goes, singularly faithful. He did not succeed in explaining to Europe that the Buddha had founded a faith that was distinct from Hinduism; but he did in his way grasp the distinction that the Buddha was a man-made god and not a god in origin; that his spirit had been perfected through reincarnations; and that his images were images of God and quite distinct from polytheistic images. It is difficult to believe that either Kublai or Marco Polo was deceived by the fragment of elephant's tooth which was afterwards triumphantly displayed in Kambaluk as a sacred relic; but it is interesting to see with what dispassion the literal-minded Venetian sought to disentangle the Christian and pagan legends that had clustered for centuries round the sepulchre of Adam in Ceylon.

Marco seems to have entered the essential Hindustan by voyaging westward to the Kingdom of Maabar or the Coromandel coast. This region of pearls and fish-charmers and vivid fauna afforded the sober European his most memorable experience of a people dominated by religious devotion. Of the beliefs that underlay such unfamiliar fanaticism he comprehended little or nothing; and he was deeply puzzled by the ritual of the temples. The cult suicides moved him almost to eloquence. Nothing could emphasize the gulf between East and West more than this wonderment of a plain man whose mind had not been touched by previous travellers' tales. In Maabar Marco Polo first encountered Brahmins and yogis, and it is notable that the only obvious parallel to European experience afforded him was that of the yogi alchemists, then at the height of their fame. He was far less horrified by pretentiousness than by true asceticism, which he met for the first time among yogis, especially in the province of Lar beyond Maabar "towards sunrising," the home of

the brahmins. "And these are so cruel and so treacherous and such perfect idolaters, that I tell you it is devilry."

But the abiding fascination of Marco Polo's India lies in the obvious fidelity of his outward description, not in any tantalizing glimpses of inner understanding. He records the particulars, and after 700 years we see them as unchanged essentials. As we travel northward with the strangely expatriate Commissioner "towards more civilized parts" to Mutili, and then again southward, and then westward to the pirate-haunted coasts of Melibar and Tana, a sort of miracle occurs. The spectacles of education and experience fall from our eyes, and we see the thronging subcontinent as if we were children born on some other planet.

Once again, seven years later, Marco Polo sailed round the coast of India with a great fleet, conducting a 17-year-old Mongol princess to the court of the Il-Khan of Persia, whose bride she would have been if he had not poisoned himself with the alchemists' potions hopefully imported from Maabar. To this later visit we owe the wonderful account of Burma, conquered by the Khakhan's generals in the battle of the elephants at Vochang. His description of Mien, as he called the land, and especially of Pagan, the shrine of pure Buddhism, perhaps lingers in the mind beyond anything else in his vast book. The gold and silver roofs, graciously spared by the conquering Kublai, gleam in an eternal sunlight. But the second impression of Southern Asia had not the freshness of the first, and it was far more hurried. It is to the rather impious quest of the Buddha's tooth that the Western world owes its introduction to a wider and more urgent spiritual experience.



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Future of Atomic Energy in India

In the course of his talk, as published in *Science and Culture*, to a group of Members of the Parliament and other distinguished guests presided over by the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India at his residence on September 28, 1954, Prof. M. N. Saha observes :

I need hardly remind this assembly of real politicians that the Atom has dominated World Politics since 1945, when the first three atom-bombs were exploded. The Atom Bomb and Hydrogen Bomb have been so much on the headlines of daily papers that the far more important significance of the great discovery of Nuclear Fission has been missed.

It is well-known to you that there is a great disparity in the standard of living in the different countries of the world, as is illustrated in Table I, which represents the per capita income per year in different parts (valid for the year 1949) of the world.

I have taken the average standard to be proportional to the per capita income. The table shows that the highest standard has been attained in the U.S.A. Next in order come several West European countries. India and Pakistan do not stand exactly at the bottom, but even Mexico, Turkey, and some South American countries have reached a better standard. What is the cause of this enormous disparity?

It is because production of all goods essential for life viz., food, and industrial products are very much less, in the backward countries, where, in addition, sanitation and transport are very poorly developed. The common people have very few comforts in life. A few figures may be given.

India has a population of 360 millions, U.S.A. has 160 millions. India produces barely one million tons of iron and steel, while U.S.A. produces over 100 million tons. The per capita consumption of iron and steel in U.S.A. is over 1200 lb., all of which is produced in the U.S.A. The per capita consumption in India is 12 lbs., of which only 7 lbs., are produced in India, the rest comes from abroad. As iron and steel are essential key materials, their poor supply embraces a lot of other national activities, viz., housing, transport, machinery, industry, defence, etc. The same sad picture may be given of every other key industries and others dependent on them, viz., basic chemicals, aluminium, coal-tar industries, machineries, etc.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

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TABLE I
PER CAPITA NATIONAL INCOME (1949) OF SOME COUNTRIES

Name of Country	Per capita annual income in dollars	% to U.S.A. level
U.S.A.	1453	100.0
Canada	870	59.9
New Zealand	856	58.9
Switzerland	849	58.4
Great Britain	773	53.2
Denmark	689	47.4
Norway	587	40.4
Belgium	582	40.1
France	482	33.2
Ireland	420	28.9
Israel	389	26.8
Czechoslovakia	371	25.5
Argentina	346	22.8
Russia	308	21.2
E. Germany	300	20.6
Poland	300	20.6
Roumania	280	19.2
Hungary	269	18.5
Bulgaria	150	10.3
Lebanon	125	8.6
Egypt	100	6.9
Syria	100	6.9
Iraq	85	5.8
Ceylon	66	4.6
India	57	3.9
Pakistan	51	3.5
Saudi Arabia	40	2.8
Burma	36	2.5
Siam	36	2.5
China	27	1.8

Why is production so poor in India? There are many factors, but the main factor is that power production which is the key to all industrial production is extremely meagre in India compared to other countries is illustrated in Table II taken from Putnam's 'Energy Sources in Future.'

TABLE II

Year	Country	Annual input per capita of Btu	Aggregate efficiency of the system p.c.	Annual output of Btu	Tons of bituminous coal equivalent to annual output per capita
1947	United States	232	29	67	2.6
1945	United Kingdom	122	24	29	1.1
1939	Germany	110	19	21	0.8
1950	U.S.S.R.	62	26	16	0.6
1947	World	41	22	9	0.3
1949	France	36	21	8	0.3
1941	Argentina	29	21	6	0.2
1945	Japan	20	13	3	0.1
1945	India	11	6	0.7	0.03

The unit of Energy used here is a million British Thermal Units which is equal to 300 kilowatt hours.

The U.S.A. consumes a tremendous amount of energy viz., 67 units per capita in a year to maintain her production, transportation and other activities. The consumption of other countries varies in a graduated way. The lowest figure in Table II is that of India viz.,

0.7. The figure will be somewhat larger according to my calculations, because Putnam does not take into account energy produced by human and animal labour which is negligible for U.S.A., but add considerably to India's total. India's consumption of 0.7 units is nearly a hundredth part of the American figure, or 1/60th of the American figure if we take human and animal labour into account. But there are countries lower in the scale than India—viz., China, the countries of the Near East, some countries of Africa, etc.

Table I and Table II put the whole problem in a nutshell. The highly industrialized countries produce a tremendous amount of energy, and their production is proportionately far larger in every respect. The backward countries are unable to do so, and their production is little removed from that in medieval times, because as in medieval times they continue to depend mainly on human and animal labour. But is it possible for the highly industrialized nations to maintain their sources of energy-supply, and their rate of production in future? On the other side, is it possible for the backward nations to exploit and develop their energy sources, so that they can raise their production to the level of industrialized countries?

SOURCES OF ENERGY SUPPLY

To answer these two questions, we have to examine critically the sources of energy supply. They are, in order of priority of utilisation:

Human and animal labour.

Burning of wood and farm products.

Natural sources like solar radiation, wind power and power of running water.

Combustion of coal to feed steam engines, steam turbines for generating electrical power, machinery for domestic use.

Combustion of petrol to give motive power to auto-engines.

Harnessing of running water to produce electrical power.

ATOMIC POWER

In medieval and modern times, almost all human activities depended on human and animal labour, on the burning of wood, and farm products, and to a slight extent on windpower, as in plying sailing boats, or wind-mills and primitive methods of use of running water (water-wheel). There was not much difference in the standard of level of different countries.

The discovery of the steam engines in 1780, changed all this. The working capacity of mankind was increased a good many times by making use of the energy locked up in coal. Human and animal labour yielded place to steam engines, and steam turbines which energised machinery producing electrical power. It became possible to handle large volumes of power, transport the power over long distances. The effect was a silent, but very profound revolution of human life: home and cottage industry was substituted by the factory, artisans by labourers, tools by machineries, horse transportation by railroads and feudal societies dependent on trade and agriculture were replaced by groups handling finance and labour separately.

The industrial revolution has not yet reached its climax. The invention of the internal combustion engines, use of petrol, development of electrical power from coal, as well as from running water, has given fresh supplies of industrial power, which are trans-

forming human life at a rate never reached before in human history.

Let us first see how America produces such a huge quantity of energy by the use of coal, petrol, gas and water power: She uses 4 tons of coal, per year per head, two-ton equivalent in coal of petrol and gas and 200 kwh from water power. The corresponding figures for India are 1/10 ton of coal, very slight or negligible amounts of petrol and gas, and very little from water power.

The anxiety of U.S.A. is—can she continue to keep up consuming her energy-sources at such a lavish and increasing rate?—the anxiety of India is how to produce more energy from coal and hydro-electric and other sources, so that she can increase her production and raise the standard of living to a decent level. Every other country has its own anxiety, and each has taken stock of its position.

Britain now produces 200 m. tons of coal to run her highly industrialized structure. Her stocks of coal are being depleted, she has no water power to fall back upon and her mining labour is unwilling to descend to pits. She feels that within the next 5 years, she must replace by other fuel, 20 million tons of coal, and ultimately coal, as an important source of chemicals, should be wholly replaced by other fuels.

Belgium has nearly finished all her coal; she is now mining coal from a depth of 4000 ft. and raising for 1 ton of coal 20 tons of water. Her industrial fabric is power-starved.

France and Italy have poor or almost no coal-reserves. Even with the maximum development of water-power, they are power-starved in a modern world.

Coal and petrol have so far provided 90% of energy for industrial production. Production of energy by water-power barely amounts to 7% of the total, though in certain countries like Norway, Switzerland, Sweden and Canada, it gives the bulk of energy. But other countries have not such ample reserves of water-power. They have to depend on coal, internally produced or exported from other countries.

Let us now scan the position of India. According to the Geological Survey of India, India has altogether 60 billion tons of coal, against U.S.A.'s 3000 billions and China's 1500 billions, within the first 1000 ft. of earth's surface. Of these barely 1/3 is economically recoverable.

How long will this coal last? The present rate of consumption in India is 36 million tons per annum only, while U.S.A.'s consumption with 44% of India's population is 50 million tons. If within the next few years, India wants to raise her industrial production 10 times, consumption of coal would have to be raised nearly 10 times, and at that rate, we shall finish all our coal within about 50 years. Our water-power resources are meagre, and most of it are in the Himalayan regions, not directly within our influence. So this problem of supply of energy is a very acute one for us. China, with her far larger resources of coal, is in a much better position, to undertake industrialisation.

The whole world, excepting a few favoured countries is facing an era of "Acute Energy Famine."

In this juncture, the discovery of 'Atomic Power' raises new hope.

Some Features of the Indian Way of Life

Prabuddha Bharata observes editorially:

While looking at the Hindu view of life one cannot miss noticing the strong bias towards religion and spirituality. A singular feature of ancient Indian civilization is that it has been moulded and sustained more by religion than by politics, economics, or anything else. Spirituality is seen to dominate every sphere of national life in those times. Hence India has always placed spiritual values higher than others. It is not the value that changes but the ways and means of expressing or enjoying it. As such, everyday life is so fashioned and regulated that in each and every act, physical and mental, the individual is called upon to resolve his ignorance of truth and rediscover his soul. The reality of the one supreme universal spirit, the Atman or Brahman, the essential nature of which is generally hidden from the ordinary surface-consciousness, can no more be doubted or denied by the Hindu than he could his very existence and personality. To most of us with a twentieth-century frame of mind it may be easy to evaluate the deeply spiritual side of ancient Hindu culture and civilization. But it has to be admitted that it was this spiritual value which was indissolubly bound up with every phase of the ancient Indian way of life. The great ideal of liberation from relative phenomenal existence that is ridden with dualities and imperfections, in order to gain perfect peace, bliss, and equanimity even here and now, is made the supreme end of life. Naturally, the ways of life and

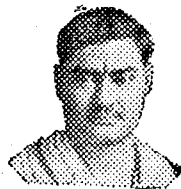
thought are so shaped as to subserve the accomplishment of this ultimate end of Moksha.

The concept of Dharma—a wide and comprehensive concept—has influenced and determined, to a very great extent, the manners, customs, and institutions of the people. Dharma, which includes religion, virtue, duty, injunctions and prohibitions, and much more, is regarded as eternal (*sanatana*) and revealing the Divine Will. Dharma not only sanctions and authorizes the validity of forms and activities which shape and sustain human life but also rouses the consciousness of man to a fuller recognition of spiritual verities. In accordance with the well-known four ends or ideals of life, the world is not to be shunned as evil or negated as unreal. Dharma, which is the law of growth and the basis of the mainspring of human action, acts as a controlling and guiding force over the two goals of Artha (pursuit of wealth) and Kama (pursuit of pleasures). The Indian way of life neither positively affirms nor categorically denies the validity of the sense-perceived world of Artha and Kama. These two values—legitimate acquisition of wealth and proper enjoyment of pleasures (sensuous and aesthetic)—have their relatively significant place in life. But they have to be pursued according to the tenets of Dharma so that the pursuer may not run the risk of falling into hedonistic materialism. Instead of binding man down to earth for ever, wealth and pleasures, when righteously sought after and enjoyed, become fit instruments for the individual's attainment of the ultimate value of superconscious realization which is the coping-stone of human life.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Yugoslavia

FORMATION OF NEW YUGOSLAVIA

In the course of the National Revolution which coincided with the War for National Liberation, 1941-1945, a new state system was formed. November 29, 1943, is officially taken as the date of the formation of the new state—Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. On that day, at the small town of Jajce, in the liberated province of Bosnia, during the second session of the AVNOJ (Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia), the decision was reached to form New Yugoslavia on a federal basis. From that day the process of formation of the new federal state continued.

REPUBLIC OF A SPECIAL KIND

Yugoslavia is a Republic, but it is a Republic of a special kind, first because it is federal and second because the law-making and executive power are united in the hands of the parliament—the Federal People's Assembly. The Federation is the consequence of the multi-national composition of the state. There are six People's Republics—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro, forming the Federal State.

The highest organ of the state authority in Yugoslavia is the Federal People's Assembly. It consists of two houses. The first is the Federal Council. The majority of its deputies are elected by general, direct and equal vote. One part of the Federal Council is formed by an equal number of deputies from each of the six Republics, regardless of the size of the Republic. Each Republic is represented by 10 deputies, the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina by 6, and the Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohija by 4 deputies.

The People's Deputies and the members of the Federal Council, according to the Constitution of 1953, cannot be state officials. The Assembly and its committees are continuously at work, and for their work in the Federal Assembly the Deputies receive fixed pay.

The second house of the Federal Assembly is the Council of Producers. This is a new institution, unknown in the previous constitutional practices. The Council of Producers is elected exclusively by the producers in various branches of economy in proportion to the contribution of their group to the total social production of Yugoslavia. There are three groups of producers: industrial workers, land workers united in agricultural working co-operatives and representatives of handicrafts or workers thereof. Only persons actually engaged in production can be elected as deputies to the Council of Producers. With the cessation of such engagement his or her parliamentary functions come to an end.

The Council of Producers is a representative body of producers, assuring thereby to all those engaged directly in production the right to decide on the distribution of their products i.e. of national income. In that manner a particular aspect of economic democracy is achieved.

RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO HOUSES OF THE FEDERAL PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

The Federal Assembly exercises law-making functions, directing at the same time the entire activity of the state. The Federal Assembly passes and alters the Constitution, elects the President of the Republic. Federal Council, elects and recalls the judges of the Federal Supreme Court, passes the laws of Federal consequence, decides on war and peace, etc.

The Federal Council and the Council of Producers have equal rights in deciding on matters pertaining to the domain of economy, as well as in the election of all organs as previously stated. The remaining functions of the Federal Assembly are carried out by the Federal Council. To insure the equality of all Republics, the deputies delegated by the Republics and Autonomous Provinces form the Council of Nationalities, sitting separately when the change of the Constitution or the social economic plan are being decided on; the Council of Nationalities may sit separately when the mutual relations between the Republics and the Federation are decided on, but only at the request of the majority of deputies sent by one of the republics, or ten deputies without any regard to the republic they represent.

Should the Federal Council and Council of Producers or the Council of Nationalities, disagree on a matter, an agreement must first be attempted through joint committees, but in case of failure, the Federal Assembly must be dissolved and new elections will then take place.

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

For general governing of the country, two organs are elected by the Federal People's Assembly: the President of the Republic and Federal Executive Council. The President of the Republic represents the state in relation with foreign countries, he is the Supreme Commander of the armed forces and presides over the Federal Executive Council. In case of a disagreement with some decision of the Executive Council, he can postpone the execution of the same, provided the contested matter be immediately placed before the National Assembly for obligatory decision.

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FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Federal Executive Council is not a government as it has no administrative function. This is a political body, directly subordinate to the Federal People's Assembly, exercising general control over special administrative organs. The Federal Executive Council decides on general questions and lays down the general lines of policy for the state administrative organs which perform their functions autonomously within the spheres of their jurisdiction.

Employing the Federal Executive Council as a means of control the Federal Assembly has the opportunity to control the work of state administration in a more efficient manner than is the case in classical parliamentary regimes, in which the cabinet of government still has a dominating influence, despite their dependence in principle on the parliament. The new organisation of incorporating the state authority in the parliament and its organs (Executive Council, the parliamentary committees, etc.) aims, above all, at combating bureaucracy and strengthening of democracy i.e. it assures the ascendancy of the Parliament over the administrative apparatus.

The Federal Executive Council consists of thirty members elected by the Assembly. Its chief duty is to control the execution of legal and other decisions of the Federal Assembly, to which end it lays down general directives to all governing organs. This body is also authorised to pass decrees by which laws are enforced. The Assembly can recall the members of the Federal Executive Council.

The Tasks of Israeli Youth

On June 10 1954, David Ben Gurion, first Prime Minister of Israel, addressed a nation-wide concourse of Israeli high school students at Sheikh Munis, near Tel Aviv. We bring here the outstanding parts of this address:

Students of Israel,—Contemporary Jewish history confronts you, and the entire young generation in Israel, with a fateful choice: Personal career or a mission in life?

Six years ago, when you were still children, your brothers and sisters, your relatives and your older friends, fought the war of liberation and many of them gave their lives.

This was a unique war in many respects. Many nations have fought for their independence. These were all peoples who always lived in their lands but had been subjected to strangers for a time. Our war was different. Our people had been separated from its homeland for many centuries. Thirty-five years ago, at the end of World War I, there were only some 58,000 Jews in the country. The last time we fought for our national independence in this country at the time of Bar Kochba and Rabbi Akiba was 1813 years ago. Since that time we have been removed from our land and scattered throughout the world. There is not another example in

human history that after 1800 years a people should return to its country, re-establish its state and fight for its independence. This unique fact confirms that we are an eternal people.

Another unusual fact distinguished this war. We stood a handful against many—650,000 against 30 million; an unequipped army that was organized in the course of the war against seven armies of the Arab countries. We were outnumbered forty to one yet we prevailed. Again a truth recurring in Jewish history was confirmed: the truth of the superiority of the spirit.

There was also a third distinguishing factor. Volunteers from fifty-two countries on all the continents participated in our war of liberation. The number of volunteers amounted to less than twenty percent of our entire fighting force, but they provided us with technical skills which we could not develop underground: pilots, tankists, artillery men, captains of war vessels. It is doubtful whether we could have won without them. This movement of volunteers revealed the wondrous unity and fate partnership of the Jewish people despite its dispersion throughout the world.

Yet despite all this we must realize that the implications of this wondrous saga of valor are of limited significance. The war of independence did not, and could not, bring about the desired redemption of land and people. It did not reunite the dispersed people, nor restore the desolation of the homeland. It did not assure economic independence, nor did it even provide us with peace and security. The victory was not final and the struggle with our enemies was not concluded.

I do not say this in order to belittle the significance of the war of independence. I have no interest in doing so. I say this so that we should understand our true situation.

The victory in our war of independence provided us with one great fact, a prime instrument for our redemption: *Jewish sovereignty in the homeland*. The lack of this instrument for twenty-six hundred years since the destruction of the first Temple—with the exception of a brief period during the rule of the early Maccabees from Simon, the son of Matathias till Alexander Yanai—proved to be an undoing in Jewish history.

During the few years since our state came into being, we have seen the great value of this primary instrument: great achievements in the ingathering of the dispersion; tremendous accomplishments in the reclamation of the desert; the creation of hundreds of agricultural settlements; the establishment of thousands of shops and factories; the construction of tens of thousands of housing units; the development of aviation and waterborne transport; the expansion of the educational system; the fostering of the Hebrew language, and of literature and science; an increase in our defensive strength; greater respect for Israel throughout the world.

But we are still far from the ultimate haven, and it is necessary to see also the other aspects of the situation. The establishment of the State of Israel was a serious

venture bearing potentialities of danger. It was a challenge to fate, a rebellion against Jewish and world history.

Permit me to quote from the words of the Prime Minister spoken six years ago, four months before the end of the war:

"... In a sense we confront the whole world, and not only the Arab armies. This is a historic encounter between the Jewish people and all its foes, oppressors and tormentors everywhere and at all times. This is not a local encounter, and its roots in time go far beyond the present. Israel seeks atonement for the humiliation of many generations; it presents its case against the nations of the world. The fate of the Land of Israel will not be decided only by a military showdown between Jews and Arabs, though it will not be decided at all without it."

The truth of the matter is that the establishment of the state confronted us with a difficult struggle not only with the outside world, but also with ourselves, a struggle against Galut habits and against our past that had been detached from reality and from the responsibility of independence in the homeland.

I will try to outline briefly the historical background of the two struggles, the external one and the internal one. Fundamental historical facts inherent in our country and our people determine this background. Let me begin with the country.

This is a small country with a great past. The Land of Israel is like the people of Israel: its history far exceeds its geography. It is situated in the heart of the Middle East which was the cradle of human civilization four and five thousand years ago. It lies at the crossroads of three continents. It was the scene of events held sacred by hundreds of millions of people throughout the world outside of India, China and Japan. It is one of the three countries that have shaped the culture of Europe and America—the other two being Greece and Rome. From this country came the Book of Books which has been translated into all languages, unlike any other book. During the seventh century something happened in the desert of Arabia that basically altered the geopolitical condition of Eretz Israel. A prophet arose among the tribes of Arabia who preached faith in one God and fused the scattered tribes into a unified nation. Imbued with the fire of the new faith, his followers conquered a great empire in Asia, Africa and Europe.

Such things have happened before. From time to time new empires have come up. The Arab empire spread the new faith among many nations. This, too, has happened before. The disciples of Buddha and the apostles of Jesus of Nazareth have done the same. But this time something unprecedented occurred: together with the new faith the Arab conquerors also imposed their language on all the nations of the Middle East, with the exception of Persia and Turkey, and on all the peoples living in North Africa, from Egypt to Morocco.

The Jewish people, is dispersed among the Christian and Moslem nations. These nations know that Eretz Israel is the birthplace of the Jewish people, but all the time they saw the Jewish people away from its land and scattered in their midst. For thirteen hundred years Christianity and Islam fought for control of this country. My generation saw both Moslem and Christian rule in this country. The Christian and Moslem nations knew the Jews because these were dispersed in their midst, but they never knew Jews as an independent nation. The establishment of the State of Israel was therefore a startling and surprising innovation and they are not yet ready to acquiesce to it.

Our people always was and always will be a small people—this fact we must realize in all its cruel vividness. There is nothing dishonorable about this. Small nations have fulfilled great roles in the history of humanity, greater than those of many large nations. Our role in the history of mankind is in reverse proportion to our numbers. But in the struggle for existence numbers are important.

We are and we have been not only a small people but also a lone one. Nearly every other people has close kinfolk that stand by it. There is a family of Scandinavian nations, of Slavic peoples, of Arab peoples, of Latin American nations. We have no close kin among the nations. We stand alone in world history. This is not an accident. We have always been an exception among peoples, a nation differing from all its neighbors. We are the most non-conformist people in the world.

Even in ancient times, in the long ago world of Egypt and Babylonia, in the classic world of Greece and Rome, we were a unique people on earth. We learned much from our neighbors, we took more than a little from them, but we retained our uniqueness and differences.

The Jewish people was the first in the history of mankind to introduce a new world concept of a single superior power without body or the likeness of a body, without beginning and without end, that created everything, directs everything and guides the world along lines of truth, mercy, justice and peace. Contrary to all the other peoples which created their gods in their own images, the Jewish people believed that man was created in the image of God, in the image of the sole creating power which rains down justice from above and encourage mercy and justice below and commands man "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Man in the image of God means the unity of mankind, the brotherhood of man, a world order of justice and peace in place of the rule of might.

I do not wish to say that the Jewish people was the greatest in the world in terms of spirit. Other nations, in ancient times and in later days, contributed mightily to the culture of mankind, and we must properly appreciate this wealth which we have enjoyed. But there is one area in which no other people in the world



exceeds us, either in the past or in the present, and this is spiritual strength.

In the dispersion this was a passive strength—the strength of a people that refuses to bow to fate or to forces stronger than itself. In more recent generations, when the first *halutzim* who founded Petach Tikva came from Jerusalem and from Hungary, this spiritual strength became an active, creative, dominant force. It was no longer content with non-submission to fate, but tried to control fate and to change it.

The world does not easily become reconciled to the full significance of an independent Jewish nation. The Arab nations stand ready to destroy us at the first opportunity, and they are not alone in their hostility and opposition. To a greater or lesser extent they have the aid of great powers. We must still win our new status in the world by constant and intense effort. But this is not our sole or chief hardship. Our chief and

decisive struggle will be waged internally, within the Jewish people and country.

A declaration of independence does not transform an exiled and dispersed people that is estranged from the roots of vitality and independence into a self-sustaining nation. Great and manifold changes are required. First it is necessary to change the geographical fact of dispersion into ingathering in the homeland. A still more difficult transformation must be achieved in the economic and cultural structure of our life. Jews returning to the homeland who continue to live there as they did in the Diaspora will transform the state into a new *Galut*....

It is up to you to lay firm foundations for the future of the nation and the country.

If the youth will say: "We will do so," history will respond, "You will succeed."—*Jewish Frontier*, July 1954.

India 'Good Risk' for Private Capital Investment

Washington, Sept. 29—Chintaman D. Deshmukh, India's Finance Minister, who is serving as India's representative on the Board of Governors of the World Bank, said yesterday that "India is a very good risk" for investments of private capital for the development of that country.

Speaking before the delegates of the ninth annual meeting of the World Bank and the Monetary Fund, Deshmukh said:

"Our country satisfies all the conditions which the International Chamber of Commerce regards as favourable for private capital investment. We have equality of treatment for such capital as between domestic and foreign investors. We have non-discriminatory legislation, and we have facilities for remitting profits and earnings and also for capital repatriation. There are also on our statute books provisions for fair compensation in the event that foreign investment is acquired by India. And we have no restrictions on imports of foreign equipment for investment purposes."

Deshmukh said total investments of foreign capital in India from 1912 to the end of 1953 amounted to \$286 million or Rs. 1,300 million.

"As an indication of confidence, this is not an unsatisfactory picture," he said. "But in the light of India's total requirements for development purposes, the amount is quite small."

Discussing the subject of expropriation, Deshmukh said, "In India the Policy of nationalisation affects only strategic industries and it is inflexible. In any case there are vast private enterprise fields left."

Deshmukh also spoke on behalf of a proposed International Finance Corporation. This is the new international financing agency which was first conceived in 1951, and whose purpose it would be to lend money to private enterprises in friendly countries. Such enterprises cannot at present receive loans from the World Bank because its charter prescribes that loans should be advanced only to governments themselves or to enterprises where loans are guaranteed by the government.

The new financing institution, if and when established, could make loans without any government guarantees. Deshmukh said the new corporation, once launched, "could provide a meeting ground between investors and any capital exporting and capital importing countries."—*USIS*.

Unesco: Where Every Nation Benefits

The Eighth Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization will be meeting in Montevideo, Uruguay, from November 12 to December 11.

These meetings of Unesco's General Conference have come to take on a great deal of importance to men in every country who are working towards closer world co-operation in the vast domains of education, science and culture. And no one will deny that Unesco is aiding them in their efforts. This United Nations agency is already offering fellowships to educators, workers and research scientists so that they may obtain a first-hand acquaintance with methods of other countries. Unesco has thrown its weight behind international agreements to simplify the importing and exporting of educational, scientific and cultural material and has sponsored an International Copyright Convention. These aspects of its work not only facilitate the exchange of ideas, but protect the men who create them.

AID TO UNDER-DEVELOPED REGIONS

Nevertheless, this General Conference session has even greater significance in those immense regions of the world where the most elementary questions of life still take on urgent importance. The decisions of the Conference will have a definite bearing on every region faced with problems of developing education, of training local technicians to make the most of national resources and of creating competent staffs of teachers capable of training—at every level from the primary school to the university—good citizens, skilled workers, engineers and even artists and scientists. During 1955 and 1956, Unesco plans to consecrate an important part of its programme to exactly this aid awaited by these regions which are still under-developed.

FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

During its early years, Unesco obtained valuable information from experiments in education and the lessons of these experiments now enable the Organization to go ahead rapidly with a programme of establishing regional and national centres in fundamental education.

At first, there was only an experiment in Haiti's Marbial Valley. Then came two regional training centres—one at Patzcuaro, Mexico, to serve Latin America and the second at Sirs le Layyan, Egypt, for the Arab world. These were followed by national training centres in such countries as Iraq, Liberia and Thailand.

This effort is destined to be expanded. At the same time, studies made by ministries of education with the co-operation of Unesco experts have enabled certain countries to undertake large-scale reforms of educational methods and programmes which are already producing results.

The principles of fundamental education—a method of enabling people to get the better of unfavourable living conditions through their own efforts in combating ignorance and in raising living standards—are now well known. Simple methods of education which can be used anywhere have been developed. More and more nations, with the assistance of Unesco experts, are embarking on new experiments to reduce even further the zones where ignorance and misery still reign.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

In addition to aid rendered through Unesco's own budget, there is the Organization's share in the United Nations world programme of technical assistance, financed by contributions from virtually every country on earth, large or small. Each of the United Nations' agencies offers technical assistance in its own field—the Food and Agriculture Organization, for example, in problems of agricultural production; the World Health Organization in public health and Unesco in education and science.

In 1954 alone, Unesco operated more than 60 technical assistance missions under this programme with 130 experts on their staffs.—*Unesco News*.

China's Census

Details of China's first nationwide census were made public on November 1 in an official release by the State Statistical Bureau:

China's total population as of 24 hours June 30th, 1953, was 601,938,035. Of this total, the figure of 574,205,940 was gained through direct census while the remainder, 27,732,095, was arrived at by indirect census, including the figure of 7,590,298 for Taiwan Province, which has yet to be liberated, 11,743,320 Chinese residing or studying abroad and 8,397,477 in very remote border regions where local elections have not taken place or where transport facilities were exceptionally bad.

Of the total counted directly, 51.82 percent were males and 48.18 percent females.

Of the same total, over 338,000,000 had reached the age of 18 or over. The oldest person in China was 155 years old at the time of the census. There were 3,384 centenarians and over 1.8 million between the ages of 80 to 99.

The Han nationality made up some 94 percent of the total population, excluding Taiwan Province and Chinese residing or studying abroad; the national minorities amount to over 35,000,000, or 6.06 percent of the total. Besides the Hans, there were ten other nationalities with over one million population each—the Mongolians, Huis, Tibetans, Uighurs, Miaos, Yis, Chuangs, Puyis, Koreans and Manchus.

Szechuan, having over 62,000,000 people, was the province with the biggest population and Chinghai, though more than twice bigger in area, had the least, with only 1.67 million.

The official release also revealed that over two and a half million people had helped in the work of the census and that in order to check the accuracy of the census a careful sample recheck had been made in different areas with a total population of some 53,000,000. The results of this showed that duplicated registration was 0.139 percent and omissions 0.255 percent.

Distribution of population among the three biggest cities and provinces is as follows: Peking, 2,768,149; Tientsin, 2,693,831; Shanghai, 6,204,417; Hopei Pro-

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vince, 35,984,644; Shansi Province, 14,314,485; Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, 6,100,104; Liaoning Province, 18,545,147; Kirin Province, 11,290,073; Heilungkiang Province, 11,897,309; Jehol Province, 5,160,822; Shensi Province, 15,881,281; Kansu Province, 12,928,102; Chinghai Province, 1,676,534; Sinkiang Province, 4,873,608; Shantung Province, 48,876,548; Kiangsu Province, 41,252,192; Anhwei Province, 30,343,637; Chekiang Province, 22,865,747; Fukien Province, 13,142,721; Taiwan Province, 7,591,298; Honan Province, 44,214,594; Hupeh Province, 27,789,693; Hunan Province, 33,226,954; Kiangsi Province, 16,772,865; Kwangtung Province, 34,770,059; Kwangsi Province, 19,560,822; Szechuan Province, 62,303,999; Kweichow Province, 15,037,310; Punnan Province, 17,472,737; Sikang Province, 3,881,064; Tibet Region and Changtu Area, 1,273,969; Chinese residing or studying abroad, 11,743,320; total 601,938,035.

The population of various nationalities is given as follows: Han, 547,283,057; Mongolian, 1,462,956; Hui, 3,559,350; Tibetan, 2,775,622; Uighur, 364,012; Miao, 2,511,339; Yi, 3,254,269; Chuang, 6,611,455; Puyi, 1,247,883; Korean, 1,120,405; Manchu, 2,418,931; other nationalities, 6, 718,025.—*Hsinhua News*, November 1, 1954.

600 Million People—China's Great Force for Socialist Construction

"Six hundred million people are China's force for Socialist construction," says Pai Chien-hua, Director of the Census Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in an article in *People's Daily* of November 1.

Publication of the 1953 census data is of historic significance in China, he states. "The overall and accurate registration of our country's population is the foundation for calculating our country's assets and also a basis for organising Socialist construction. In our country, like in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, 'people' are the most precious of all the categories of capital."

The present census returns show that China has a population of over six hundred million, constituting one-fourth of the total world population. "These more than six hundred million hard-working and courageous Chinese people," Pai Chien-hua writes, "are constructing and defending their motherland with unparalleled enthusiasm under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. This not only shows that China has a powerful force to build Socialism but also demonstrates that she has the power to defend peace in Asia and the world."

Pai Chien-hua notes that the rate of China's population growth was around 10 per thousand before 1937. However, he says, the rate has shown a marked rise in the few years since liberation because of the sharp decline in the death rate. "This is due to restoration and development of production, promotion of the people's living standards and improvement of medical and public health services," he notes. Vital statistics prepared by the Ministry of Internal Affairs based on a census survey of over 30 million people show that the birth rate in China now averages 37 and the death rate 17, which make the rate of natural increase 20 per thousand, the article says.

Urban population has increased considerably since liberation as a result of the rapid restoration and development of industry and commerce. Pai Chien-hua declares. Permanent city dwellers in 1953 were 40 per cent more than in 1950. In some industrial and mining cities such as Anshan, Fushun, Tangshan, and Taiyuan the percentage of population increase ranges from 100 to 300 as compared with 1950. "This shows the rapid growth of urban population following the start of China's large-scale Socialist construction," he writes.

According to the census statistics, children below the age of four represents 15.6 per cent of the total population and the sex ratio is nearly one to one.

"The bourgeois economists, who cling to bankrupt Malthusian theories of population, are astonished at hearing that China has more than six hundred million people. They allege that China cannot feed her six hundred million mouths and they even throw out such absurd slanders as the inevitability of China's 'aggression,'" Pai Chien-hua writes. Refuting this, he points out that China has a vast amount of virgin land and there are rich natural resources to be explored. The growth of China's industrial and agricultural production, Pai Chien-hua declares, far exceeds the rate of population increase thanks to the superiority of New China's social system. "Therefore the gradual improvement of the people's living standards can be fully ensured. By the time when our Socialist construction is completed, China, like the Soviet Union, will completely eliminate unemployment and partial unemployment and ensure all people enjoyment of a happy life," the article concludes. —*Hsinhua News*, November 1, 1954.

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